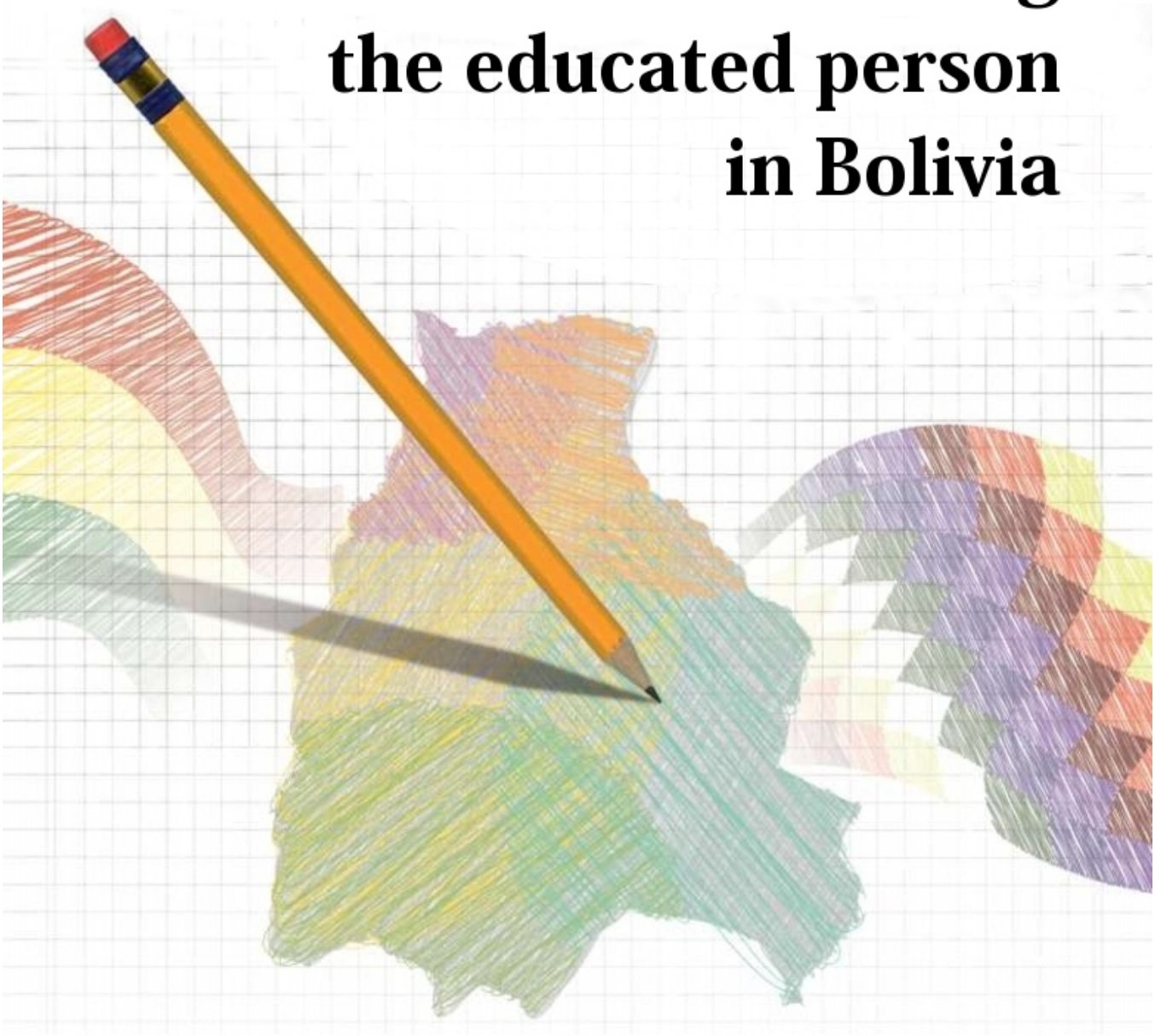
Reforming the educated person in Bolivia



MA thesis in History and Educational Studies at Roskilde University

Author: Juha Uski

Academic supervisors: Stephen Carney and Lennart Berntson

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1. Introduction

1.1. The new Bolivian educational reform

In December 2010, a new educational reform was put in motion in Bolivia with the approbation of Law 070, the ”Avelino Siñani - Elizardo Pérez Law of Education”. The educational reform attempts to realize in the field of education those ideas that the government of Bolivia has stood for since 2006: a movement towards communitarian socialism and the revival of the indigenous cultures. This thesis attempts to shed light on the horizons that Law 070 opens and the ensuing tensions that it may evoke.

Bolivia is the most culturally diverse of the South American countries. Since 2010 Bolivia has officially been called *"the plurinational state of Bolivia"* with the official recognition of 36 indigenous nations. Most of the indigenous, who are the majority of the country, belong to the two biggest ”nations”, Aymara and Quechua, in the highlands and the valleys. Other "nations" are considerably smaller, many of them originating in isolated tribes of the lowlands. (Albó 1999: 15-22) While Law 070 talks of *”indigenous original peasant peoples and nations”*, Bolivia is becoming more and more urban. Today at least 60% of the population (which totals 9 million inhabitants) lives in urban centers that each have more than 2000 inhabitants. (Gamboa 2009: 16)

In spite of its natural wealth, Bolivia is heavily dependent on foreign aid. As Herbert Klein wrote in 2003, Bolivia was then *"home to some five hundred nongovernmental agencies and in 1999 ranked twelfth in per-capita aid recipients in the world."* This foreign aid dependency has been developing since 1950s. (Klein 2003: 250-252) At the same time government policies have resulted in a major improvement in literacy and quality of life. Illiteracy of adults was still in 1980 31%, but today, lastly thanks to the present government's cooperation with Cuba, illiteracy is nearly eradicated. Education and improvements in the basic services like healthcare and infrastructure have not, however, led to the eradication of poverty at least yet. The poverty in Bolivia is, like in most (or all) poor countries, unequally distributed. According to UNDP, the unequality in 1970 and 2007 was of same proportion, which is that 60% of the income is in the hands of the richest 20% of the population, and less than 5% of the income in the hands of the poorest 20%. (PNUD 2010: 58)

Law 070 builds on earlier reforms while taking on the new government's ideological orientation, which brings important new aspects to educational practice. The curriculum will be partly common

in all of the schools and partly regionally and locally designed; participation of local organizations and parents is encouraged (”communitary education”); critical thinking is encouraged; schooling and production is to be combined (”productive education”); and the vision of ”decolonization”, empowerment of the indigenous cultures, is manifest throughout the law.

Law 070 was approved in December 2010 and the year 2011 has been named as a year of transition in the system of schooling. The new curriculum will be applied from 2012 onwards. (Oporto 2011: A16) The only legally binding document available when writing this thesis was Law 070 itself, as the curricular or other decrees had not yet been announced. The analysis in chapter 4 focuses in the dimensions of Article 3 of Law 070, which is included in annex 1. The whole text of the law is available from the website of the Ministry of Education and Cultures (MEC).[1]

1.2. The problematics of this research

The implementation of Law 070 will most likely involve varied kinds of tensions based on different understandings, conditions and aspirations of varied stakeholders. A complex field of historical processes, experiences and orientations involves questions regarding traditions and modernity, hegemony and subordination, dependency and liberation. A central concept in this thesis is the cultural production of the educated person. This concept will be presented in chapter 2.7, but basically talk about ”the educated person” refers to the varied criteria that characterizes the so-called ”product” of education, which is necessarily implicit in any educational reform.

The relevance of the thesis is amplified by the fact that the related themes of decolonization, communitarianism, liberation, etc. are global.

The problem that I am seeking to answer with this research is the following:

What are some of the decisive tensions between the vision of an educated person implied by the Bolivian educational reform law nr. 070 and the political, cultural and economic conditions and aspirations of the stakeholders?

The above main research question cannot be answered without also clarifying the following ”sub-

1 At the main page of the portal www.minedu.gob.bo, on the right side of the page is the picture and the link for the PDF, ”Ley de la Educación Avelino Siñani – Elizardo Pérez, No. 070”. Checked 25.8.2011

questions”:

What kind of an educated person does Law 070 propose?

What types of educated persons are already implied by practices in the Bolivian school system?

What conditions and aspirations of the stakeholders are likely to affect the prospects for implementation of Law 070?

The stakeholders in Law 070 are the ”experts” (administrators, leaders and government officials), headmasters, teachers, students and parents. For reasons of clarity I have not included it in the above questions, but I have not considered Law 070 in relation to higher education, even though the scope of the law does include higher education. I have chosen to focus on primary and secondary schooling, including basic education for adults. Higher education has its own problematics and processes, which partly go beyond the scope of this research. Partly, though, the conclusions of this research would also be applicable in the field of higher education.

I understand that this is a rather limited study and I do believe that I manage to describe some of the decisive tensions, but perhaps not all or even most. I cannot presume to actually be able to accurately answer to a question about the most important determinants within the scope of this research. It is the intention of this research to contribute to the ongoing discussion and to inform about the developments in Bolivia within the broad framework of the development of education and educational policies in Bolivia and in the world, as well as the framework of history writing on Bolivia. These frameworks are wide societal and academic discussions, and my intention is to contribute rather to widening horizons and building bridges than to fixing rigid codifications.

I will seek to answer the research questions through a combination of historical and empirical study. Besides a study of the history writing on the subject, I have interviewed some Bolivian administrators, syndicalists, headmasters, teachers, parents and students. I will also appeal to other contemporary studies that shed light on these issues.

Before engaging the questions in a wider historical context, I will introduce my approach, position and research method, the field of research and theoretical resources which facilitate the understanding of the associated concepts and enrich the discussion within the thesis.

1.3. The methodology of the research

1.3.1. Writing history

The past may be gone, but often people have a tendency to believe that history repeats itself – and often it does. And if people believe that history repeats itself, then a new view on history changes their actions. Here I will be combining knowledge from what to me appear as respected academic writings on Bolivian history, in order to focus on the formation and transformation of the Bolivian school system and themes related to the vision of the educated person in Law 070. This historical perspective is based on an assumption that on the level of human actions and their impact on the world, what repeats itself is learning, and thus transformation, the overcoming of the old by the new. While learning is in the center of my focus, human creativity adjusts itself to the existing conditions, and it is possible to discern patterns and processes in that learning. It is possible to discern convictions and provisional projects, which makes it possible for us to write human history, not only a history of arbitrary events and natural processes.

In the center of such humanistic history writing is the human individual, but as the individuals do not live isolated from each other, it is often the societal conditions, events, projects and ideologies, that take the central stage. Putting the individual in the central position does not necessarily lead to individualism, but rather here my aspiration is to contribute to the development of socialism with diversity and respect for human rights, as such a societal ideal and way of life appears to me most beneficial to the human individual. Thus I am writing with an agenda, as I am convinced that social science – as contrary to natural science – cannot be conducted at any point or stage as an agenda-free science, but instead social science implies social responsibility.

Verification and validation in history writing is relative – critical reflection upon varied sources sometimes provides clues to the limitations or focuses of the applied writings. When I didn't have other sources or time and resources to obtain them, I trusted the academic and publishing credentials of the author, and evaluated the neatness of their writing and the kind of sources they use as clues to whether their approach may be uncritically biased or whether their handling of their sources may be careless and uncritical. In occasions I found that some authors validated others openly or criticized aspects of the writings of the others, which also provided for a broader discussion. A discussion on the historical sources used in the thesis is included below, under 1.3.4.

Presentation of the historical process or processes is here quite strictly linear, instead of separating different ambits such as national and international, rural and urban, or themes like curriculum, politics, culture, economy, etc. I wished to draw a broad but focused image, seeking a unified, interconnected view, although sometimes themes and environments appear a bit separate, are tied together only in the later discussions, and ultimately connected towards the end of the thesis.

1.3.2. Researcher's position

I have presented my approach to history writing first, as I position myself as a historical being, affected by and affecting the learning history of humanity. A more precise examination of my position in this thesis reveals an institutional position, a cultural position, an economic position, a political position (already touched upon in relation to history writing) and a social position in relation to the field of research and in relation to the application of the thesis.

My interest in the theme at hand is based on some years of following of the political changes in Bolivia. In November 2009, then, I travelled for two weeks in Spain and Africa with the ex-Minister of Education of Bolivia, in an international peace march. Magdalena Cajías de la Vega, the second Minister of Education in the government of Evo Morales, told me about the educational reform that they were making in Bolivia. I could see that the reform had very interesting dimensions, combining Paulo Freire, indigenous cultures, ecological consciousness and communitary socialism, which all to me appear relevant issues for any country in today's world to consider, and which certainly fall in place to the research being done at Roskilde University and could enrich the local discussion.

As a student of Roskilde University my thesis continues the tradition of the university, that from its founding has carried a sociological and socialist interest, but more recently has enriched the limited horizons of that orientation with a plural, often culturally sensitive point of view. Interdisciplinary and participative approach has also always been one of the trademarks of the university. My studies at RU started in the International Cultural Studies programme, thenafter known as International Basic Studies in Humanities. The combination of History and Educational Studies continues the humanistic, cultural and societal broad orientation started in the basic studies. This background adjusts very well to the theme of my thesis and in some respects it appears that RU and the Bolivian educational reform share similar orientations, in the cultural diversity, social sensibility and

participative approaches.

My institutional position can, however, also be considered negatively, as continuing of colonialist tendencies: imposition of a European point of view on the Bolivian society. This would be reinforced by my cultural background and the prejudices that it might carry with it; and certainly my economic position, with flight tickets funded by EU's Erasmus-funds and a much higher purchasing power in Bolivia than what the locals have. We could deepen this image of colonization even further by bringing in my social position and questioning its impact. The case here is that while conducting this research in Bolivia, I fell in love with an indigenous woman, who is now pregnant with my child. Here the idea of colonization is brought to its logical fulfillment in the concrete mestization of the indigenous family!

However, this social position makes me not into a superior colonizer, but into a vulnerable participant in the theme of my research. My child and myself will become participants in this educational reform – I have an existential need to understand and to go beyond my cultural prejudices and habits. I also have a need to integrate myself economically into the Bolivian society and the present-day culture of a Quechua family. My point of view is not anymore that of a distant observer; but neither is it of one who already has formed definite alliances in the political, cultural or economic areas, and this can be a very fruitful position of observation, anticipating the field of tension between aspirations and conditions.

As for my background, I would consider that actually, as a Finn the idea of decolonization, that is one of the central bases of Law 070, is not entirely remote to me. Our country, Finland, has been colonized for hundreds of years, longer than Bolivia, first from the west and then from the east, and being a small country, it is and has always been very much under foreign influence. If I open the television in Finland, it is most likely that my eyes will meet with something produced in the United States. The dominant religion in Finland is imported from Germany - a reform of the established religion of the Empire of Rome. The earlier Finnish shamanistic religion is largely forgotten, and the Lapps, who in the north of the country still maintain some of their old ways, have been subjected to internal colonialism (for the definition of the concept, see chapter 2.5). Something similar occurs in practically all of the countries of the world, as if we're entangled in webs of domination and subordination – but also going through changes in more or less freely chosen orientations of cultural production and reproduction.

Today Finland and my current residential country Denmark are ”winners” in the global economic order, and here a self-critical questioning can be important; but even more relevant is to consider, how my position affects my relation with my interviewees and thus the way they answer to my questions. I did not present my personal relation to Bolivia to the interviewees, but I did tell them where the interview will be used. I represented to them therefore a certain kind of an educated person, a modern professional with intellectual capacity and knowledge about the world. As an advanced student of Educational Studies, I may have represented to them the school system, and they may have felt reluctant therefore to criticize schooling. By teachers and headmasters, I felt I was treated as a colleague. The interviews with the teachers were clearly the longest, but that may also be due to the fact that teachers are used to holding monologues.

1.3.3. Method of research

After what was written above, it goes almost without saying that what we're dealing with here is qualitative rather than quantitative research. If we wish to position my research paradigm according to Denzin and Lincoln's outline of diverse qualitative research paradigms, it would fall into the cultural studies -paradigm, but with influence from the Marxist paradigm. Denzin and Lincoln point out that there is *”a tension between humanistic cultural studies stressing lived experiences and more structural cultural studies projects stressing the structural and material determinants (race, class, gender) of experience.”* (Denzin & Lincoln 1998: 27-28) Based on my humanistic-socialistic approach outlined above I wanted to include both of these aspects. Partly due to the limited amount of empirical material, the structural aspect was becoming dominant, and because of that I moved the focus of the thesis from ”decolonization” to ”the cultural production of the educated person” – a concept which is explained in chapter 2.7. of this research.

The thesis has three major parts: first is the theoretical discussion, that gives us (the reader and the writer) a conceptual framework for understanding the issues involved in a broader perspective; secondly, the historical narrative, that reveals the historical process in the cultural production of the educated person in Bolivia; and thirdly, the analysis of relevant themes from contemporary discourses, from contemporary texts and researches as well as from research interviews conducted in Bolivia in February-April 2011 (and one interview from 2009) with professionals, administrators, teachers, students and parents.

The questions that I am dealing with demand a historical interpretation of meaning. Hermeneutical

interpretation was classically understood as the interpretation of texts, but today the concept of ”text” has often been extended also to discourse and even to action. In this thesis, following the historical centrality of learning in human life, hermeneutics is applied to the historical and theoretical literature in order to reach a historical narrative. Hermeneutics is basically an attempt to penetrate and question the prejudices of the knowers (including oneself) and the context of the text in a continuous spiral of reflection. *”Starting with an often vague and intuitive understanding of the text as a whole, its different parts are interpreted, and out of these interpretations the parts are again related to the totality, and so on”*, writes Steinar Kvale about the hermeneutical interpretation of meaning. In the interpretation of history, here ”text” comes to mean not only what is said about actions, but it also comes to mean human, social, meaningful actions themselves, extending the hermeneutic interpretation to the object of social sciences, as Paul Ricoeur has proposed. With the help of conceptual reflections introduced in chapter 2, I seek a critical understanding of history. As a dynamic and historically situated perspective, hermeneutics is compatible with my social position in relation to my field of research. (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009: 50-51, 210; Freeman 2008: 386-388)

Interpretation of history happens through the research of texts, which here were mainly secondary sources (in contrast to primary sources), as explained in chapter 1.3.4. That is, what I have done is basically a research on texts which are researches of texts in the sense meant by Ricoeur. The conceptual framework from chapter 2 is present in the background, but is explicitly applied to the interpretation of history in the synthesizing chapter 3.13.

The hermeneutic method extends also loosely to the thesis itself in the final, historically perspectivizing discussion of chapter 4.8, but in the rest of chapter 4 the interview data are not interpreted as entire discussions. Rather, relevant points from the interviews are discussed together with other present discourses (texts by stakeholders and researchers) based on themes deriving from Law 070 itself and the conceptual framework from chapter 2. Norman Fairclough, who calls his method ”critical discourse analysis”, considers that we can think of discourse as *”(a) representing some part of the world, and (b) representing it from a particular perspective.”* (Fairclough 2003: 129) Here, the main themes (parts of the world) are largely delimited by the researcher's focus, whereas the interviewees and authors bring their particular perspectives to those themes. It is those perspectives that are being analyzed in chapter 4. Those perspectives bring two kinds of data to the research: informative data, as that from contemporary researches and the matter-of-fact answers and statements by the interviewees; and statements which reveal perspectives that can be critically interpreted as implying wider discourses. These wider discourses are acted out in social life –

following Karl Marx, language can be considered as practical social consciousness. (Fairclough 2010: 308) Following Marx further, dialectical investigation of discourses seeks such presuppositions that are seen as common sense but which contain an internal contradiction. Dialectical argument then searches for a *"counter syllogism"* which dissipates the *"false persuasions of knowledge"* based on false assumptions. (Fairclough 2010: 310) It is this kind of a dialectical development from thesis and antithesis to synthesis, that is sought to achieve in the interview analysis of this thesis, besides the direct application of the informative data to the research question. In the end, the whole thesis can also be seen as an attempt of a synthesis between Law 070 and its antithesis: the conditions and aspirations in the field.

1.3.4. The textual sources of the history writing

In a 1971 guide to historical literature on Latin America, the historian Herbert S. Klein claims that Bolivian historiography *"has been a seriously underdeveloped discipline."* (Klein 1971: 513) The UMSA history professor Magdalena Cajías confirmed this in an informal discussion in January 2011: Bolivian historians have still not written any concise history of Bolivia – the best works are those of Herbert Klein. Also Erick D. Langer in the Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture writes: *"By far the best history of Bolivia in any language is Herbert S. Klein, Bolivia: The Evolution of a Multi-Ethnic Society (1982)."* (Tenenbaum 1996: 374) I take it that Klein's work is then a rather reliable starting point and I have thus used Klein's newer work, the 2003 *A Concise History of Bolivia*, as the main reference for the broad outlines of Bolivian history.

In any case, much of what Klein writes is not of use for this thesis, since Klein's Concise History focuses mostly on the macroeconomic history and wars. But the same as for history in general, applies to education: As Mario Yapu mentions in the 2009 report of the international Working Table on Education, there are no systematic historical studies on Bolivian education from the republican and colonial periods and neither regarding the times of the Inca empire or before the Incas. (Yapu 2009: 16)

Due to the lack of systematic works and my limitations of time, it was difficult to reach an overview on the history writing on education, decolonization and other Law 070 -related themes in Bolivia. I went step by step following leads and bibliographies from available works, discussing with a couple of researchers and local readers, searching through bookstores and libraries in La Paz, browsing the internet, focusing on works by recognized researchers and leading institutions. I would especially

like to thank for their help in the selection and search for research materials the following persons: Magdalena Cajías de la Vega, Rosmery Uyuli, Denisse Hanna, Benito Fernández, Diego Noriega, Mary Ayza, Maria Luísa Talavera and Raúl Calderón Jemio.

In historical research, much is often made of going to the earliest possible source, but on the other hand I found especially during this research, that later sources often contained a more thoroughly and widely considered point of view. Of course, those thorough sources also used primary sources themselves. My weakness here has been that I have not used much primary sources (actual documents from the epoch in question), but that is understandable since my research seeks a wide historical overview rather than a particularly profound view on some particular moment (other than the present).

I've used quite a bit the writings by Esteban Ticona, Roberto Choque Canqui and Vitaliano Soria Choque, all highly respected authors and academic researchers and, it seems, all Aymaras who adhere to indigenous revivalism. Another Bolivian academician and distinguished social scientist, who I am referring to in the chapters on early 20th Century, is Blithz Lozada Pereira, who complements Klein in providing a wider perspective.

Some of the conclusions of the local indigenous-minded authors are questioned by Marten Brienen from Leiden University (currently visiting at the University of Miami). Brienen is not so hostile to the nation-state as the indigenous Bolivian authors appear to be, and it is pleasing to read a different but at least equally sober and well-researched point of view. A critical view against the romanticization of the indigenous struggle is also stressed by Blithz Lozada and also by the academician H. C. F. Mansilla in his reference to the research by Rolando Sánchez Serrano.

Carlos Salazar Mostajo's book about the practice of the School of Warisata is a first person's account of the school, as Salazar taught in it. It may be slightly idealizing, but I trust that as an outline of the practice of the school it gives quite an accurate image. I had some other writings about the School of Warisata available, but while they didn't contradict Salazar, neither did they add anything substantial.

Throughout the thesis I also occasionally refer to works of Mario Yapu, who is an anthropologist specialized in educational studies. Yapu is an expert on educational policies in Bolivia, employed by international organizations and also directing a postgradute educational institution (U-PIEB).

Regarding the period since 1950s, I have used the research on the last 50 years of the 20th Century by the International Institute of Integration (III-CAB) and the UNDP Human Development Report. While III-CAB writes especially about the policies, UNDP concentrates on the processes that further human development, but quotes widely diverse Bolivian research.

More recent views I have found for example in the notes from a national conference on decolonization in education, published under the name *”Políticas de descolonización de las prácticas educativas”*, in the anthropologist Xavier Albó's works, in López and Murillo's thorough analysis of the educational reform of 1994, in Regalsky and Laurie's article on the hidden curriculum in indigenous education in Bolivia and in the notes from a national conference on ”intra-intercultural, plurilingual education”. Other recent works are also applied in the discourse analysis, such as the researches of the anthropologists Andrew Canessa and Annelies Zoomers.

As a whole, my trust on the validity and reliability of the works that I have used rests on the academic authority of the authors and the publishing institutions, which in all of the cases are of the highest standard available. I have of course reflected critically on all of the information provided and I have drawn out the most relevant points, but I am not in a condition to make wider comparisons or to verify all of the knowledge through other, independent sources. There were, of course, occasions where I have quoted several sources for the same information or have easily been able to amalgamate diverse sources that discuss the same matter. I have also discarded some sources, because the already applied ones said the same thing in a more suitable manner or focus. Since I got good help from locals, only in one occasion I was unable to obtain a work that I needed.

In chapter 3, I am elaborating quite much on the views from Marten Brienen's article, because his approach brings forth what to me appear as two main tendencies in history writing on education in Bolivia. One is the indigenist tendency, which focuses on the struggle of the indigenous, often siding with their mission. Another is the universal academic tradition, which still has some tendencies of Eurocentric presuppositions. While I am not focusing on higher education in this thesis, regarding history writing it is clear that Law 070 brings the challenge of convergence of the indigenist tradition and the European academic traditions. The UNDP report is a rather interesting work in the way it brings forth views from both tendencies; Canessa's work is also fascinating, as he seems to place himself more in the indigenist camp even though he is a European researcher. In my thesis, I am trying to combine the quality of engagedness from the indigenist stream with the critical analysis from the European tradition.

1.3.5. The interview sources

It was the two concepts of decolonization and the cultural production of the educated person, which most of all guided me at the stage of holding the interviews; however, the discourse analysis has a wider scope and includes other dilemmas from Law 070, to which my interview data sometimes can give answers and sometimes I rely more on other sources.

The interview sources in this research are of three kinds: ”elite” interviews (as Kvale calls them) with experts, shorter elite interviews with a provincial administrator and headmasters, and longer interviews with teachers, parents and students. The elite interviews are more impersonal, as the persons are rather viewed as access points of institutions, whereas the interviews with the teachers, parents and students seek to come close to the subjects and they are all interviewed as anonymous, for confidentiality. A list of the interviews is found in Annex 4 and the interview questions are found in Annex 5 and 6. In Annex 6, also the ”researcher's questions” are mentioned – these were the background dilemmas in the formulation of the interview questions to teachers, parents and students. The interviews with the headmasters basically only had two questions: one about decolonization and another about their educational institution and its history, to become aware of the context.

Only seven longer elite interviews are included, and all of those took place in La Paz, except the 2009 interview with Magdalena Cajías. It was not even my original plan to interview experts in La Paz, but it was proposed by Benito Fernandez of the German Association of Adult Education, where I was visiting due to an invitation by my friend Denisse Hanna. In the end Benito, Denisse, Wilfredo Limachi and Julia Cespedes of the German Association played an important part in the process, since not only did Benito Fernández propose to me some key experts that I should interview, Wilfredo Limachi was one of them and he also helped me to get in contact with schools. The approximate location of the schools was proposed by Magdalena Cajías, who is a history professor and ex-Minister of Education, whom, as mentioned, I got acquainted with during a volunteer campaign in Africa. My original idea was to cover different areas of the country, and she added to this ideas about approximate places that could be interesting since there was not much research made in those areas. One was in the highlands, where Magdalena proposed rural Oruro, and there I ended up in CETHA Caracollo, an institution for adult and youth education founded by Julia Cespedes, who presently works in the German Association. Another one was in the valley

zone, and this was chosen as an urban school. Wilfredo Limachi put me in contact with Elia Foronda, a teacher from a Marist secondary school in Cochabamba. Finally, Denisse Hanna put me in contact with Yovana Rivero from CIEP in San José de Chiquitos in the rural lowlands, where the personnel of CIEP took me to the provincial administration and in contact with two schools. There I chose two schools because of logistic limitations. I had wanted to go to a rural secondary school, but the rural schools are far from the centers and I could only afford to visit there once. As they finished school early that day, I only got the chance to interview the headmaster, one teacher and three students all at the same time. It became an exception to the usual pattern of interviewing only one person at a time and the disadvantage was obvious, as the students often tended to parrot each other and appeared a bit timid. Certainly part of the timidity also had to do with the culture in Chiquitanía, where one is supposed to be soft-spoken. As this was not quite enough for me, I went also to another secondary school in the small town of San José and interviewed one teacher and one student there. Another limitation in San José was that I could not easily get in contact with the parents to interview them and decided that I have enough material without interviews with the parents. The rural teacher interviewed in Taperas outside San José also was a parent.

From a social class perspective, the students, teachers and parents that I interviewed all came from lower or lower middle class; not specially privileged Bolivians if not either the most desperately poor. Some were living in rural surroundings, some in urban – Caracollo and Chiqutanía were similar in the sense of a mixture of remote village and rural centre population, though at least one or two also lived in the city of Oruro; in Cochabamba they were suburban. As for schools, I have the impression that my research sites were some of the better functioning schools, except perhaps one, where they mentioned the low status of the institution in comparison to some other local schools. My interviewees were picked on a volunteer and availability basis and probably represent the more active and open-minded students, teachers and parents.

I chose to focus on secondary schools, as I felt that I wanted to have more elaborate answers to questions that primary school students maybe would not have been prepared to answer. In Caracollo I interviewed both adult and youth students. I had also decided not to focus on higher education, as that would become unnecessarily complex for a moderately short research like this one. All in all, then my interview sources are quite limited: six experts, one provincial administrator, four headmasters, six teachers, ten students and three parents. The interviews of experts, parents, teachers and students were the longest ones, each taking from about 20 minutes to nearly one hour; the ones with the administrator and the headmasters were shorter, approximately 15 minutes each.

This means that while I cannot claim a quantitative section of interviewees, there is some depth at least in some of the interviews, and this depth-orientation feeds the hermeneutic reflection. The lack of representativity is partly balanced with references to other researches.

The format of the interviews was semi-structured, since I had questions written beforehand, but in practice would add other questions that appeared relevant in relation to what the interviewees talked about. My flexibility increased as I learned the routine of interviewing on these issues, language and culture. Some minor changes appeared to the questions along the way, as I learned that some questions could be better focused. Also both Denisse Hanna and the researcher Rosmery Uyuli initially helped me with the linguistic and cultural formulation of the questions. All of the interviews were conducted in February, March and early April of 2011; except one, with Magdalena Cajías, already in November 2009.

As the questions for the teachers, students and parents focused on their personal experiences in order to reach a broader view on the cultural production of the educated person (see chapter 2.7), those interviews included a longer and more formal introduction on my thesis, a possibility for the interviewees to get an electronic copy of the thesis, informing them that their interview will be presented as anonymous, as well as an overview of what I am going to ask and why. Besides this briefing, or a shorter one for the experts, all of the interviews ended with a debriefing question asking if they would have something more to say that could be useful for my research.

In general the quality of the interview data is rich, since many interviewees answer at length to the questions and some of them bring interesting unexpected points to the discussion. Unfortunately due to technical problems I lost a large portion of two of the interesting interviews. Some of the interviews were not as rich as the others; especially rural students may have felt insecure and unable to answer to some of the questions. I also notice that I could have been better in following up on what they said, which I did in some occasions but in others not.

2. Conceptual framework

2.1. Choice of theories

The combination of orientations from Law 070 and my overall approach bring forth the themes of cultural diversity and communitarian socialism. The conceptual framework presented in this chapter

is designed to connect those two themes with Law 070 and schooling in Bolivia today. Seen historically and in relation to worldwide processes and discussions, varied themes arise: modernity and tradition, hegemony and subordination, colonialism and decolonization, liberation and cultural production. This thesis is rather theory-laden, incorporating the visions of several theorists, reflecting the complexity and bredth of the field of study: the transformation and the tensions related to Law 070.

Otherwise I have arrived at the choice of these theories through discussions with my academic supervisors, but González Casanova was a suggestion from Magdalena Cajías. It seems that all of the authors have been influenced by Karl Marx, though it is less obvious with Giddens, Ferguson and Levinson & Holland, who would probably not call themselves Marxists. As well as Marx, Giddens has been influenced by Durkheim and Weber; Gramsci equally by Hegel as by Marx. Levinson and Holland, with their expansive understanding of agency, state themselves that their work complements Marxism and is influenced by insights from anthropology and cultural studies. The Marxists of the bunch are connected to the Latin cultures; Gramsci was Italian and the other studies stem from Latin America or connect Latin America with Europe and the world. I have sought thus to connect my own European university origin and the Latin American field of study also in the conceptual framework, but choosing such theories that enable me to make the study both coherent and dynamic.

2.2. Modernity and modernization

2.2.1. Traditions in a modern world

Law 070 seeks the ”cultural reaffirmation” of the indigenous peoples, their spirituality, territoriality, communitarian organization forms, knowledge and skills. This brings us to the field of tension between tradition and modernization. Whereas Anthony Giddens published a famous theory on that field in 1990, James Ferguson's views on narratives on modernity bring the discussion up to date.

2.2.2. Modernity

Anthony Giddens, in his famous work *The Consequences of Modernity*, defines modernity through such concepts as trust and reflexivity, and places post-modernity as a utopia in a possible future (seen from 1990). According to Giddens, modernity refers to *”modes of social life or organisation*

which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence." (Giddens 1990: 1) Giddens argues also that modernity continues, and that the claims that we are living in post-modernity are a consequence of a sensation of the flow of events being *"outside of our control."* (Giddens 1990: 2-3) Giddens defends the uniqueness of modern social institutions and on their continuity he bases his claim that modernity, as a radical discontinuity of the traditional, still continues. (Giddens 1990: 3)

In this thesis the concepts "modernity" and "modern" will refer to the way Giddens has defined it. It is important to be aware of this, because often we hear talk of "modernization" and mostly what is meant by it is more or less in the direction of Giddens' definition, but in other moments what is meant is simply "up to date", which in cases like Bolivia could also be in contradiction with Giddens' definition.

2.2.3. Time-space distanciation in modernity

Anthony Giddens draws the line between traditional and modern societies based on the following three characteristics of modernity: the pace of change, the scope of change and the nature of modern institutions. What is new in modernity is the accelerated, worldwide social transformation and the institutions that function in a different manner than the traditional ones. These institutions according to Giddens include the nation-state, industrialism (production with inanimate power sources) and commodification of products and labour. (Giddens 1990: 6) The social order that these institutions produce functions through a *"time-space distanciation"*, where, unlike in traditional societies, time and space are separated from each other as categories and social systems and relations can therefore be disembedded, ordered and reordered reflexively and continuously in the light of new knowledge. (Giddens 1990: 14, 16-17)

Giddens names two types of disembedding mechanisms: symbolic tokens and expert systems. Money is a symbolic token and a mode of deferral, a means of time-space distanciation. All disembedding mechanisms depend upon trust, vested in the abstract capacities of those mechanisms. (Giddens 1990: 21-29) To a certain degree this is indisputable, but Giddens doesn't seem to put much weight on the fact that while they may be proposed as rational, potentially equal systems for the common good, the disembedding mechanisms are usually controlled by elites and often applied through methods of coercion and manipulation rather than friendly persuasion and trust. Another question is whether not traditional societies also had their disembedding mechanisms

– their symbolic tokens and expert systems. I would say that they did – even money has existed for thousands of years. However, modern systems are more effectively industrialized, which gives them certain potentiality and acceleration, and thus the traditional fixed categories of power can be surpassed and/or bypassed. The principle of disembedding is not new, but it has become more powerful as a producer of social order.

Humanity has produced the mechanical clock as an industrially manufactured means of universal uniformity of time measurement and organization – in Giddens' words, time-space distanciation. Distanciation permits a reorganization of activities and in practice the disembedded mechanisms and social relations function through what Giddens calls ”reembedding”: *”[...] all disembedding mechanisms interact with reembedded contexts of action, which may act either to support or to undermine them [...]”* (Giddens 1990: 80) In a modern society, each person is subject to the power and knowledge organized by the disembedding mechanisms – in exchange the mechanism is supposed to work in a predetermined manner, which creates an environment of trust (although as already stated, in a passing way also by Giddens himself, individuals rarely can choose the system).

While an individual may not know how the system (the mechanism) exactly works, the system gives him an assurance, a commitment that it will work according to certain principles or objectives. The bank, for example, guarantees that hundred dollars have an equal worth independent of who owns them. These commitments Giddens calls *faceless commitments*, as they pertain to the entire system. However, if during a financial crisis it is considered necessary to assure the clients of a bank that their money (or its value) is not going to disappear, a functionary of the bank may appear in the mass media giving such assurances. The action of the functionary amounts to a *facework commitment* – a system representative comes ”frontstage” to strengthen the trust towards the system. However, if the system thereafter fails, the facework commitment of the functionary may mean that he has to take the responsibility and take the blame for his mistaken views. The system will be saved, but its reputation has suffered a blow.

In this example, the mass media is what Giddens calls an *”access point”* between the representatives of an abstract (in this case financial) system and lay individuals or collectivities. (Giddens 1990: 88) Similarly schools, and teachers as representatives of the system of schooling, are access points and thus *”places of tension between lay scepticism and professional expertise”*. (Giddens 1990: 91) The dynamics of this situation will be further examined in the chapter on the cultural production of the educated person (chapter 2.7).

2.2.4. The contrast between tradition and modernity

In *The Consequences of Modernity*, Giddens considers modernization as a positive, liberating development, although he also considers that modernity brings its dangers and problems. While above I take a bit more critical view on modern social institutions, I also admit that they have their positive aspects. The concentration of ever greater abstract and concrete riches in ever fewer hands and the construction of ever more destructive weapons would not be possible in the current scale without industrialisation and the mechanisms of modernity. However, it is probably the greatest achievement of humanity that we can today live in what Giddens describes as *"wide arenas of nonhostile interaction with anonymous others characteristic of modern social activity"* (Giddens 1990: 118). For a growing portion of the worldwide population, modern institutions give access to a mobility and a freedom of choice that our ancestors wouldn't have dreamed of. The question is: While we have gained something, have we also lost something important?

To attempt an answer at this question, which in turn can help us understand the Bolivian project of decolonization, we need to interpret how the traditional societies function. Here, again, Anthony Giddens has some useful insights. Giddens characterizes the pre-modern cultures in terms of ontological security: what are the instances on which humans placed their trust? Giddens names four contexts of trust: kinspeople, the local community, religion and tradition. (Giddens 1990: 100-105) All of these had the characteristics of being stable and enduring, whereas in modernity these aspects have become shook up by the mobility and acceleration that has already been mentioned.

Further, according to Giddens tradition is a mode where human reflexivity, the *"reflexive monitoring of action"* is integrated with the time-space organization of the community. In other words the tradition-bound reflexivity focuses on the interpretation and clarification of tradition, whereas modern reflexivity refers to a *"chronic revision"* of all social practices and beliefs in the light of new knowledge. (Giddens 1990: 36-40) The new modern knowledge arises from new, modern methods and societal relations that have developed especially since the Enlightenment and which have to do with the modern institutions listed above. Giddens characterizes modern reflexively organized knowledge as knowledge that is *"governed by empirical observation and logical thought, and focused upon material technology and socially applied codes."* (Giddens 1990: 109) This mode of reflexivity, according to Giddens stands *"in direct opposition"* to religion. (Giddens 1990: 109)

2.2.5. Narratives on state and modernity

In his book *Global Shadows*, from 2006, James Ferguson considers narratives about modernity from a different point of view. Ferguson has in late 1990s and early 2000s done research in Zambia and he considers especially the African situation, but many of his theoretical insights refer to the global, worldwide picture.

Ferguson relates the concept of modernity, the discourse about *"a "modern" form of life"* to the nation-state as Giddens does, with largely similar contents, when it has to do with the emerging nation-states in Africa after World War II. At that time, the newly "decolonized" (Ferguson uses the concept in the sense of formal political independence) African states saw modernity as something they would reach through time, in a gradual process of modernization. The narrative of *"nation-building"* was the established *"development story"* that legitimated the contemporary political programs. And as with Anthony Giddens (and we could partly count Giddens as an adherent of this narrative), the "nation-building" modernization theory suggested that a modern society consists of certain different elements which form a unified package. (Ferguson 2006: 177-178, 182)

Since 1990s, however, both critical ethnographic studies and actual economic practice have shown that the "nation-building" narrative is just that – a narrative and not an inevitable fact, even when its implementation is intentionally attempted. Elements of tradition and modernity can fit together in diverse ways without any necessary contradiction, as ethnographic studies show. Modernity is thereafter seen as plural, a variety of *"alternative modernities"* whose history is contingent. On the other hand, the promise of socioeconomic progress implied in the modernizing "nation-building" narrative has either not materialized or, as in the case of Zambia and most other African countries, has been set back. Modernity appears therefore as a socioeconomic status which some have and others don't, and there is no certain path to reach that status. (Ferguson 2006: 183, 188, 189)

The problems arising from the sociopolitical exclusion are not unrelated with the condition of modernity as plural. If modernity is plural, the question is, how are these plural cultural realities related to each other? Are we talking of separation or interaction – that is, to say it in less extreme terms, interaction on which premises?

Ferguson also considers another established narrative, one that has replaced the "nation-building"

narrative. This new paradigm in the study of African politics is critical towards the state - where the "nation-building" view saw the state as progressive and the other, local actors as reactionary, in the *"state and society"* paradigm the tables are turned. The state is seen as despotic and overbearing, and in accordance with the dominant neoliberalist direction, the state's powers and activities should be minimized so that the society can develop freely. This serves the financial world powers and the erosion of the sovereignty of the African states has been likened to a process of *"re-colonization"*. (Ferguson 2006: 95-100) Similar processes are not at all unknown in Latin America.

How is the answer of those, who are pushed into a corner without an exit – excluded from access to even basic amenities? While one should clearly see that illegality and violence are two very different things, there are other possible strategies of struggle that require neither. James Ferguson tells of Mzwanele Mayekiso, a township organizer in Johannesburg, who considers that it is a *"working-class civil society"* which *"must be strengthened, developed, and allowed to preserve its autonomy from the state."* (Ferguson 2006: 104) The policies of the state - even a socially-minded state - may be tied by the pressure of the forces of transnational capital, which threatens the state with capital boycott. Therefore also such a "working-class civil society" should develop a 'foreign policy', build alliances over borders and also use the power of the image (through media coverage and networking, projecting threats and opportunities and drawing on universalist principles) to affect both the stock markets and the society at large. (Ferguson 2006: 105-112)

In any case, the position of the state remains unknown. If the state is not just a benevolent pioneer of development, nor simply a despotic obstacle to liberation, then how is the state positioned in relation to civil society? To gain perspective to this question, I turn to Antonio Gramsci.

2.3. The Gramscian concept of hegemony

It is not easy to create a coherent image of Antonio Gramsci's entire thinking, as his most important writings are notebooks written in prison, in miserable conditions, where he was able to write only fragments rather than a systematically organized book. Here my interest is not to grasp Gramsci's thinking as a whole, but only to apply Gramsci's concept of hegemony.

As contemporary Leninists of early 20th Century discussed on whether the rule of society was based on economic or military power, Antonio Gramsci took a process-oriented point of view and pointed out the role of consent in the historical development of modern European societies. Gramsci talks

about the historical formation of hegemonies, and considers that instead of violence, a hegemony is based both on economy (mechanical causes) and on ideology (voluntary causes) – always both. (Gramsci 1996: 177-178) An element of coercion may be present in both causes, but doesn't define them. Gramsci starts with the basic Marxist point of view that social groups – and thus the social identity of individuals – are formed on the basis of the function and position of the people in the material forces of production. A certain ideology can be feasible in a society, if the moment of the development of the forces of production is adequate for the ideology in question. But besides that necessary mechanical (economic) condition, there is also a need for a corresponding voluntary (political) condition: the social groups need to have attained a certain degree of homogeneity and self-consciousness. The combination of homogeneity and self-consciousness means a shared social identity (although Gramsci did not use this term) and group solidarity which spreads from a particular profession to cover a larger social sector associated as subordinate to same conditions, which are wished to be overcome or transformed. (Gramsci 1996: 179)

In that moment the political dynamics become focused on the complex superstructure based on the shared social identity, and various existing ideologies compete to become an integral part of the shared social identity. Certain ideology or combination of ideologies eventually prevails and it is according to the prevailing ideology that political organisation is articulated so that a certain social group comes to reign over other, subordinate groups. This is what Gramsci calls the hegemony of *"a fundamental social group"* over other groups. When the hegemonic group takes over the government of the nation-state, its aim is to expand itself as a group, but also to benefit the subordinate groups. The interests of the "fundamental group" prevail only to a certain extent, and again the subordinate groups form new shared social identities that may challenge the established hegemony. Gramsci also points out that international relations as well affect and are affected by these national developments: ideologies and alliances cross borders. Finally, Gramsci mentions that the relation of military forces is from time to time an immediately decisive relation of forces, especially between states, as one state may militarily subordinate another. (Same occurs in military coups and armed revolutions.) (Gramsci 1996: 180)

As will be described in chapter 3, in Bolivian history from 16th to 20th Centuries the Spaniards and their descendants were the governing force in the Andean, later Bolivian society, and their government often included military subordination of the indigenous masses. According to Gramsci, *"[a]ll history since 1815"* (in the world and at least until 1930s, when Gramsci wrote his notebooks) consists in traditional classes trying to prevent the formation of a collective will and to

maintain *"economic-corporative"* power. And the formation of a popular collective requires both economic and intellectual-moral reform. (Gramsci 2007: 248-249) This may explain why the indigenous masses of Bolivia didn't achieve to overthrow the creole or mestizo domination during the 19th and 20th Centuries. According to Gramsci most people (*"the average worker"*) are not clearly conscious of the theoretical implications of their actions. They adhere explicitly to some kind of a world-view, but their actions show a different pattern. This pattern of activity is inevitably serving a political agenda and power, a *"hegemony"*. To develop unity of theory and practice and thus ability to consciously affect the direction of society, one needs to become conscious of one's position as part of a hegemonic force. As Gramsci points out, this self-awareness is not something that occurs mechanically, but is rather a historical process, where one recognizes the distinctness of one's situation. Because of this Gramsci stresses that the concept of hegemony is a progressive tool in both a political-practical and a philosophical sense. (Gramsci 2007: 330)

In social practice, the unity of theory and practice means social organization, which requires the formation of organizers and leaders, *"intellectuals"*. As long as the great masses of people do not get organized, they will insist on putting *"practice"* as priority over theory, and such a society is *"still in a relatively rudimentary historical phase"*, which Gramsci calls the economic-corporative phase. However, in modern mass economy the individual will not find freedom of choice in his economic activity, but rather in politics. Gramsci puts his faith in the political parties as the decisive democratizing social organization. (Gramsci 2007: 330) It is also notable that Gramsci, in 1930s, considered that *"America has yet to surpass the economic-corporative phase, which the Europeans traversed during the Middle Ages"*. (Gramsci 2007: 10)

State as a police (*"night-watchman state"*) is the step beyond the economic-corporative phase. The economic-corporative form is a confusion between civil society and political society. Political society (the government) is the *"armor of coercion"* while civil society is the hegemony. The state-coercion element could wither away gradually as *"the increasingly conspicuous elements of regulated society (or ethical state or civil society) assert themselves."* Movement from a phase where the state equals government *"to a phase in which state is identified with civil society"* goes through *"a transition phase of state as night watchman"* that protects the growing influence of the civil society, which reduces the state's *"authoritarian and coercive interventions"*. Gramsci openly states that he does not with this adhere to neoliberalism, but seeks an *"era of organic freedom"*. (Gramsci 2007: 75-76)

2.4. Coloniality and dependency

Above Mayekiso argued that in today's world a working-class civil society should develop a foreign policy, if they wish to effectively move towards the ”era of organic freedom” as Gramsci put it. The historical challenge for that consists of another tendency noticed by Gramsci: that the *“subaltern classes”* are not in such close contact with the subaltern of other countries as the ruling classes are with the ruling classes of other countries. Gramsci contends that in practice this is so even when the politics and economics of the subaltern classes are *“cosmopolitan”*. (Gramsci 2007: 103)

Gramsci's term “subaltern” refers according to Mario Morales to *“any subject situated in a position of disadvantage in relation to any form of power”*. More recently postcolonialist writers have created ”subaltern studies”, which rather than considering structural dependency relationships focuses on the otherness of the subaltern subject as something positive. (Moraña et al. 2008: 482) The value of the subaltern indigenous knowledge and culture is affirmed in the new Bolivian Constitution and also in Law 070, making the indigenous culture thus less subaltern than until now.

In the Latin American context, however, insight into structural dependency relationships is very relevant for understanding the relations between modernity, coloniality and culture. That is what Anibal Quijano and Immanuel Wallerstein have argued, stating that the colonization of the Americas was the constitutive act of modernity. *”[T]he New World became the pattern, the model of the entire world-system”*, they write, and the newness of America included coloniality, ethnicity, racism, and last but not least, the concept of newness itself. (Quijano & Wallerstein 1992: 549-550)

Quijano and Wallerstein define coloniality as the creation and linking of states in a hierarchical interstate system, where the formal colonies were in the bottom, and even when their formal colonial status ended, coloniality continued to manifest in all domains – political, economic and cultural. Ethnicity was the cultural consequence of coloniality, giving coloniality social boundaries that corresponded with the division of labour and justified exploitation. As the formal colonial rule ended, and this happened first of all in the Americas, ethnicity *”had to be reinforced by a conscious and systematic racism”*, largely a creation of the nineteenth century.

When the ideology of explicit racism had been put in practice in Europe during the Second World War, Europe lay in ruins and North America took over the position of hegemony in the modern world-system. Racism was then replaced by the concept of meritocracy, which (applying Bourdieu's

concepts) favoured the elite habitus and cultural capital and thus upheld the racist order without explicit racism. Meritocracy coincided with *"the deification and reification of newness"*, based on faith in science, and the superiority of the New World was grounded on this newness that was supposedly free from old ways of acting; more modern meant better. Historic depth was discarded and the North American dominance was explained through the modernity of the North; it became the justification of economic success, but also its proof! (Quijano & Wallerstein 1992: 550-552)

Here we see that the colonization of the Americas and the establishment of modernity are two sides of the same coin. Then it is even more understandable when Mario Morales argues that the postcolonial dilemma of the Middle East, Asia and Africa shouldn't be applied to Latin America as such, since Latin America is a mestizo continent. According to Morales the processes of modernity form *"an essential part"* of Latin America's *"self-construction"*, and an *"essentialized alterity"* ("what we really are") is only an idealization of differences. (Moraña et al. 2008: 501)

Quijano and Wallerstein point out that the circular argument of the justification and proof of economic success due to modernity has been criticized first of all in the Americas, by dependency theory, that directs attention to the development of underdevelopment. (Quijano & Wallerstein 1992: 552) The reference is to the economic theory that Andre Gunder Frank wrote in relation to Chile and Brazil, but whose basic elements are universally applicable.

Gunder Frank challenges the idea that underdevelopment in countries like Chile in 1960s would be an original state of affairs or a historical stage that the developed countries have passed through. Instead underdevelopment (or put in other words, poverty) is the product of the internal contradictions of capitalism. The contradictions of the capitalist system have *"generated underdevelopment"* in the *"peripheral satellites"* and economic development in *"the metropolitan centers"* through three internal contradictions of capitalism. (Gunder 1969: 3)

The first contradiction is the expropriation/appropriation of economic surplus, based on Marx's analysis of capitalism and following Paul Baran's development of the theory. Along Baran's lines, economic surplus involves the *"actual"* surplus which is saved and invested, but also a *"potential"* surplus which is not available because the monopolistic structure of capitalism prevents its production or luxury consumption appropriates or wastes that surplus where it is produced. Expropiation and appropiation of surplus is a structural exploitative relation where the metropolises exploit the periphery in a continuing chain from the centre to the farthest periphery; the result is

economic development for the few and underdevelopment for the many. (Gunder 1969: 6-8) The second contradiction is the centralization of the capitalist system, where development and underdevelopment generate each other and the satellite economies become increasingly dependent on the metropolis. (Gunder 1969: 8-11) This is the structure and world-system of colonialism, and as the Zambians witness, it is very difficult in the world capitalist system for an underdeveloped country to achieve and maintain the rank of an economically developed country.

The third contradiction, which today is resulting in growing economic, ecological, political and social crises in the whole world, is the continuity and ubiquity of the capitalist system and its essential structure. (Gunder 1969: 12-13) This is a highly problematic aspect of the contradictions of capitalism, and Ramón Grosfoguel has criticized Gunder Frank for believing that a system that operates on a world scale could be transformed *"by privileging the control or administration of the nation-state"*. Grosfoguel also points in the direction of the development of a foreign policy of the working-class civil society: *"Collective agencies in the periphery need a global scope"*. (Moraña et al. 2008: 321, 322) I would also consider as an aspect of the transformational process driven by the working-class civil society the current "left turn" of politics in almost entire South America and the new institutional expressions that it is taking (such as UNASUR, ALBA, TeleSUR, Banco del Sur).

2.5. Internal colonialism

In 1960s, while Gunder Frank was writing from Chile, the Mexican sociologist Pablo González Casanova explained the Latin American status quo as *"internal colonialism"* – as the continuity of the cultural, political and economic practices established by colonialism. (Ticona 2005: 139) Here the concept of coloniality is applied to the internal structure of the former colonies. González Casanova and other Mexican sociologists of 1960s-1970s have influenced the Bolivian discussion considerably, first through Fausto Reinaga and later through other authors such as Silvia Rivera. (Ticona 2005: 139)

According to González Casanova, the colonial societies tend to be plural, consisting of separate cultures who live among themselves. When the colonial state becomes independent, the international or internal structure of the country does not change overnight. Above all they conserve the dual or plural character of the society, with the type of relations that is similar to the one that took place during the colonial period. (Ticona 2005: 149)

Like Gunder Frank, González Casanova applies the concepts of metropolis and periphery, but within a country instead of in reference to the global system. While in the metropolies life is more equal and free from prejudices, in the peripheries (the internal colonies) prejudice, discrimination and all kinds of exploitation flourish. The difference in comparison to international colonialism is that some of the members of the indigenous communities can escape physically and culturally from the internal colonies, but few reach that social mobility. (Ticona 2005: 142)

Internal colonialism manifests in the unfavourable trade relations between the metropolitan and the peripheric areas. The exploitation is also racially or culturally conditioned: one part of the population exploits the other, giving those ”others” (the indigenous) less salary for the same work, exploiting the specially indigenous industries or excersising other forms of social discrimination. (Ticona 2005: 143) The condition of a colony means that there is a monopoly that the metropolitan area excersises – an economic and cultural monopoly, that holds the periphery in control. The colony is integrated into the economy of the metropolis in terms of the interests of the metropolis. (Ticona 2005: 146-147) As the economy of the colony is designed – imposed – by the interests of the metropolis, it becomes disciplined into specialization on one predominant product. While the metropolis becomes more and more affluent, the colony is kept in the same conditions as ever, and thus inequality grows. (Ticona 2005: 148)

Internal colonialism differs from other forms of domination and exploitation by the historical characteristic that it has to do with the exploitation of one kind of a civilization by another kind of a civilization (io. in the case of Bolivia, between the civilization of European heritage and the indigenous civilizations). Internal colonialism also has similarities with the urban-rural relation of dominion and exploitation in the traditional societies, but again the cultural heterogeneity is different and the separation and discrimination on the basis of race or culture is more pronounced. It does not have to do with simply a higher social class and a lower social class, but rather of two peoples, which both have their internal structures of social classes. (Ticona 2005: 150-151)

Finally, González Casanova argues that since the notion of internal colonialism refers to a structural condition of the society, the concept can be applied to policies that accelerate processes of *”decolonization”* that are not only external, but internal. For this purpose it would be possible to create *”specific instruments – infrastructural, economic, political and educational”*. Also it will be possible to use the concept as a basis for a social struggle of political and revolutionary movements which *”go beyond the concepts of racial integration”*. (Ticona 2005: 153)

In the notion of two civilizations, González Casanova introduces the cultural aspect, which Grosfoguel criticizes dependency theory has underestimated, leading to an economic reductionism that fails to notice the nuances and the complexities of the processes. (Moraña et al. 2008: 326)

2.6. Education as liberation from dependency and alienation

How do these issues of the modern world-system and internal colonialism apply to the field of education? As can be seen in some of the wordings of Law 070 and as confirmed by the ex-Minister of Education Magdalena Cajías in the two interviews I had with her, there is a particular Latin American educator, who has influenced the pedagogical approach of Law 070 and also had direct experience of working on the decolonization of education in national level in an African country. Paulo Freire, who developed educational projects in Brazil and Chile in 1950s-1970s and later in 1970s in Guinea-Bissau, has written about decolonizing, socialistic education as ”liberating” education.

According to Freire, the cultural values of the colonized were repressed *”and in their place the taste of the dominant metropolitan class was imposed.”* But there were moments when the colonized rejected some of the aspects of the colonial education and *”assumed their own history”*, which according to Freire would be a direction towards *”the decolonizing of mentality”*. This implies a radical transformation of the educational system, which also requires a structural political transformation, which in turn demans increased production, because there needs to be also material incentives for change. (Freire 1978: 14) Production becomes an important issue related to the transformation of education. Education needs to attend to giving the workers (or future workers) *”an understanding of the process of work itself”* - not just forming skilled production workers but facilitating an understanding of work as the creation of history. (Freire 1978: 15)

On the contrary to such an understanding, the capitalist mode of production imposes an alienation from the social consciousness, as argued by Karl Marx. Education that serves a capitalist system seeks to hide the alienating character of the system and pretends to become *”mere transference of know-how, seen as neutral.”* (Freire 1978: 109) The alienating education produces what Freire calls *”the culture of silence”* and such a culture imposes a *”pre-digested reality”*. The culture of silence is the result of the structural relations between the metropolis and the colonial peripheries, who were educated by the metropolis to pacify them. The fundamental theme for the periphery becomes

"the conquest of its right to a voice". (Freire 1988: vii-viii, 3-4, 32-33)

The pedagogy that silences the learners and places them under a pre-digested view of reality Freire calls *"the banking concept of education"*, that is, education where the teacher narrates a content and the student memorizes it mechanically. In such an education, the role of the student is simply to receive, file and store the *"deposits"* of content from the teacher. (Freire 1974: 58) Instead Freire encourages *"the development of a critical attitude* in relation to *the object and not a discourse by the educator* about *the object."* (Freire 1978: 11)

If lack of education puts a person in a position of dependency, the subject point of view is to struggle against marginalization and against being treated as a thing. Education for such persons *"oppressed within the system"* becomes *"cultural action for freedom"*, in which *"the learner assumes the role of knowing subject in dialogue with the educator."* (Freire 1988: 11-12) The search for knowledge in dialogue makes of education a synthesis between the educator's *"maximally systematized knowing"* and the learners' *"minimally systematized knowing"*. (Freire 1988: 17; Freire 1978: 11) More importantly, in the struggle against domestication and conditioning, questioning becomes an essential part of liberating education. Questioning, problematization becomes the basis of *"an authentic act of knowing"* and self-consciousness. (Freire 1988: v-vii) As the learners proceed in their questioning with the help of the educator, they reach a more and more critical view of reality, which Freire calls *"conscientization"*. Conscientization transforms the learners from passive apathy to persons with an active transformational project. (Freire 1988: 21-22) Conscientization is very close to, or the same thing as Gramsci's concept of developing awareness of hegemony and developing unity of theory and action. *"Only beings who can reflect upon the fact that they are determined are capable of freeing themselves"*, writes Freire. (Freire 1988: 28)

Speaking of marginalized, in particular illiterate, people Freire considers that they are overcome by the myths of the culture of silence, including the myth of their own *"natural inferiority"*, which prevents them from realizing that their right to have a voice has been taken from them. The dominated have introjected the cultural myths of the dominator. Such myths should be expelled through cultural action and ultimately cultural revolution. (Freire 1988: 13, 17, 33)

Not only myths, but also the values and the life style of the metropolitan civilization are introjected by the dependent periphery, which results in duality, ambiguity in the dependent society, *"both*

attracted by and rejecting the metropolitan society." The dependent society has no authentic voice, but it merely echoes the metropolis. Freire, in 1970s, called Latin American societies *"closed societies"*, because of their dependency and the culture of silence. (Freire 1988: 33-35)

Dependency leads to a superstitious frame of mind, since one expects that everything depends on larger powers beyond one's control. Freire interprets the fertility rites of the Latin American peasants from such a point of view. (Freire 1988: 36)

Infrastructural changes produce *"cracks"* in the structure of the dependent society, which enters a period of transition, where the silent masses begin to express themselves. The initial transitional stage is naive and led by populist leaders, which leads to the awakening of a critical consciousness. Paulo Freire wrote about this during the period of military regimes in Latin America and he notes that at this point of the awakening of a critical consciousness, the traditional elites in Latin America turned to the military coup as a method of staying in control. The re-imposition of the culture of silence can thereafter be overcome through a process of cultural revolution, Freire proposes. (Freire 1988: 37-45)

However, instead of a cultural revolution where critical consciousness increases, popular consciousness may develop another way: distorting into fanatic or *"irrational"* consciousness. Irrationality leads to massification, a mechanical way of life and consciousness, where modern myths of technology and mass culture replace the earlier superstitions. Consciousness remains pacified and un-reflective. (Freire 1988: 49-50) Bureaucratization and the mythification of technology are typical to this kind of alienation, and educators (who are learning) and learners (who are educating) need to make a constant effort for conscientization, refusing to be bureaucratized. (Freire 1978: 12, Freire 1988: 48-49)

Cultural action for freedom is committed to *"the exposure of […] myths and ideologies"* scientifically. Freire refers here to Louis Althusser, who says that cultural action for freedom must undertake a *"rational and rigorous critique [of ideology]."* People are to *"grasp with their minds the truth of their reality."* (Freire 1988: 46-47) Freire adheres thus to a modern point of view, a modern reflexivity, although it is not the capitalist modernity that Giddens talks of, but a socialist modernity.

Freire's contribution to the discussion on decolonizing education is very valuable, but also a more

up-to-date view is needed.

2.7. The production of culture and the education of persons

While Althusser and other neo-Marxists viewed economic classes as the determining factor in society, since 1980s a more diverse view has been developing, based on discoveries from cultural studies. (Levinson & Holland 1996: 7) Many new insights on modern schooling and education can be drawn from the writings of the anthropologists Bradley A. Levinson and Dorothy Holland, who together with Douglas E. Foley edited a 1996 collection of ethnographies on modern schooling in various countries and provided it with a theoretical framework based on the concept of *”the cultural production of the educated person”.* Levinson and Holland do not claim that the new insights invalidate Marxism, but rather see cultural studies as *”analogous and complementary to”* Marxism. (Levinson & Holland 1996: 12)

With their publication, Levinson, Holland and Foley seek to *”chart a new direction for ”critical” educational research”* and reach a global point of view by introducing studies from various non-European cultures in order to challenge what they call *”the Eurocentrism of most prior critical research”*. (Levinson & Holland 1996: 2) However, Levinson and Holland do draw on current Western developments in critical educational studies and anthropology; in this they admit that they have actively appropriated Western ideals and discourses on equality in education, considering that equality should be extended to both access to education and curricular knowledge and representation. (Levinson & Holland 1996: 4) I share this consciously teleological approach towards the ideal of equality in education and consider its realization as a political priority that should override cultural prejudices and economic calculations.

Levinson and Holland start by pointing out that modern schooling is part of the project of the modern nation-state and capitalist labor formation. The knowledges and disciplines that are taught in schools may therefore bind the students to established systems of inequality (as proposed in the 1970s by Louis Althusser and the ”reproduction theory”), while on the other hand possibly offering them new opportunities. But what is especially interesting in Levinson and Holland's point of view is their emphasis on schools as sites of cultural politics, where local priorities and practices sometimes compete with the national agenda. (Levinson & Holland 1996: 1)

As anthropologists (and as researchers conscious of Pierre Bourdieu's arguments about the diversity

of ”cultural capital”), Levinson and Holland are attentive to the fact that the parameters which define who can be accepted as an educated person are always culturally specific and relative. Distinct societes and cultures as well as ethnic groups and microcultures within societies all provide training to their members and sets of criteria for identifying the educated, knowledgeable person. Thus a complex field of research reveals itself, including various links between local cultural practices and the community, the region, the state, and the economy, as well as diverse possible lines of contestation of the definitions of the educated person, among them gender, age, ethnicity and class. (Levinson & Holland 1996: 2, 5-7)

Levinson and Holland's theoretical insights help me to have a critical look on the Bolivian process, on the policies of the government, the educational institutions, teachers, students and parents. But here ”critical” does not mean rigidly rationalist or Eurocentric, nor does it necessarily mean to dismiss certain cultural expressions as essentially superstitious. In this, a particularly useful point of view is the concept of ”cultural production”.

Levinson and Holland remind us of Paul Willis' 1981 study, which shaked the belief in reproduction theory, according to which students are passive victims of the educational system. Willis showed that students are active participants capable of resisting established practices and constructing their own subjectivities and their own cultural forms. (Levinson & Holland 1996: 9) Thus the concept of ”cultural production” means not a bleak image of a factory-like production facility called the school, which produces copies of the same hegemonically conditioned ”educated person”. Instead, in critical educational studies cultural production is understood as an ongoing social process that occurs beyond the limits of the school and can have its own parameters that are not only those based on class structures as in the Marxist point of view. Above I have considered that there are diverse possible lines of contestation of the definitions of the educated person and among such lines of contestation are gender, age, ethnicity and class. However, as Levinson and Holland point out, none of these categories are static borders in the process of identity-formation, but rather the bases of identity are historical, political, contingent and fluid. Since the processual nature of cultural production is emphasized, we also become aware that this social process that responds to *”movements, structures and discourses beyond the school”* is reciprocal and thus also simultaneously constitutes movements, structures and discourses. (Levinson & Holland 1996: 11-12)

Levinson and Holland thus move to a view on *”culture as a continual process of creating meaning”*

and a view on *”schools as sites for the formation of subjectivities through the production and consumption of cultural forms.”* (Levinson & Holland 1996: 13-14) Students, teachers, parents, even administrators of schooling, in short, anyone who is related to the system of schooling are viewed as active agents who creatively occupy the space of education and schooling. Each of these actors moves according to understandings and strategies that have to do with diverse frames of reference and thus the researcher's point of view becomes not solely school-based, but rather a historical point of view. Finally, and although here we focus on schooling, ”the cultural production of the educated person” is a concept that applies also to the production of other kinds of ”educated persons” in other ambits, and to the culture that those educated persons produce. (Levinson & Holland 1996: 14-15)

It is clear that Freire and the other Marxist-inspired theories above complement Levinson and Holland's work, as they themselves write. While simply an economic or reproduction theory -based view is not sufficient to face the multiplicity of forms of cultural production and the identity politics of today, neither is it possible to simply ignore the weight of the harsh realities of the legacy of colonialism.

2.8. Dilemmas

The theories outlined above broaden the perspectives on the transformation process of the Bolivian society and system of schooling. It is revealed that modernity's accelerated and often violent institutional transformation in an increasingly interconnected planet has been woven as a net of dependencies. Cultural action and the strengthening of a working-class civil society are proposed as means for liberation; the necessity of a conscious hegemony that enables development towards an era of organic freedom is affirmed.

Andrew Canessa wrote in 2004 that in Bolivia the indigenous are still considered backward and less *”civilised”* and discriminated against, and the schools are still reproducing those prejudices. (Canessa 2004: 188, 192, 199) Similarly in 2004, the indigenous federations claimed that when the state has appropriated the proposals of the indigenous, the purpose has not been to develop those proposals, but to depolitizice them and to pacify the indigenous. (CONAMAQ et al. 2004: 9) Since 2004, a new government, a new constitution and now a new educational reform have been established; a new hegemony has been configured. Changes are happening, at least to an extent, and changes lead to tensions.

As Law 070 is being launched under the vision of a movement towards communitarian socialism, there are various tensions: between standardization and diversity, between professionalism and participation, between individual interests and community interests, between diverse societal structures, each with their cultures, values and goals. Within the field of tension between traditional and modern orientations, hybrid interpretations of the goal of education could arise, resulting in something quite different than intended by a policy that, besides, is the result of various voices that may not always agree among themselves. On the other hand, both the ethnicity-based, Marxist and other nationally decreed orientations could seem alien, irrelevant or even repulsive to some of the stakeholders and those orientations could in practice be questioned or ignored. It might also be possible that Giddens is right and modernity is essentially capitalistic, and therefore attempts to create new kinds of modernity or socialist communitarian schooling are doomed to failure. To put it more lightly, all of the aspirations of Law 070 might not be fulfilled due to the overwhelming power of dependency patterns both in economic or institutional processes and in people's minds.

All of these dilemmas need to be considered against a historical background. Let us therefore proceed with a narrative on the history of Bolivia in relation to my research questions and thereafter discuss the present discourses from contemporary texts and my empirical research.

3. Historical background

3.1. Before the Republic

The historical information available to us of the geographical area of current Bolivia extends back in time at least to the twelfth century. The Bolivian highlands and valleys were dominated by the Aymaras from the end of the twelfth century onwards. According to Herbert Klein, who bases his research on the archeological record and the oral traditions recorded in the Spanish and mestizo chronicles, these were *"rather warlike and aggressive"* kingdoms *"organized in a complex amalgam of corporate and class structures."* (Klein 2003: 14) At the base of these hierarchical structures were found the kin groupings known as ayllus - each ayllu divided into an "upper" part (nobles) and a "lower" part (commoners). The pre-Columbian ayllu was not a single residential community, confined to a single space like most of the Indian communities of the highlands today are, but a broader kin group, whose members could hold land in varied locations and ecological zones. Thus what was then known as ayllu was quite different from the later dominant form. (Klein

2003: 22)

In the fifteenth century, the Quechua-speaking Incas spread from the area of present Peru to the Bolivian highlands and subjected the fragmented Aymara kingdoms under their rule. Resistance to the Inca hegemony led to a reaction of more Inca influence and colonization, due to which there are so many Quechua-speaking people in Bolivia today. However, the social structures and the language of the Aymara survived. (Klein 2003: 17-18)

The Inca state appears to have been a kind of a communist state, as Fausto Reinaga later would announce enthusiastically. (Reinaga 1971: 29-31) Inca communism was in principle rather totalitarian, as private property was prohibited and the state coordinated everything according to rational principles. However, the Inca empire in practice was a mosaic of diverse social and political structures of varied conquered peoples and communities, simply under the centralized control of the Inca emperor. (Klein 2003: 18-19) Håkan Arvidsson points out that those who left Europe to conquer the New World were often extreme individualists and soldiers of fortune, who were ready to do anything to gain fortunes and respect. (Arvidsson & Kruse 1999: 229) Thus the contrast between the founders of the European colonial culture and the indigenous peoples of the Andes appears as a polarization between collectivism and individualism.

The Spanish wished to take advantage of the Inca methods of indirect rule, and therefore at first they left the social structures of the indigenous communities more or less intact. The Spaniard in charge of a "grant" of labor taxes in a certain area was also required to acculturate the indigenous into Spanish norms and pay the church authorities for religious instruction in the area. (Klein 2003: 34, 43) That is, the Spanish patron of certain lands had the obligation to Christianize and to ”civilize” the indigenous living in those lands, showing them ”good example” and assimilating them to Spanish norms, and in turn for this ”favour” the indigenous had to pay tribute to the patron. (Canessa 2006: 50) Later, to limit the power of the big patrons and to keep the local Spanish nobles under the crown's control, the indigenous communities were forced into a more fragmented and permanently rooted model of fixed local organization. (Klein 2003: 35-36, Canessa 2006: 51, Tenenbaum 1996: 364)

In the integration to the Spanish monetary economy, the mechanisms of the expropriation of surplus were being modernized and the modern capitalist world system was being established already during the colonial era. The corresponding internal colonialism was also established from the

outset. As the Mexican anthropologist Guillermo Bonfil Batalla reminds us, while the Europeans in general considered their society superior to the others during the period (and, by the way, often still do), the case of the Spanish was especially strong, due to the fresh memory of the war of reconquest against the Moors. European civilization was considered to have the right to dominate other civilizations (which were not necessarily even considered civilizations) because of the obligation to disseminate everywhere the Christian faith. The ”other” was consequently seen as an inferior being, and it was doubtful whether the ”other” had an immortal soul – in other words, it was doubtful whether the ”other” was a human being at all. This point of view expanded to become an affirmation of European superiority in all of the areas of life. The culture of the indigenous in Latin America was thus completely denied recognition. (Ticona 2005: 169-171)

To understand the background of the identity of the traditional Bolivian ruling elite, it is useful to notice that Christianization had also its political aspect: the Spanish king supported the establishment of the Catholic religion strongly as a power which was more loyal to the crown than the Spanish nobles in the colonies, who had started to get alienated from the motherland. (Klein 2003: 44-46) According to the historian Laura Escobari, this conflict between the secular oligarchy and the church is a theme that runs through the entire Bolivian history with the consequence that the church is much weaker a power in Bolivia than in other Latin American countries. (personal discussion at the Historical Archive of Universidad Mayor de San Andres, March 2011) The church and the Spanish nobles were in any case cooperating in the effort to ”civilize” the ”pagans”.

During the entire colonial period and also during the 19th Century, the indigenous peoples in the area now known as Bolivia lived mostly in the countryside and to a large extent maintained their distinct culture in spite of the lack of recognition and the economic and cultural pressures from the metropolis. (Klein 2003: 41, 45-46; Tenenbaum 1996: 365) The traditional education of the new generations among the indigenous peoples was directly related to the activities of domestic, productive and military life. The epistemological frame of reference was a cosmovision closely related to the phenomena of nature. There was no specialized space of education, as happens in modern schooling, but specific spaces were organized for exercises and exams. (Yapu 2009: 16)

The aspects of traditional society that Giddens listed all apply to the traditional indigenous communities of Bolivia. Life in the countryside was not always easy, however, and migration to the towns begun early. The indigenous became quickly also the majority of the urban working class and in the towns they assumed many of the Spanish cultural forms. As *”concubinage and illegitimacy*

became the norm" the racial characteristics began mixing in the towns and therefore already during the Spanish colonial era the terms *"indian"*, *"cholo"* (mestizo) or *"white"* began losing their racial basis and became rather cultural or *"social caste"* categories. (Klein 2003: 50)

3.2. Early Republic - 1825-1880

Several Latin American states gained independence from Spain following the political disarray in the Spanish empire due to Napoleon's invasion of Spain in 1808. Bolivia gained independence in 1825. (Klein 2003: 89-101; Tenenbaum 1996: 366-367)

The heritage of colonialism was in 19th Century Bolivia expressed in the power structure of the society and this in turn was reflected in the educational practices. The national society was ruled by the descendants of the Spanish colonialists, the *creoles*, who saw themselves as the inheritors of the country. The national institutions were organized with the Spanish language and the learning of Spanish was limited to the creoles and the highest layer of the indigenous societies, the *caciques*, who continued acting as a middle strata, a connector between the creole society and the indigenous societies.

As before the independence, the function of the indigenous majority in the 19th Century national society was as agricultural and mining sector workers, without political participation and in poor conditions of health. The Bolivian society of that period was structured economically, socially and politically to serve the creole oligarchy, who controlled the mining industry and the large haciendas. This situation was a continuous argument between the two civilizations, as the indigenous communities struggled to maintain their lands and their communitarian social organization, and the oligarchy sought to expand their economic power and to discipline the "unproductive" indigenous peoples. Accordingly, any education given by the ruling class to the subordinate indigenous masses was directed towards shaping them as manual workers. (Klein 2003: 121; Choque & Quisbert 2006: 12, 20; Soria 1992: 42-43)

Many of the caciques and their sons were given education by the creoles and they were converted to Christianity, two things that usually went hand in hand. It was considered important to inculcate the caciques with the values and forms of the Spanish society so that they would develop a nationalist identity and assimilate themselves to the established dominant social system. However, already the first president of Bolivia, Antonio José de Sucre set out at once to limit the power of the church,

which meant that Bolivia became a religiously much more tolerant country than many of the other Latin American countries, more in line with modern ”open reflexivity” and liberal capitalism. In 19th and 20th Century as before, neither did efforts of evangelization manage to eliminate the old gods of the indigenous peoples. (Klein 2003: 109; Yapu 2009: 17; Choque & Quisbert 2006: 42-46)

The creoles, that is, the members of the metropolitan civilization, who lived in the cities and the large estates (*haciendas*) and controlled the feudal agricultural order and the industries, were according to Mario Yapu the only ones who had access to the secondary schools and the universities, where lawyers and doctors were trained. (Yapu 2009: 17) The first university in Bolivia had been founded by the Jesuits already in 1664. (Tenenbaum 1996: 366) It had later become a secular institution that trained especially lawyers, strengthening the secular orientation of the ruling class. (Klein 2003: 81-82) However, Roberto Choque Canqui mentions that also the sons of the caciques could in some cases reach higher education in cooperation with the Catholic church and thereafter they also participated in societal discussions. Here can be seen the limited but existing social mobility within the framework of internal colonialism, that González Casanova talks of. The secondary school teachers were exclusively creoles even until the national revolution of 1952, which tells us something of the limits of that social mobility. (Yapu 2009: 17; Choque & Quisbert 2006: 42, 47-48)

Rolando Barral Zegarra has written about the ideological background of the castellanizing education. *”The indian has been seen as a problem, not as a potentiality”*, he writes (Barral 2009: 146), reminding us that the racist mindset is often similar though the cases in question may be different. In Europe, just one hundred years ago solutions were sought to the ”Jewish problem”; in North America, the founding fathers of the USA considered the peaceful coexistence of ”whites” and ”blacks” as an impossibility, proposing that it would be best to transport the negro slaves back to Africa[2]. Today in Europe gypsies are viewed as a problem, instead of considering what this ”problem” tells to us about our society and the way we coexist.

According to Barral the castellanizing assimilation meant that the ”dirty” peasant Indians should be ”civilized”, urbanized and Westernized. Unless the assimilation was successful, the indigenous was a problem that may be not only forcibly oppressed but also eliminated. (Barral 2009: 146-147) This is rather logical taken in account the earlier mentioned belief that it was doubtful whether pagans even had a soul – that they even were human beings at all.

2 See, for a well-known example, Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia.*

3.3. The reign of social darwinism

Until 1880, the independent Bolivia was ruled by military governments which basically adhered to a liberalist ideology, until in 1880 a civilian democracy (with limited voting rights, in practice excluding the indigenous) was formed. (Klein 2003: 89-143) Gonzalo Rojas Ortuste notes accurately that the ruling political parties of the period 1880-1935 might have called themselves ”conservative”, ”liberal” and ”republican”, but all of them shared the same ideology of social darwinism. (Rojas 1994: 34) Creole authors, politicians and educators were followers of this ideological current that was fashionable in Europe at that time and whose most famous theorist, Herbert Spencer, wrote that humanity and human societies evolve on the basis of a natural selection, competing for survival on the basis of ”the law of the fittest” and on the basis of what ”the superior race” imposes. (Lozada 2010: 39, Soria 1992: 52)

The social darwinist creoles of the late 19th Century considered the indigenous social forms, especially the ayllu, as an outmoded, anti-modern institution, which obstructed progress and which therefore should be rooted out. (Brienen 2002: 622) It seems to me that the ayllu as a collectivist form did not fit together with the European individualism, which obviously was taken to be an expression of the strength and independence of the European. Part of the project of modernization was therefore a land reform, which was to cancel the ayllu and its collectivist ownership of lands, and redistribute the lands as private properties of the members of the communities. (Ticona 2010: 48-49, Soria 1992: 42-43)

What then happened in practice with the land reform may or may not have been the actual intention of the reform, but was certainly coinciding with the ”law of the fittest”: These individual properties of the indigenous were through fraud or force bought by the creole large landowners. (Brienen 2002: 646; Klein 2003: 147) In the big creole-owned farms, the haciendas, the indigenous now landless workers formed again communities, and this way the indigenous communal culture was sustained, though in an even more subordinate, powerless mode. (Klein 2003: 146-147) Also, as taxation became individual instead of communal, the caciques lost their position as tax collectors and the state no longer recognized the communal authorities. (Rojas 1994: 33-34)

By early 20th Century, almost all of the best farming lands were under the ownership of very few creole families, and the remaining free indigenous communities lived in marginal areas. The masses

of the indigenous living in the haciendas were subjected to slave-like conditions as servants for life, without salary. (Lozada 2010: 30, 34; Klein 2003: 146-147)

In the beginning of the 20th Century, the new creole Liberalist government of Bolivia saw ”the Indian Problem” most of all as a problem of integration into the construction of a modern nation-state. Not only were the indigenous clinging to their age-old communal ways, but they were also still reproducing colonial religious and social traditions, which appeared shameful to the ”democratic” modernizers. (Brienen 2002: 621-622) The liberal focus was positivistic, urban and cosmopolitan, contrary to the earlier dominant group: the colonial, traditional, rural oligarchy of big haciendas and southern silver mines. While earlier on the state had been the watchdog of the oligarchy, the free-market liberalists wanted to impulse new industrial and financial initiatives and separate the state from local, stagnant interest groups and the church. This orientation later made it possible that North American influence in Bolivia grew to the extent that it has often been considered as a politics of imperialism. (Lozada 2010: 31-33)

Education was seen as the primary means to avert the threat of the ”Indian Masses”; to restrain their supposed aggression and to integrate them to the Spanish-speaking social order. But education to the indigenous was also proposed as liberation from ignorance perpetuated by the corrupt members of the earlier dominant group; big landowners, local administrators and Catholic priests. (Brienen 2002: 623-624) Thus, while the Liberals did break most of their earlier promises of ”democratization” to the indigenous and in fact often again sided with the big landowners as well as the new businessmen and industrialists, the educational reform by the Liberal Party did fulfill some of their promises. (Calderón 1996: 111-112)

3.4. The formation of a national pedagogy

In 1846, 10 percent of the population of Bolivia received some schooling. In 1900 the figure was not more than 16 percent. (Klein 2003: 148) There was no professional teacher training program, few schools and little supplies, and there was no national curriculum or textbooks. Besides, during the last 25 years of the 19th Century, the existing schools had been delegated to the municipalities or privatized, leaving only primary education as the responsibility of the state. The Liberals wanted to change all that in order to form a national, hegemonic conscience – and for this, it was necessary to start from the formation of teachers. (Brienen 2002: 624; Lozada 2010: 25; Yapu 2006a: 2-3)

Blithz Lozada writes that the formation of a teacher training institute was not only a part of the national politics, but a similar process of the formation of national identities through education was happening at that moment also in other countries of Latin America. The new teacher training institutes in Latin America followed the French model of *"École Normal"*, although also the ideas of John Dewey and local authors of the different countries were influential. Since the French model was in vogue, for founding the first teacher training institutes in Bolivia (1909 and 1917), the government contracted a Belgian pedagogue, Georges Rouma. (Lozada 2010: 35-36, 39)

Dewey's humanistic approach of experiential education and learning for life coincides with Rouma's efforts of eradication of scholasticism and memorizing of theories that were not coinciding with lived experience. Rouma sought that the future teachers would develop a scientific spirit and an approach to teaching as an art. The teacher should be dedicated to their work with an authentic vocation and be a disciplined, exemplar moral authority, an example of work and sacrifice for one's country. (Lozada 2010: 35-45)

The national pedagogy thus developed, was in spite of its experimental nature considered as too formal and academic, especially when applied to the indigenous. In 1940s Ernest Maes, the director of operations of SCIDE[3], evaluated that the problem was that Rouma's mission imported the Belgian system to Bolivia as it was, and this meant too much emphasis on humanities, *"an encyclopedic curriculum"*, which was not what Bolivia needed. (Brienen 2002: 631 footnotes 82 & 83) The most famous Bolivian contemporary critic of the system was Franz Tamayo, a brilliant writer, who in a series of 55 editorials in the national newspaper *El Diario* promoted the creation of a *"national pedagogy"* that applies the culture of the indigenous to the field of their education. Blithz Lozada calls Tamayo's approach as the promotion of a fairy-tale, where the indigenous past is glorified and the struggle is between the "good" indigenous and the "bad" parasitic creoles. (Lozada 2010: 11-21)

Meanwhile in the universities, dependence on foreign capital became evident in the lack of scientific progress, as Herbert Klein writes. The natural sciences did not advance significantly in Bolivian universities due to the lack of infrastructure, and so it is still today. The Bolivian industries have in many aspects remained dependent on foreign engineers. (Klein 2003: 151)

3 *Servicio Cooperativo Interamericano de Educación* was a development assistance programme by the US Ministry of Education, functioning on bilateral basis in Latin American countries until the establishment of USAID.

While Tamayo criticized the government, the thinking within the government had already started to change, as can be seen from the memo of Juan Bautista Saavedra from 1910, which states that the rural schools should not teach just intellectual culture, but form educated workers that are useful to the nation. The rural school should not be a place of alphabetization, Saavedra even contends. (Yapu 2006a: 3) This establishment of a difference between the urban and the rural means that the vision of a completely homogeneous schooling system was already being abandoned. The idea behind the first state-initiated form of indigenous education in the first two decades of the 20th Century, the rotating schools (escuelas ambulantes) appears to have been to undo the ayllu and the provincial mentality, but later the strategy and the focus of the integration effort was changed to an economic integration, where the indigenous culture is maintained as separate from urban culture. It was considered safer to keep the indigenous in their ”natural habitat”, both because it was believed that the cities were not suitable to the indigenous and because the indigenous were not wanted in the cities. The ideas of biculturalism and separate education became later enshrined in the 1919 Decree on Education for the Indigenous Race[4], decreed under the leadership of the same Bautista Saavedra as the President of the Republic. (Brienen 2002: 626, 640, 647)

3.5. Indigenous education

The primary schools in the provinces were until the 20th Century concentrated in towns and villages, often far from the indigenous communities and the haciendas. (Brienen 2002: 624) They were not, of course, meant for the indigenous, but for the provincial elites. (Calderón 1996: 112) Herbert Klein even talks of the *”absence”* of public education in the countryside *”prior to the 1930s”*. (Klein 2003: 147-148) Klein's statement is perhaps a bit exaggerated, but if by ”public” is meant schools built and sustained by the state, it is certainly not far from the mark. The failed attempt of rotating schools 1907-1913, where a teacher had to journey miles by foot between various communities to impart them with elementary teaching with a ridiculously low salary – even carrying their teaching materials with them – lead to the need of founding fixed schools, which might work. However, even that did not appeal to many teachers, and the attempts of founding teacher-training institutions for rural teachers only led to the trained teachers finding occupation in urban schools. Again and again the early 20th Century governments had to admit their failure in developing a rural education system. (Brienen 2002: 624-626, Soria 1992: 51-52)

As we have seen, then (and this tendency continued until the 1950s), the early 20th Century

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governments did speak a lot about the rural education, but the state budget did not actually have much to give to rural education. The state actually constructed very few schools during the first decades of the 20th Century. However, the amount of state-recognized rural schools grew from practically zero in 1900 to about one thousand schools by 1950s. (Brienen 2002: 616-620)

If the dominant civilization wanted to reproduce their culture through education, the indigenous saw in education a means to defend their forms of cultural production and reproduction. Knowledge appeared *"as a weapon of resistance and liberation"* against the expansion of the haciendas and the abuses by the provincial and local authorities, as Raúl Calderón Jemio writes. (Calderón 1996: 123) Soria writes that schooling was for them a defense of their *"ancestral forms of socio-economic organization"*. (Soria 1992: 59) However, I would put a questionmark on that, as it reminds me a lot of the modernizers' accusation that the indigenous were stuck in the past and clinging to some particular forms, incapable of social change. What is certain, is that defense against abuses, exploitation and marginalization was something that the indigenous communities must have felt as a corporal, existential, pressing need. Integration to the national legal system was a strategy of nonviolent struggle instead of the violent path, which was also taken at times, (Soria 1992: 46, Rojas 1994: 33-34) but mostly only provoked even more violent reactions from the adversary.

In practice, instead of opposing the indigenous ayllus, already in 1901 the Liberal Ministry of Justice and Public Instruction gave an indigenous community protection and help in maintaining primary schools that the community had created themselves, with their own resources. (Calderón 1996: 118) In the following years, such requests flooded the Ministry – the communities were asking for permission to start schools in their communities or haciendas, for official recognition of their schools and for protection against the intimidation by the landlords and local authorities, who opposed the schools. (Calderón 1996: 119-123; Brienen 2002: 618) After the failure of the rotating schools, the state declared that any community who could find a teacher for their school, was allowed to build their own school and those schools would even receive all the necessary materials (books, desks, blackboard) from the state. It occurred then during the following decades that the state was unable to fulfill that promise, as hundreds of indigenous communities decided to build their own school, gathering the funds and the workforce through their traditional communal forms of social organization. (Brienen 2002: 625; Soria 1992: 68)

As the local authorities, neighbours and landlords in various occasions obstructed the construction of the ”subversive” schools, harassing teachers and arresting students and their parents, the

communities turned to the help of the indigenous movement Delegated Caciques (”*Caciques Apoderados*”), which had been founded in 1912 to struggle for the restitution of communal lands. The movement was not very successful in the restitution of the lands, but it provided important legal help against abuses and this also was the case in relation to the abuses faced by the community schools. (Brienen 2002: 627, 630, 646; Soria 1992: 44-45, 47, 60-62)

But turning to the hand of law for help against abuses means turning to the state, whose government adhered to social darwinist ideas, according to which the subordinate ”races” such as the indigenous were in their natural place as subordinate. Vitaliano Soria explains this apparent contradiction through the diversity of relations, that the Delegated Caciques made *”with sectors of the opposition, the church, political leaders”*, especially allying themselves with the political opposition and the church. (Soria 1992: 62-63, 68) However, Marten Brienen presents some rather credible critique against this explanation.

Brienen criticizes Soria, Roberto Choque and others for overlooking the fact that unlike the municipal schools, the indigenous schools fell under the direct authority of the Ministry of Education (or whatever it was called) and were the first and only official state institutions in those areas. The schools gave the indigenous communities thus a direct line of communication to the state, and a legal position that was beyond the jurisdiction of the local authorities. Brienen's research through the Ministry archives shows that the Ministry was actively collaborating with the indigenous schools, not only addressing their concerns regarding the abuses by the local authorities, landlords and priests, but also sending the schools relevant information on various kinds of legislation that affected the communities. (Brienen 2002: 644-645)

Soria claims that *”the peoples' educators”* had as their objective to oppose *”the educative proposals of the creole oligarchy”*, but Brienen dismisses this claim by arguing that state policies of ”deculturation” of the indigenous were hardly experienced as a threat by the indigenous, as the state was utterly incapable of putting those policies in practice. The early 20th Century Bolivian state was not even capable of collecting taxes from the countryside or, as mentioned earlier, implementing and overseeing an agrarian reform. (Soria 1992: 41; Brienen 2002: 643) On the contrary, Brienen argues that education and the founding of schools as state institutions in the countryside served both the state and the indigenous communities, which could thus collaborate in increasing the power of both against the power of the rural elites. (Brienen 2002: 645, 648) The opposition between the state and the landlords can also be seen in relation to the 1923 law that made it mandatory for the

landlords to fund the creation of schools in their haciendas, which usually was not put in practice until the indigenous community insisted on it – often against very real threats from the landlords. (Brienen 2002: 619, 646)

As for the curriculum, there certainly were differences of point of view between the state and the indigenous communities, but both converged in the importance of literacy in Spanish. For the indigenous, literacy was important in order to gain direct access to the legal system, without the need of unreliable middlemen. (Brienen 2002: 644) Further, as mentioned earlier, already during 1910s the promotion of a single hegemonic culture by the creole state was replaced by policies promoting instead a society with two separate civilizations – though under the command of the creole-mestizo civilization and its economic, political and cultural priorities.

As the indigenous schools were created by the indigenous themselves, also the teachers came from among them. During the obligatory national military service, conscripts from the indigenous communities had benefited from the literacy and educational projects of the armed forces, and it was these young men who mainly became the teachers of the community schools. This meant that by 1943, 70% of the teachers of these schools had never even finished primary school themselves. (Brienen 2002: 628-629)

The growth of these ”rural private schools” (”*escuelas rurales particulares*”) was especially strong in 1940s – according to the figures of the Ministry of Education, in the year 1945 alone 193 schools were constructed in indigenous communities and 228 on haciendas, in mining camps and in plantations. (Brienen 2002: 619-620)

As Marten Brienen writes, these rural and indigenous schools have, for example by Tristan Platt, been seen as a double-edged sword in the struggle between an expansive state and the indigenous who seek to resist that expansion. (Brienen 2002: 637) That kind of a dichotomy between the state and the indigenous appears rather much like Tamayo's story of the ”good” indigenous struggling against the ”bad” creoles, coupled with Soria's and Choque's way of equating the creoles and the state. It is also compatible with the dichotomy between the modern, capitalist nation-state and the traditional, stagnant communities, which Giddens proposes. But Brienen's research indicates that the historical societal practice cannot always be accurately described through such presuppositions. Brienen proposes instead that the indigenous communities and the state had a common interest in furthering the education of the indigenous, against a common enemy. (Brienen 2002: 647)

The convergence of state and indigenous interests found its most developed expression in the School of Warisata.

3.6. The theory and the practice of the Ayllu-School

The School of Warisata, founded in 1931 in Warisata, in the district of La Paz by the mestizo, state-trained teacher Elizardo Pérez and the peasant and indigenous teacher Avelino Siñani, was a rather special educational project in its time. As the new educational reform in Bolivia, Law 070, is also called the *”Avelino Siñani – Elizardo Pérez Law of Education”*, the educational theory and practice of the School of Warisata could be a rather central issue for this thesis.

Warisata's answer to ”the indigenous problem” included not only the educational aspect of the ”problem”, but also the economic, social and cultural aspects, with an integral approach that was developed during the construction of the experimental project itself. (Salazar 1992: 14) Pérez and Siñani called their school *”the Ayllu-School”* in order to underline the communitarian and cultural aspect of the school and its application of the traditional forms of organization. (Salazar 1992: 18)

Carlos Salazar Mostajo, who was one of the teachers in Warisata, makes an outline of the pedagogy of the school in his 1986 book *La Taika, teoría y práctica de la escuela ayllu*. According to Brienen the best available historical overview about the process of Warisata is the autobiography of Elizardo Pérez, (Brienen 2002: 618) but for our purposes Salazar Mostajo's book is perfectly framed. He outlines the philosophy of the school in terms of four types of integration: *”vertical integration”*, *”horizontal integration”*, *”active integration”* and *”historical integration”*. (Salazar 1992: 18)

Vertical integration means that the different stages of education are seen and conducted as a unified whole, considering the coherence and the continuity of experience. This to me sounds a lot like some of John Dewey's thoughts, which Elizardo Pérez, who had been educated as a teacher by Georges Rouma, certainly would have known. However, Salazar writes that the concept came to Bolivia through José Mariátegui,[5] who referred to Soviet education. (Salazar 1992: 19)

5 During 1930s-1950s among the popular new socialist ideas appeared the "indigenist" Marxism of the Peruvian José Mariátegui, who had reformulated the "indigenous problem" as a problem of exploitation exercised by the social system created by the Spanish and their descendants. (Klein 2003: 184-185) Mariátegui's thoughts are going in the direction later expanded by dependency theory and González Casanova.

Horizontal integration means that from its founding, the Ayllu-School was not a paternalistic and closed institution that is separate from its surroundings, but it was formed through interaction with the people in the surroundings. The cooperation with the surroundings included all aspects of life and the functioning of the school was oriented by a local indigenous council. (Salazar 1992: 20-21) Specific tasks of the school-community were realized through various specific committees, where both the indigenous council, the teachers and the students were represented. (Salazar 1992: 26-27) The role of the teacher was much more modest than in the contemporary model of Rouma (Salazar 1992: 94) and the students who lived at the school premises were in charge of those premises themselves, learning responsibilities under the supervision of the council. (Salazar 1992: 100-101)

Active integration in Salazar's outline of Warisata means that the school attended to *”the transmission of knowledge, technology and modern living”* through three forms of activities, which is what happened in the classroom, in the workshop and in the fields. The three ambits of action were integrated to each other so that the teaching in the classroom was related to what was done in the workshop and in the fields, and vice versa. The result was a ”productive school”, school as a force of production and related to the existing forces of production in the community. (Salazar 1992: 21-22) Pérez criticized the contemporary pedagogy for being ”rhetoricist” and dogmatic, whereas *”[...] life is broad, mobile, engaging, diverse.”*[6] (Pérez in Salazar 1992: 84) Salazar argues that preparation for life means assimilation into a society that exploits and humiliates, whereas in Warisata the idea was not to prepare for life, but to live. Warisata was not a school that ”prepares for life”, but a ”school of life”, that struggles for the elimination of servitude, creating consciousness and capacity for transformation, influencing its surroundings with reason and deliberation. (Salazar 1992: 88-89, 91) In such a ”school of life” exams and evaluations were not crucial – rather radically opposed to the Taylorist preference towards tests, which was a dominant tendency of the time. Graduation held rather *”a flexible demonstration of aptitudes”* and disposition. If marks were given, that was for filling the bureaucratic forms of the Ministry of Education. There were no vacations either, although those who needed to keep a pause for some reason, such as the agricultural season, could go and return; and there was no timetable, but simply the studies took place from sunrise to sunset. (Salazar 1992: 101, 103-104; Yapu 2009: 53) I would assume that the concept of the school of life in Pérez's thinking is also based in John Dewey's writings.

Historical integration in the Ayllu-School means integration of the economic, social and cultural history of the community in order to defend the cultural tradition of the periphery against the

6 *”[...] la vida es amplia, movil, atrayente, diversa.”*

dangers of alienation and loss of essential values. (Salazar 1992: 22) In economic practice this meant that the indigenous council brought with them the traditional forms of cooperation, which were basically agreements of collective work and sharing of resources. (Salazar 1992: 28-33)

In relation to social history, the school took an active political role in defense of the rights to respect, justice, freedom and land. (Salazar 1992: 70-71) This subversive aspect of the ”school of life” also created opposition to the school, as one only can imagine, and Carlos Salazar even claims that *”[...] there was an entire campaign [...] to make the Warisatean business fail and finally to take it over.”* (Salazar 1992: 16) The school was also socially active in its surroundings in relation to the themes of hygiene, alcoholism and local festivities. (Salazar 1992: 105-107)

Social transformations through struggles for community values appeared also as a cultural process, where culture is used as an instrument of protest, of revealing social issues, demanding change and agitating for action, as is still seen today for example in the traditional Bolivian carnival performances, which display the injustices by the patrons. Besides this aspect, in Warisata the integration of the indigenous cultural history appeared as an end in itself, as a direct expression of cultural values. (Salazar 1992: 124)

Salazar characterizes the indigenous culture as a method of establishing a balance between the temporal and the spatial. This *”cosmic posture”* or *”cosmovision”* appears, for example, in music, plastic arts and social institutions. Salazar is very critical towards modern culture, however, and claims that modern culture is destroying the integrity of the indigenous cosmovision, their music (which loses its harmony and becomes destructive noise) and plastic arts (which become commercial and mass production kills creativity). Education needs to facilitate the revival, conservation, renovation and development of the indigenous culture – not to return to an idyllic past, but to continue the historical tradition. (Salazar 1992: 127-129)

An aspect of cultural history was the indigenous languages, which Pérez considered that the school should *”contribute to purify and enrich, because a language is the most characteristic mental expression of a culture”*[7]. (Pérez in Salazar 1992: 119) Pérez considered that the texts and the teachers should be bilingual, including the language of the region and Spanish. He considered that ideally all Bolivians should be able to speak Spanish, Quechua and Aymara, because they are

7 *”[...] contribuir a purificarlo y enriquecerlo, porque el idioma es la expresión mental más caracteristica de una cultura [...]”*

national languages. (Salazar 1992: 120) Spanish should not be ignored, and similarly the proposal and practice of Elizardo Pérez and Avelino Siñani was not to ”de-westernize” Bolivia. Pérez proposes that the school should have and teach also modern technology and science, which were born in Europe but whose characteristics are international: *”[...] at the same time as we westernize technology to open the mentality of the indian to the horizon of the world, we also teach them to close themselves into their internality so that they can [from within] hear the voice of the Bolivian spirit in the words of the native language”*[8]. (Pérez in Salazar 1992: 132)

In other contemporary schools run by state-trained teachers, there was no teaching in indigenous languages. As those languages didn't have any literature, it was considered a waste of time to teach reading and writing in them. (Choque & Quisbert 2006: 126-127)

However, as mentioned before, in general the government line was biculturalism, and the 1919 Decree on Education for the Indigenous Race divided the indigenous education in three kinds of institutions: elementary schools, teacher training institutions and ”work schools”, where the starting point was the observation of the rural life and working with both mind and body in order to learn through work. (Choque & Quisbert 2006: 110-111) Warisata in practice became both elementary school, work school and also a teacher training institute, and Pérez, who was a state official and a state-trained teacher, started off with the background outlined in the 1919 decree. The individual subjects taught in Warisata followed the guidelines of the decree. (Brienen 2002: 631)

While the subjects of the curriculum were not all that revolutionary, the above mentioned approaches outlined by Carlos Salazar Mostajo have more to do with the social organization of the school and the direction that stems from the type of relations established through such a mode of organization. Elizardo Pérez worked for liberal and republican governments, but the ideology that inspired him most was socialism, from thinkers like the above mentioned José Mariátegui. (Choque & Quisbert 2006: 174)

3.7. The rise of socialism and the establishment of the Peasant School Nucleuses

Contemporary to the School of Warisata, in 1930s the catastrophic Chaco War led to the collapse of the established oligarchic political system as it awakened the critical sense of the new generation,

8 *”[...] al mismo tiempo que occidentalizamos la técnica para abrir la mentalidad del indio al horizonte del mundo, la enseñamos a cerrarse en el recinto de su intimidad, para oír la voz del espíritu boliviano con las palabras del idioma nativo”*

which got interested in social issues that before were discussed by only small groups. A revolutionary political movement was born and later resulted in the national revolution of 1952. (Klein 2003: 163-166, 176-185) Vitaliano Soria points out that one of the reasons for Bolivia losing the war was that the Bolivian troops didn't even speak the same language and thus couldn't communicate with each other effectively. Soria argues that the new socialistic political parties therefore thought it a high priority to promote a single language to all. (Soria 1992: 54)

Until the war, the indigenous teachers in the indigenous-built schools had been teaching the indigenous children in their indigenous languages. Also indigenous culture was taught side by side with reading and writing in Spanish, which to state officials appeared only as the teaching of superstitions, indicating the ignorance of the teachers. The state wished to have more control over the teachers, but not only because of cultural or linguistic policy, but also because of the lack of professionalism of the teachers and their abuses of their position. (Brienen 2002: 634-635)

The model for solving this dilemma was close at hand. Elizardo Pérez had founded the School of Warisata with the intention that *"it should serve as a model for the other places of the Republic of Bolivia"* (Soria 1992: 57), and since Pérez was a socialist, his idealism served very well as a forefigure for the military socialist regimes of 1936-1939. What was reproduced from the Warisata model was, however, not all of its celebration of the indigenous culture, but its structural organizational format. Warisata functioned as a nucleus and around it in the surroundings were started satellite schools, which enabled a differentiated curriculum in the satellites and in the nucleus so that students from the satellites would come to the nucleus periodically to learn certain more advanced subjects there. Similarly, it was only necessary to have trained teachers in the nucleus, and the satellite teachers would regularly be trained by the teachers in the nucleus. The nucleus could control the satellites and prevent abuses. This model was appropriated by the military socialists as Peasant School Nucleuses, and implemented vigorously throughout the country. These nucleuses were also officially responsible for the protection of the indigenous against abuse by landlords and local officials. (Brienen 2002: 631-632, 635-636, Yapu 2006a: 17)

Marten Brienen's article importantly points out that Warisata was not, therefore, a renegade experiment that the established society did not appreciate, as it sometimes appears to be said. However, I think Brienen goes a bit too far in equating Pérez's intentions and state policies, and his expression that *"the ideals [...] of Warisata were firmly in line with those held by officials of the state"* is a bit provocative. It is true that the curriculum of Warisata or other indigenous schools did

not completely differ from the one promoted by the state immediately before, during or after the experiment of Warisata in 1930s, but a more nuanced view is necessary, if we don't want to simply degrade or belittle some of the more interesting aspects of Warisata and thus just add ourselves to the long line of Europeans who think that modernity's point of view is the only relevant one. If Salazar's characterization of the school has any accuracy, ”the school of life” with its cultural revivalism was ideologically completely contrary to the uniforming modernization driven by the military socialists. Ideas about integrality, productive education, the ”active school” and interconnection of themes do appear in the educational program by the Ministry of Education in 1938, but as Mario Yapu points out, the program was very technical, in contrast to ideas of indigenous or moral education. (Yapu 2006a: 10) However, the Bolivian teacher training institutes of the period still emphasized the humanistic, vocational model promoted by Rouma, (Yapu 2006a: 11-12) thus taking a moral approach, but certainly not a revivalist indigenist one. Lastly, Salazar also criticizes that the founding of the Peasant School Nucleuses was improvised, without adequate study of the zones: without sufficient understanding of the historical and ecological formation of the communities. (Salazar 1992: 46)

3.8. The national revolution and the 1955 Education Code

The 1952 Bolivian national economy was stagnant and backward. Revolution was easy, since the economic elite was weak. The overcoming of the army and the police by the armed population was also easy and the leaders of the preferred political party of the revolutionaries, the MNR[9], suddenly to their own surprise were involved in a full-scale social revolution. After forming government, MNR tried to restrain the workers' reforms as much as possible, but reluctantly responded to the political and paramilitary pressure. (Klein 2003: 212-213)

The peasants, who had taken over the countryside with violence, formed new syndicates and forced the MNR to make an agrarian reform. In most of the agricultural areas of the country the hacienda system was nearly completely eradicated. Only in the less populated Santa Cruz region and some southern regions with less or no indigenous population big farms remained. The government realized that the interests of the indigenous peasant population (basic healthcare and education, land) were quite harmless and conservative in comparison to the radical miners' syndicate, and decided to ally itself with the peasants. This strategy worked well for the political right wing for the following quarter of a century, as Herbert Klein writes. (Klein 2003: 213-216)

9 *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario*, Nationalist Revolutionary Movement

After the national revolution, the indigenous communities entered a new stage, where they were dynamically integrating themselves to the national economic, social and political life, through the agrarian reform, schooling and now introduced universal voting rights. The relation between the city and the countryside was strengthened and dynamized. (Sánchez 1994: 11) Thus, while González Casanova was arguing about the separation of the two civilizations, this separation had started to erode. According to Mansilla and Toranzo, 1952 marked the beginning of an acceleration of the process of modernization, leading to urbanization, mass consumption and modern social behaviour. The indigenous communities were not passively led to this development, but they demanded that the state builds educational centers, medical outposts and other basic services, leading to new rural centers and tendencies toward urbanization. (Sánchez 1994: 12) The school was central in this process, because as earlier, the only institution connected with the state in many rural communities was the school, besides perhaps a small health post and a rather rarely used Catholic chapel. (Regalsky & Laurie 2007: 235)

The MNR government's ideology emphasized modern development and progress. The indigenous problem was solved rhetorically, erasing the concept of the indigenous. As the indigenous culture was considered archaic, superstitious and outdated, indigenousness was to be ignored and instead the government applied the concepts of peasants and workers. (Yapu 2006a: 16) As in the fields of economy and politics, also culturally the outcome of the revolution was a new centralization; inclusive but homogenizing. (Yapu 2006a: 12) Mestizo teachers were sent to rural communities and according to Andrew Canessa they considered themselves there as community leaders and reproduced *”a hegemonic racist ideology”* where *”it was the role of schools to turn indians into mestizos.”* (Canessa 2004: 189)

Bolivian Education Code of 1955 was a groundbreaking educational reform which was to be in force for thirty years. The didactics and pedagogy of the reform was based on the earlier mentioned concept of the active school, which was also applied in many other Latin American countries of that time. (Bermúdez et al. 2008: 7,11) Educational system was formally divided in urban and rural schooling, which meant also the division of the teacher syndicates, of administration of salaries and professional requisites. (Bermúdez et al 2008: 25-26) The division was practical, but a side-effect was that it upheld the distance between the two civilizations. Teacher training got a more social orientation (Yapu 2006a: 20) and the focus of the curriculum of the secondary schools moved from the classical aesthetic humanism towards a scientifically founded schooling. (Yapu 2006a: 22)

The rural schools were considered from a socializing point of view, which meant to integrate the educational system with practical economic and technological factors of community life instead of focusing on individual children. (Yapu 2006a: 17) Education's function to MNR was socialism and progress, the overcoming of poverty and ignorance. Also the combination of humanistic and technical education, now included in Law 070, was talked of already then. (Yapu 2006a: 12-13)

Establishment of the structure of schooling in 1940s-1950s affected also the structure of the communities, as communities would regroup around the schools, and the ayllus who were connected to the nuclear school acquired a central status. (Ticona 2010: 123-124) Another factor that affected the communities' social organization, was the peasant syndicates, started in some areas already in 1940s and in others during 1950s. (Sánchez 1994: 18-19)

3.9. Cold War and the military rule

The MNR created a "state capitalism" model, but tried to keep good relations and help private companies. The revolution had not solved the pressing needs of the national economy – on the contrary – and the government needed help from abroad. From 1964 to 1982 Bolivia was governed by military governments, which did not have a continuing political line, but the line always varied according to who was in charge, allying Bolivia sometimes with the USA and sometimes with the Soviet Union. But independent of the political line, public education, literacy and also technical expertise advanced and the alliance of the military with the peasantry was a basic norm. Rural education received full assistance from the governments of the period. Militaristic modernization was proposed as the way of order against the chaos of democracy, and the "depoliticization" of the masses was supposed to help a rapid modernization and economic development. Special importance in education was placed on national integration, and cultural and linguistic differences were rejected. (Klein 2003: 217-230, Bermúdez et al. 2008: 29-32)

The 1955 Code was elaborated with the participation of the Catholic Church, syndicalists, the universities and the teachers. The Code proposed that the teachers should participate in the decisionmaking in the educational system, but the military governments rejected the 1955 Code as outdated and the teacher syndicates were forced into a role, where their only function was to care for the economic interests of the teachers. Rights of the syndicates to participate in any kind of political activity with any political party were denied. The decisionmaking in the educational

system was centralized and the teachers were formed in an authoritarian manner. The pedagogical ideology was imbued by behaviourism, which was fashionable at that time in North American educational system. (Bermúdez et al. 2008: 11, 33, 35-36, 52)

The United Nations agencies that were and are involved in the development of education – UNESCO, the World Bank, UNICEF and UNDP – as well as the Organization of American States (OAS/OEA) and OECD have since their foundation supported and influenced the Bolivian educational system. (Yapu 2009: 12) Access to education as a basic right is one of the UN norms that became central in the Bolivian system in 1950s and 1960s, encouraging the building of the rural schools in addition to the already mentioned political pact between the governments of the time and the peasants. As Ferguson points out, UN is the embodiment of the international dimension of the nation-building narrative of those times. (Yapu 2009: 19, Ferguson 2006: 95)

In practice access to education was lagging behind when it comes to the schooling of girls, and the focus on access was considered only in a quantitative way. The quality of education was considered in terms of results, not in terms of processes, practices or experiences. During 1970s this point of view was criticized as the ”black box” approach, an ”inputs” and ”outputs” model like a machine, where something (someone) goes in (to the school and the classroom) and something (someone) comes out, but what happens within, is obscured. (Yapu 2009: 20) During 1960s and 1970s there were also alphabetization campaigns and extension of education in the countryside, but the vision of education in practice, as in the alphabetization campaigns, was functional and neopositivist, teaching instrumental techniques instead of educating critical citizens. (Bermúdez et al. 2008: 17)

At the same time as the official government policies were technology-focused and neopositivistic, a critical movement (from where the ”black box” critique also was voiced) of ”peoples' education” was launched during the 1970s. The principal institution building that movement was the Catholic Church and its Latin American movement Fé y Alegría (”Faith and Joy”), which besides evangelic inspiration was strongly influenced by the contributions of Paulo Freire. (Yapu 2009: 20) During that period the Catholic Church also launched the Centers for Technical, Humanistic and Agricultural Education (CETHAs)[10], ”productive schools” where work and study are combined, io. learning and production – like in Warisata. (Yapu 2009: 20-21) In this same period, the Catholic Church and other organizations started the first projects of bilingual education, showing some valoration of the indigenous languages. (Yapu 2006b: 7)

10 *Centros de Educación Técnica, Humanística y Agropecuaria*

3.10. Rise of the indigenous revivalism

In 1960, the United Nations General Assembly declared that colonial countries and peoples are to be independent and that *"[a]ll peoples have the right to self-determination"*. (Official records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Declaration 1514) The former colonies in Africa were becoming independent, and the discussion about decolonization was heating up through contributions like those of Franz Fanon. González Casanova transferred the issue to the *"colonies inside the national borders"*, the indigenous communities, which had a lot of echo in those Latin American countries with a large indigenous population. (Ticona 2005: 141)

In Bolivia, a new generation of indigenous thinkers appeared, who took an ideological position called "indianism". As criticized by Felipe Santos Quispe, the current of indianism placed a romanticizing look on the indigenous communities, without analyzing clearly the elements of the indigenous organization. (Santos 2009: 32) Similarly Felix Patzi, the first Minister of Education in Evo Morales' government (2005-2007), notes that Fausto Reinaga, the fiery pioneer of indianism, fails to propose *"[...] any kind of society, much less analyze the context of his epoch [...]"* (Patzi 2007: 75) It is certainly entertaining to read Reinaga, whose style is *"insurrectional"*, influenced by Fanon, as Esteban Ticona observes. (Ticona 2010: 41) Reinaga's arguments, however, often go to extremes that lack self-criticism and nuanced judgement. For example, he claims that Marx and Engels, influenced by Thomas More's Utopia (which was supposedly based on the utopia of the Inca empire), copied communism from the history of the Inca empire, which Reinaga romanticizes. (Reinaga 1971: 29-31) In any case, Reinaga and the other indianists brought up the indigenous issue in a new perspective, and that perspective would mature and effect changes.

The Tupak Katari Revolutionary Movement[11] or "the Katarists", who, inspired by indianism, took the indigenous identity as a political rallying cry, had been organized in 1976 among Aymara leaders in the La Paz region, succeeded in taking over most of the peasant syndicates and formed its own syndicate, the CSUTCB[12]. (Klein 2003: 242-243) Katarism influenced a few different national organizations and one of these was another political party, the MAS[13], whose 2005 rise to power led to Law 070, among other things.

11 *Movimiento Revolucionario Tupak Katari*
12 *Confederacion Sindical Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia*, Unified Syndical Confederation of Peasant Workers of Bolivia
13 *Movimiento al Socialismo*, Movement towards Socialism

The Katarists were critical towards the state mainly in three points, according to Silvia Rivera: the way communal lands were split in the land reform of 1953, that made peasants dependent and weakened their communities; the repression and coercion from the state against the peasants; and the lack of attention on ethnic and/or cultural aspects. (PNUD 2010: 57) The pact between the peasants and the government was breaking up, or in the words of a syndical leader when the military massacred peasants in Tolata in 1974: *"To hell with a pact that is imposed with bullets!"*[14] (Ticona et al. 1995: 41)

Literacy had risen from 31% in 1950 to 67% in 1976 and at the same time Spanish had become the majority language of Bolivia. The amount of bilingual people had especially risen, which tells of the impact of rural schooling. (Klein 2003: 234-236) The appearance of indianism, the beginning of the Katarist movement and the criticism towards established regimes coincided with the growing ability of the peasants to learn more about the society around them. This tendency continued in the 1980s and as Xavier Albó points out, syndicalist congresses were important in opening the point of view of the peasants to larger social context than their community or micro-region. Another important instrument was the radio with programs in Quechua and Aymara. (Albó et al. 1989: 73)

In the end of the 1970s, while the military coups continued, the corruption of the military provoked massive civil opposition, which spread to the military itself. The last military junta was forcibly resigned in 1982 and since then Bolivia has been administrated by democratically elected governments. (Klein 2003: 237-239) The new government in 1985 chose to solve the economic crisis with a shock treatment. The decree 21060, which today is known as the decree establishing neoliberalism, devaluated the national currency; established a free floating exchange rate; eliminated controls on prices and wages; and enforced drastic cuts in the public sector. (Klein 2003: 245) Rural schools became desolate – as Regalsky and Laurie write, the result of the policies was *"the disarticulation of the public education system."* (Regalsky & Laurie 2007: 242) The state would later take advantage of this disarticulation as an opportunity to restructure social space through educational and local administration reforms: Law 1565 and the Law of Political Participation (LPP), which are discussed in the next chapter.

During 1980s and 1990s, CSUTCB, CIDOB[15] and other related organizations developed the

14 *"!Vaya pacto, que se impone a bala!"*

15 *Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas del Oriente Boliviano*, Confederation of the Indigenous Peoples of Eastern Bolivia, which later changed its name to *Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas de Bolivia*, Confederation of the

discussion about identity politics, linking the indigenous identity of the peasants with their social class identity. The theme of coloniality was taken up strongly in the year 1992, which marked the 500 years of European colonization of the New World. (Ticona 2010: 53) Meanwhile internationally the ideas of indigenous rights were being recognized, (Canessa 2006: 171) in the United Nations and also for example through the symbolically important Nobel Peace Prize given to Rigoberta Menchu on that symbolic year 1992. On the other hand, the Soviet Union was collapsing and thus the dispossessed needed a new counterpole against capitalism; homogenizing socialism had failed to deliver both in Bolivia and worldwide.

Part of the discussion on identity politics was the idea of the reconstitution of the ayllus and communities to the scope that they had before colonization, and their recognition by the state. (Ticona 2010: 53) This discussion is relevant as Law 070 seeks a ”communitarian” and ”territorial” education. The agrarian reform of 1953 gave the *”land to those who work on it”*, as was the slogan of the reform. The western idea of land ownership is, however, different from the indigenous idea, where ”land” and ”territory” are related; administration of law and ownership of land are related and communal, integrated in a ritual, sacralized relation with the land. Especially those more distant from the modern civilization have this tribal approach and it was the indigenous peoples of the eastern part of Bolivia (CIDOB) who in 1990 brought the theme of territory into the national agenda through their famous ”march for territory and dignity”. It is interesting to note that CIDOB appealed not only to the indigenous rights discourse but also to ecological themes, and that various international NGOs were prominent in the organization of the march. Canessa points out that the presence of international NGOs in the indigenous mobilizations continues being a significant factor and also the international medias are rather interested in them. Maybe this tells of the internationalization of the working-class civil society or it simply tells of the increasing power of the NGOs and their agendas; or possibly both. (Ticona 2010: 63-69; Canessa 2006: 176-177)

Of course, the demand for territory and thus administration of law is in contradiction with the monopoly of legitimate violence that the state has appropriated; but the legitimation of the nation-state is undermined because it is seen as a colonially imposed and thus less legitimate structure than the ”indigenous nation”. The idea of a plurinational state of Bolivia was first proposed already in 1983 by the CSUTCB, but with the demands for territory that concept can be interpreted in varied amounts of radicalism. The basic argument is clear, however: the nationally economically dominant creole-mestizo sectors of the population do not in themselves constitute a nation, and thus the

legitimation of their power is questionable. (Ticona 2010: 63-69; Saavedra & Vega 2007: 287)

Xavier Albó wrote in 1989 that in some zones of the highlands the more traditional, more extensive form of the indigenous community-network, the ayllu still persists, but mostly what persists in diverse zones are the smaller base entities of rural communities consisting of approximately 20-100 families, who share a territory and a reciprocal social base organization. (Albó et al. 1989: 43-48) Inspired by CIDOB's ”march for territory and dignity”, in 1990s some of the highlands communities began reconstituting the broader system of ayllus, rejecting the modern organization forms like the syndicate, and forming the highlands peasant council CONAMAQ[16]. However, modern organizations were more dynamic and until now have been more influential. In 1994 the state launched the Law of Political Participation (LPP), which recognizes the communities and neighborhood councils, which all are grouped under the general name of OTBs[17], thus appropriating the concept of territory and domesticating it under the state administration – though in a decentralized way through the municipalities, whose power increased, also thus weakening the centralized state and rather promoting the neoliberal ”state and society” -model. The law states that the idea is not to replace the syndicates, ayllus and communities, but rather to give a new general name, but in practice the connection to the municipality and to the state creates an almost parallel organization, which becomes a stronger social reference than the syndicate or the ayllu. On the other hand, the strong anti-neoliberal protests of the first years of 2000s became a political success to the CSUTCB, and CONAMAQ did not manage to gain more support through them because of their relative lack of political experience. Thus practice shows that the modern institutions of the state and the syndicate have been better able to adjust to the pace of change of modernity. The question today, as stated by Ticona, is whether now the ”democratic revolution” started by Evo Morales and the MAS and the associated official recognition of the social movements leads to the domestication of the movements and the *”prolongation of the Bolivian colonial state, [which] today is in its last stage of decomposition”* - and if not, what kind of a social organization will the Bolivian society assume. (Ticona 2010: 75-79, 127; Ticona et al. 1995: 159-163)

In contrast to the above mentioned rather critical observations (based on Esteban Ticona's writings) on the Law of Political Participation, Herbert Klein considers the reforms of mid-1990s as the start of *”one of the most profound processes of political change in contemporary Latin America.”* (Klein 2003: 262) The decentralization of state power to the municipalities meant also authority over some

16 *Consejo de Ayllus y Markas del Qullasuyu*, the Council of Ayllus and Markas of Qullasuyu
17 *”organizaciones territoriales de base”*, ”territorial base organizations”

parts of the school curriculum, school infrastructure and supplies. Indigenous representatives rose to municipal councils and the weight of local politics increased instead of centralized national politics. (Klein 2003: 261-262) However, the ex-Minister of Education Félix Patzi, who is critical towards both the earlier and the present government (which he was forced to leave), also criticizes the LPP in that those indigenous, who become municipal administrators, assume the *"habitus of the creole-mestizo nation"*, which has become the ideal for many indigenous. This kind of an orientation motivates discrimination also at schools. (Patzi 2007: 48-49)

3.11. Identity politics at school

Identity politics entered the schooling policies as well, of course. Already in 1980s ideas like interculturality, bilingualism, community participation, ecology, gender equality, opposition to "cultural imperialism" and valuing of the diversity of cultures, costumes and traditions, started to appear in the official documents of the Ministry of Education, though implementation in national level started first in 1990s. (Bermúdez et al. 2008: 61-62, 74-75)

The teacher syndicates opposed the governments who put in motion neoliberal policies, and claimed (even intentionally misleadingly) that the government seeks to privatize educational institutions. What did happen was not privatization, but structural adjustment which meant less funds for education, which again meant a significant deterioration of the salaries of teachers. (López & Murillo 2006: 3, 15) It is true, though, that other sectors of the economy were privatized and also that the amount of private schools grew and their quality was not always very good, especially from an integral human development perspective, as Franco Rocabado writes in a report to UNESCO. (Gamboa 2009: 59; IDEA 2010: 70) Teachers were not included in the drawing of the law, because it was clearly seen that the reform would go against the interests and convictions of the teachers. The government founded a special team to draw the reform, outside the Ministry of Education. This, of course, brought some problems in the implementation. (López & Murillo 2006: 4) Already from the stage of gestation of the educational reform known as Law 1565, the teachers began criticizing it. (Bermúdez et al. 2008: 60)

If the teachers expressed their critiques loudly, it was partly because at last it was possible. During late 1980s and early 1990s there was an open debate about illiteracy, inefficiency of institutions and the repetitiveness and outdatedness of the curriculums. The function of the school in general was as well being questioned, as the school emerged to the light from the forbidding darkness imposed by

the military regimes. (Yapu 2009: 21) One of the aspects of schooling that was changing in the 1990s was the attitude towards physical punishment and the arbitrary use of force by teachers. Among other reasons, the number of girls at the higher grades was low because often the teachers would rape the girls and due to this the parents chose not to send their daughters to school. (Regalsky & Laurie 2007: 241) Also the international debate influenced the formation of Law 1565, such as the 1990 Education For All conference in Jomtien, which discussed education and alphabetization in mother tongue as a means of strengthening cultural identity and heritage. (Yapu 2009: 22; Regalsky & Laurie 2007: 242)

Law 1565 integrated the principles of intercultural and bilingual education with a general constructivist, individualist, modernizing approach. (MEC 2008a: 17) However, also the issue of social participation was included in Law 1565. Using the recuperation of the experiences of the School of Warisata as their agenda, some syndicates and indigenous federations had demanded for it. Their critique was that schooling disturbed the everyday family life and the communitarian calendar, and that the authoritarianism of the teachers and headmasters reflected a vision of the school as the centre of the community, which should change. Also the memoristic, banking concept of education was criticized. (Yapu 2009: 26-27)

The banking concept of education and the point of view of behaviourism was replaced in Law 1565 by a vygotskian socio-historical constructivism. Teachers were destabilized by this even more than by the financial issue. The authoritarian position of the teacher was undermined, as the teacher was seen as a facilitator instead of a missionary (as was the traditional view since the times of Rouma) or an authoritative functionary of the state (as in terms of the nation-building narrative). Mechanisms of participation gave the parents and the local communities and organizations a foothold at school, which was unheard of. Teachers would need to be innovative and reflective instead of following strict plans, but they didn't know how to. In time many of them learned and the opposition to the new law diminished. (López & Murillo 2006: 6-7, 11, 17-18)

The idea and practice of integration that was promoted by the School of Warisata can be seen taken in account in the 1990 national development strategy. The strategy considers that the then-existing school system is disconnected from its social, economic and cultural environment, which affects negatively the quality of education and increases the gap between urban and rural education, private and public education, and also the gender gap, which in Bolivia is unfavourable to girls. (Bermúdez et al 2008: 69) However, contrary to the above mentioned proposals of syndicates and indigenous

federations, in 1990 the educational reform plan took the point of view that the school should be transformed *"into the nucleus of the community"*. (Bermúdez et al. 2008: 65)

Law 1565, approved in 1994, only included the indigenous communities through the concept of interculturality, which related to culture only in a limited sense of traditions, values and rituals of ethnic groups, (Yapu 2006b: 7) instead of considering diverse cultural forms of organization, knowledge and skills on equal footing with modernity. Walter Gutiérrez, indigenous education activist and now official in the Ministry of Education and Cultures, claims that the World Bank, which financed the implementation of Law 1565, was at first critical towards the idea of intercultural and bilingual education, but then started supporting it because that way the indigenous demands could be assimilated according to the interests of capitalism. (MEC 2008b: 27) However, the LPP, that was part of the same process in 1994, led to the constitution of "Original Peoples' Educational Councils"[18] (CEPOs) and these in the end became a very active protagonist for indigenous interests in education and also a protagonist of the new educational reforms in the indigenous communities. The CEPOs enjoy the support of both the Ministry, indigenous federations and international organizations such as DANIDA and UNICEF. (Yapu 2009: 29; Albó 2002: 126-127)

An important change with 1565 and LPP from the centralized nation-building project was the decentralization in the educational system, transferring responsibilities of budgeting and planning to provincial governments and administration and maintenance to municipalities. For teachers' syndicates this was yet another negative aspect of the law, as decentralization diminishes the national issues and the syndicates' power is in national mobilization. (López & Murillo 2006: 22)

The most important weakness of Law 1565 was the lack of implementation – with or without teacher resistance. As the UNDP Human Development Report states, the reform was implemented only in rural primary schools, grade by grade so that in 2002 only 16% of the primary schools of the country had applied the law up to sixth grade. Intercultural bilingual education had by 2003 been realized only by 26% of the schools, all rural. By today, then, it is only a minority of the primary schools who have some experience of intercultural bilingual education, and none has been implemented in secondary schools. (PNUD 2010: 121-122)

3.12. Latest developments

18 *Consejos Educativos de los Pueblos Originarios*

As movements against neoliberalism gained momentum with massive protest actions like the ”Water War” in Cochabamba in 2000 and the ”Gas War” in El Alto / La Paz in 2003, (Dangl 2010: 16-17, IDEA 2010: 70) also the critiques and doubts about the educational reform based on Law 1565 grew, as the reform was seen as a part of neoliberal politics and a dominant colonial or neocolonial model. The concept of decolonization became the radical antithesis, and when the social movements brought MAS into power in 2005, it started to build a new educational reform from the point of view of decolonization. (Yapu 2009: 33)

The critique of the MAS government towards Law 1565 was that the reform was imposed without including the population or the teachers in the policy-making. The problems now ahead were defined as especially the lack of equality of opportunities and the lack of connection between education and the productive sector. According to the National Development Plan, education was to be articulated to *”social communitarian development”*, the *”reconstitution of sociocultural units”* and *”reterritorialization”*, thus expressing the aspirations of indigenous organizations like CONAMAQ and CIDOB. (Yapu 2009: 33-34) The indigenous organizations and educational councils *”took over the hegemony of the production of the educational knowledge”*, in the words of a government authority of those times. (López & Murillo 2006: 14) These changes also meant a certain distance to the international organizations, as the government started on a path of creating something original instead of simply following the guidelines from outside. In the words of a ministry official: *”[...] we are talking of intracultural, plurilingual education, while others continue talking of intercultural, bilingual education.”*[19] (MEC 2008b: 43)

Of course international cooperation has continued, but in some aspects like that of evaluation, the government of Bolivia is not participating as fully as before. As a matter of fact, it appears that evaluation is one of the aspects of the Bolivian school system that is somewhat in a limbo at the moment, as new criteria are being designated. (Yapu 2009: 37, 49-50) What is known is that while in 1990s evaluation (and the ideal of the quality of education) was tied to the evaluation of competences, in the new scheme a more Freirean, critical and social approach is considered. The difference can be intuited in the way that the four pillars of the Delors report of UNESCO from 1996 have been adjusted by the ministry. While in the original the four pillars are *”learning to know”*, *”learning to do”*, *”learning to live together”* and *”learning to be”*, in the new Bolivian

19 *”[...] nosotros hablamos de educación intra cultural plurilingüe, mientras continúan hablando de la educación intercultural bilingüe.”*

version ”learning to live together” is seen as an overarching theme, and in its stead as one of the four pillars now there is *”learning to decide”*. (Delors et al. 1996: 7; MEC 2008a: 31)

The theme of community, which is so important to the current government, was part of 1565 and associated laws such as LPP. When making 1565, its design team wished to hear parents, innovative institutions and indigenous organizations instead of teachers. Also the necessities of productive forces were considered in curricular design. (López & Murillo 2006: 4-5) In the case of 070, this approach has been softened in relation to the teachers so that also the demands of the teachers' syndicates have been listened to and in some measure they have been included. There is critique, however, that teachers have not always been heard. The first version of the law was drawn in 2006 by a national commission, where participants included 22 organizations, among them syndicates (teachers' and others), indigenous, productive and neighbourhood organizations' federations, parents' organization, indigenous educational councils and state institutions (Ministry of Education, and, because of their special training, the army and the police). (MEC 2008a: 18) It is also important to note the absence of international organizations and religious organizations such as the Catholic church in the national commission. Their proposals were later included, to some extent.

A more serious division is today seen between the government and the traditional elites. The creole-mestizo economic elite, which today is especially based in the agroindustrial and hydrocarbon-rich Santa Cruz province, is represented by the political party PODEMOS[20] and the ”civic committees” of the Eastern provinces. The civic committees are basically coordination groups of powerful businessmen. PODEMOS enjoys quite a large following in the Eastern provinces, with its appeals to provincial autonomy motivated by economic rather than genuinely political interests: in the words of Carlos Cordero, they have *”no vision of the country but an extraordinary vision of group and regional interest.”*[21] (IDEA 2010: 75) These sectors are critical of the MAS government and sometimes this has been associated with racist actions – associated youth group from Santa Cruz has a more open racist/fascist and violent behaviour. Importantly these sectors also control the majority of the medias, especially the television channels, and for a Nordic observer the contrast between the government channel and the others is stark. Both the government channel and the private ones exaggerate and polarize, unashamedly showing only one side of the story. Lately there has been a more conciliatory relation between the two political forces, but the polarization is not over. In relation to schooling, there certainly will be family attitudes against the celebration –

20 *Poder Democrático y Social*, Social and Democratic Power
21 *”[...] sin visión de país pero con una extraordinaria visión de interés de grupo y de región.”*

perhaps seen as romanticization, justifiedly or not – of the indigenous knowledges and values, but on the other hand the regionalization of the curriculums will probably soften that impact. Education could become a conciliatory tool for these relations – if the changes actually will be implemented.

An important moment in the current political transformation process in Bolivia was the Constitutional Assembly, a process of three years from 2006 to 2009, when the new Constitution was approved through a referendum. In the Constitution of 2009 democratization of the Bolivian society certainly advances, from a solely representative to a ”communitary democracy”, that recognizes three forms of democracy: direct participative, representative and communitarian. UNDP considers, though, that the representative system is still too party-centered. (PNUD 2010: 69-70) This was also seen in the Constitutional Assembly, which only allowed the participation of members of political parties. Prominent social activists who wanted to candidate for the election of assembly members, had to inscribe to a political party – often it was to be MAS. (Dangl 2010: 36)

The conflict between MAS and PODEMOS became especially heated during the Constitutional Assembly, with the result that the Constitution was finally approved without the participation of PODEMOS and the location of the assembly having been moved to La Paz from Sucre because of safety reasons. Gamboa Rocabado states that the proposals to the section on education, which the Assembly members gathered from their local areas, were not very mature or based on a clear diagnosis of the actual state of the schools and universities, and neither did the commission have an adequate methodology to order that information. Therefore, while (in spite of the conflicts) the Constitution was an important step in the empowerment of the civil society, in the field of education it did not bring many new insights to the already existing proposals towards what was to become Law 070, and neither did it manage to unite all of the sectors of the country. (Gamboa 2009: 66-68) Esteban Ticona writes openly that today the discussion about the autonomy of the ayllus or indigenous communities, that has also had its effect on wordings in the new Constitution of Bolivia, is not motivated only by the older idea of defence against the powers of the colonial state, but rather the aim is to limit the influence of some of the civic committees. (Ticona 2010: 131)

In spite that there still exists racism in Bolivia, today the division of the population in Bolivia to two civilizations of which the other one is peripheral, uneducated and exploited indigenous one, and the other a metropolitan, educated ”white” hispanic or mestizo, is dissolving. The indigenous are present in the urban landscape, in the government and as professionals in the economy, and in many occasions the mestizos maintain or revive also their indigenous origin. Monolingual Aymara and

Quechua speakers are disappearing, but Aymara or Quechua are not disappearing languages. The Bolivian society is in fact becoming plurilingual, and many are also seeing themselves as pluricultural. (Klein 2003: 256-257, 264-265)

3.13. The cultural production of the educated person in the history of Bolivia

I have included a scheme over the development of the cultural production of the educated person in Bolivia in annex 2. Of course, it refers to the cultural production based in various structures, and the practical implementation and the process of cultural production ”from below” varies. The scheme is only a scheme, pointing to some structural processes, and there may be other factors that I am not conscious of.

One of the factors we can see from the scheme, is the bifurcation between rural and urban education, which has largely corresponded with González Casanova's concept of internal colonialism. In that sense there has been a development, though. In the colonial period, the two civilizations basically had their separate educational practices. In the early republic, the creoles wanted to make the indigenous into more efficient manual workers, and thus some kind of training happened in connection with manual labour, while the higher layer of the indigenous civilization was domesticated.

In the first decades of the 20th Century, there was a convergence of interests between the liberalist section of the creole-mestizo civilization and the indigenous communities, leading to an educational practice in the indigenous schools that suited both. Interesting and perhaps a characteristic paradox of the world of politics is the occurrence that governments who proclaim themselves as social darwinists end up helping the downtrodden and to maintain their national project Liberals end up acting like socialists, helping subversive elements and paving the way to the rise of socialism and a long-term political pact between the indigenous peasants and the nation-state. It would appear that the developmental process of the nation-state here, when talking of education and the indigenous communities, cannot simply be equated with companionship with capitalism like Giddens does. Rather, Gramsci's ideas about hegemony become more relevant as building and maintaining hegemony becomes the priority of the state. In that attempt, in the field of education it is rather democracy (and decolonization) than capitalism, that gains possibilities of expansion.

The convergence of the state and the indigenous communities continued after the liberalist times,

but instead of developing the more indigenous-oriented, tradition-friendly (while also modernizing), communitarian and critical model of Warisata, the convergence was directed towards a centralized nationalist model with cultural uniformity inculcated through a modern developmentalist narrative. The revolution of 1952 was an attempt to reach a society of equality, with a national culture. However, the new political hierarchies formed during the revolution ended up reproducing the established internal colonialism, as Silvia Rivera has argued. Silvia Rivera has also talked of *”short memory”* and *”long memory”*. Short memory refers to an establishment of an appearance of a discontinuity and the beginning of a modern democratic meritocracy in 1952; the influence and the heritage of the earlier process is obscured. In 1970s, the indianists took up the perspective of long memory, and to Silvia Rivera that means the crisis of the state established in 1952. (PNUD 2010: 57) The awakening of the perspective of long memory was clearly a step towards unity of thought and action – the indigenous were becoming aware that they were serving a creole-mestizo hegemony. The cultural revolution that Freire called for, was beginning.

These arguments by Silvia Rivera are related to the justifying beliefs in the sustaining of the structural inequality. The history of Bolivia confirms Quijano and Wallerstein's thesis about the reinforcing of racism during the 19th Century, and also the hegemonic position of North America, but the Cold War clearly brought some other hues to the picture as well. 1952 was inspired by socialism, and in 1970s indigenism entered politics through the syndicalist movement. Indigenism also challenges the idea that Latin American culture needs to be essentially modern and mestizo. Until today, however, the deification and reification of newness has only increased in the ideal of the educated person, which in Law 1565 is that of an innovative, reflective individual.

As the civil society's role was strengthening towards the end of the century and neoliberalism became globally dominant, the developmentalist narrative was replaced by the ”state and society” -narrative. However, even during the latter half of the 20th Century and the beginning of the 21st Century the division between rural and urban education has persisted in Bolivia, while the two civilizations as such are day by day becoming more mixed. Finally I should here remind that while infrastructure, educational and health facilities have improved in the countryside, poverty has not receded but instead has spread also in urban contexts with the reproduction of the capitalist structure of economic domination and dependency.

As noted above, all these considerations are based on history writing that mostly reveals the wider social processes, but cultural production is not only determined by conditions and structures, but

also by lived experiences and aspirations of the stakeholders. Therefore to form a more profound understanding of the cultural production of the educated person in today's Bolivia, we need to analyze the contemporary discourses of the stakeholders – teachers, parents, students and others involved in schooling.

4. Law 070 and schooling in Bolivia

4.1. The interviews and Law 070

The basic orientation of the cultural production of the educated person outlined in Law 070 is found in Article 3, which is titled *"The bases of education"* (*"Bases de la educación"*). I am using this Article as the framework for my discourse analysis, grouping the points of the Article under six chapters, where the third chapter (4.4.) includes points 3.-8. and the sixth chapter (4.7.) includes points 11.-13., seeking to answer the dilemmas related to the cultural production of the educated person. This is demonstrated by the table in annex 3.

Most of the experts that I interviewed, had been somehow involved in the process of writing the law. Besides them, mostly the teachers knew something about the law, and parents or students would often only know some secondary aspect or rumours which probably came from the medias, most of which are in opposition to the government. Even the informations of the teachers were not always accurate. In the church-founded Marist school some mentioned that religion is being erased from the curriculum, although as mentioned, in reality only confessional religion is being erased from the basic national curriculum, and in the local curriculums of denominational schools it will appear, as confirmed by Limbert Ayarde. Similarly the rumour that private schools will be closed, appeared a couple of times. Just as Law 1565 did not propose privatization of education, neither does 070 propose socialization of education, but rather such claims are either manufactured by the opposition or sensationalist medias.

Several of my interviewees were sceptical about the realization of Law 070 because it would demand resources that the government apparently doesn't have; those who knew something about the law, mostly thought it was beautiful in theory, but that putting it in practice will be difficult. Some, on the other hand, pointed out that change doesn't happen overnight and that there is always resistance to change. In the following chapters, these problematics will be elaborated on in relation to the bases of Law 070. After the analysis, chapter 5 engages the concluding, perspectivizing

discussion that seeks to answer the main research question.

4.2. Decolonizing and liberating

4.2.1. Understandings of decolonization

There are diverse ways of understanding the concept of decolonization – diverse focuses and perspectives. As seen in chapter 3, the concept gains broader interpretations in late 20th Century and in Bolivia like in the rest of Latin America this theme surfaces especially during 1992, when reconsidering the 500 years anniversary of the arrival of Christopher Columbus in America. Magdalena Cajías de la Vega, ex-minister of Education (2007-2008) pointed this out in an interview with me and also outlined three different ways that today in Bolivia the concept of decolonization is proposed. The indigenous peoples' perspective is to recuperate their creative presence and role in society, to overcome their situation of subordination; to overcome the subalternity of their traditional culture; to overcome racial, ethnic, cultural discrimination. Leftist sectors such as the La Paz trotskyist teachers' syndicate on the other hand view decolonization from a wider angle, related to the discussions on dependency theory and internal colonialism already considered in the theoretical framework of this project. Their discourse considers colonialism as an imperialism, as the imposition of the values of capitalism. Thirdly, middle classes and university intellectuals propose that decolonization does not imply confrontation, but rather a synthesis of the positive legacies of diverse cultures. Certainly, these three ways need not be in contradiction with each other and in some way all of them are included in Law 070, which was formulated on the basis of proposals from all of these sectors, although not all of them are content with Law 070, as we will see.

Pedro Apala, technical coordinator of the CEPOs describes the subalternity of the indigenous as a negation of their own identity, language, knowledges and culture. As an example he tells that in many cases indigenous families no longer use their old names but change them to Spanish versions and today also to English ones, naming their children John or Peter, for example, valuing what comes from outside, but not valuing their own heritage. Decolonization then is connected to regaining the respect for and valuation of their own traditions. In this view, it seems it is the indigenous themselves who mostly need to become decolonized, to find their roots and their self-respect – but then this new self-respect also needs channels to express itself and that means adjustment to the modern society. Apala considers desirable computers with operating systems in

indigenous languages and also wishes that the indigenous languages are developed so that it is possible to speak of modern political theory or to make modern science with them. School could be an important access point in this process, Apala considers. It is notable that Apala's view is not anti-modern or ethnocentric, and since he is a veteran activist in a key position in the CEPOs, it is likely that a similar perspective is widely being advanced in the networks of indigenous educational experts. The ethnocentric variation is in all likelihood today marginal. In fact, I witnessed at the UMSA a lecture by an ”old school” katarist educator, who complained about this state of affairs, accusing it as a form of discrimination. Also my interviews of two other Aymara educational experts, Wilfredo Limachi and Walter Gutierrez, confirm that ethnocentrism does not enjoy acceptance. Limachi works in an international NGO and Gutierrez works in the Ministry; as a Ministry official, Gutierrez states that ethnocentrism is *”absolutely unacceptable”*.

Edgar Cordero, the permanent secretary of the comission of the urban teachers of the district of La Paz, expresses the trotskyist La Paz teacher syndicate's point of view. They consider that the current government is only using socialist rhetorics, but in practice it is *”pro-bourgeois”*, since they haven't actually nationalized the key industries. This means that the dependency continues and there is no progress in decolonization. Cordero criticizes the efforts of the government in education, claiming that the government thinks it is decolonization when they *”give a computer to the student”*, and that only those who like mathematics and become lawyers or doctors have a good salary, while workers are oppressed. The students should be taken to the factories to see what they like instead of orienting themselves by money, but this will only happen *”when private property becomes social property.”* While the rhetorics or proposals of the trotskyists appear not to be very elaborate, the weight of the argument on dependency cannot be ignored, as we are witnessing today even in Europe with the current financial crises. But their criticism on the pedagogical aspect is not convincing, as taking the students to factories to learn what they like is very much along the lines of what is the actual proposal of the government in terms of productive education. Anyway, rather than pedagogical issues, the criticism of the La Paz teachers' syndicate stresses the macroeconomic issues, and they state that *”while the economic system in Bolivia doesn't change, the school is not going to change”* - as they claim that the government only tries to start the change from school. While it is rather fatalistic for a teacher not to believe in the importance or impact of schooling, the argument remains and we'll build on it during chapter 4 and return to it in chapter 4.8.

As stated by Magdalena Cajías, middle classes propose a less confrontative approach. The Catholic Church's educational front, the Episcopal Council, is slightly on the defensive side in relation to the

concept. In the first steps of Law 070, there was a conflict between the Minister of Education Félix Patzi and the Catholic Church, since Patzi's project was a secular educational system, without reference to Christianity. In the words of Patzi: *"[...] hundreds of catholic priests wanted to continue having salaries of the state, but my strategy was to promote their leaving the scene of the educational reforms because the worst effect was the continuation of the colonial categories [...]"*[22] (Gamboa 2009: 56, 57) In practice, the church-administrated schools can continue having their confessional curriculum, but a part of the curriculum will be imposed by the government as such. As Limbert Ayarde, the Executive Secretary of the Episcopal Council says, the church prefers to use the concept of liberation, *"full and integral liberation of the peoples"*, *"because decolonization polarizes"*. The church considers that there are two moments of colonization: the Spanish colonization and the later capitalist colonization, where decolonization is the strategy for liberation. As one can expect due to the church's Freirean projects since 1970s, Ayarde speaks very clearly with Freirean concepts, about overcoming dependency through becoming conscious and *"transforming the mentality of the persons"* and also the mentality of the communities, but also transforming the society. Magdalena Cajías points out Freire as one of the two main pedagogical influences in Law 070, the other being Vygotsky and school for life, school for practice.

In general among the experts that I interviewed, the basic views on decolonization are rather harmonious with each other – except if we should consider the prospects of a trotskyist revolutionary process. Another revolutionary dimension of decolonization would be that related to territoriality, and we will come back to that in the chapter on productive (and territorial) education.

Parents, students and even teachers were much less informed about the concept. None of the three cochabambian urban parents that I interviewed, had any idea what the word "decolonization" means; neither did a rural highlands adult student. Most of the others understood that it has to do with overcoming dependency relations, achieving equality and creating or valuing "our own thing". Sometimes this valuing of the indigenous or of "Bolivianity" was understood in the way that *"the government wants to reject all that comes from outside"* or *"going backwards"*, two things that seemed to be related. A few of the teachers, however, mentioned the idea that decolonization would be going backwards, and clarified that it is an erroneous view. While they didn't consider decolonization as some kind of an eradication of all that is modern, they did point towards positive values from the past *"that need to be recovered and put in practice"* since *"we are in a time of loss*

22 *"[...] cientos de sacerdotes católicos querían seguir cobrando sueldos del Estado pero mi estrategia era promover su salida del escenario de las reformas educativas porque el peor efecto era la continuación de las categorias coloniales [...]"*

of values." Such positive values would include *"for example respect, responsibility, honesty."* One of the teachers described colonization (or conquest, as she preferred to call it) as the source of an inferiority complex and lamented that her students, in a rural lowlands area, *"many prefer foreign countries, and don't value the good things that are in their country."* She pointed out that decolonization should happen in the mentality of the people, in *"our brains, our mental system."* All those who knew more about the concept, considered it a worthy goal.

All in all, decolonization appears to be understood as a project of the change of mentality of the people and also of material conditions, both related to overcoming patterns of dependency and achieving equality in diversity. However, it is still rather unclear how exactly the project will be realized. As Mario Yapu suggests, it would be nice to know, what are the indicators of a decolonized school; of decolonized knowledges; of decolonized teachers; or of decolonized learning; and what exactly does a decolonized pedagogical practice consist in. (Yapu 2009: 133) While this lack of exact indicators makes the interpretation of the challenges to decolonization in education partly insecure, it is clear that decolonization goes through all of the bases of Law 070, which repeatedly refer to indigenous nations and their knowledges and skills (*"saberes y conocimientos"*) and also passingly affirm revolution, social transformation and the *"redistribution of social goods and products, for living well"*. The three different views outlined by Magdalena Cajías all appear in Article 3. Especially the recognition of the indigenous is strongly present not only in Article 3, but in the entire law, which confirms what was said in chapter 3.12, that the indigenous organizations and CEPOs have reached a dominant position in educational policy.

4.2.2. Conscientization or servitude

Some of the schools where I did my interviews, seemed to already in several aspects be going in the direction of what is proposed in Law 070, one of them being the Freirean orientation. These were the better placed or organized schools. In one less prestigious school, however, a teacher affirmed that the banking concept of education was still the standard. When teachers apply the banking concept of education, it becomes internalized by the students, was what this young, aspiring teacher lamented. When she wished to apply a constructivist method and encouraged the students to seek out and create their own knowledge, they would not do it or respond to it. After that she resigned to having to simply give lectures. In 2004, the indigenous organizations claimed that this was a widespread situation: the authoritarian teaching style was maintained in the classrooms. (CONAMAQ et al. 2004: 14)

Wilfredo Limachi blamed the teacher training in Bolivia for not forming the teachers *”for change”* but *”for situating, for adjusting”* - that is, for assimilation.[23] And education for assimilation into the established culture goes easily hand in hand with a racist approach. The traditional teacher was a middle class mestizo for whom teaching was a vocation; they considered themselves leaders of the rural community, with the task of civilizing the indigenous. Today more and more of teachers come from the ”popular” classes, from rural areas, and they fulfill functions and values that are rather technical and professional, (Yapu 2009: 60-61; Canessa 2004: 189) but traditions live on implicitly in teacher training. Regalsky and Laurie comment that when a peasant youth graduates from school and enters a teacher training institute, they pass from the category of the indigenous to that of mestizos..! (Regalsky & Laurie 2007: 238) From then on, the State pedagogic authority links these new teachers *”into town dwellers' socio-economic and power networks”* which bind their loyalty more efficiently than the local community where they are from or where they work. Thus the teachers become alienated from the indigenous communities and until now, the authoritarian-style Spanish-language pedagogy has reinforced the character of the school as a non-indigenous island within the community. (Regalsky & Laurie 2007: 239-240; Canessa 2004: 188) The teachers, who have aspired to become ”civilized”, may also feel resentment for their placement in a rural, ”backward” community. (Canessa 2004: 190) A teacher trainer interviewed by Rosaleen Howard in 1999 claimed that mestizo teachers didn't even want the indigenous to progress, as that would mean the eradication of the privileges of the mestizos. (Howard 2009: 585)

We see then, that the teachers of the ”old guard” adhere rather to the earlier, creole-mestizo-led hegemony, than the new indigenous-led one. The interviewee who attempted constructivist methods to change the authoritarian culture, failed. Could the proposal of Law 070 work better? Magdalena Cajías considers that the constructivist approach (promoted by Law 1565) exaggerates the positioning of the students as self-sufficient, and the teacher's role diminishes too much. The Freirean approach, found in Law 070, is a dialogue between knowing subjects – also the educator is included in the dialogue. It could lead to better results than constructivism, which may often fail to get in touch with the motivations of the students. In any case, the difficulty of changing the ways of the teachers of the ”old guard” probably persists, whereas those trained under Law 1565 presumably would be slightly more open towards changes. Pedro Apala mentions that there will be continuous training of teachers, but like Howard's interviewee commented, additional training does not necessarily change the methods that teachers choose to use. (Howard 2009: 585) In a worst-case

23 *”no han capacitado, formado para el cambio, han formado para ubicarse, para acomodarnos”*

scenario, classroom practice and teacher training continue reproducing two different cultures, making teachers not only authoritarian, but also resigned and cynical. It would be therefore important to apply the Freirean dialogical approach also in the continuous teacher training itself.

If schooling has often made the indigenous develop a *"sense of their social limits"*, (Levinson & Holland 1996: 6) it also has had its positive effects. Wilfredo Limachi comments on this in relation to gender, pointing out that the indigenous cultures tended to be machoist, patriarchal, until recently. Women's position has improved due to education, although not without difficulties in schooling itself, as we can remember from chapter 3.11, where the rapes of students by teachers are mentioned. And although modernity has often degraded the indigenous culture, also the renaissance of the value of the indigenous culture is of modern origin. Most of the concepts included in Law 070 originate in European or global cultural circles, but they point towards liberation rather than servitude for the indigenous. As Limachi comments, even the concept and idea of decolonization, of *"valuing our own thing"*[24] comes from European universities and NGOs. However, also the culture of colonization is still reproduced by some of the teachers. The tension between schooling as decolonization and liberation, and schooling as colonization and socialization to servitude, remains.

4.2.3. Hyperreal Pachamama

The popular perception, especially outside Bolivia, is that the MAS government is the result of a popular indignation, whose protagonists and guiding ideas come from among the indigenous. However, while the role of the indigenous cannot be denied, protagonism or guiding ideas of the process of change in Bolivia are not always or clearly of indigenous origin, as also mentioned in last chapter. A good example is the Water War in Cochabamba 1999-2000, which, as Andrew Canessa points out, was organized by middle class whites and mestizos, who recognized that appeals to indigenous identity could not only bring the rural population together, but also attract the international medias, pressuring the international corporations from that side, as also proposed by Mayekiso (see chapter 2.2.5). (Canessa 2006: 178-179) The international habitual association of the indigenous with ecology was taken up as a weapon of struggle, and indigenous deities like Wiracocha and especially Pachamama became an integral part of the slogans of the movement. Pachamama tends to be translated as *"Mother Earth"*, which is easier to assimilate for the non-indigenous. However, as Xavier Albó points out, this translation and presently common association is based on the influence of Mediterranean ideas about Mother Earth. (Albó et al. 1989: 131-132)

24 *"valorar lo propio"*

As Canessa has observed, in the indigenous communities Pachamama is not related to the modern image of the planet Earth, but to practices and rites related to an agricultural way of life. (Canessa 2006: 191-192) My interviewees (teachers and students, indigenous and mestizos) did usually translate Pachamama as Mother Earth, mentioning both terms, but it happened in relation to a discussion about indigenous spirituality, about rituals; not about politics.

”Mother Earth” does appear also in Law 070. Another prominent, supposedly indigenous term in Law 070 is *”living well”* (*”vivir bien”*). Most often used version besides the Spanish one is the Aymara *”suma qamaña”*, but in Law 070 different versions based on other indigenous languages and cultures are included, and the adherents of the law like to repeat those different slogans in order to popularize them. Indigenous ”living well” is in contemporary discourses often contrasted with the projection of the idea of *”living better”* to the European cultures. ”Living better” is capitalistic and consumeristic, and destructive to the planet. According to some, when Europeans take a pause in their frantic colonial ambitions and seek to live well, their ideas of living well are parasitic; either living well means the idle joys of the city elite or then it is an image of life in the Garden of Eden, where work is not necessary. (Medina 2008: 31-34) These are interesting philosophical discussions, but sometimes the attitude behind such discourses is reactionary, as if attempting in some way to revenge the centuries of injustices, or simply to further one's own cause. The European invention of the welfare state, for example, is often ignored. Sometimes the discussion also takes romanticizing, utopian hues, as with Fernando Huanacuni: *”In Living Well there are no hierarchies, but only natural complementary responsibilities.”*[25] (Huanacuni 2010: 54) I wonder whether not such a statement has been influenced by the European thinker Jean-Jacques Rousseau and his concept of the ”noble savage”.

Identity politics makes cultural identity into a political standpoint and brings a tendency to romanticize identity, as it is used as a populist rallying cry or justification. Canessa calls the image of the indigenous as guardians of the ecological integrity of the Earth ”hyperreal” and contends that it is actually a strategic placement for President Evo Morales to confront global capitalism. (Canessa 2006: 184-185) The ”reification of newness” mentioned by Quijano and Wallerstein would appear not to fit together with a ”traditional” identity, but the political image of the indigenous refers to new factors, such as the planetary ecological (or, also ethical, or social) crisis. It is a new fashion and a way of talking, as I noticed, when Limbert Ayarde told that they (Catholics) have a *”Christian cosmovision”* - the word ”cosmovision” is part of the neo-indigenous

25 *”En el Vivir Bien no existen las jerarquías sino las las responsibilidades naturales complementarias.”*

jargon. We must then ask: Law 070, like other policies of the MAS government, talks a lot about the indigenous, but how much of that is populism and how much will actually be implemented? Is the populistic use of indigeneity going to distort the expression of indigeneity and thus become one more form of colonization? These questions will be addressed in the perspectivizing discussion in chapter 4.8.

4.3. Communitarian education

4.3.1. Communitarianism and Bolivia today

Félix Patzi, who was the Minister of Education when the first drafts of what was to be Law 070 were made, states that the new Constitution of Bolivia permits the construction of a new concept of hegemony – a hegemony that gives space to diversity instead of homogenization and subordination. (Patzi 2010: 251) Against colonization, where a hegemonic culture destroys the dominated cultures, decolonization starts from social participation in order to reach a communitarian culture. This is reflected in Law 070 as communitarian education is one of its bases.

Among other things, the communitarian orientation means *"the direct participation of social organizations"* - syndical, indigenous and "popular", in the *"[...] formulation of educative policies, planning, organization, follow-up and evaluation of the educative process, caring for its quality."*[26] (Article 5.5., Law 070) The example of the School of Warisata goes along those lines, as it was administrated by an indigenous council. Also similar to Warisata is the idea that the students are to form a *"communitarian consciousness"*. (Article 5.12., Law 070)

Warisata, however, was a child of its time. The Aymara educator Wilfredo Limachi is himself also a member in an indigenous community, and as educator knows other communities. According to him, often the indigenous claim that their communitarian values and practices are still intact, but to Limachi that view is *"a bit distant from reality"*. What happens according to him is that the traditional values have been adjusted to the capitalist world-system and their practice becomes *"symbolic rather than practical"*. Also the *"logic of markets"* has been incorporated, as in an example mentioned by Limachi: the tradition where the one who has more resources finances a party for the others, has today become converted into a commercial activity that actually creates

26 *"[...] la directa participación de las organizaciones sociales […] en la formulación de políticas educativas, planificación, organización, seguimiento y evaluación del proceso educativo, velando por su calidad."*

more resources for the organizers instead of equalizing, like in earlier times.

In the beginning of 1990s, just before the state launched the Law of Popular Participation and the OTBs, Rolando Sánchez Serrano conducted a research on the views of community members in some highlands communities. Sánchez Serrano examines especially the position of the different communal authorities. He notes that the traditional indigenous communal authorities were highly recognized in their communities before the national revolution of 1952, but then their importance began to decline and during the 1970s modern local authorities (municipal, syndical, cooperatives) became prevalent. The interest of the community members to become modern local authorities and the primacy of the modern authority positions over the traditional ones is due to the material progress that the modern authorities could enable to their communities, Sánchez Serrano concludes. (Sánchez 1994: 13-14)

Sánchez Serrano also found that the traditional authorities were retained in the communities as those in charge especially of the issues related to farming, whereas other social issues were increasingly being transferred to modern authorities. Before, the community members would turn to the traditional authorities in all of the diverse social issues, but their sensation of who were the real communal authorities changed when they could see that especially the new municipal authorities actually could effect the construction of schools, medical outposts and infrastructure like roads, public squares, sports facilities, water, electricity and telephone. (Sánchez 1994: 41-56)

However, both Sánchez Serrano and Xavier Albó point out that the traditional organization forms have not disappeared. In many cases the traditional rotation of authority positions instead of elections persists, but the authority is simply called ”the General Secretary of the syndicate”, in order to gain the benefits of representation in the syndical organization. (Sánchez 1994: 39; Albó et al. 1989: 51-54) Since the LPP, same happens in relation to the OTBs. They are always called ”OTB”, but their functioning varies locally. I could confirm this in my interviews, where practically everyone talked of the OTB, headed by a President or sometimes in rural areas *”the General Secretary”* (with reference to the CSUTCB, obviously), who was chosen through the rotative system, changing the person in charge once a year or once in two years.

Another factor, that affects the communities, is migration, that is directed to more opportune zones within the country as well as neighbouring countries, Europe and USA. The migration flows are principally from the countryside to the urban centres, which Cordero Carraffa calls an expression of

the sensations of frustration when faced with the gap in the standard of life in the countryside and in the cities or rich countries. (IDEA 2010: 69) According to Annelies Zoomers, *"[i]n some [highlands] villages, more than half the inhabitants reside elsewhere for several months of each year."* (Zoomers 2006: 1032) Rural or suburban communities in Bolivia today are not self-sufficient or closed, but increasingly integrated to the modern world-system. The future of the communities appears insecure as well, according to Zoomers, as those community members who live between the city and the rural community, usually stress *"that they hope their children will be able to build a life outside the community."* (Zoomers 2006: 1039)

This erosion of traditional community values was experienced as something very negative by one of my interviewees, who had seen the culture of her remote suburban neighborhood change and complained that her newer neighbours have no interest in the community, but instead just to *"go out with their latest model cars; we don't even greet each other with friendliness."*[27] Others told similarly that there aren't many common activities among the neighbours, with the exception of rural Chiquitanía, which being a more remote area than my other places of research, appeared to conserve more of the traditional community way of life. However, also there, in a provincial centre one headmaster was very concerned about the alcohol and drug use of the youth, which he related to *"losing [...] the values of the traditions"*.

The Bolivian society appears, then, to rather be marching towards more disembedded modernity than traditional embedded communitarianism; communitarian education would appear to go against the grain. This was seen already in 2006, in the National Congress of Education, where the first version of the project of Law 070 was drafted. Patzi wished to substitute the School Committees with "Communitarian Educational Councils", but this was rejected by other stakeholders as it was viewed as an imposition of indianist doctrine, which devalues individual freedom and private property. (Gamboa 2009: 59)

4.3.2. Communitarian culture at schools

From a structural point of view, then, in spite of government rhetorics and the aspirations of the indigenous federations, communitarianism faces challenges. However, as mentioned, traditional community values are sometimes called for. Giving space to diversity, as proposed by the Ministry, needs the development of a communitarian sensibility and practice, because without an open

27 *"[...] tienen otros intereses. De salir en sus autos de último modelo; ni siquiera nos saludamos con cariño."*

interaction there can be no recognition of diversity. Communitarian education is therefore an important element in the construction of ”organic freedom”.

With Law 1565, School Committees consisting of parents and local organizations were formed in school, nucleus and district levels, but the indigenous organizations criticize their functioning. The Committees lack qualification and follow-up, and instead of the Committees supervising the management or participating in the definition of the contents of education or in evaluation, the local educational authorities subordinate the Committees and make them into their administrative and logistic helpers. The indigenous organizations also criticize that the forms of organization of the Committees do not respect the indigenous community organizing forms, nor does the school calendar respect the agricultural calendar. (This came up in the Raqaypampa conflict already in 1980s.) Finally, while the Committees are not adequately trained, neither are the teachers trained to work with the Committees. (CONAMAQ et al. 2004: 14-15; Regalsky & Laurie 2007: 244; Albó 2002: 132)

I didn't ask my interviewees about School Committees, and neither did they take the subject up, which may indicate that the Committees are not very active. We did discuss the interactions between teachers, parents and studens, and these in general appeared rather fluent among all of my interviewees, with the exception that in Chiquitanía the participation of the parents in school functions was rather reduced. This was explained due to poverty; the parents had to be at work and couldn't attend school meetings. The students commented that the relation between the teachers and the parents is well, since *”they call each other”*. In the ”Fé y Alegría” school in Cochabamba, communication between the teachers and the parents appeared well organized with individual tutoring, and the students and the parents affirmed that it is very well. In the adult education institution in the highlands, a communitarian method of curricular design was in use: each course starts with a diagnostic meeting, where the students tell of their interests and needs, which are then taken in account in curricular design. In a school in Chiquitanía with the mentioned problems of alcohol and drugs, a combination of soft and hard methods was taken: conscientization of the parents, but also contact with the police. One of my interviewees was even lamenting that since corporal punishment of children is today illegal, the parents have lost their former authority. (In the streets of El Alto, I have witnessed how some indigenous families still buy whips for the ”education” of the children.) Upholding community values through force does not, however, appear sustainable in the modern world.

According to Walter Gutierrez of the MEC, communitarian education means a contextualized education – contact with the surroundings and learning from the surroundings. Work is understood as collective rather than individual. This would mean, in Wilfredo Limachi's words, to *"recognize [other] spaces of learning, not only school spaces."*[28] To realize such a contextualized learning, the School Committees must become much more active and with power to implement. This power is not always easily ceded by those stakeholders who wield it now. For one, the Catholic Church is cautious towards giving power from the parents to other stakeholders, as Limbert Ayarde mentions. But according to various researchers, a more serious obstacle are the attitudes of the teachers. (María Luisa Talavera Simoni, doctoral dissertation, 15.3.2011 at CIDES in La Paz; Howard 2009; Lopes 2009; López & Murillo 2006) Apparently where the Church thinks that the parents know better than other stakeholders, teachers think that they, as professionals, know better.

While government actors stress that teachers were included in the elaboration of Law 070, many others (besides my interviewees, many others interviewed by above mentioned researchers) claim that their participation was rather limited. This may be something that is still underway, though, and in the last steps before implementation the teachers may have a more active role in the regional and local curriculum development. But the scepticism of the teachers, who also clearly experience that they are underpaid and feel that the changes will bring them more work and less power to decide, is not something new. Instead, as shown by María Luisa Talavera's doctoral dissertation, Bolivian teachers have developed a culture of resistance to state policies through practice – governments have made promises which they have not fulfilled, and this repeated disillusion with governments have made the teachers sceptical about state administration and thus habitually critical about state initiatives. It is not part of the professional profile of teachers that they should be included in the design of educational reforms, but they demand it, because they don't trust the administration. (María Luisa Talavera Simoni, doctoral dissertation, 15.3.2011 at CIDES in La Paz)

In synthesis, communitarian education is a proposal that faces a lot of challenges, but also the need for it appears convincing. The objective of "unity in diversity" – a slogan that greets those arriving to La Paz along the highway from El Alto – is sought after in the development of communitarian education, but the objective implies also other challenges, which we will consider in the following chapter.

28 *"reconocer espacios de aprendizaje, no sólo escolares."*

4.4. Unity in diversity

4.4.1. The extent and the direction of the unity

Universal voting rights were established in Bolivia in 1952, but though eroding slowly in some aspects, the model of two civilizations continued, even until today. Álvaro García Linera, the Vice-President of Bolivia since 2006, considers this state of affairs as *"incompleteness of the hegemony"* as the State was *"always seen and utilized as a mechanism of a minority social bloc to impose, dominate, exclude and contain the social majority."* (IDEA 2010: 11) The economic-corporative phase was, in Linera's view, not overcome as the civil society was largely subordinated and antagonistic to the state – something which in Linera's opinion has substantially changed when he and Evo are in power. The Constitutional Assembly has lead to a modernization made by the working class and the indigenous, which is *"another kind of a modernity than those known until now"* since the state and the society are not two dissociated components, but *"a growing dissolution of the political (the State-government of Gramsci) in the amplified civil society that becomes simultaneously political society."* (IDEA 2010: 16)

It seems that a communitarian socialist hegemony has been established, where indigeneity is an important factor. The question is, whether the adherence of the population to the socially-minded state agenda is only apparent, instrumental and provisional, and whether in practice the majority rather are oriented by the global capitalist, or neoliberal, hegemony. Or as Zoomers writes: *"[...] people are interested in pro-indigenous reforms (the right to be culturally distinctive), but will ultimately evaluate the policy in terms of economic benefits."* (Zoomers 2006: 1043) What is the frame of reference for those economic benefits – individualistic or communitarian?

I began to have these doubts especially since listening to practically all of the parents and students explain that the goal of being educated is to become a professional and to get a good salary, to *"get a job, family, house"* or in more ambitious terms: *"study for becoming professional, a professional has to know all things."*[29] Rather than communitarianism, what this would appear to imply is the neoliberal scheme of learning competences in order to compete in the labour markets – in the end benefiting capital above all.

Wishing to become professional, or that one's children become professionals instead of surviving as

29 *"[...] el estudio para ser un profesional, tiene que saber todas las cosas."*

unspecialized workforce, is of course understandable when one feels that *"there is no economic security"*. And the wish for economic security can manifest through different strategies, one of which is professionalization and another support to a government that promises to fight for equality. Even though in current practice people are perhaps reproducing the neoliberal concept of the educated person, at the same time they may be looking for other solutions. Becoming a professional can also mean ability to *"help others"*, as some of the interviewees mentioned, though references to economic security were more frequent. Also, it is possible that as they viewed me as a European professional, to please me they wanted to express sympathy with my supposed values, as I considered in chapter 1.3.2., but in any case I doubt that it would be a sufficient explanation for the overwhelming adherence to professionalism expressed in the interviews.

The discourse on the function of education as professionalization appeared so rooted that a teacher grown and studied in Cochabamba affirmed that it is difficult to teach in rural Chiquitanía, because the students don't have faith in their future. According to her, the students tend to think that the things they learn at school are useless for them, since their possibilities to study further or to develop a career as modern professionals are limited. Some of the students of the district, however, demonstrated a spirit of struggle, expressing a wish to go to the city and show that rural people are not ignorant. The situation for many in rural areas is critical, and the lack of faith in the future is understandable against knowledge from researches such as that of Regalsky and Laurie. Environmental and social crises create insecurity in small-scale agriculture and necessities to move to other occupations, but at the same time the quality of rural schooling can be miserable. While the kids are at school, they don't learn the agricultural skills either – in the words of a rural parent: *"In the end they're nothing, they don't even learn to speak Spanish or Quechua."* (Regalsky & Laurie 2007: 236-237)

In principle Law 070 also seeks to answer to this situation, seeking to eradicate the difference in level between urban and rural schooling and between state and private schooling. A teacher told of her observation that sometimes teachers in the countryside think that they don't need to give their students the same level of education as in the city; again it is shown that a lot depends on the motivation of the teachers. On the other hand, rural teachers complained of the lack of teaching materials and proper infrastructure, which are factors that certainly affect the quality of education and if the government is not capable of attending to them, it is impossible that state and private schooling would be of the same level.

4.4.2. Bolivian diversity

The Bolivian state and the indigenous nations, as they are called today, started their relation in the framework of the heritage of colonialism, as described in chapter 3. It may be stated in broad lines that during the 20th Century there has been a slow process of convergence between the practice of the state and the interests of the indigenous nations, who seem to be emerging from subordination even though relative poverty still persists. We also considered that the traditional creole-mestizo economic elites have today political influence especially in the resource-rich eastern provinces. National unity is therefore today in Bolivia related to restraining the power of the economic elite, and in that sense the alignment of the State and the indigenous communities in Law 070 appears as a historical continuance of the alignment from early 20th Century. But where a hundred years ago the division into two civilizations was clearly articulated and passed to educational policy, since 1950s schooling has produced above all national Bolivians both in rural and urban contexts.

My interview research shows that today the development narrative has not been eradicated by the ”state and society” -narrative, though it is being questioned. ”Bolivia” appears to mean abundant and diverse nature and cultural diversity, that today is valued. To those teachers, students and parents that I interviewed, nationality is Bolivian, and while some do affirm that they belong also to an indigenous nation, more important is *”feeling one culture, Bolivia”*. The concept of the Plurinational State rather exalts and expands the Bolivian national sentiment than disintegrates it into 36 portions. For example, when asked whether they belong to an indigenous nation, some rural students replied *”We are plurinational.”*

What the membership in an indigenous nation means in practice or theory, did not seem to be very clear to many of the interviewees. Being mestizo, instead of indigenous, was by one interviewee tied to the culture of the place rather than being a characteristic of the individual: *”Here it seems people are mestizo.”* In contrast, one indigenous interviewee from the same location was very certain of being Quechua. To her, being Quechua meant *”to be humble”* – a cultural quality, rather than a collective organization.

It is notable, that in Law 070 it does not appear clear, whether identity is considered as the identity of an individual or whether it is considered as the identity of a community. ”Cultures” are seen as separate, definable entities, which gives cultural power to the State, which defines them in its policies. One concrete factor that may define ”a culture” or ”a nation” would be having their own

language.

The earlier limited bilingual education becomes under Law 070 plurilingual education, which means that the goal is that all Bolivians learn to speak both Spanish, at least one indigenous language and at least one foreign language. While it is revolutionary to propose to the urban creole-mestizo population that they all should learn an indigenous language, equally according to Wilfredo Limachi it is very rare to find an indigenous *"that speaks English or German."* Certainly the implementation of plurilingual education would take a long time, since many of the 37 or so official languages don't even have a grammar, let alone teachers who can teach such a grammar. Some of the languages are on the verge of extinction. (MEC 2008b: 45-46) But besides technical issues, an important question is the motivation of the population to learn.

According to Salustiano Ayma from the MEC it is not only the smaller indigenous languages that are under the threat of extinction, but also the bigger ones like Quechua and Aymara, because the newest generations no longer speak those languages. (MEC 2008b: 56) He also tells how under Law 1565 they went to the communities and the parents asked them: "For what do our children need to learn in Aymara and Quechua, when in the cities the schools are only in Spanish?"[30] The parents thought that bilingual education was second-class education. (MEC 2008b: 38) Especially in the highlands, the parents fear that their children will not learn Spanish. The CEPOs of Aymaras and Quechuas have worked a lot on this with the parents, making them understand that bilingual education is not going to damage the capacity to learn Spanish, but on the contrary. (López & Murillo 2006: 16, 21, 29)

The above mentioned fears and the absolute superiority of Spanish would be alleviated by the extension of indigenous languages in the cities, but it is difficult to know whether it will be successful. Perhaps the argument of expanding their cultural capital will be sufficient to convince urban populations; the development of diverse linguistic spaces will also help. (One of the interviewees mentioned that Chiquitano is dying out, since it is not practiced or spoken, but in one village she saw a loudspeaker where news were announced in Chiquitano and that kept the language alive there.) Plurinational national sentiment could motivate the learning. Those Cochabamban urban students and parents that I interviewed, mentioned that learning Quechua would be useful because *"in the markets sometimes they only speak Quechua."*

30 *"[...] los papás decían por qué nuestros hijos tienen que aprender en aymara, por qué en quechua, por qué sólo en castellano en las ciudades, consideraban que aprender en dos lenguas era una educación de segunda clase."*

Mostly, however, interviewees were interested in learning English. Nearly all of them named English in the top of the list of the languages that they would like to learn; also French and Italian were popular. One student told that he wants to visit his sister in USA; another told that the supporters of the village school send letters from USA and Holland. Migration flows, mentioned in chapter 4.3.1, and probably music, movies, literature (mentioned by one interviewee) bring the globally dominant English-speaking cultures closer, but still out of reach for many, leading to an ambiguous relation, where at the same time the right to learn English is called for and discrimination on the basis of not being able to speak English is denounced.

4.4.3. Plural visions

Article 3.8. talks of *”intracultural, intercultural and plurilingual”* education. Intraculturality is defined in Article 6 as the promotion of *”the recuperation, strengthening, development and internal cohesion”*[31] of the indigenous cultures, intercultural communities and afrobolivian (descendants of slaves brought from Africa) communities. The knowledge and worldviews of all these communities will be included in the curriculum. Interculturality, on the other hand, is the promotion of interaction between different peoples and cultures; *”interrelation and interaction of knowledge, skills, science and technology of each culture with other cultures”*[32]. Also interculturality is oriented towards strengthening ”own” identity and the idea of dialogue between different visions is that it helps one to project and universalize one's own wisdom and knowledge.

Where I failed in my research is that I should probably have asked the interviewees: What is indigenous knowledge? Is it taught at school? Should it be taught at school? I didn't want to go directly into the theme, but rather explore the lived experience of the people, to find how they position themselves in general, instead of turning the focus specifically into a question about indigeneity. Firstly I even didn't include the word ”indigenous” into any question, but finally when there was no reference in almost any of the answers to indigeneity, I started asking directly about whether they consider themselves as part of the 36 indigenous nations and also whether there is indigenous spirituality. On the basis of the data I have, I cannot deduce what their thoughts on indigenous knowledge would be. However, even the experts say that the research into indigenous knowledge is still underway and they cannot say much about that knowledge except that obviously

31 *”[...] la recuperación, fortalecimiento, desarrollo y cohesión al interior de las culturas [...]”*
32 *”[...] la interrelación e interacción de conocimientos, saberes, ciencia y tecnología propios de cada cultura con otras culturas [...]”*

much of it has to do with agriculture, the nature, and spirituality connected with nature. On the other hand the indigenous ”cosmovisions” are connected a lot to social organization, communitarianism, as well as rituals, which both are something that I did discuss with the interviewees. It seems to me, and Pedro Apala of the CEPOs confirms this, that today the indigenous skills and knowledge are less known and are in danger of disappearing, as lifestyles are becoming modern and urban. Taking that in account, probably to many people the question of whether indigenous knowledge should be taught at school is quite an abstract question, as they don't exactly have a very clear idea of the content (and thus relevance) of such knowledge.

It remains to be seen, what emerges from the Ministry of Education and Cultures. According to Salustiano Ayma, a group of *”indigenous originary sages”* have participated in the designing of the new curriculum. (MEC 2008b: 37) Ayma says that even Ministry personnel criticized him when they made contracts with indigenous sages, since those sages don't have academic formation. Ayma responded saying that the sages have PhD in their kind of science, since many of us others don't have such abilities, for example the ability to read the nature. He also claims that the sages had very accurate proposals of how a communitary education should be in practice and how should a technical, technological and productive education be. (MEC 2008b: 42-43)

As mentioned, I did ask about spirituality, and eventually even directly about indigenous spirituality. Pedro Apala said that nowadays if one speaks of spirituality, it is understood to mean religion (basically Christianity), and this in fact happened with many interviewees – of course on a denominational basis, but also on epistemological level. For example, when I specifically asked about indigenous spirituality, one indigenous interviewee kept on talking of the Bible and priests and how they interact with the indigenous.

Spirituality was also viewed as simply a positive attitude or way of relating to others, and finally, also indigenous rituals, celebrations and Pachamama were mentioned. Annelies Zoomers mentions that the local natural environment is a central element in the worldviews of highlands indigenous, who see their landscapes as a strength, but also as a source of weakness due to their dependence on the harsh conditions. (Zoomers 2006: 1030) One of my interviewees told of a drought and a ritual held with indigenous sages for bringing rain. As mentioned in chapter 2.8., Paulo Freire considered the indigenous rituals superstitions. Similarly Edgar Cordero of the teachers' syndicate of La Paz argued that modern science and technology has made indigenous beliefs obsolete. On the other hand, indigenous traditional knowledge on for example exactly meteorology were admired by some.

To me personally and based on my own experience, offerings to Pachamama make sense, but not as the creation of magical expectations, but rather as ways of working with one's own attitude and relation to nature. From that point of view, such traditions can be worth sustaining. The decolonizing vision of the Ministry considers likewise that *"the affective and symbolic spiritual dimension"* of the indigenous cultures shouldn't be subordinated to the singular value of "progress". (MEC 2008a: 22) This discussion connects with Suzana Andrade's proposal, that *"[c]ritical pedagogy could benefit from an extension of its focus on external systemic liberation, to include a focus on internal moral or spiritual transformation as well."* (Andrade 2007: 76-77)

4.5. Productive education

Article 3.9. of Law 070 exalts the value of work, which from a Marxist point of view is important, as work is seen as a fundamental value and the exploitation of the workers by capital is seen as a fundamental societal contradiction. Article 3.9. connects production and work to both creativity and ecology. Finally, the strengthening of the territorial management by the indigenous communities is affirmed. MEC also talks of *"dissolving the borders between the educational institutions and the productive sociocommunitarian surroundings"*. (MEC 2008a: 23)

Limbert Ayarde considers that the school system in Bolivia has been too closed. Rouma's heritage of excessive focus on humanities and the later authoritarian behaviourism have combined with the general inequality of opportunities with the result of a lack of creativity. Ayarde considers that the combination of production and education could change not only the mentality of the students, but also the mentality of the communities, *"to encourage productive initiatives, where the surplus value would go to themselves"*[33]. However, importantly he also observes, that it would not remove the dependency on international capital – that can only be achieved through macroeconomic policies. And as Freire claimed, the decolonizing of mentality depends not only on the transformation of the educational system, but it also depends on material incentives for change.

Edgar Cordero thinks that the productive education is directed towards the production of cheap labour, as students do not develop sufficiently in science but learn a bit of technical skills and a bit of humanities. Another teacher complained about the lack of interest of the students in humanities, saying that *"they may know very well physics, chemistry and know nothing of reading or reflecting or thinking."* Her proccupation was that *"[...] if they know very well mathematics, but don't know*

33 *"para que se fomente iniciativas productivas en las que el valor agregado pues vaya para ellos mismos"*

how to talk, to be leaders, to manage themselves, to give opinions, what future can we have?"[34]

While these are legitimate concerns, the big problem in the implementation of productive education is material. As reiterated by both my interviewees and other researches, (Lopes 2009) school infrastructure and materials in Bolivia today are poor even just for teaching humanities. Ayarde says that they (the Catholic Church) have invested more in productive education in Bolivia than any other institution, and their experience is that productive education is the most expensive kind of education. Limachi tells of his visit to Spain, where he witnessed the Spanish productive education and the amount of technology that was applied, technologies that *"we don't have in Bolivia"*.

In some areas productive education may be easier to implement than in others, and I imagine that it depends also on the quality of the cooperation with the local productive economy and population in general. The CETHAs have already been working for decades in productive education, and at CETHA Caracollo one teacher mentioned that they will become a pilot centre for the development of productive education under Law 070. They told how they relate each of the subjects to everyday productive life, so that for example in mathematics they are counting the selling and buying of agricultural products. In Caracollo, they have funded their centre from international NGOs as well as the government and the municipality, and besides that a lot has been constructed through local volunteerism. Even with those multiple sources of funding, they don't manage to respond to all the demand and the needs of the surroundings.

In terms of the attitudes of teachers, students and parents, I don't see so many obstacles. Certainly, there is again a delay constituted by the teachers' syndicates' opposition to the incorporation of technical teachers, who have not been formed in the teacher training institutes. But in the rural schools it appeared to me that there was an expression of enthusiasm towards productive education. One rural teacher was looking forward to teaching gardening, which was his secondary source of income, and also a rural adult student, who was learning basic literacy, mentioned that he could teach agriculture to others. Another rural teacher mentioned that the students had already taught him to farm quinoa. A rural headmaster listed several projects that they have already envisioned, including a strong emphasis on ecology. In the urban school where I did my interviews, there were no mentions of the subject of productive education, but I don't know whether it is because it interests the urban population less, appearing humble and unprofessional, or whether it was simply

34 *"Pueden saber muy bien física, química y no saber nada de leer o reflexionar o razonar. Eso es lo que me preocupa, […] si ellos saben muy bien matemáticas, pero no saben hablar, no saben ser líderes, no saben manejarse, no saben opinarse, pienso yo qué futuro podemos tener?"*

a coincidende that it wasn't talked about. Maybe also the more urban professions are more technical and applying productive education there would demand more investment, and they don't see it happening in the close future.

As for the territorial management by the indigenous communities, my interviews have nothing to contribute to the existing knowledge, as when I did the interviews, I didn't pay much attention on the issue. My focus was in decolonizing, communitarian and productive education, and the interviews didn't happen in any indigenous autonomous community's territory. Those autonomous units are recognized in the new Constitution as political-administrative entities that can govern themselves with their own norms, institutions, authorities and procedures. If a rural municipality wishes to become an indigenous autonomy, it can do that through a referendum where its inhabitants approve the change of status. (IDEA 2010: 566) However, as Xavier Albó comments, those indigenous groups that have dispersed from a certain location and lost their connection with the determined territory – which would include the majority of the indigenous in Bolivia – don't reach this kind of a cultural-political autonomy with this constitutional decree. (IDEA 2010: 722) In any case, these autonomies are an interesting development, which Esteban Ticona even calls *”the fundamental territorial nucleuses of the construction of a new Bolivian nation”*. In this construction, these communities have started calling their municipalities as ”indigenous municipalities”, even though such a definition does not exist legally. (Ticona 2010: 134) It could be that a mutual recognition will lead to the sustainability of a multilayered, dynamic social practice, where the ayllus do not simply blend in to the state-based, more individualistic form of democracy, but sustain their social organization parallel to the municipality and its organization of basic services. For now, however, such autonomies are the alternative, not the norm, and it could be that Ticona is a bit too optimistic about their ability to influence the rest of the country.

4.6. Scientific, technical, technological and artistic education

The framework for science and art in education in Law 070 is the *”integral development of the society”*, achieved through the complementation between *”universal knowledge and skills”* and the knowledge and skills based on the indigenous cosmovisions.

Various of the interviewees (both experts and teachers and students) named modern technology as the obvious example of those aspects that come from outside Bolivia and which are desirable and necessary in Bolivia: the computer, cellphone, satellite (China is building the first Bolivian satellite

at the moment). Wilfredo Limachi said also that decolonization means that Bolivians not only use technology but that they learn to create technology. Limbert Ayarde used the term *”development with identity”* in order to unite the modern idea of development with the indigenous culture. Another aspect that was valued is knowledge in general, the mentioned ”universal knowledge and skills”. The computers are also already concretely present in current governmental initiatives in the sector, as in the programme ”One computer per teacher”, mentioned by the interviewees.

The interest in the development of science and technology is then the interest of all in Bolivia. In chapter 3, it was commented that Bolivia is behind in science and dependent on foreign engineers. Development of Bolivian technology therefore certainly would contribute to decolonization and anti-imperialism, freeing the minds and hands of the Bolivian revolutionary educated persons. As in relation to productive education, the lack of equipment is an issue, however.

As mentioned earlier, I don't have much information about the indigenous knowledge and skills, and therefore don't know, how the complementation between the two categories of knowledge and skills is to happen in the Bolivian schools, or how might the stakeholders relate to the indigenous knowledge in schooling. Magdalena Cajías refers, unsurprisingly, to skills of treating nature in a non-destructive manner and how to live well in harmony with nature. Such knowledge might be of interest globally, not only in Bolivia. Also, the indigenous cosmovisions should be considered from their own premises, existentially, as they may represent an entirely different mode of production of knowledge than the modern, market-oriented rationalism. I believe that such is also the idea behind Law 070, though it remains to be seen how this dimension of the law might play out in practice.

Regarding artistic expression, there was very little that was spoken about it in the interviews, and therefore we continue to a subject which certainly is related to aesthetic sensibility as well.

4.7. The development of values and personality

In chapter 4.2.3, I mentioned the concept of ”living well”. The development of values and personality according to Articles 3.11.-3.13. of Law 070 are centered aroung that concept. There are some varied points of view regarding the concept: to some it points in the direction of deep ecology, but to others it means some kind of a social humanism. President Evo Morales has stated that ”living well” is a different kind of an agenda than the developmentalistic agenda, which considers development as a value in itself, and only afterwards notices the negative effects of development.

(Morales in Huanacuni 2010: 43-44)

The Jesuit anthropologist Xavier Albó has analyzed the philology of the Aymara concept and proposes that ”living well” actually means the same as *”to coexist well”* (*”convivir bien”*). He also notes that the indigenous resist the idea of ”living better” as they see that living better often means to live better at the expense of others. (Albó 2008) The economist Gonzalo Gosálvez Sologuren has synthesized living well as a communitarian and democratic ideal, *”where all have a place and a responsibility of participation [...] to decide what are their necessities and how to organize the economy in order to face [those necessities].”*[35] (IDEA 2010: 191) Gosálvez also adds that while living well means both an aspiration of social welfare for all of the members of the community and an aspiration for harmony with Mother Earth and the cosmos, living well also means a spiritual and an emotional wellbeing. Another economist, Lourdes Montero Justiniano mentions that living well also means the satisfaction of immaterial aspects of human life such as respect, self-determination, self-valoration, solidarity and so on, *”which cannot exist only in an individual manner but relational […] producing a reciprocal dependency between the individual good and the communitarian ”living well”.”*[36] (IDEA 2010: 194, 592-593)

Independent of the exact interpretation, the concept of ”living well” challenges many ideas of modernity, such as the idea that the fast pace or vast scope of change of modernity, or its restlessly accelerated disembedding and reembedding, would necessarily be superior to the rooted trust in tradition and local community. Neither, from such a point of view, is open reflexivity necessarily superior to the reflection that is integrated with the time-space organization of the community.

The comments of the interviewees were not in contradiction with the basic orientation of ”living well”. When asked, what the students learn at school, many of the students and parents in fact placed values and the development of personality as central issues, as in this comment: *”[I want them to learn at school] to become friendly with everyone, that they collaborate helping ones who cannot, to be attentive.”*[37] Who would disagree with such universal human values? In spite of this, a lack or loss of values is mentioned. The indigenous organizations also report how Bolivian parents complain that some students *”don't listen to the teachers, don't anymore greet elders and even at*

35 *”[...] donde todos tienen un lugar y una responsibilidad de participación […] para decidir cuáles son sus necesidades y cómo hay que organizar la economía para enfrentarlas.”*

36 *”[...] que no pueden existir sólo de manera individual sino relacional […] produciendo una dependencia recíproca entre el bien individual con el ”buen vivir” comunitario.”*

37 *”hacer sencillos con todos, que colaboren al que no puede... ser atenta.”*

home behave badly."[38] (CONAMAQ et al. 2004: 14) Whether the new focus on living well and learning to decide has an effect, remains to be evaluated when put in practice, but on the other hand problems about values are also related to wider societal processes and visions of what kind of a future awaits the students.

4.8. Synthesis: Tensions and dilemmas

My method of exploring the tensions between the vision of Law 070 and the conditions and aspirations of the stakeholders has been a combination of hermeneutics and discourse analysis. This final discussion attempts to describe and interpret those tensions and the historical horizons they are found in. This method has the advantage of open-endedness; while I am looking at the dialectics of the process, I am not bound to a single theoretical point of view or a more strict methodological limitation. As we are dealing with a reform that contains some new concepts and untried approaches, this is a most appropriate method. The disadvantage is that the results are only an interpretation, not a definition, and thus they only open some horizons rather than giving certain, directly applicable guidelines to any of the stakeholders or other interested parties. A more strictly focused, rather than a broad historical study would be more appropriate for more practical results.

A basic historical tension in Bolivian history is the heritage of colonialism. Along very rough lines and as a generalization, rural indigenous education and lifestyle is contrasted with, and subordinated to, the urban, modern, creole-mestizo education and lifestyle. Decolonization is proposed as a reconciliation of the two in equality. However, as Gramsci pointed out, the ruling classes are better connected with each other internationally than the subordinate classes; the subordinate classes are not only subjected to internal colonialism, but also within an entire world-system. Because of this, equality between the subordinated and the dominant can only be possible in the context of a transformation of the entire world-system. Nothing short of a world revolution is needed for decolonization.

The forces in question in Bolivia are exactly that – global. Global corporations such as Bechtel, during the Water War, are challenged by a process that has revolutionary elements. The relation between Bolivia and the global power USA are being reconfigured – normal diplomatic relations have not yet been re-established after the US Ambassador was exiled in 2008 amidst accusations of participation in campaigns of destabilization of the country. The economies of USA and Europe are

38 *"no hacen caso a los profesores, ya no saludan a los mayores y hasta en la casa se vuelven malcriados."*

in crisis, while the World Bank prognosis is that within two years Bolivia will rise to a higher economic category than today.[39] Changes in the relations of forces have resulted in the possibility of new laws such as Law 070.

Historically, the question remains, whether a world revolutionary process can advance and result in a radically different society – a society where economic domination and dependency could gradually give way to solidarity and liberation. The ecological crisis and the systemic, continuous crisis of the capitalist world-system could provide a material motivation for such a change, but what is called for is a change in mentality, and that requires a voluntary cause as well. A voluntary cause that goes beyond calculations of economic benefit, is not a rational matter. I have mentioned aspects of spirituality in the analysis of the discourses exactly because I believe in their profound relevance in today's world. The global surge of interest in indigenous peoples and their culture, which has lead the Bolivians themselves to take it as a political rallying cry, has inevitably something to do with a search for more substantial values than what cold, opportunistic rationality can provide.

However, it is difficult to evaluate, exactly what kind of a transformation a proliferation of the indigenous ”cosmovisions” could lead to, especially with my lack of knowledge about them. That they are sought after, does not automatically mean that their contents are relevant. Herein lies another problematic aspect: there is a wish to revive indigenous traditions, positive traditional values and thus revive the sense of self-respect in the indigenous population, while adjusting to the modern society and not negating aspirations of modernization. But since modernity, today, is subject to the logic of the markets, the aspects of indigeneity that stand out are those that best adjust to the logic of the markets. On the other hand, when taking a different point of view, as Evo Morales does, and using indigenous concepts as political tools, again those concepts are moved to a field that is alien to them. Evo Morales is currently being criticized for hypocrisy, as he seeks to develop the economy of the state through industrialization, while talking of saving the Mother Earth. Modern institutions have a different historical logic and therefore implementation of indigenous values depends rather on the civil society. Also, when indigeneity and modernity mix, there is a danger that indigenous culture will be reconfigured yet again and thus the systematization of the knowledge on indigenous culture and languages is a valuable part of the initiative related to Law 070. Standardization in this situation does not work against diversity, but for it, though it is

39 See http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/BANCOMUNDIAL/EXTSPPAISES/LACINSPANISHEXT/BOLIVIAINSPANISHEXT/0,,contentMDK:22763667~pagePK:1497618~piPK:217854~theSitePK:500410,00.html A simpler way to access: go to www.worldbank.org, find Bolivia, and find the article called ”Bolivia's ranking increases”. (Checked 25.8.2011.)

clear that when standardizing, something is always lost.

A central aspect in the erosion of traditional values is the erosion of communitarianism and the growing prevalence of modern individualism. From the interviews it appears that education as professionalization is replacing the communitarian solidarity as the provider of economic security. A combination of communitarian and productive education in Law 070 is proposed as a way of balancing the situation and enabling organic freedom and the recognition of diversity. However, Law 070, like any reform, is facing some resistances or inertia based on earlier practices. Bureaucratization and cynical scepticism of some teachers appears as a resistance to communitarian education in the name of professionalism, fearing the influence of stakeholders who lack the specialized knowledge that the teachers possess. Sometimes the inertia of the teachers is also ideological, as some of them have not assumed the new paradigms of reflective and critical learning, but continue the authoritarian didactics that dominated Bolivian pedagogy during the latter half of the 20th Century. These tensions between the teachers and the reform could perhaps be alleviated through dialogue, possibly through Freirean methods in continuous teacher training.

The lack of resources in education is another important tension-producing factor, since it limits the possibilities of the students and increases economic insecurity as well as faith in the entire educational system. Large classes and lack of quality education in the countryside are to a large extent economic problems. Dependency on foreign aid has been an aspect of structural dependency related to education, and the public investment in education has been insufficient.

Finally, it can all be synthesized in a basic tension that appears from the discourses of the parents, teachers and students: education is the cultural production of what many respondents in the study called the ”professional” person, but the learning that they (and Law 070) wish to take place at school relates to living well, learning values. It follows that a synthesis is the strengthening of those values that different professions mobilize and apply, and thus potentially preventing that the professions turn into bureaucratic or commercialized, commodified instruments. The exploration into sustaining values for professional practices can relate to diverse sources, including indigenous cultures. When Georges Rouma founded the Bolivian modern school system in 1909, his approach in teacher training was an emphasis on vocation. While his pedagogic approach was limited and partly unsuitable to the Bolivian context, an emphasis on vocation could be an integrative factor even today.

This final point can be related also to the macroeconomic tensions and the possibility of advancing a process of world revolution, since it touches upon the very motivations of such a revolution.

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6. Resumen en Español

La ley No. 070 de la reforma educativa boliviana era aprobado en 2010 y su implementacion comienzara en 2012. Basado en una combinación de teorias Marxistas y teorias influidos de Estudios Culturales, este tesis examina las tensiones entre la vision de la Ley 070 y las condiciones y aspiraciones de las partes interesadas. Un concepto central en la discusion es ”la producción cultural de la persona educada”, y el desarrollo del concepto de la persona educada a través de la historia de Bolivia es incluido. Un análisis de discurso sobre textos contemporaneos y entrevistas de partes interesadas concluye la investigación en el contexto de una reflexión hermeneutica sobre el marco historico. Son trazadas varias tensiones relacionadas con la economía, pedagogía, cultura y política.

Annex 1: Law 070, Article 3

Note: the entire text of the law can be downloaded from the Ministry website. Go to the main page of the portal www.minedu.gob.bo and you will find the link on the right hand side of the page. Checked 25.8.2011.

”EVO MORALES AYMA

PRESIDENTE CONSTITUCIONAL DEL ESTADO PLURINACIONAL DE BOLIVIA

Por cuanto, la Asamblea Legislativa Plurinacional, ha sancionado la siguiente Ley:

LA ASAMBLEA LEGISLATIVA PLURINACIONAL,

DECRETA:

LEY DE LA EDUCACIÓN

“AVELINO SIÑANI - ELIZARDO PÉREZ”

[...]

TITULO I. MARCO FILOSÓFICO Y POLÍTICO DE LA EDUCACIÓN BOLIVIANA

[...]

CAPÍTULO II

BASES, FINES Y OBJETIVOS DE LA EDUCACIÓN

[...]

Artículo 3. Bases de la educación

La educación se sustenta en la sociedad, a través de la participación plena de las bolivianas y los bolivianos en el Sistema Educativo Plurinacional, respetando sus diversas expresiones sociales y culturales, en sus diferentes formas de organización. La educación se fundamenta en las siguientes bases:

- Es descolonizadora, liberadora, revolucionaria, anti-imperialista, 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 afro bolivianas en la construcción del Estado Plurinacional y el Vivir Bien.
- Es comunitaria, democrática, participativa y de consensos en la toma de decisiones sobre políticas educativas, reafirmando la unidad en la diversidad.
- Es universal, porque atiende a todas y todos los habitantes del Estado Plurinacional, así como a las bolivianas y los bolivianos que viven en el exterior, se desarrolla a lo largo de

toda la vida, sin limitación ni condicionamiento alguno, de acuerdo a los subsistemas, modalidades y programas del Sistema Educativo Plurinacional.

- Es única, diversa y plural. Única en cuanto a calidad, política educativa y currículo base, erradicando las diferencias entre lo fiscal y privado, lo urbano y rural. Diversa y plural en su aplicación y pertinencia a cada contexto geográfico, social, cultural y lingüístico, así como en relación a las modalidades de implementación en los subsistemas del Sistema Educativo Plurinacional.
- Es unitaria e integradora del Estado Plurinacional y promueve el desarrollo armonioso entre las regiones.
- Es laica, pluralista y espiritual, reconoce y garantiza la libertad de conciencia y de fe y de la enseñanza de religión, así como la espiritualidad de las naciones y pueblos indígena originario campesinos, fomenta el respeto y la convivencia mutua entre las personas con diversas opciones religiosas, sin imposición dogmática, y propiciando el diálogo interreligioso.
- 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.
- Es intracultural, intercultural y plurilingüe en todo el sistema educativo. Desde el potenciamiento de los saberes, conocimientos e idiomas de las naciones y pueblos indígena originario campesinos, las comunidades interculturales y afro bolivianas, promueve la interrelación y convivencia en igualdad de oportunidades para todas y todos, a través de la valoración y respeto recíproco entre culturas.
- Es productiva y territorial, orientada a la producción intelectual y material, al trabajo creador y a la relación armónica entre el ser humano y la Madre Tierra, fortaleciendo la gestión territorial de las naciones y pueblos indígena originario campesinos, las comunidades interculturales y afro bolivianas.
- Es científica, técnica, tecnológica y artística, desarrollando los conocimientos y saberes desde la cosmovisión de las culturas indígena originaria campesinas, comunidades interculturales y afro bolivianas, en complementariedad con los saberes y conocimientos universales, para contribuir al desarrollo integral de la sociedad.
- Es educación de la vida y en la vida, para vivir bien. Desarrolla una formación integral que

promueve la realización de la identidad, afectividad, espiritualidad y subjetividad de las personas y comunidades; es vivir en armonía con la naturaleza y en comunidad entre los seres humanos.

- Es promotora de la convivencia pacífica, contribuye a erradicar toda forma de violencia en el ámbito educativo, para el desarrollo de una sociedad sustentada en la cultura de paz, el buen trato y el respeto a los derechos de las personas y de los pueblos.
- La educación asume y promueve como principios ético morales de la sociedad plural el ama qhilla, ama llulla, ama suwa no seas flojo, no seas mentiroso ni seas ladrón. , suma qamaña vivir bien. , ñandereko vida armoniosa. , teko kavi vida buena. , ivi maraei tierra sin mal. y qhapaj ñan camino o vida noble. y los principios de otros pueblos. Se sustenta en los valores de unidad, igualdad, inclusión, dignidad, libertad, solidaridad, reciprocidad, respeto, complementariedad, armonía, transparencia, equilibrio, igualdad de oportunidades, equidad social y de género en la participación, bienestar común, responsabilidad, justicia social, distribución y redistribución de los productos y bienes sociales, para vivir bien.”

Annex 2: Development of the cultural production of the educated person in Bolivia

Year	Educated person	Pedagogy	Structure
1200-1400	Powerful?	Practical? Communitarian?	Aymara kingdoms
1400-1500	Servile, cooperative?	?	Inca Empire
1500-1800	Self-sufficient, europeanized, Christian. For some, only European Christians could be educated persons. Others considered that the indigenous could be civilized.	Example and discipline	Colonialism; the Spanish Empire
1500-1900	Rooted in the activities of the community and in natural conditions	Learning during the domestic, productive and military activities	Indigenous communities
1825-1909	For creoles, mestizos, caciques: Serving, administrating the national society. Spanish-speaking, Christian, urban. Hygienic and rational. For the indigenous masses: productive for the national economy.	For creoles, mestizos, caciques: schooling. (I have no knowledge of the pedagogy.) For the indigenous masses: subordination in labour and shaped into work, at work.	Nation-state
1909-1952	For creoles and mestizos: a humanistically enlightened moral person with a sacrificial vocation for the nation-state. For the indigenous: a useful, educated worker.	Cooperative and experimental, emphasis on humanities.	Nation-state, which is allied with foreign capital – North American and European. National school system.
1909-1936	An indigenous freedom fighter, capable of speaking, reading and writing in Spanish.	Elementary schools: Spanish language, indigenous culture. Work schools: Learning through work	Indigenous communities and their schools, with a loose connection with the national school system.
1931-1939	Integrally participating in the surroundings, with social, aesthetic, historical and cultural sensibility	Unified, interactive, communitarian, productive, critical, engaged	The School of Warisata
1936-1952	Uniform, modern, Spanish-speaking	In practice, combination of the pedagogy since 1909, except not much from Warisata	Nation-state with the structure of school nucleuses
1955-1994	Modern, mestizo, progress-oriented. 1964-1985: de-politicized, nationalist.	Behaviourism, memorizing, learning by doing. Rural schools	Nation-state, which is allied with foreign capital – North

		socialization.	American, European, Soviet. National school system divided into rural and urban systems.
1970-2011	One who values communal, indigenous culture. Critical, conscious of social issues.	Educational projects	Indigenous federations, syndicates, NGOs, UNICEF, the Church, other religious organizations.
1994-2004	Modern, independent, reflective individual with competences, innovative, cooperative. Bilingual, multicultural.	Constructivism introduced, in practice many still continue the memorizing lecturing style.	The national school system. Nation-state with the World Bank, neoliberalism, interests of big capital.

Annex 3: The structure of chapter 4

Chapter 4: Law 070 and schooling in Bolivia	**Synthesis of Article 3, Law 070: The bases of education**	**Some of the dilemmas related to the experiences, aspirations and conditions of the stakeholders**
4.2. Decolonizing and liberating	1. Decolonizing, liberating, revolutionary, anti-imperialist, depatriarcalizing and transforming	How do they understand the concept of decolonization? How do they relate to the prospect of liberation and revolution in educational practice?
4.3. Communitarian education	2. Communitary, democratic, participative and consential	How do they experience the prospect of communitarianism in education?
4.4. Unity in diversity	3. Universal. 4. Single, diverse and plural. 5. Unitary and integrating of the State. 6. Secular, pluralist and spiritual. 7. Inclusive. 8. Intracultural, intercultural and plurilingual.	How do they experience themselves in the field between the indigenous nations, the regions and the Bolivian State? What interests do they have in education? How is their experience of spirituality?
4.5. Productive education	9. Productive and territorial	How do they relate to the prospect of developing productive education? How do they relate to the territorial and ecological issues?
4.6. Scientific, technical, technological and artistic education	10. Scientific, technical, technological and artistic	What kind of science, technology and art interests them? Is that rather indigenous or universal or conditioned by capitalist modernity and colonization?
4.7. The development of values and personality	11. Education of life and in life, for living well. Develops an integral formation. 12. Promotes a peaceful coexistence. 13. Assumes and promotes ethic moral principles for living well.	How do they relate schooling and education to the development of values and personality? What does ”living well” mean for them?

Annex 4: List of the interviews

Interviewee	Time	Place
Magdalena Cajías de la Vega	23.11.2009	Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Spain
Pedro Apala	15.2.2011	La Paz
Wilfredo Limachi Gutiérrez	17.2.2011	La Paz
Edgar A. Cordero P.	2.3.2011	La Paz
Limbert Ayarde Velasco	4.3.2011	La Paz
Parent A	18.3.2011	Cochabamba
Parent B	18.3.2011	Cochabamba
Parent C	18.3.2011	Cochabamba
Student A	18.3.2011	Cochabamba
Student B	18.3.2011	Cochabamba
Student C	18.3.2011	Cochabamba
Jaime Rocabado, headmaster	25.3.2011	Cochabamba
Teacher A	25.3.2011	Cochabamba
Teofanes Salguero Cespedes, district educational administrator	28.3.2011	San José de Chiquitos
Carlos Tomicha Pesoa, headmaster	28.3.2011	Taperas, district of San José de Chiquitos
Teacher B	28.3.2011	Taperas, district of San José de Chiquitos
Students D, E, F	28.3.2011	Taperas, district of San José de Chiquitos
Teacher C	28.3.2011	San José de Chiquitos
Student G	28.3.2011	San José de Chiquitos
Isidro Delgado Arteaga, headmaster	28.3.2011	San José de Chiquitos
Walter Gutierrez Mena	1.4.2011	La Paz
Judith Cespedes Olivera, headmaster	8.4.2011	Caracollo, district of Oruro
Teacher D	8.4.2011	Caracollo, district of Oruro
Teacher E	8.4.2011	Caracollo, district of Oruro
Teacher F	8.4.2011	Caracollo, district of Oruro
Student H	8.4.2011	Caracollo, district of Oruro
Student I	8.4.2011	Caracollo, district of Oruro
Student J	8.4.2011	Caracollo, district of Oruro
Magdalena Cajías de la Vega	9.4.2011	La Paz

Annex 5: Interview questions for experts

Note: This is an approximate model of the interview, which was semi-structured, which means that other questions also came up and these questions were sometimes answered at different moments and framed differently. Also, some of the questions were adjusted as I begun to learn about the field of research and the most appropriate way to frame questions. The 2009 interview with Magdalena Cajías (which also was recorded and transcribed and used in the thesis) was not based on these or any specific premeditated questions, but was an unstructured interview on the subject of the educational reform.

Question translated to English	**Original Spanish question**
Name, position in their institution	Nombre, cargo dentro de su institución
Ambit of work in relation to the law Avelino Siñani Elizardo Pérez (Law 070)	Ambito de trabajo en relación a la ley Avelino Sinani Elizardo Pérez
In your opinion, which are the most important or valuable aspects of the indigenous cultures in Bolivia?	A su criterio cuáles son los aspectos mas importantes o valorados de las culturas indigenas en Bolivia?
Which are the more problematic aspects of the indigenous cultures in Bolivia?	Cuáles son los aspectos mas problematicos de las culturas indigenas en Bolivia?
In your opinion, which are the most important or valuable aspects of the influence of the Western culture in Bolivia?	A su criterio cuáles son los aspectos mas importantes o valorados de la influencia de la cultura Occidental en Bolivia?
Which are the more problematic aspects of the influence of the Western culture in Bolivia?	Cuáles son los aspectos mas problematicos de la influencia de la cultura Occidental en Bolivia?
What does decolonization mean for you?	Que significa descolonizacion para usted?
Which are the focal aspects for implementing a decolonizing education?	Cuáles son los ejes estrategicos para implementar una educación descolonizadora?
What challenges are there for decolonization in Bolivia in general and specifically in the field of education?	Que desafios existen para la descolonizacion en Bolivia en general y especificamente en el campo de la educacion?
Which have been the most significant experiences in the field of decolonization in education?	Cuáles han sido las experiencias mas significativas en el campo de la descolonizacion en la educacion?
Which are the strengths and the weaknesses of the law Avelino Siñani Elizardo Pérez?	Cuáles son las fortalezas y debilidades de la ley Avelino Siñani Elizardo Pérez?
With the law Avelino Siñani Elizardo Pérez, where in the educational scheme will decolonizing education be placed, and with which themes and forms?	Con el ley Avelino Siñani Elizardo Pérez, donde en la esquema educativa se va a ubicar la educación descolonizadora y con que temas y formas?

Annex 6: Interview questions for teachers, parents and students

The researcher's questions, that I sought to clarify through the interviews and which thus form the background of the actual interview questions:
How to describe their identities?
Which values are the most important for them?
How do they relate to (indigenous, Western) traditions and to modern life?
How do they relate to the school and to the educational system?
How do they relate to the educational reform Avelino Siñani Elizardo Pérez?
How is their experience of decolonization and communitarianism in the school?

The development of the interview: an approximate model, that was applied and adjusted according to the situation, but in main lines followed this development:

Interview questions in Spanish	**Translation to English**
¿Cuáles son las actividades más importantes que realiza Ud en una semana?	What are the most important activities you performe in a week?
¿De éstas actividades cuál es la que más le interesa? ¿Porque?	Of these activities, which one interests you the most? Why?
donde vive? Cómo vive? Quiénes son la gente más importante en la vida de usted? En donde vives, cuales son las autoridades quienes deciden cosas (tradicionales, modernas)?	Where do you live? How do you live? Who are the most important people in your life? Where you live, which are the authorities who decide things (traditional, modern)?
¿Que idiomas habla Ud.?	Which languages do you speak?
¿ Que idiomas le gustaría aprender a hablar?	Which languages would you like to learn to speak?
Que es para usted ser boliviano?	What to you is to be Bolivian?
Que significa la espiritualidad para usted?	What does spirituality mean to you?
Cuales son los logros mas importantes en la vida de usted?	What are the most important achievements in your life?
Como se describiría a usted mismo?	How would you describe yourself?
¿Que te parece la escuela donde estas? [Que sucede cuentame...]	What do you think of the school where you are?
¿Que es lo que Ud. aprende / enseña en la escuela	What is it that you learn / teach at school?
[si es estudiante] ¿Donde crees que tu aprendes más en la escuela o en tu casa [o algun otro lugar]? . [Porque?..explicame un poco]	Where do you think you learn most, at school or at home or in some other place?
Sientes que usted tambien enseñas/aprendes algo en la escuela – que? [seleccion invertido estudiante/maestro]	Do you feel that you also teach/learn something at school – what? (inverted selection student/teacher)
Que esperas aprender/enseñar en la escuela en el futuro?	What do you expect to learn/teach at school in the future?

Si estarias en una escuela ideal, que seran las cosas que estarías aprendiendo/enseñando?	If you were in an ideal school, what would be the things you would be learning/teaching?
[si tienen hijos] Que es lo que Ud. quiere que sus hijos aprendan en la escuela?	(if they have children) What do you wish your children would learn at school?
Ud. cree que le sirven en su vida las cosas que se enseñan / aprenden en la escuela. Porque? expliqueme un poco por favor	Do you believe that what is learned/taught at school is useful in their lives / your life?
Quiénes deciden lo que se enseña o aprende en la escuela? [como, cuando deciden]	Who decides what is being taught or learned at school?
[los jovenes] Qué cosas son las que más les gusta de la escuela? Y que cosas les gusta menos?	(the youth) What things do you most like at school? What do you least like?
Digame algunas cosas que estan bien y otras que están mal y hay que cambiar en su escuela para que sea mejor?	Tell me some things that are well and others which are not so well and should be changed so the school could be better?
¿Cree Ud. que hay confianza entre los profesores y los alumnos?., Porque?...	Do you believe that there is trust between the teachers and the students?
¿Los alumnos entre sí tienen confianza, se llevan bien o hay problemas?. ¿Existen peleas? ¿Como se llevan los profesores con los padres de familia? ¿Como se llevan los padres y profesores con el director?	The students trust each other, get along well or there are problems? Fights? How are the teachers with the parents? Parents and teachers with the headmaster?
Sienten ustedes, que en la escuela algunas personas son mas privilegiadas que otras? De que manera se expresan estos privilegios y por que? [privilegios, trato especial, recursos especiales]	Do you feel that at school some people have more privileges than others? How is that expressed?
Cuándo considera usted que hay discriminación en la escuela? Usted ha sentido alguna vez que te han discriminado en la escuela? porque crees tu que haya pasado esto?	When do you think there is discrimination at school? Have you sometimes felt discriminated at school?
Has experimentado alguna vez alguna forma de discriminación en otros lugares (trabajo, calle, tiendas, familia, comunidad, sindicato, etc.)? porque crees tu que haya pasado esto?	Have you experienced some discrimination in other places?
En Bolivia ...hoy, muchos hablan sobre cambio. Ud siente que algo realmente esta cambiando o no? Porque piensa que es así?	In Bolivia today many speak of change. Do you feel that something really is changing?
[jovenes] Sabe Ud. que es lo que el gobierno esta haciendo por la educación? /	(youth) Do you know what the government is doing for education?
[maestros] A su criterio, qué es lo que el gobierno esta haciendo para la eduación?	(teachers) In your opinion, what is the government doing for education?
Hay aspectos positivos o negativos en lo que el gobierno esta haciendo? Cuáles son?	Are there positive or negative aspects in what the government is doing? Which?

Sabe Ud. algo sobre la ley Avelino Siñani Elizardo Perez?	Do you know something about the law Avelino Siñani Elizardo Pérez?
Que opina Ud. sobre esta ley	What do you think about the law?
[jovenes] Sabe Ud. que sentido tiene la palabra ”descolonización?	(youth) Do you know what the word ”decolonization” means?
[maestros] Que significa la palabra ”descolonización” para usted?	(teachers) What does the word ”decolonization” mean to you?