UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Teachers in a Bolivian context of conflict: actors for or against change?

Lopes Cardozo, M.

DOI
10.1080/14767720903412226

Publication date
2009

Published in
Globalisation, Societies and Education

Link to publication

Citation for published version (APA):
Lopes Cardozo, M. (2009). Teachers in a Bolivian context of conflict: actors for or against change? *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, *7*(4), 409-432. https://doi.org/10.1080/14767720903412226

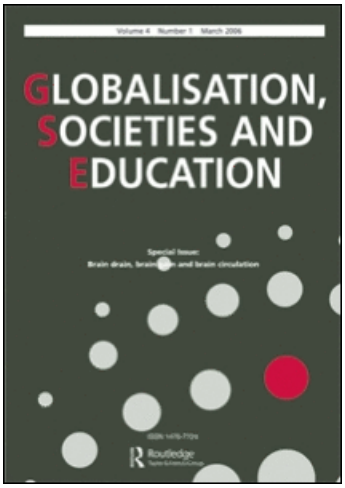
General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, P.O. Box 19185, 1000 GD Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

UvA-DARE is a service provided by the library of the University of Amsterdam (https://dare.uva.nl)

Download date:08 11月 2026

This article was downloaded by: *[UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ]*
On: *10 December 2009*
Access details: *Access Details: [subscription number 906467814]*
Publisher *Routledge*
Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Globalisation, Societies and Education
Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713423352

Teachers in a Bolivian context of conflict: potential actors for or against change?

Mieke T.A. Lopes Cardozo [a]
[a] Amsterdam Institute for Metropolitan and International Development Studies, IS-Academie on Quality of Education, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Online publication date: 09 December 2009

To cite this Article Lopes Cardozo, Mieke T.A.(2009) 'Teachers in a Bolivian context of conflict: potential actors for or against change?', Globalisation, Societies and Education, 7: 4, 409 — 432
To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/14767720903412226
URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14767720903412226

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: http://www.informaworld.com/terms-and-conditions-of-access.pdf

This article may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Globalisation, Societies and Education
Vol. 7, No. 4, November 2009, 409–432

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Teachers in a Bolivian context of conflict: potential actors for or against change?

Mieke T.A. Lopes Cardozo*

Amsterdam Institute for Metropolitan and International Development Studies, IS-Academie on Quality of Education, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

In response to exclusionary globalisation processes, Bolivia forms part of a wider Latin American return to regionalism and nationalism. With the indigenous president Morales, Bolivia distances itself from 'imposed' neoliberal policies, aiming instead for 'dignity and decolonisation'. The Bolivian conflict is characterised by historical processes of poverty and inequality, discrimination and exclusion, a regional autonomy struggle linked to separatist discourses and identity politics, mistrust in the state and between societal groups and a tradition of (violent) popular pressure methods. Both urban and rural teachers play crucial roles in these processes of conflict. Drawing on insights from critical educational theories and the strategic relational approach, the paper analyses the possibilities and challenges Bolivian teachers face in changing this context of continuing tensions, discrimination and instability. It presents an analysis of teachers' complex identities, motivations and possible role as actors for or against change towards a just and peaceful society.

Keywords: Bolivia; conflict; social change; education reforms; teacher agency; teacher training

Introduction

Dynamite is exploding on the corner of the Prado, the main street in the centre of La Paz in the Bolivian highlands. On a Friday afternoon, a large procession of urban schoolteachers is filling the streets with their presence and slogans. '*¡Contra la descentralización! ¡Contra la educación privada! ¡Contra la corrupción!*'[1] These teachers march the streets regularly on Friday afternoons. On a later occasion, a mother of an 11-year-old girl explained to me how she would rather see these teachers preparing classes or marking her daughter's assignments than marching the streets. A few weeks later a group of youngsters see themselves forced into going on hunger strike in protest at being refused entrance into the teacher training career. They view this career option as one of the few escape routes from poverty. And while a wide variety of traditional clothing colour both urban and rural streets, the unwritten dress code of the training institutes for new teachers still seems to be 'the more western the better'. A female teacher, who wore the traditional skirts and vest she is used to wearing inside her community to a meeting at the institute, was kindly asked to 'dress more appropriately' the next time. These various events paint part of a larger picture of an education system embedded in a Bolivian society full of tensions, inequalities, racism and mistrust.[2]

*Email: mlopescardozo@fmg.uva.nl.

ISSN 1476-7724 print/ISSN 1476-7732 online
© 2009 Taylor & Francis
DOI: 10.1080/14767720903412226
http://www.informaworld.com

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

However, a new political and ideological wind seems to be blowing through Bolivian territory, creating new spaces for contestation of historical structures of inequality and injustice. Bolivia is a country of a fascinating diversity; it has high levels of poverty, inequality and tensions but at the same time a richness of cultures, ethnicities, landscapes and resources. Although Bolivia's societal conflict has deep historical roots, it is the effects of wider processes of globalisation in the last few decades that have intensified poverty and inequality. In trying to overcome such negative outcomes of certain exclusionary globalisation processes (see for instance Duffield 2001), and in response to the failure of certain 'pro-poor-policies' accompanying neoliberal structural adjustments, many Latin American countries have chosen to follow their 'own' regionalisation and nationalist strategies. It can thus be argued that the case of Bolivia is illustrative of a wider process of transformation in the Latin American region. Especially in Bolivia, the sense of the need to protect 'the national' against 'the international' has recently become strong. Since the so-called Cochabamba Water War in 2000, popular struggles in Bolivia began to focus against neoliberalism (Domingo 2005, 1736; Kohl and Farthing 2006, 3, 194) and foreign domination. Since Morales came into office at the end of 2005, this tendency led – at least for the education sector – to the exclusion of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in decision-making and financing mechanisms. With Morales, Bolivia is in the process of a new national project towards 'dignity, decolonisation' and the nationalisation of natural resources. Within this vision, the concept of decolonisation is having a major impact on the proposed new education plans.[3]

In line with wider constitutional reforms throughout contemporary Latin America, a new Bolivian constitution was overwhelmingly approved in a referendum in January 2009. In Bolivia, the call for a revision of the social contract through a new constitution shows the deep dissatisfaction of large groups within society. The recent approval raises hope for the proposed new education law receiving similar acceptance. With regards to the education sector, the tense political situation and the long process towards consensus on the new constitution results in a 'sense of waiting' for new policy directives to come, in a time when social tensions are rising. Not all groups, and similarly not all teachers, in Bolivian society approve of Morales' new project. There is a strong divide between (richer) elites in the fertile lowlands who mostly disagree with the redistribution and nationalisation plans, and the pro-Morales supporters that predominantly inhabit the poorer and higher regions of the country. Especially now, the education system has a crucial function in preventing and coping with the effects of conflict, and in contributing to the promotion of non-violent solutions to the wide range of inequalities that have emerged out of recent processes of globalisation, and their proposed alternatives (Stewart 2003).

Being crucial actors in both the education system and in social life, Bolivian teachers are faced with this difficult context, in which they have to deal with tensions, power struggles, discrimination, hatred and violence. This paper reviews the complex and important – and often contradictory – role Bolivian teachers can choose to play in the process of constructing a more equal, just and peaceful society.

The article is part of a broader research project exploring the training of Bolivia's future teachers in a rapidly changing society. It draws on evidence gathered during two intensive fieldwork periods in Bolivia totalling eight months.[4] Data gathered relevant to this article include around 95 individual and group semi-structured interviews, with teacher students, teacher trainers, in-service teachers and school directors, parents associations, local and national government officials, union leaders and union

members, indigenous leaders and academics, (inter-)national aid workers and embassy personnel involved in the field of education. These interviews were located across the country. Most of the interviews at teacher training institutes (of which six in total) concentrated in an urban institute in La Paz and in a rural institute near Cochabamba. The parts of the interviews relevant here dealt with various topics such as: the dialetical relationship between the country situation and education; the new Morales government and the proposed new education law; issues around social justice and discrimination in schools and teacher training institutes; teacher unions and their perceptions and influence; teachers' roles and reputation in schools and in the community; and various perceptions on teachers as actors of change.

In the following section I lay the theoretical foundations this paper draws from. I present a framework that builds on insights from the strategic relational approach (Hay 2002a) combined with critical education theories, in order to analyse the possibilities and challenges Bolivian teachers face in their lives and work in a context of continuing tensions, discrimination and instability. This socio-political and educational context is then elaborated in the second part, revealing five different processes of present day conflict in Bolivia. In the fourth section, an analysis is given of how these five processes of conflict relate to the life and work of teachers. Fifthly, using the theoretical framework, I provide an initial analysis of teachers' potentials and challenges in becoming actors towards or against positive change and peace. Specific attention will be given to teachers' individual and collective forms of agency.

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

Theoretical foundations

Instead of working with 'problem-solving theory' (Cox 1996), which tends to look at social phenomena in isolation, this paper draws from a 'critical theory approach', in order to understand social events located within wider historical, political and social settings and how these practices and events are influenced by wider social relations and frameworks (Robertson 2000, 6–8).

President Morales' 'politics of change' are illustrative of the constant social, political and economic *change* in Bolivia. The phenomenon of globalisation paints the broader picture in which societal and educational changes take place in Bolivia and elsewhere. Hay (2002b, 390) argues how the concept of globalisation might be used to open up instead of 'obfuscate' the analysis of social, political and economic change, and how we should 'demystify globalisation', as it is often seen as an 'unambiguous and non-negotiable structural constraint'. This paper positions the case of Bolivia in a wider context of counter-tendencies to processes of globalisation, focusing on the opportunities and challenges of a specific group of agents – namely Bolivia's (future) teachers – in working towards social change, peace and justice.

The strategic relational approach (SRA) as applied by Hay (2002a, 117, 126–34) fits well within the critical theory tradition. This paper is an attempt to analyse Bolivian teachers' strategies and motives for or against change by using the SRA approach, complemented with theoretical notions derived from critical educationalists. Let us first turn to the SRA. By re-formulating Giddens' theory of structuration, and the related concepts of *structure* and *agency*, the SRA tries to understand *the relationship* between structures (or contexts) and agency (or conduct), and sees this relationship as dialectical (Hay 2002a, 89). In the SRA, *structure* refers to context, and to the fact that institutions, practices and routines appear to show some regularity or structure over time. *Agency* implies not only political action or conduct, but also a

sense of free will, linked to concepts such as reflexivity, rationality and motivation (Hay 2002a, 94, 95). *Strategy* is a central concept in the SRA, meaning 'intentional conduct oriented towards the environment… to realise certain outcomes and objectives which motivate action' (Hay 2002a, 129).

Interestingly, Hay brings his argument further by explaining how *ideas* – and related discourses – are central to the understanding of the relationship between 'agent and structure, conduct and context' (Hay 2002b, 379–83, 390). This appears crucial when applied to Bolivia, particularly in the education field, where different political ideologies and the recent 'discursive turn' from *interculturalidad* to *intraculturalidad* and *descolonización* (Howard 2009) play strong roles in the way people – including teachers – identify themselves and the world around them. As will be explained later, these discourses can be identified as being constituitive of one of the major processes of Bolivian conflict. Thus, in times of various competing and circulating discourses (Foucault in Luke 1996), (future) teachers need to be able to reflect critically upon and discuss these discourses with their students and community members.

In the SRA approach, change is about the capacity of actors to shape their environment, about the ability of actors to make a difference. Both contextual and agential factors are central to explanations about social and political change. Actors face an uneven distribution of opportunities and constraints in their contexts, thus different access to strategic resources (knowledge, capital) may be a significant determinant of the capacity of actors to realise opportunities. Agents acting in a routine manner are more likely to reproduce existing structures of social and political relations over time, while actors that resist norms and conventions will most probably transform existing institutions and practices (Hay 2002a, 164–6).

When we combine these thoughts with perspectives from critical educationalists such as Apple and Giroux, we see that issues of structure/agency and reproduction have been discussed at length in the broader educational debates. In the early 1980s, Apple elaborated on structure–agency debates relating to education and also contributed to the ongoing debates around social, cultural, political and economical reproduction through education. Education was described 'as part of a larger economic and ideological configuration', in which 'reproduction and contestation go hand in hand' (Apple 1982, 6–8). Apple illuminates the relationship between the state, civil society and the education system, as being 'an arena of conflict over production of knowledge, ideology, and employment, a place where social movements try to meet their needs and business attempts to reproduce its hegemony' (1982 in Scott 2008, 65–6).

Since teachers are the main agents this paper focuses on, when applying a SRA we should see *teachers as strategic political actors* that act according to their reflexivity, rationality and motivations, and are embedded in a *strategically selective context* that creates both opportunities and constraints to teachers' level of agency. Giroux's work on *Teachers as transformative intellectuals* (Giroux 2003b) supports my argument here that the SRA is useful in viewing teachers, in the Bolivian context, as crucial *strategic political actors* in promoting or resisting progressive social changes. Hay's notion of *strategically selective context* in educational terms can be described using Apple's words: 'a space of schooling as a site of contestation, resistance and possibility' (1980 in Giroux 2003a, 6); or as explained by Giroux we should:

> … view schools as economic, cultural and social sites that are inextricably tied to issues of politics, power and control… schools actually are contested spheres that embody and express struggle over what forms of authority, types of knowledge, forms of moral

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

> regulation and versions of the past and future should be legitimated and transmitted to students… (2003b, 48)

Relating to Apple's above mentioned concept of contestation, what is so particular about teachers as a social group is that they are not necessarily a progressive force. There have been numerous accounts of teachers resisting change (Tatto 2007, 12, 269). On the one hand, teacher resistance can be directed to conservative reforms. This form of resistance would fit in a progressive move towards positive change, because such conservative (often neoliberal) reforms frequently claim to aim for 'quality of education' in a very limited way, focused on outcomes and effectiveness of education instead of its inclusionary and emancipatory character. On the other hand, teachers have also shown resistance to progressive and emancipatory reform initiatives, either because of a lack of motivation, support or (political) understanding for new policy plans.

Teacher resistance has been defined as being a multilevel phenomenon taking place both within schools and on other (political) levels (Giroux 2003a, 9). Giroux convincingly argues we should avoid 'paralyzing assumptions that schools [are] neither sites of conflict nor institutions that could link learning to social change' (2003a, 6). Instead, teachers (and students!) *can be* critical agents, using the school as a place of positive conflict (Davies 2006b) and critical resistance in order to create a process of wider societal changes. Apple's early work *Theory and resistance in education* (1980, in Giroux 2003a, 6) explains how social change can be fostered by connecting critical learning to real life experiences in schools. He also outlined three specific sites of resistance in relation to schools: the informal and hidden aspects of the curriculum, the formal curriculum itself, and the values and belief system of teachers (Scott 2008, 68). In line with the SRA understanding of routinely acting agents, routinely working teachers are unlikely to change the status quo (Giroux 2003b, 47), whereas innovative and reflexive teachers can work as transformative agents (Apple in Scott 2008), either individually or in a collective form.

Teachers – on a more individual level of agency – can actively resist against discrimination and stereotyping while enhancing levels of trust. Or as explained by Giroux, oppositional intellectuals, in this case teachers, 'do not reject authority but engage it critically in order to develop pedagogical principles aimed at encouraging students to learn how to govern rather than be governed' (2003a, 7). Building on theoretical assumptions of the need for 'reflexive teachers' (Apple in Scott 2008, 70) and 'teachers as transformative intellectuals' (Giroux 2003b), an individual strategy for teachers could be adopting a reflexive attitude, while at the same time stimulating reflection and a critical attitude of students.

The importance of teachers' agency in relation to change is further developed by Vongalis-Macrow (2007, 425), arguing how teachers 'are not only engaging in the reproduction of structural change aligning to globalisation-driven reforms to their work and practice, but also, in adapting and reacting to new structural conditions, they are transformed through their actions'. Thus, we see that change is what teachers are *engaged* in; change is the outcome of their labour. Teachers also *experience* change continuously, both in their identity formation and in their life in the school (Robertson 2000, 1).

Teachers' work is also complex, taking into account the fact that teachers face social and political crises all over the world, leading to poor working conditions, relatively low wages and low status. Instead of being a 'public good', schools are now

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

more and more seen as 'potential markets' (Robertson 2000, 2007, 2008 Giroux 2003b; Compton and Weiner 2008, 3–5). Expanding control of teacher's work by 'limiting what they can do, how they work, how often, with whom they exchange information, and so on, has encountered backlash, low morale, large scale resistance and crisis in the teaching profession' (Vongalis-Macrow 2007, 430). The complexity of teachers' work is reflected in that it responds to both social and educational change, with a present policy priority towards their educational role in the 'knowledge economy', downplaying teachers' social relevancy (Vongalis-Macrow 2007, 432). This article wants to stress the importance of both, albeit very complex, educational and societal roles of teachers, especially in the unstable context of Bolivia.

In order to understand how the concepts of agency and strategy derived from the SRA apply to the education field, and more specifically to Bolivian teachers as strategic political actors, there is a need to understand who these teachers are. Torres rightly argues that 'teachers are not just teachers' (Torres del Castillo 2007, 9). Instead of having a fixed identity, they are also men and women, sons and daughters, fathers and mothers, ex-students, workers, community members, neighbours, consumers and citizens. Teacher identities are thus far from straightforward, and best defined as multiple identities. Teacher identity is both dynamic and contested. It relates to teachers' personal perceptions and experiences, the role of teachers in a given society and the way others view teachers (Welmond 2002, 42). Particularly in rapidly changing contexts such as Bolivia, teachers need 'flexible' identities in order to deal with changes. Ideally, as argued by Davies, teachers would critically reflect on all their multiple identities and in a process of continuous reflection form a new kind of 'hybrid identity' out of these (Davies 2006a, 2008). Such hybrid identities can help teachers to discuss and work with different aspects of diversity and change in their classrooms. Aspects such as class, gender, race/ethnicity and a rural/urban background all contribute to the multiple identities of a Bolivian teacher. Relating to class, becoming a teacher historically has been a path to social mobility and employment for working and middle class women (Robertson 2000, 1). Weiner (2005) argues while gender 'counts' in the way that teachers understand their work and commitments to unions, so do race, class and histories of oppression. Bolivian ethnic, racial and linguistic diversity strongly influences education policy and practice, as well as the way teachers identify themselves.

Thus, as summarised by Vongalis-Macrow, we should see the teacher as a 'critical, complex and troublesome agent' (2007, 430). This paper aims to contribute to a better understanding of the specific Bolivian characteristics of these 'complex and troublesome agents'. Especially now – in a highly tense, rapidly changing and conflictive Bolivian context – this paper aims to add to an understanding of the space available to Bolivian (future) teachers and factors underlying the choices teachers make in order to change things in a positive way, meaning counteracting processes of violent conflict yet promoting 'positive forms of conflict'.[5]

Bolivia's conflictive context: diversity, inequality and societal tensions

Bolivia, situated right in the heart of South America, has struggled since independence in 1825 to create internal cohesion and a national identity in the face of significant ethnic and geographic diversity (for interesting accounts of Bolivian history see Malaver and Oostra 2003; Morales 2004; Kohl and Farthing 2006; McNeish 2006; Brienen 2007). As a result of major socio-economic inequalities, there has recently been an

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

'indigenous awakening' in Bolivia, but also in Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico and to a lesser extend in Peru (Canessa 2006, 242; Zoomers 2006, 1043; Baud 2007). The issue of identity and ethnicity has only fairly recently been recognised as having an impact on Latin American politics and conflicts, in sharp contrast to the emphasis on it in other parts of the world (Yashar 1998, 23). Social and democratic justice (Fraser 2005) and social cohesion are similarly major issues in Bolivia, especially when taking into account that 80% of the population expresses that there is a conflict between rich and poor people and 71% of the Bolivians label the tensions between the different ethnic and cultural groups as 'strong' or 'very strong' (Latinobarómetro 2007, 67, 70).

While the poor are primarily indigenous, they do not constitute a single group of indigenous Bolivian peoples. The category 'indigenous' is seen as a social construct, often closely linked to political interests (Howard 2009). Fieldwork experience has revealed the difficulty and sensitivity of the identity discussion. Here is not the time and space to fully elaborate on this discussion. The following quote from a graffiti-painting from 'Mujeres Creando'[6] illustrates how discussion continues on the claim that the majority of Bolivian population is really indigenous, since it is unclear who identifies with being indigenous and why.

> *Pachamama, tu y yo sabemos que la única originaria es la papa.*
> [Mother Earth, you and I both know the only native is the potato.]

Historically, Bolivian education was aimed at linguistic and cultural assimilation – or *castellanización*[7] – of the indigenous groups. The state ensured its own interests, being a unified and modernised Bolivia, through education (Taylor 2004, 8). Interestingly, during the 1930s indigenous education initiatives developed, carrying the names *escuelas-ayllu* and *escuela indigenal de Warisata*. However, both were forcibly closed down soon after 1935,[8] because the state realised that the development of local authority over schooling was inconsistent with their policies of (cultural) assimilation (Taylor 2004, 8; UNNIOs 2004, 12; Regalsky and Laurie 2007, 235). Teaching has long been (and often still is) teacher-centred, based on memorisation techniques and especially relevant to an urban context (Drange 2007). During the decade of the 1990s, in line with wider global developments towards more and better education, the 'flagship' 1994 Education Reform for Intercultural and Bilingual Education was introduced (Howard 2009). Basic education (primary and secondary level) was said to be too formal, too teacher centred and it did not prepare students either for work, social life, democratic participation or a university grade (Equipo APEP 1994, 285). The Bolivian education system is nowadays under a lot of pressure, since the majority of the teachers rejected or failed to implement the last Education Reform of 1994.

Although popular participation in words is highly valued in Bolivia, large sectors of the population remain excluded from real influence in politics, leading to social disintegration (Salman 2006, 163). Participation happens mostly at community or institutional level, and to a lesser extent at the national policy level. Indigenous movements have gained influence due to the Popular Participation law of 1994, and were further strengthened since the installation of president Morales, himself having been a social movement leader of the coca growers union.[9] Although some movements identify with Morales' project, others such as the trade unions (including the urban teachers union), neighbourhood movements and landless movements protested from the beginning against Morales cabinet members and policy plans.

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

Despite the 1994 Education Reform and the Popular Participation law of that same year, huge social and economic inequalities remain. These inequalities lead to discrimination, social tensions and conflicts (Latinobarómetro 2007). Nowadays, the new constitution seems to form an issue of dispute between the political left and right, between urban and rural areas, between pro-Morales supporters and the opposition, between '*mestizos*/whites' and indigenous. The results of the recent referenda on 10 August 2008 and on 25 January 2009 seem to have officially and democratically confirmed strong tensions in the country.[10]

In this article, Bolivian conflict is defined as a combination of the following five processes: (1) high levels of *poverty and inequality* of opportunities; (2) *discrimination and exclusion*; (3) a regional struggle linked to the use of *separatist discourses* and *identity politics*; (4) a severe *mistrust* in the functioning of state (institutions) and between groups in society; and (5) a longstanding tradition of the use of (sometimes violent) *popular pressure methods*.

First of all, high levels of poverty remain to exist. In the words of the Bolivian scholar José Luís Saavedra: '*poverty is a form of violence*'.[11] Although poverty is not a direct cause of conflict, it can be seen as a trigger mechanism for frustrations with and mistrust in the state (Salman 2006, 164, 171). Moreover, since there are also richer parts of society, a sense of severe inequalities can lead to tensions amongst different population groups (in black and white terms, the richer and the poorer). As stated above, unequal educational opportunities remain widespread, particularly in the more remote areas such as the Amazon region.

Secondly, discrimination and exclusion continue to leave deep marks on society. Discrimination is apparent in political struggles and in clashes between societal groups, and it seems like concealed forms of violence nowadays have become more 'open' and direct. On 12 September 2008 for example, violent clashes between supporters and opponents of the 'indigenous president' at a demonstration in the Pando region regretfully resulted in deaths and injuries. Not only political preferences, but also 'racial' issues are said to have triggered the violence between civilians. Within the education sector, discrimination and exclusion of certain groups of (indigenous) students has been called 'indirect' or 'symbolic' forms of violence (Bourdieu in Regalsky and Laurie 2007, 241). Seitz (2004, 51), drawing on the work of Salmi, uses the relevant concept of 'alienating violence', referring to culturally biased curricula, and suppression of linguistic and cultural diversity. Although at the policy levels attention is being paid to solve these problems, in reality discrimination and social exclusion in educational institutions continue to exist.

A third major aspect of present day conflict in Bolivia is constituted by the vast regional differences leading to tensions, the demand of parts of the country for autonomy and the use of an exclusionary discourse by political leaders. It is argued that there is a partition between the economically dynamic lowland movements in the western *media luna* (half moon) – controlled by a powerful elite – and the indigenous and working class based movements from the highlands and the valleys (Kohl and Farthing 2006, 36, 185–6; McNeish 2006, 234; Seligson et al. 2006, 35). However, we should avoid a simplistic vision on 'for or against autonomy' – since different indigenous groups also strive for different forms autonomy.[12] As president Morales explained in an interview with Al Jazeera: 'it is not a matter of east versus west, but of opposing groups in society' (Al Jazeera 2008). Political leaders have started to use separatist discourses to mobilise their support against 'the other part' of the country. Although president Morales in his policies clearly aims for a unified Bolivia, the

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

opposition argues that his pro-poor and pro-indigenous strategy is a new form of exclusionary politics, now excluding the non-indigenous and mostly urban inhabitants of the country. In contrast, the present government announced to the press how the *prefectos* (provincial state representatives) of Santa Cruz are working towards a *coup d'etat* (La Razón 2008). Such discourses can lead to growing mistrust among the population against 'the other', claiming power on the bases of a particular identity. Within conflict studies, Kaldor (1999) uses the term 'identity politics' to explain such processes.[13]

Fourthly, there is a severe 'culture of mistrust' in society. Not only does part of the population lack confidence in the government to govern well, mistrust can also be signalled between groups in society. It was estimated that only 29% of the population thinks the state is able to solve current problems (Latinobarómetro 2007, 29). Bolivia's 'political conflict' (McNeish 2006, 225, 237) or 'crisis of belief in democracy' (Salman 2006, 163) have led to a continuing unstable political environment, and a lack of a 'culture of trust in democratic institutions' (Domingo 2005, 1740). Historically deeply rooted forms of corruption seem to persevere at different levels (national and local/institutional), only creating a deeper mistrust in state actions.

Fifth and finally, Bolivian unrest and conflict is usually portrayed in the national and international media by showing the clashes between police/military forces and social movements using popular pressure mechanisms such as demonstrations, roadblocks, hunger strikes and crucifixions. Similar to other Andean countries, these instruments are used to enforce popular power as opposed to state power. One of the most famous events were the anti-neoliberal mass demonstrations and blockades by popular movements to pressure the government in 2003, which eventually led to the resignation of president Sanchez de Lozada (Canessa 2006, 243; Kohl and Farthing 2006, 4, 12).[14] Masses still regularly march through the streets of La Paz to enforce the punishment of those who where in power during many violent encounters when civilians were killed.[15]

Recent research has shown how education can both contribute to processes of conflict, as well as work against them (for an overview see Novelli and Lopes Cardozo 2008, 478–81). A conflictive society and education are dialectically related to each other, since education is usually reflecting, influenced by and affecting society. As explained in the theoretical section, the work of Bolivian teachers is embedded within and responds to a present conflictive multilevel (global, national and local) context. The following section discusses how teachers both influence and are in turn influenced by the five processes of Bolivian conflict defined here. But first, we will get to know a bit more about whom Bolivia's teachers are.

Teachers life and work in relation to the five processes of conflict

The composition of the Bolivian teacher force demonstrates seven important characteristics: there is a growing 'feminisation' of the teacher profession; a strong indigenous presence; continuing deteriorating of their socio-economic status; continuing poverty among teachers; it is often a second career choice; many teachers have extra jobs, inside or outside of public and private schools; and often Bolivian teachers come from a marginalised background. Becoming a teacher is a relatively cheap opportunity to obtain a professional degree that, despite its low wages, represents a good alternative that at least offers security. A particular desire to teach is frequently not a motivation to start the teaching career (Speiser 2000, 228–9; Urquiola et al.

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

2000; Canessa 2004, 190; Contreras and Talavera Simoni 2004; Torres del Castillo 2007, 13).

Regalsky and Laurie claim that the Bolivian state characterises teacher students as 'itinerant and intermediate' (2007, 238). This negative view of Bolivia's present and future teachers is supported by more recent field data. 'Teachers are boring, do not treat their students in a kind way and miss classes very often', as expressed by a Bolivian researcher. This lack of motivation for the teaching career and the low social status seem paradoxical when bearing in mind that becoming a teacher is one of the most popular careers nowadays in Bolivia.

This might be explained by the fact that the teaching job is seen as one of the few options to get a better life. A secure job position, salary and welfare arrangements are important reasons to enter the profession. As one teacher trainer explained: 'Because of the economical conflict in which we live, young people tend to choose the shortest training possible to become a professional. [In their eyes] it is better when it is an easy training. It is better when you will be sure of a salary soon'. A structural lack of job opportunities in other sectors in the last few years has resulted in a changing profile of the students that study to become teachers. Many of them have already finished another study, and failed to get a job, and turn to becoming a teacher as a second career move. Others are simultaneously studying a university career and at a teacher training institute, to widen their job opportunities in the future. Similarly, most of Bolivia's teachers have other jobs or run second turns (often in private schools) in the afternoons and evenings. Being forced into extra jobs leaves them little or no time to prepare their classes, or for *actualización* (updating professional knowledge).

Hence, being a teacher in Bolivia is one of the most popular careers for young people, more so because of the *relative* good working arrangements than because it is such an easy job. Teachers in rural areas face specific difficulties. As in many other countries, in the so-called rural 'multigrade' (*multigrado*) schools just one or two teachers have the responsibility to teach all grades. Moreover, teachers in Bolivian rural areas are often considered as important community members, having multiple additional social roles such as (local) lawyers, conflict-solvers and even as doctors. While teachers face enormous responsibilities, it is questionable if they are fully prepared for these tasks through their training. In addition, working and living conditions in remote areas are relatively more difficult than in cities, because of a lack of (clean) water, electricity and communication and travel services. However, some teacher students explained how they still preferred working under such conditions. Being a teacher in a rural area in their eyes created real opportunities to teach something valuable to children, or because education 'is much more needed' in rural areas.[16] Other students, often with a rural background, also mentioned that they preferred the small-scale community life to the individualistic and hurried urban lifestyle.

However, it would be unfair to state that urban teachers' work is easy. Teachers working in urban contexts also face difficulties. Urban teachers see themselves forced to work in two or three '*turnos*' (morning, afternoon and evening shifts) in order to pay for the expenses of their families. A teacher working at a school in a 'poor' neighbourhood in La Paz explained about other problems of the urban students. She was used to teaching children in the centre of town, where they would 'listen and learn much better'. She related her current students' 'disobedience and laziness' to the lack of support from parents in poorer neighbourhoods. Another teacher similarly explained how numerous parents have to work all the time, or even live abroad to gain

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

money. Teachers complained about homework that 'is never done', and expressed their worries about children being left alone by parents.

Both rural and urban teachers are faced with the first process of conflict – poverty and inequality – in both their private and working life. Both teachers and students live with the daily realities of poverty. Teachers in both contexts complained of poor teaching materials and a poor infrastructure (school building, long and difficult journeys to get to school for both students and teachers). Hay's (2002a) case that actors face an uneven distribution of opportunities and constraints – resulting in a strategic selective context – might help to understand the differences in opportunities for rural and urban teachers; rural teachers expressed their concern for limited career options, as training programmes are often exclusively provided in urban areas.

The work of Bolivian teachers is also strongly linked to the second dimension of conflict – discrimination and exclusion. Until fairly recently, in line with neo-liberal and neo-conservative positions, popular or indigenous knowledge was not seen as equally valuable compared to western-based knowledge (Gandin and Apple 2002, 259). Some teachers tend to disqualify indigenous knowledge as backward, since it is not based on modern science and technology (Regalsky and Laurie 2007, 240). D'Emilio (in 1996) reports that discrimination was clearly visible in educational practices: teachers would for instance ask their students 'if you want to be an Indian or if you want to be intelligent'. Drange likewise signals how 'a great deal of the Bolivian teachers' assert that 'children from the city are more intelligent than children from the countryside', and that 'intelligence depends on the race you belong to' (2007, 3). Both government offices and schools are identified by Bolivians as important scenes of discrimination (Seligson et al. 2006, 33). Bolivian schools, similar to Bolivian society, are characterised by a wide diversity. As the case of Sri Lanka shows, the integration of children with different backgrounds in the same school can – under certain circumstances – have positive effects on learning how to live together (Lopes Cardozo 2008). However, when not negotiated well by teachers, these differences can trigger discrimination, stigmatisation and exclusion against those who learn slower, or those who do not understand the language of instruction (D'Emilio 1996, 15).

The third process of conflict (regional struggle/polarising discourses) has a more direct influence on teachers' life. On the one hand, teachers' own identities and being part of a certain community influences the way they perceive the situation in the country: a Bolivian Aymara highland teacher probably feels more in favour of the current Morales government discourses than an only-Spanish speaking teacher living in the city of Santa Cruz. The way teachers themselves experience the societal tensions and their own political views often influence the way they (do not) deal with these issue in school. The next section of the paper discusses how teachers in their work can counter stereotyping and polarising discourses, by enhancing levels of trust and promoting open and critical dialogue.

The issue of mistrust can be illustrated by looking at the difficult process of the implementation of the 1994 Educational Reform. According to the teachers' unions (and especially the urban one) the reform process lacked participation of teachers and was imposed by neo-liberal actors. The 'pedagogical assistants' – teachers with an extra training and higher salary than school directors – were sent by the ministry to help to implement the reform in schools. This resulted in numerous conflicts and thus the work of these 'assistants' was abolished. In addition, mistrust in the quality and effectiveness of teacher training institutes can be signalled, both in schools as well as

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

in wider society, since the general view is that teachers are not being prepared well enough for their job. Several teacher trainers as well as teacher students explained how corruption and 'political favours' (in different forms and at different levels) and the malfunctioning of state institutions also increased a sense of mistrust.

Mistrust at the personal level – mistrust in each other – was also clearly visible in various schools I got to know. Schools are often used in two or three 'turns' a day. In many cases, there are different management teams in the morning, afternoon and evening turns. Teachers and students reported a lack of communication between these managers, and the (mis)use or destruction of educational material in the classrooms by 'the other' users. Consequently, children who sit in classroom 1B in the morning, get to perceive their fellow students using the same room in the afternoon as unmannered and rude children, because their teacher is afraid to leave anything behind.

Popular pressure methods seem to have their effect in the wider Andean region, and are therefore used nationwide in Bolivia as well, also by teachers. I witnessed several marches, usually organised on Friday afternoons, organised by the teacher union in La Paz. This section of the teachers' union is known for the somewhat radical nature of their demonstrations.[17] In one occasion (on 16 September 2008), although there were no signs of this demonstration turning violent, police forces vigilantly controlled strategic locations in the city centre (including the Ministry of Education) because, as one police officer explained, these demonstration by teachers 'might escalate'. The following section explains in more detail about teachers' collective agency related to this fifth process of conflict.

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

Obstacles and niches for teachers' individual and collective agency

This part analyses how teachers, being strategic political actors, face constraints or use opportunities in order to change their educational and personal contexts. As explained in the theoretical part, teachers can choose inaction or they can decide to act, both on individual or collective bases. They have free will to either uncritically follow a prescribed routine that might contribute to processes of conflict, to actively challenge injustices, or to follow a 'middle way'. In these decisions motivations plays a crucial role. Applying the SRA teachers' choices and agency should be understood within the limits or opportunities of the specific strategic selective context.

Individual teachers' agency

Taking into account teachers' multiple (and ideally hybrid) identities, and consequently a variety of influential ideas and motivations that inspire their actions, we should try to understand the different and even ambivalent roles teachers have in society. Within some of the recent writings, there seems to be a shared opinion about the difficult, even paradoxical roles of Bolivian teachers as agents 'for the state' and/or 'for (their section of) the community'. Regalsky and Laurie explain about the ambiguous roles of teachers and forms of teacher training in reproducing the structures of the hidden curriculum, strengthening instead of withstanding the ongoing *castellanisation* of education. 'The trained teacher becomes an ambiguous, yet key, link between local and regional power networks… he or she is the custodian of state authority as a pedagogic authority officially sanctioned as a bearer of "knowledge"' (2007, 232). In local communities, the teacher often represents 'alien power and knowledge'. Still, in these same communities Bolivian teachers are also seen as

important figures, since they embody 'the way out of poverty'. These teachers often come from rural communities, but chose the teacher profession to follow the 'Bolivian Dream' whereby through hard work and study one can 'whiten', 'progress' and 'become mestizos' (Canessa 2004, 190).

It would be inaccurate to state that Bolivian teachers simply function as 'agents of the state'. Besides, with the recent shift to the 'politics of change' of Morales, we should also distinguish between teachers that support Morales' ideas and those teachers that oppose to the proposed new education plans (either because of political and/or professional reasons). Yet, the situation is even more complex, as teachers operate both as state employed officers, but also in engagement with local communities (Regalsky and Laurie 2007, 237–9). In Bolivia we can see a history of resistance among teachers – either through individual efforts or collective organised unions. Here, a critical and reflexive attitude and their own social and political aspirations become important motivations for a teacher to act; to follow Morales' new policy lines or to resist.

From the literature we can learn how teachers can actively resist against discrimination, stereotyping and the polarising discourses of identity politics. During recent fieldwork in teacher training institutions both trainers and students identified discrimination as an important challenge to overcome in the preparation of future teachers. A male teacher trainer in a rural institute explained: 'Well, most people will not tell you directly but there is discrimination here, first of all because of [indigenous] surnames, because of the social status, you can observe this. This really has to change here [in the institute]'. Also, observations and conversations in different schools revealed structures of discrimination of indigenous, darker coloured children with different mother tongues. Since discrimination is not only directed towards indigenous people, but extends to gender issues, class issues and regional prejudices, it is necessary to adopt a 'multiple consciousness of difference': differences between indigenous and non-indigenous, differences among indigenous peoples and differences within the indigenous individual' (D'Emilio 1996, 22, 59). Teachers should help students to adopt a 'hybrid identity' (Davies 2006a), in order to deal in a respectful way with one own and others 'differences' (in language, ethnicity, culture, sexuality, religion and so forth).

Interestingly, the data shows how newly trained teachers seem to be more aware and also more proud of their indigenous backgrounds. One teacher student from El Alto proudly told me he now openly uses his Aymara surname, while his mother told him when he was young he always had to try to avoid using it because of being discriminated. This changing attitude might promote a more open dialogue about different identities, and possibly counteract the reproduction of the historical *castellanisation* of Bolivian education. In relation to these developments, the proposed new education law seems to promote a somewhat more enabling context for teachers' to openly announce and discuss theirs and students' multiple identities. The new policy plans (re)value indigenous or 'original' knowledge and culture (Drange 2007).

When the new proposed education law for intracultural and decolonising education will be approved and implemented, one of the main challenges for Bolivian teachers will be to promote a multiple perception of diversity focused on commonalities, rather than following 'more inward-looking and potentially segregationist' (Howard 2009) or 'paralysing and exclusionary' (Van Dam and Salman forthcoming) forms of intraculturalism. Speiser argues that educators should work towards 'unity in diversity': 'within the framework of a segregationist society one can claim success if

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

the educators have developed interest, readiness and a capacity to dialogue with those whom they consider to be different' (2000, 235–6). Nine years later, 'unity in diversity' is a fundamental part of the new education law in preparation (Proyecto de Ley 2007), yet it remains to be seen in how far this idea will be grounded in educational practices.

Teachers could ideally provide a counteracting force to forms of exclusionary 'identity politics' – relating to the third dimension of conflict – by stimulating a critical and open discussion and reflection at the classroom level about hybrid identities and the danger of stereotyping. Davies' work on 'interruptive democracies' and her newly developed pedagogical 'XvX model' demonstrate the importance of such an open and critical discussion on hybrid identities focusing on commonalities rather than differences, as well as the need for humour, creativity and play 'to interrupt dogma' (Davies 2005a, 2008). Creativity in many of the Bolivian schools does receive attention, for instance during music, dance and arts classes, be it is in a somewhat 'traditional' or folkloristic manner. However, dialogue, critical thinking and reflexivity need to be included more seriously, especially with regards to the development of critical and reflexive citizens (Burns and Apselagh 1996; Bush and Saltarelli 2000; Giroux 2003b; Apple in Scott 2008). In this line of argument, Davies writes about the importance of the stimulation of free speech and critical media/satire analysis in schools, to open up critical discussions about extremist points of view without avoiding offence (yet evading humiliation) (2008, 124, 149). The following two examples of my field research show how in some instances, teachers do try to work towards a critical and reflexive attitude, yet surrounded by a context of traditional teaching. A teacher trainer in an urban institute told me how he wants his students to:

> … respond to a social task, we want to train teachers this way, with a 'critical spirit', by critically understanding the general panorama of what constitutes Bolivia. We don't want to train students that are static, conformists, we need to train students that know how to respond to the national reality, to what happens in Bolivia.
>
> [And could you give an example of how you try to stimulate this critical attitude in your own classes?]
>
> For example… we have dealt with the theme of autonomy, and the students gave their opinion on the autonomy issue, they told each other if they agreed with the [struggles for] autonomy, and what type of autonomy they thought it should be. This is an example, of how we think critically; naturally we are in the West side of the country, where we think differently from those in the East. The student over there says 'we want autonomy, but just for ourselves', that is the difference with students from the west, they want a 'participative autonomy', in which we all participate… We want our students to be able to choose for themselves… this is good and this is bad, and not just conform themselves.

It is worth noticing that in this example, besides showing a commitment to stimulating critical thinking, we can wonder if differences are not being emphasised instead of mediated. The second example provides an example of a more pessimistic perspective, and comes from a former teacher and school evaluator, now working at the Indigenous Educational Council.

> Since the [1994] Education Reform, I visited schools in my function as a technical supervisor for the Reform, and it is a shame… to be honest we do not teach the children to think, we teach anything but how to think for themselves. For example, a teacher explaining about the digestive system of the body, he would for instance draw on a piece

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

> of paper, paste it to the blackboard and say: students, this is the digestive system, and he would stop there. He immediately loses all the interest from the students, they will not even look at the drawing. You see, this is what is lacking, teaching to think, to think reflexive, critically.

Another strategy for teachers to enhance progressive changes could be to enhance levels of trust (at different scales). Mistrust often leads to difficult processes of dialogue and cooperation between educational actors at the school/community level. An example is the complaints of indigenous parents over 'innovative' teaching methods building on creativity or play, and towards the strengthening of indigenous languages next to Spanish. This is often explained by parents' 'cultural and pragmatic perceptions', and preferences for traditional/modernising forms of education (Yapu 1999 in Howard 2009). Earlier on I discussed mistrust between different groups of users of school buildings. When teachers show how to share or respect others' belongings, they could provide a better model for children on how 'learn to live together' (Sinclair 2004). Dialogue between the different actors involved could help to ensure a culture of trust and understanding, instead of (pedagogical) misunderstandings and unbalanced power plays.

Furthermore, there is often a lack of trust between teachers and parents, organised in the 'juntas escolares'. Because of the relative power of these parents associations over teachers, instead of working together conflicts are prone to occur. On the positive side, these parents associations provide an instrument for larger control on teachers, and on what happens inside the school walls. Although problematic, such an institutionalised control measure is a democratic necessity. For example, violence in the form of physical punishment has been – and in some cases still is – common in schools to punish low-performing or disobedient students. These punishments became illegal since the 1994 reforms, in line with the goal to increase the number of girls in school. Teachers have been reported to be expelled by the parents associations because of – true or false – accusations of maltreatment of students.

At this point, I would like to turn our attention to the most crucial institutions that could help to form future teachers as actors of change – the teacher training institutions. Bolivia has a good legal and conceptual framework, in which the bases for equal chances and respect for diversity is now reflected (Van Dam 2007). Furthermore, teacher-students now show more pride in their indigenous names, background and mother tongue. However, discrimination and stigmatisation are still visible in teacher training, where the large majority of (indigenous) teacher students dress according to the (non-indigenous) 'urban' standards. Unfortunately, although some teacher training institutes are specifically providing an 'intercultural and bilingual' teacher training programme, a large part of the future teachers is not prepared enough to teach in a non-Spanish and rural context. While future teachers are trained differently in urban and rural teacher training centres (urban institutes preparing for urban schools, and rural ones for rural contexts), all teachers are obliged to teach at least two years in 'the province'. Considering that the first few years of teaching are the hardest, these two years in a rural school must be a huge challenge for students trained in an urban context, without adequate tools to communicate and adapt to a local context unknown to them.

It is difficult to speak about 'the future teachers' in general. However, some interesting comments relating to their role as agents for change can be made. Within the recent literature, different authors argue for transformative forms of teacher education, in which practice (internships) and action research is part of the training to strengthen

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

reflexivity (Noffke 1997; Price 2001; Kane 2002; Greenman and Dieckmann 2004). In Bolivia, the internship period and a related pedagogical innovation project could help teacher-students to understand and reflect not only on their 'educational role' (Torres del Castillo 2007), but on their broader socio-cultural and political roles as future agents for change.

This internship and research part of the training of teachers could thus be seen as a structure that enables – at least partly – future students to reflect on socio-pedagogical problems in the schools. A final year student at an urban teacher training institute passionately defended his final 'innovation' project, aiming at improvement of 'human relationships' at the primary education level. This male student explained how:

> … during my internship at a primary school, I have seen how children are afraid of their teachers. I have seen that traditional and hierarchical relations still exist. I want to explore how these relations between teachers and students can improve, in order for children to develop and learn in an environment of trust and peace. I want to use this final research project for my future work.

A female colleague of his explained to me she aims to develop methods to strengthen young childrens' abilities to protect themselves from sexual abuse. These students are an example of how (future) teachers can try to improve existing structures that trigger forms of violence and conflict in educational settings.[18]

Unfortunately, those newly trained teachers that have a commitment to innovate and improve the education after graduation, are confronted with a somewhat restrictive *strategically selective context*. Regardless of Morales 'politics of change', many Bolivian spaces of schooling tend to be more conservative than open to new ideas and change. Many educators told me about the difficulty that new teachers have when entering a school with fresh ideas and a wish to change things, while encountering a rigid culture of conservatism of the teachers that have been there for years. It seems, like a majority group of 'older' teachers chooses the 'routine' path, instead of the more conflictive and difficult path of innovation and/or resistance. The Ministry of Education aims to develop new programmes for 'permanent' in-service teacher training, in order to strengthen the opportunities for all teachers to innovate and improve. So far, these projects remain in the 'ideational' phase only.

Collective teachers' agency

Bolivian teachers are a very 'visible' social group. Not only because of their very important and responsible job, but also because they make themselves heard through demonstrations and strikes. For example, in 2005, unsatisfied students and staff of some of the teacher training institutes effectively used pressure mechanisms (strikes, demonstrations) to enforce an ending of the administrative role of universities in their institutes.[19] Similar to many other countries worldwide, Bolivian teachers are often viewed quite negatively by society as being resistant and under-qualified professionals. This is especially the case when classes are suspended because of 'unionised' activities.

We should, however, also consider how these collective forms of teacher resistance towards state initiatives can be a productive and necessary counter-voice in the political arena. Hay (2002b) for example discusses how collective interest might

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

be used to overcome powerlessness of certain social groups 'by pooling their resources and thereby constituting themselves as strategic actors'. Relating to the education field, Giroux passionately argues how:

> … struggles over pedagogy must be accompanied by sustained attempts on the part of progressive educators to organise themselves collectively and oppose current efforts to disempower teachers through the proliferation of standardised testing schemes, management by objectives designs, and bureaucratic forms of accountability. This requires that radical educators and other progressives organise against the corporate takeover of schools, fight to protect the power of unions, expand the rights and benefits of staff personnel, and put more power into the hands of faculties and students. (Giroux 2003a, 10)

He continues by stating:

> … that educators should work to form alliances with parents, community organisers, labor organisations, and civil rights groups at local, national, and international levels to understand better how to translate private troubles into public actions, arouse public interest in pressing social problems, and use collective means to democratise more fully the commanding institutional economic, cultural, and social structures that dominate our societies. (Giroux 2003a, 13)

In this line of thought, Sleeter (1996) stresses how the role of social movements should be recognised in the definition of (critical) multicultural education. These approaches to a collective form of agency are particularly relevant to the Bolivian case. On the one hand because social movements, from radical to moderate indigenous organisations, and from women's organisations to radical rightwing movements, have an active role in Bolivian politics and social life. And on the other hand because of the recent shift of focus towards respecting and including indigenous rights and knowledge into educational policies. However, possibilities for strengthening teachers' collective agency would probably lie in overcoming the lack of dialogue between teachers (and their unions) and different actors involved in the education field. A severe distrust between union leaders and the authorities (Contreras and Talavera Simoni 2004) needs to be overcome.

Seen from a positive standpoint, collective teacher agency in the form of union resistance can be directed to block potential negative policies. Unions' principles of collective action and solidarity contradict neoliberalism's core principles of individualism and competitiveness, and form a powerful group to oppose neoliberal and/or government policies (Weiner 2008, 252–3). These could undermine either teachers' professional autonomy or restrict less standardised but richer and more relevant educational initiatives, as was for instance the case in Canada, the US, the Philippines and China. On the more negative side, teachers can also resist promising policy initiatives, as happened in both Mexico and Japan, where teacher unions have successfully obstructed progressive reforms that were intended to improve the education system (Tatto 2007, 269–70). In addition, union struggles can also directly affect the education system negatively, resulting for instance in high numbers of cancelled school days because of strikes and demonstrations in Bolivia: 37 in 1995, 24 in 1996, 15 in 1997 and 22 in 1998 (Talavera Simoni 1999).

Bolivia has a historically strong unionised teaching force. In line with history of educational policies, Bolivia's unions are still divided into an urban and a rural section (see Textbox 1):

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

Textbox 1: Teachers' Unions in Bolivia

- Bolivia knows two main teachers' unions:
  - The *Confederación de los Maestros de Educación Rural de Bolivia* or Rural Teachers' National Confederation (CONMERB – no website). CONMERB is a member of Education International: http://www.ei-ie.org
  - The *Confederación de Trabajadores de Educación Urbana de Bolivia* or Urban Teachers' Union (CTEUB): http://www.cteub.com/
- All teachers are obliged to join the teachers's union (urban or rural, depending on their location) and give 0.5% of their salary to the unions

Sources: Regalsky and Laurie (2007, 245), Contreras and Talavera (2004), information obtained from the Federation of La Paz (2008).

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

A decent salary is a common collective point of struggle for teachers. As proclaimed particularly by the urban Bolivian teachers' union, teachers' salaries are too low in relation to the responsibility and heaviness of the job, forcing them into extra jobs. However, it could also be argued that amidst other societal problems (huge unemployment, severe poverty) the government is at least providing a better level of working conditions when compared to other sectors. Moreover, in the past four years (under Morales) teachers' salaries increased significantly with 37% in 2006 with 7%, 6% in 2007, 10% in 2008 and 14% in 2009. This data was published by the Bolivian Ministry of Education, also stating that former governments in the past two decades only increased salaries with 3–3.5%, after strikes and demonstrations.[20] Interestingly, Gandin and Apple (2002, 271) showed in their study of a transformative education project in Porto Alegre (Brazil) how a significant raise in teacher salaries increased teachers' motivations *and* opportunities to take part in training programmes. A decade ago, Talavera (1999, xiii, 127–9) outlined the importance of establishing a sense of trust between all actors involved – authorities, teachers, unions and parents – in order to create a consensus on (further) educational reforms between the authorities, the unions and other social groups. She argued how the public debate about salary scales needed to open up to overcome the persistent struggle between the government and the teacher unions, and that the (urban) union leaders had to learn how to debate and negotiate, and not only think about 'the survival of the union'. The recent raise in salaries, together with several ex-union members in relatively high position in the Ministry of Education now, might indicate an opening towards a better dialogue between parties involved.

Next to struggles for material gains, unions could ideally also dedicate themselves to being social justice activists. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. Weiner therefore argues how unions should still strive to devote resources to social justice campaigns, despite criticism from members who want the union to stick to 'practical concerns' (Weiner 2008, 258). This potentially promising social justice aspect of the union struggle is somewhat absent in the Bolivian case, as argued by critics. In their view, the unions do not struggle for better education (Contreras and Talavera Simoni 2003, 2004a). A more nuanced view on the position of both the urban and the rural union is more valid nowadays. Especially the rural union, yet also the urban one, have shown an interest in negotiating the new educational policy plans of the Morales government. The urban union takes a critical point of view and presented an alternative proposal named '*La escuela para rescatar la patria*' (CTEUB 2006; CTEUB and

Ministerio de Coordinación con Movimientos Sociales y la Sociedad Civil 2007).[21] Although steps towards more dialogue seem to have been taken in the past years, the Bolivian teachers' union struggle could potentially have a greater impact on more holistic 'social justice campaigns', as Weiner argues (2008), working towards educational improvements benefiting the life opportunities of children and working against injustices in society as a whole.

Concluding remarks

> [Teachers] should be viewed as free men and women with a special dedication to the values of the intellect and the enhancement of the critical powers of the young (Giroux 2003b, 48)

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

Bolivian teachers see themselves confronted with a rapidly changing society. Their life and work is embedded in and dialectically related to the tense and discriminatory *strategically selective context* discussed in this paper. In addition, unclear policy lines, a persistently changing Ministry staff and continuing mistrust in the state and its institutions (including the teacher training institutes) make it difficult to forecast whether teachers can really become actors for – or against – change. There is a need to create an understanding of the complexities of teachers' identities, motivations and of the different – educational and societal – roles they play in contemporary Bolivia. Besides, this article stresses the need to further understand potential niches and obstacles for teachers' individual and collective strategic action in countering the causes and effects of processes of conflict.

On the individual level, it is a huge challenge for future teachers to become a critical and reflexive generation that will inspire students, parents and the older generation of in-service teachers to improve classroom practices, and to resist instead of reproduce historical discriminatory educational practices. Furthermore, teachers would ideally adopt and stimulate others to have hybrid identities, and foster a critical and open dialogue about differences and respect for diversity in an atmosphere of trust. Their training is crucial for a solid preparation, to stimulate an innovative and reflexive attitude and to foster latent motivations into active forms of agency.

On the collective level of teacher agency, this paper showed how Bolivia's teachers unions form a crucial political counter-voice but could do more to promote a sincere struggle for countering social injustices. Improving teachers' collective strength could be realised through forming alliances with other stakeholders (parents, community organisations, labour organisations and civil rights groups at local, national and international levels), and creating a constructive dialogue with authorities. Teacher unions could reshift their focus from mostly 'practical concerns' (including salaries and retirement) to working towards educational improvements benefiting the life opportunities of children and working against injustices in society as a whole.

Following Hay's (2002a) SRA, teachers' motivation is crucial in their passive or active strategies, and these motivations are influenced by the ideologies and discourses around them and vice versa. In order to motivate teachers to live up to their educational ánd societal responsibility, good quality training, a higher social status and a reasonable salary is indispensable. Will the present 'discursive turn' in the Bolivian political arena indeed promote a more enabling context for teachers and students to openly announce and discuss their hybrid identities, or will exclusionary forms of 'identity politics' be reinforced? Is Morales' 'politics of change' indeed a

positive environment for these changes to happen, and for teachers to take centre stage in these processes and develop a dialogue working against the negative forms of conflict and towards social justice? There is some hope and it lies with the potential of future teachers, those with a (latent) motivation to become an actor of change, embedded in an environment where the state seeks to redress the historical injustices committed against the majority indigenous populations for centuries. It is time for teacher trainers, teacher-students and in-service teachers to turn the word 'change' from a mere political slogan into an educational reality.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Maria Luisa Talavera, a lecturer in education sciences and anthropology at the Universidad Mayor de San Andres in La Paz (Bolivia), for being an endless source of information and for her constructive contributions to the contents of this article. I would also like to thank Michiel Baud and Mario Novelli (University of Amsterdam) for their helpful comments during the writing process, as well as commentary received during the constructive meetings with fellow researchers in the Inter-university Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation (CEDLA) in Amsterdam. I am also grateful for an insightful presentation on her new book and discussions in Amsterdam with Lynn Davies and for the input of two anonymous reviewers.

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

Notes

1. 'Against decentralization! Against private education! Against corruption!'.
2. There is a need to better understand how teachers' cultures of resistance came into being, and what the consequences are for teachers work and the education sector more in general. This issue of teacher resistance is being taken up in a PhD project of Maria Luisa Talavera, an experienced Bolivian educator and academic.
3. In the proposed new education law, schooling is aimed at *decolonisation* (and liberation); *transformation* (of economic, social, cultural, political and ideological structures); *democratisation* (and participation); *intra-/interculturality* and *pluri-lingualism*; to *unity in diversity*, with cohesion between people and between humans and the environment; to *critical social awareness*; and to *social justice*. In discourse definitely wonderful intentions, yet discussions continue on the actual meaning and implementation of these concepts.
4. Field based research was conducted in October and November 2007, and from May–November 2008.
5. Examples of positive forms of conflict that can be fostered by educators have been defined by Davies as 'active challenge to violence; tolerance; conflict resolution; education for humanitarian law; dialogue and encounter' (2006b, 13).
6. Mujeres Creando (Women Creating) is a feminist activist organization working from La Paz. More information can be found at http://www.mujerescreando.org/.
7. Translated literally this would mean something like 'enspanishment' of the population, aimed at imposing the Spanish language and culture.
8. Warisata was closed in l939.
9. The civil society organisation *Consejos Educativos de los Pueblos Originarios* (CEPOs) has achieved influence on educational policy plans, representing the indigenous populations' educational needs.
10. While a large majority of the population respectively voted for the continuation of the Morales governments 'politics of change' and the approval of the new constitution, the *prefectos* (provincial state representatives) of the lowland departments also gained enough votes to stay in power and have been leading a strong anti-constitutional struggle.
11. Interview on 20 October 2008. All quotes from respondents are interpreted and translated from Spanish to English by the author.
12. Autonomy struggles are also fought out in the education sector, were alternative education policy initiatives – the so-called 'estatutos autonomicos departamentales' – were created in

the lower regions of Bolivia. These documents are highly debated in terms of their legitimacy, congruence with the national Constitution and influence on education. It could be stated that they 'ignore the common, emphasise their own truth as the only truth, and impede an open dialogue between different groups and cultures in society' (Van Dam and Salman 2009).

13. In some cases, it might be argued that certain forms of identity politics could be legitimate for a period of time, for instance when linked to the improvement of the lives and power positions of marginalised and discriminated groups. Although the concept of identity politics is a useful one, we should be careful not to treat it in a simplistic and solely negative sense. Hale (1997) elaborates on how the 'politics of identity' evolved in Latin America, and links it for instance to the rise of indigenous politics as opposed to unified national-popular projects.
14. The 2003 uprisings are sometimes referred to as 'Red October' because of the widespread bloodshed.
15. These popular uprisings naturally had and have their downsides. Particularly the poor are victimised by the effects of the numerous roadblocks and violent confrontations with the police and military. The social unrest in Bolivia for instance has a significant impact on the economy. On the national level, the economy suffers from withdrawal of foreign investors who lost trust in the Bolivian situation, and internally road blocks and strikes lead to problems of distribution and a lack of products (Kohl and Farthing 2006, 190–1).
16. Indeed, there is a lack of (qualified) teachers in remote rural areas. Although to 'bring good education to the rural poor' seems quite positive at first sight, one might question the patronising or even discriminatory ideas behind them in some cases. Thus, training institutes should have students critically reflect on their motivations behind future choices.
17. Data exists that show how between 1996 and 1997, in 17 encounters with the police, more than 170 people were detained, 2 people died and 62 were wounded (Contreras and Talavera 2004).
18. These reflections are based on preliminary analysis of fieldwork data gathered in 2008, and additional research will be done in order to disseminate further results.
19. Between 2000 and 2005 half of the institutes were administered by universities, in order to improve quality of the Normales and to stimulate cooperation and research between the two institutes. In short, there are two rival camps in Bolivia on this issue; those that believe this was the best period for the Normales, and those that oppose to this administration and in the end demonstrated until the Normales could go on by themselves again. This opposition claimed the 'university people' were not at all prepared to teach about the reality in classrooms and about teaching styles and methods, because they lacked 'real educational experience'.
20. Ministerio de Educacion, 5 June 2009: http://www.minedu.gov.bo/minedu/showNews.do?newsId=1542.
21. The differences and communalities between the governments' views and the urban unions' views have been published in *Debate sobre la educación Boliviana*, presenting a long list (102 pages) discussing all articles of the 1994 reform.

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

Notes on contributor

Mieke T.A. Lopes Cardozo is currently undertaking doctoral research as part of a wider research initiative examining the 'education in diverse societies' at the University of Amsterdam, in cooperation with the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Within the field of education, development and conflict, she specialises in the themes of social justice, teacher training, teacher agency, peace education and intercultural education with a present focus on Bolivia.

References

Al Jazeera. 2008. Talk to Al Jazeera: Evo Morales. Bolivia, YouTube.

Apple, M.W. 1982. Reproduction and contradiction in education: An introduction. In *Cultural and economic reproduction in education,* ed. M.W. Apple, 1–31. London: Routledge.

Baud, M. 2007. Indigenous politics and the state, the Andean Highlands in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. *Social Analysis* 51, no. 2: 19–42.

Brienen, M. 2007. Interminable revolution populism and frustration in twentieth century Bolivia. *SAIS review* 27, no. 1: 21.
Burns, R., and R. Apselagh. 1996. *Three decades of peace education around the world: An anthology.* New York: Garland Publishers.
Bush, K.D., and D. Saltarelli. 2000. *The two faces of education in ethnic conflict: Towards a peace-building education for children.* Florence: Innocenti Research Centre, UNICEF.
Canessa, A. 2004. Reproducing racism: Schooling and race in highland Bolivia. *Race Ethnicity and Education* 7, no. 2: 185.
Canessa, A. 2006. Todos somos indígenas: Towards a new language of national political identity. *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 25, no. 2: 241.
Compton, M., and L. Weiner. 2008. *The global assault on teaching, teachers and their unions.* Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
Contreras, M.E., and M.L. Talavera Simoni. 2003. *The Bolivian education reform 1992–2002: Case studies in large-scale education reform.* Washington: The World Bank.
Contreras, M.E., and M.L. Talavera Simoni. 2004. *La reforma educativa Boliviana 1992–2002: del escepticismo a la esperanza.* http://www.unesco.cl/medios/biblioteca/documentos/conflictividad_bolivia_reforma_educativa_boliviana_1992_2002_escepticismo_esperanza.pdf.
Cox, R. 1996. *Approaches to world order.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
CTEUB. 2006. La Escuela Para Rescatar la Patria, Documento aprobado en el congreso nacional de educación urbana. Sucre, CTEUB.
CTEUB and Ministerio de Coordinación con Movimientos Sociales y la Sociedad Civil. 2007. Debate sobre la educación Boliviana: análisis de concordancias entre el proyecto de 'nueva ley de educación Boliviana 'Elizardo Perez Avelino Sinani' y la propuesta 'la escuela para rescatar la patria' del magisterio urbano de Bolivia.
D'Emilio, L. 1996. Voices and processes towards pluralism: Indigenous education in Bolivia. *New Educaction Division Documents,* no. 9. Stockholm: SIDA and UNICEF.
Davies, L. 2005. Making education more inclusive: Democracy building and citizenship for all. Expert meeting on quality of education, University of Amsterdam, unpublished.
Davies, L. 2006a. Global citizenship: Abstraction or framework for action? *Educational Review* 58, no. 1: 5.
Davies, L. 2006b. Understanding the education–war interface. Forged Migration Review Supplement: Education and Conflict: Research, Policy and Practice Refugees Studies Centre, UNICEF, Oxford University's Department of Educational Studies, Oxford (July 2006): 13.
Davies, L. 2008. *Educating against extremism.* Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.
Domingo, P. 2005. Democracy and new social forces in Bolivia. *Social Forces* 83, no. 4: 1727.
Drange, L.D. 2007. Power in intercultural education: Education in Bolivia – from oppression to liberation? *Journal of Intercultural Communication* 15: 1–11.
Duffield, M. 2001. *Global governance and the new wars – the merging of development and security.* London: Zed Books.
Equipo APEP. 1994. Violencia en la region Andina, sintesis final. In *Violencias encubiertas en Bolivia. Coca, vida cotidiana y comunicación,* P. Cottle and X. Albó. La Paz: CIPCA-Aruwiyiri.
Fraser, N. 2005. Reframing justice in a globalizing world. *New Left Review* 36: 69–88.
Gandin, L.A., and M.W. Apple. 2002. Challenging neo-liberalism, building democracy: Creating the Citizen School in Porto Alegre, Brazil. *Journal of Education Policy* 17, no. 2: 259–79.
Giroux, H. 2003a. Public pedagogy and the politics of resistance: Notes on a critical theory of educational struggle. *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 35, no. 1: 5–16.
Giroux, H. 2003b. Teachers as transformative intellectuals. In *Educational foundations: An anthology of critical readings,* ed. A.S. Canestrari, and B. A. Marlowe, 205–12. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
Greenman, N.P., and J.A. Dieckmann. 2004. Considering criticality and culture as pivotal in transformative teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education* 55, no. 3: 240.
Hale, C.R. 1997. Cultural politics of identity in Latin America. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26: 567–90.

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

Hay, C. 2002a. *Political analysis.* Basingstoke: Palgrave.
Hay, C. 2002b. Globalisation as a problem of political analysis: Restoring agents to a 'process without a subject' and politics to a logic of economic compulsion. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 15, no. 3: 379–92.
Howard, R. 2009. Education reform, indigenous politics, and decolonisation in the Bolivia of Evo Morales. *International Journal of Educational Development* 29: 1–11.
Kaldor, M. 1999. *New and old wars: Organized violence in a global era.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Kane, R.G. 2002. How we teach the teachers. New ways to theorize practice and practise theory. *Prospects* 32, no. 3: 347–64.
Kohl, B.H., and L.C. Farthing. 2006. *Impasse in Bolivia: Neoliberal hegemony and popular resistance.* London: Zed Books.
La Razón. 2008. Gobierno acusa a Costas y Marinkovic de gestar golpe. La Razon. La Paz.
Latinobarómetro. 2007. Informe Latinobarómetro 2007, Banco de datos en línea. www.latinobarometro.org.
Lopes Cardozo, M.T.A. 2008. Sri Lanka: in peace of in pieces? A critical approach to peace education in Sri Lanka. *Research in Comparative and International Education* 3, no. 1: 19–35.
Luke, A. 1996. Text and discourse in education: An introduction to critical discourse analysis. *Review of Research in Education* 21: 3–48.
Malaver, L., and M.F. Oostra. 2003. *Bolivia: Mensen, politiek, economie, cultuur, milieu.* Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen.
McNeish, J.-A. 2006. Stones on the road: The politics of participation and the generation of crisis in Bolivia. *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 25, no. 2: 220.
Morales, W.Q. 2004. *A brief history of Bolivia.* New York, NY: Checkmark Books.
Noffke, S. 1997. Professional, personal, and political dimensions of action research. *Review of Research in Education* 22: 305.
Novelli, M., and M.T.A. Lopes Cardozo. 2008. Conflict, education and the global south: New critical directions. *International Journal of Educational Development* 28: 473–88.
Price, J.N. 2001. Action research, pedagogy and change: The transformative potential of action research in pre-service teacher education. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 33, no. 1: 43.
Proyecto de Ley, A.S.E.P. 2007. *Proyecto de la nueva ley de educación Avelino Sinani – Elizardo Perez.* Ministerio de Educacion Culturas y Desportes de Bolivia.
Regalsky, P., and N. Laurie 2007. …whose place is this? The deep structures of the hidden curriculum in indigenous education in Bolivia. *Comparative Education,* 231–51.
Robertson, S.L. 2000. A class act: Changing teachers' work, the state, and globalisation. New York: Falmer Press.
Robertson, S.L. 2007. Teachers matter… don't they?: Placing teachers and their work in the global knowledge economy. http://www.bris.ac.uk/education/people/academicStaff/edslr/publications/22slr/.
Robertson, S.L. 2008. Remaking the world: Neoliberalism and the transformation of education and teachers' labor. In *The global assault on teaching, teachers and their unions,* ed. M. Compton, and L. Weiner, 11–30. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
Salman, T. 2006. The jammed democracy: Bolivia's troubled political learning process. *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 25, no. 2: 163.
Scott, D. 2008. Michael Apple on structure. In *Critical essays on major curriculum theorists,* ed. D. Scott, 65–71. Oxon: Routledge.
Seitz, K. 2004. Education and conflict: the role of education in the creation, prevention and resolution of societal crises— consequences for development cooperation, German Technical Cooperation/Deutsche Gessellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ).
Seligson, M.A., and A.B. Cordova et al. 2006. Democracy Audit: Bolivia 2006 Report, LAPOP – Latin American Pulblic Opinion Project, USAID, Vanderbilt University.
Sinclair, M. 2004. *Learning to live together: Building skills, values and attitudes for the twenty-first century.* Paris: UNESCO, Bureau of Education.
Sleeter, C.E. 1996. Multicultural education as a social movement. *Theory into Practice* 35, no. 4: 239–47.
Speiser, S. 2000. Becoming an intercultural primary school teacher: experiences from Bolivia. Intercultural Education 11, no. 3: 225.

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009

Stewart, F. 2003. Conflict and the Millennium Development Goals. *Journal of Human Development* 4, no. 3: 326–50.
Talavera Simoni, M.L. 1999. Otras voces, otros maestros: aproximación a los procesos de innovación y resistencia en tres escuelas del Programa de reforma educativa, ciudad de La Paz, 1997–1998. La Paz, PIEB, Programa de investigación estratégica en Bolivia.
Tatto, M.T. 2007. Reforming teaching globally. Didcot, Symposium Books.
Taylor, S.G. 2004. Intercultural and bilingual education in Bolivia: The challenge of ethnic diversity and national identity. Documneto de trabajo no.01/04 http://www.iisec.ucb.edu.bo/papers/2001-2005/iisec-dt-2004-01.pdf.
Torres del Castillo, R.M. 2007. Nuevo papel docente – Que modelo de formacion y para que modelo educativo? http://saberes.wordpress.com/2007/08/04/nuevo-papel-docente-%c2%bfque-modelo-de-formacion-y-para-que-modelo-eductivo/.
UNNIOs. 2004. Por una educación indigena originaria. Hacia la autodeterminación ideological, política, territorial y sociocultural. UNNIOs – Unidad Nacional de las Naciones Indigenas Originarias. La Paz, Santa Cruz, GIG.
Urquiola, M., and W. Jiménez et al. 2000. *Los maestros en Bolivia: impacto, incentivos y desempeño.* La Paz: Sierpe Publicaciones.
Van Dam, A. 2007. Lerend doen en doende leren: Bolivia's interculturele onderwijshervorming in proces. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands.
Van Dam, A., and T. Salman. Forthcoming. Interculturalidad, policulturalidad y creolización – una reflexión y un caso. Will be included in edited volume based on Conference outcomes on 'Interculturality'. *La Paz/Oruro:* 1–10.
Vongalis-Macrow, A. 2007. I, Teacher: re-territorialization of teachers' multi-faceted agency in globalized education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 28, no. 4: 425–39.
Weiner, L. 2005. Neoliberalism, teacher unionism and the future of public education. *New Politics* X, no. 2: 1–21.
Weiner, L. 2008. Building the international movement we need: Why a consistent defence of democracy and equality is essential. In *The global assault on teaching, teachers and heir unions,* ed. M. Compton and L. Weiner, 237–50. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Welmond, M. 2002. Globalization viewed from the periphery: The dynamics of teacher identity in the Republic of Benin. *Comparative Education Review* 46, no. 1: 37–65.
Yashar, D.J. 1998. Contesting citizenship: Indigenous movements and democracy in Latin America. *Comparative Politics* 31, no. 1: 23.
Zoomers, A. 2006. Pro-indigenous reforms in Bolivia: Is there an Andean way to escape poverty? *Development and Change* 37, no. 5: 1023.

Downloaded By: [UVA Universiteitsbibliotheek SZ] At: 12:00 10 December 2009