

# SOFT POWER

- The Intercultural Bilingual Education policy as a window onto larger processes of governance



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## **Abstract**

This study looks into Intercultural Bilingual Education among the Indigenous Peoples of the Andes. Using the policy as a vantage point it shows the interconnectedness of the different parts of a larger network of processes influencing it. Spring boarding of Foucault's second notion of biopower, that which concerns the regulation of the population, and the governmentality concept, the study considers the global processes of power affecting a policy on a local scale and thus shaping the lives of communities. It explores the confining framework of a normative system attempting to incorporate diversity and shows how policies create as much as they reflect societies, meaning that education can as such function as a vehicle of change. Furthermore it acknowledges the agency of the governed in the process of both contestation and internalization. The goal of the study is to display the messiness of the policy process as it moves across time and space, from global to local levels, rarely managing to remain within one policy domain.

Keywords: Anthropology, policy, EIB, Andean Nations, Governmentality

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## Chap 1. Introduction

The world is changing rapidly. Globalization is increasing and capitalist free-market models are spreading across the world. Neoliberal policies are being adopted into countries all over. It would appear that the world is going towards a global culture in which the wide differences are slowly being merged into one. Yet, at the same time, new social categories are finally able to take their spot on the national and international scene. Indigenous peoples who have lived in oppression during nearly half a millennium are having their identities acknowledged and rights respected. It may appear almost paradoxical, this simultaneous merging and diversifying of cultures. Yet there are underlying currents of power in the world, more or less hidden, that allows this diversifying to happen but only within a specific framework. But does that mean that everyone is helpless puppets in the face of these powers? Or are there other ways for agency to take place?

Most anthropologists who engage in Foucault's dual notion of *biopower* pay particular attention to the first sentiment; the disciplining of the individual. However in order to understand policy one must look into the second notion, that which cares for the regulation of the population. It is a daunting task. How on earth does one delimit such a study? Where does one position oneself? The fact remains that anthropology has a lot to contribute to the study of policy with different perspectives from other social researchers. Perhaps it is particularly relevant with regard to policies that concerns education as this constitutes a very important aspect of our enculturation during adolescence and thus will impact our worldviews greatly, especially in these days of global influences.

My starting point is the EIB (Intercultural bilingual education) used in the Andean region of South America but my larger aim is to unveil the power structures of society from local to global scale. My research takes me on a journey from the present to historical times and back to the present. It moves across local, national, regional and global scales to pick up on patterns of similarities, displaying in the meantime the messiness of policy processes.

## **Introduction to Indigenous Education Policy, Equity, and Intercultural Understanding in Latin America**

The thesis springboards off a recently published book: *Indigenous Education Policy, Equity, and Intercultural Understanding in Latin America* (2017), consisting of a number of articles, which examines the effect of a policy known as the EIB (Intercultural Bilingual Education) upon the school results of Indigenous children in Latin American countries. It is edited by Regina Cortina, a Professor of Education in the Department of International and Transcultural Studies at Teachers College, Columbia University who has published previous books and articles on the matter of indigenous children's rights to quality education in Latin America, the most notable of these being *The Education of Indigenous Citizens in Latin America* (2014). The other ten contributors vary in their fields of specialization including an anthropologist, a psychologist, a linguist and an economist as well as a range of different education and pedagogy specialists. Altogether there are six professors/doctorates tied to universities in the United States of America, four to Mexico and one to Bolivia.

Their overall goal in creating this edition is to aid in the formation of more democratic and equitable Latin American societies in which the Indigenous peoples are fully included through the medium of quality education. To do so the present day education system must overcome the residue of nearly half a millennia of Spanish language hegemony, cultural erasure and ethnic marginalization. The EIB policy is presented in the book as a partial solution to this issue and the authors legitimize its usage throughout a variety of studies on its positive influence upon the learning outcomes for indigenous children. Furthermore they offer ideas for future improvements and give recognition to the challenges that may be faced upon the implementation of these. As I have not personally collected empirical data from the field it is these professors/doctorates understanding of the EIB policy and its effects that I base my study on.

## **Problem statement**

This is an anthropological study of what a policy called the EIB reveals about power processes in society. From a plethora of books, documents and media, across subjects ranging from statistics and history to community feelings and constitutional law I have analyzed the problems one faces in determining what has influenced it and the structures of power utilized to implement it.

My overarching question is **what larger structural power processes the study of EIB may reveal**. This can be divided into more defined sub-questions, firmly rooted in the approach of Shore & Wright (2011), as followed:

- Which are the different actors influencing the EIB policy?
- What does the EIB mean to the different actors and how do they relate to it?
- Which actors benefits from EIB?

## **Delimitations of study**

While the book covers a range of Latin American countries I have delimited my study to the Indigenous Peoples of the countries of the Andean region, including Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. My reason for doing so is founded in the fact that several of the Indigenous Peoples of this region are present in more than one of the nations, having been divided not by choice but by the border drawings of the descendants of the European Conquistadores. They are also the South American countries with the highest percentage of indigenous peoples. While it appears to be more relevant to utilize the geographical area used by the Peoples of my study than national categorizations forced upon them by outside forces, I cannot overlook the fact that human rights, and thus indigenous rights such as the EIB, cannot be realized without the nation state. As the book upon which I base this study uses national statistics of its citizens rather than the statistics of, for example, the Aymara people, and as the Peoples are at mercy of the Nation state's implementation of the policies I feel I have no choice but to use the

nation-states. Furthermore I realized that due to forced displacement and modern urbanization, a large amount of the indigenous peoples of the Andes live in large cities or lowlands today, having left their original geographical areas, if ever there was such a place. The Quechuan languages were after all the official trade languages of the Inca Empire and as such probably held linguistic hegemony for centuries and contributed to the decline of local languages (Fredriksen 2010).

### **Presentation of theories**

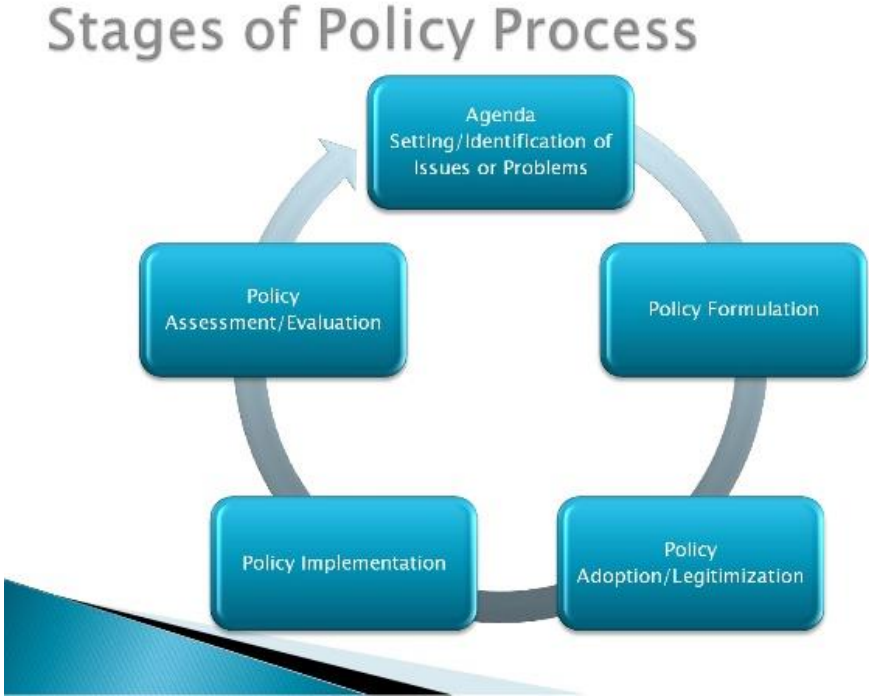
This thesis concerns a relatively new area within the science of social anthropology, growing out of the broader organizational anthropology field of study that developed in the 1960s but that gained real traction a few decades later in the 1980s. A policy can be described as a guiding principle and is not to be confused with the law, although laws may draw inspiration from it. In the eyes of the general public it is often viewed to be a neutral entity based on statistical research or “common sense”. However an anthropologist sees it as a cultural narrative that presumes a certain view of personhood as well as a certain general worldview. The challenge for anthropology lies in unveiling the larger processes of power and governance in our world today through the study of particular fields of policy while gaining an understanding of what those policies reflect of present day society as well as what they create. As such a policy has agency, it is performative and it is thus the process of a policy that the anthropologist study (Shore & Wright 2011:1-2). As Shore and Wright phrase it “(...) we see policies as windows onto political processes in which actors, agents, concepts and technologies interact in different sites, creating and consolidating new rationalities of governance and regimes of knowledge and power.” (Shore & Wright 2011:2)

Why is it important for anthropologists to look into the subject of policies? A policy is an essential “organizing principle” of society, a tool utilized by governments, NGO’s and other organizations to organize and regulate the people they intend to govern and around which people structure their lives and social interactions. It is therefore a concept of equal importance to “kinship” or “nation” (Berger and Luckman 1966). As policies are often seen as “common sense” they reflect the rationalities present at the time of their creation but these are never stagnant, forever changing due to transformations on a societal scale such as ideological



shifts and global influences. They may also be used to cement the legitimacy of an already existing regime or justify the subversion of the established structure and can as such act as vehicles for social change (Shore & Wright 2011:3). Policies often migrate in-between fields and take on new meanings as they do, an example being the Toyota car production model that turned into the LEAN model used in pre-schools (Theedvall 2015).

While having grown out of the western world, there are today few - if any - societies that are not affected in one manner or another by policies (Shore & Wright 2011:2). A policy-process is oftentimes portrayed in a circular diagram as can be viewed below.



At all stages there is room for cultural influences. What is considered a problem and what words are used to express it and what value do they hold in that particular setting? What type of power must be used to legitimize it and which institutions are used to implement it? Did these institutions exist before the introduction of these policies? In order to determine whether a policy has been successful or not it must be evaluated at the end of the process to decide if it needs to be revised. To do so there must be indicators that can be measured, meaning these must be created if they do not exist. It also means that certain subjects, such as

unofficial education, that are difficult to measure, cannot have policies developed around them as the results of the implementation cannot be measured.

Three concepts in particular are important to understand in order to grasp the theoretical foundation of this thesis. They are all coined by Michael Foucault. These are defined as following:

*Biopower*: A dual notion. The first concerns the disciplining of the individual. It is more studied in anthropology as it is more easily localized and lends itself well to methods such as participant observation. The second notion concerns the regulation of the population. It has “languished in disciplinary obscurity” (Greenhalgh 2003) due to the methodological limitations of obtaining empirical data without participant observation in a non-localized field.

*Dispositif*: As defined by Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983): “dispositif refers to the ‘ensemble’ of practices, institutions, architectural arrangements, regulations, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical propositions and morality that frame a disciplinary space.”

*Governmentality*: As explained by Eller (2016): “the assorted practices, institutions, instruments, and discourses of power by means of which a “government” (state) or any other political entity can manage a population— and manage to get that population to manage itself.”

Looking into the second aspect of Foucault’s notion of “biopower”, the regulation of the population, I approach the less explored area of what Feldman (2011) refers to as “non-local ethnography”. It is not centered on the everyday life of a place, but rather on the making of a policy in multiple locations which ultimately aligns into a common policy. Through identifying the *dispositif* I try to show the work of policy as a tool of Foucault’s governmentality, without for that matter rendering the governed passive. Instead I turn to the refreshing approach of Shore & Wright (2011) who explain that the subject is able to contest or reformulate the policy during the process of internalization. Nor am I restricted to the nation-state’s governmental functions, but rather my main aim ended up being that of intergovernmental agency.

While it at first sight there may appear to be a flurry of different theoretical approaches in this essay, they all have in common explaining the functions of policy as a vehicle of governmentality, but also the somewhat unforeseen effects of utilizing such a system. While identity politics, authoritative instrumentalism, language practices, bias in statistics, technologies of citizenship, subject agency, globalization and neoliberalism all relate to the former, runaway effect and paradoxes are instead viewed as inevitable aspects of utilizing policy.

## **Method**

Choosing a method for the anthropological study of policy, one that is concurrent with not having the opportunity to conduct the traditional participant observation and semi-structured interviews to gain an emic perspective and one that may be adapted to fit the confines of a bachelor's thesis, proved to be difficult task. Not only is the subject perhaps not suited to anyone studying the level below a master's degree, it also still remains a largely unexplored area within anthropology with precious little previous research done at the scale on which I have attempted here. Method-wise there are no clear-cut ways to go. To paraphrase Shore and Wright "Anthropology does not offer a ready-made tool kit of methods that can be picked up and used instrumentally" (Shore and Wright 2011:15) Instead it is up to the anthropologists themselves to gain a certain sensibility that allows one to treat everything one encounters as possible ethnographic material and from that etch out a possible selection of methods that can be utilized to aid the anthropologist in discerning the theoretical themes they come across. Perhaps the most important thing to understand concerning method in the case of policy is that the site of study and the field of research are differentiated as opposed to the classical Malinowskian model (Shore & Wright 2011:12). With this in mind I now present the methods I found most sensible for my study.

Firstly I had to locate myself somewhere, establish a vantage point from which I could observe all the components of the *dispositif* (Foucault 1980) link together. The book *Indigenous Education Policy, Equity, and Intercultural Understanding in Latin America* (2017), written by social scientists that analyzed the EIB policy of present day and identified related issues appeared to be a good start. However I did not feel as if though this allowed me to gain enough of the insider's perspective so essential in anthropology. Thus I decided to use

discussions in the media to answer the vital questions of what people make of policy and how they engage with it(Shore & Wright 2011:8)? In particular I found news sites, YouTube and indigenous groups 'websites to be of use.

Secondly I had to figure out a manner in which to shed light on the larger processes of power of which EIB is only one segment. I was immediately drawn to the concept of "following" as Marcus (1995) recommends when encountered with a subject that does not make sense to study in an isolated or easily delimited field. Now, to make sense of a policy one cannot simply trace it back in a linear manner to one point of origin. As the ever-contested, ever-changing entity it is, it is of equal importance to trace it horizontally, to uncover the forces that shapes it today. Hence I have followed the policy back in time, "sideways" in present time and, perhaps, even into the future.

Finally I had to find a manner in which take into consideration the larger political and societal context. For this I found Strathern's (1992) model of viewing the world as a canvas, picking out a part of it to study in detail before returning it to the background to be suitable. Throughout the study it will be apparent that I have applied this not only to present day but also on the historical events I touch upon when tracing the origin of the EIB.

This method can be viewed as a simplified version of "studying through" as Reinhold & Wright (2011) recommend when attempting studying policy processes. Many elements are very similar, such as the wide conception of the field, the wider historical and political context analysis, the usage of keywords and semantic clusters, the avoidance of assuming hierarchical relations between policy makers and the "governed" and an inquiry into not only what has produced the present but "what the present is producing"(Wright & Reinhold 2011:92). However I felt I could not give adequate justice to the concept of "a history of the present" (ibid:88) as a vital part of this means living through events as they happen to catch people's emotions and reflections, and my lack of participant observation hindered me from doing so. Furthermore I did not find it possible to be quite as detailed in studying the "starbursts" (Moore 1987), explained in Shore and Wright (2011) as a method for treating the present reality as only one of many possible outcomes and the many unpredictable significances any given event may hold for the future. While keeping it in mind throughout the study, to me that

was a much too complex a method for someone studying at undergraduate level and not suitable for the format of a bachelor's thesis.

### **Ethical considerations**

At first I must admit that I questioned whether I truly had any ethical considerations as I did not conduct participant observation and I did not have informants. Nor did I use any documents or statements not available to the general public. However after reading Mosse's (2011) study among aid professionals working with rural development in India I came to realize that my highlighting of certain aspects of hidden power processes among important organisations such as the UNESCO can be seen as critique against the organization itself. Many anthropologists appear to face this issue when studying important political figures and organisations that will probably read it and have the cultural capital to contest it and be listened to in the same channels as oneself publishes in. In a world of neoliberal movements such as New Public Management, in which the individual is a self-sufficient, responsible individual, such a thing may be a threat to their professional identities, thus risking their funding. Similarly organisations may feel affronted and accuse the anthropologist of downgrading their importance when in reality the anthropologist simply wished to explore the underlying power structures of society. Yet while this protest of certain aspects of a study also reveals something about the cultural world of the person or organization, it does pose an ethical difficulty in anthropological work.

### **Previous research**

*Policy worlds* (2011), edited by Chris Shore, Susan Wright and David Peró is undoubtedly the most substantial and influential book on the subject. Spring-boarding off of Strathern's (2000) work on Audit culture in the New Public Management system, they further explore what such a culture inevitably gives birth to; policies. Furthering what they discovered in their previous book "*Anthropology of Policy*" (1997) their aim in particular is to answer in which ways anthropology as a subject may open up new perspectives and areas of knowledge not previously studied by the traditional researchers of policy but also to advance the methodological and theoretical foundations to cement the subject as a distinct field within

anthropological research. Aside from the editors there are an additional ten anthropologists who have contributed with their take on the study of anthropology. Out of these I found the following most relevant to my study.

Wright and Reinhold (2011) in particular were of use as I attempt to use a similar method to the one they introduce here; “studying through”. The work from which it developed was done by Reinhold on the conceptual journey of gay relationships from being decided upon to be presented in a positive light in schools to becoming the embodiment of the threat against the modern British state during the Thatcher era. David Mosse’s (2011) study among professionals with access to the same channels in which he published his work and their contestation against certain parts of it that may affect their professional identities, aided me in formulating my ethical text, whereas Gregory Feldman’s (2011) work on non-local ethnography on European immigration policy helped my understanding of *dispositif* and how one may approach it in a transnational policy study.

*The Anthropology of Education Policy* (2017) is another book, this time writing precisely on the subject of education policy. With ethnographic studies conducted across the United States of America they look into how policy “does it work” with an underlying core idea of how to utilize anthropology to foster a more equitable school system. As with *Policy worlds* (2011) it examines in particular the creation, reflection and contestation of power and regimes of knowledge. At first it appeared to be a book of great use for my study but as I studied it in closer detail it became apparent that its audience was education researchers rather than anthropologists, it was committed to engaged anthropology and thus written to contribute to change on the ground which in this case was the United States. Similarly a large part of the work treated methodology in the field and lastly it did not appear to take into consideration the larger international influences and power structures affecting all aspects of the policy process. This in combination with the difficulty of accessing the book in Sweden made me decide not to use it in this study.

*Bilingual Education Policy and Practice in the Andes: Ideological Paradox and Intercultural Possibility* (2000) by Nancy H. Hornberger is an article written on the EIB policy of Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru back in 2008 based off her ethnographic fieldwork. In particular it

examines the concept of “interculturality”, its usage and how this has potential to overcome assimilationist approaches in education. Her main argument centers around the paradox that arises as diversifying education attempts to be introduced into a standardized model.

*Some Key Issues in Intercultural Bilingual Education Teacher Training Programmes—as seen from a teacher training programme in the Peruvian Amazon Basin* (2003), an article written by Lucy A. Trapnell is based on her 14 years of ethnographic fieldwork with a teacher training program developed by AIDASEP, an indigenous confederation, in cooperation with a local state college. In particular she has studied conceptual, political, pedagogical and ethical issues raised in face of its development and curriculum creation and practice that has grown out of indigenous demands as well as ongoing theoretical debates. She compares their approach to other intercultural bilingual teacher training programs as well as the Peruvian Ministry of education. While its focus is on the Amazon basin rather than the Andes region, it is one of the few anthropological studies conducted on the matter of EIB policy and as such has provided me with ample insight into the subject matter.

## **Disposition**

This is an anthropological study that looks at the different agents affecting a policy known as Intercultural Bilingual Education, used among the Indigenous peoples of the Andean nation-states. Through a process of “studying through” I attempt to identify the *dispositif* as to explain the larger power processes behind the present state of the policy. As it is a rather unusual study due to the subject area of policy as well as method, I found it to be of use to structure it as to show how I approached it. That means the study is a theoretical discussion, and methodological display. As a student of bachelor’s level I believed it was of importance to convey my understanding of the methodology as well. The following explains how I have divided my chapters:

**Chapter two** functions as an introduction to EIB, how it is perceived by the researchers and how it is perceived by the people. Runaway effect, semantic clusters and identity politics are introduced.

**Chapter three** focuses on the “following” of the policy, from its origin to the time in which it was named EIB and then horizontally through clues in the book looking into standardized tests and the influence behind it.

**Chapter four** begins as the connection with the UN has been made and looks at the indigenous rights declaration as well as the conflicting document on Latin American education, approaching it through the medium of language practices and statistical bias.

**Chapter five** brings us to UNESCO’s document on world education, identifying certain key themes in the global debate. It highlights the global power processes influencing local policies and explains fusion of policy domains.

**Chapter six** is a shorter chapter that allows for a deeper analysis of the many components of the study, including governmentality, agency of the governed, technologies of citizenship, neoliberalism and paradoxes.

**The final chapter** summarizes my findings.



## **Chap 2 Introduction to the EIB and its meaning to People and Government**

### **EIB introduction**

EIB stands for Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (Intercultural, bilingual education) and has since the 1990s been adopted into the constitutions of nine Latin American countries as well as been supported through education legislation in an additional five. Its main objective is to overcome previous inequalities faced by indigenous peoples affecting their access to the education system as well as their possibility of completing it. Whereas previous bilingual education policies have mainly concerned the teaching of the majority language Spanish to indigenous children as a part of a larger societal aim of assimilation, the EIB instead advocates for access to education in both languages. Equally important is the intercultural part of the policy, which refers to the mutual respect and conversation required from both cultures in order to foster understanding, the stepping stone for equality. It also signifies the inclusion of indigenous knowledge and respect toward their cultures in the education system (Cortina 2017).

EIB, originally a policy, has thus been converted into constitutional law, which is the case in all three Andean countries of focus in this study. Currently it is only formally implemented for around 1 million students in Bolivia and Ecuador and even less than that in Peru. It has also been adapted into a pedagogical model employed in schools in order to eradicate racism and encourage an inclusive and multicultural learning environment. The overall aim is to break with still present colonial hierarchies by ending the Spanish- language monopoly in schooling as well as the idolization of European culture at the expense of Indigenous (Cortina 2017). What was originally a policy has thus migrated into the fields of constitutional legislation and pedagogy. However it has had a far wider reach than that. Policies referred to as EIB have been developed since the early 1980s, when the majority of the Latin American countries viewed themselves as monolingual and monocultural. As such in order for EIB to be adopted the Latin American countries had to first officially recognize the existence of multiple cultures, ethnicities and languages within their nation states. This can be viewed as

an illustration of what Power (1997) refers to as “runaway effect” and explains as how a policy can reshape the environment into which it has been introduced. With the EIB policy it went farther than simple legislative change, reorganizing the very national identity of countries and creating “new” social groups (ibid).

### **Country specific**

Whereas Bolivia recognized its multiethnicity and pluriculturalality already back in 1994 it would take until 2009 for EIB to convert into a constitutional right. By then however they furthermore decided to make available EIB for everyone, not simply schools serving indigenous peoples, as well as acknowledge the country as plurinational in the sense that the Aymara and Quechua nations coexist within the Bolivian. Hitherto they remain the sole Latin American nation to have done so (Cortina 2017). While the wording “nation” may at first appear rather confusing, leading one to think of autonomous states and as such question how this may fit together, it is better understood in Spanish. Throughout the Spanish texts used in this study, indigenous peoples of all three countries generally referred to themselves, and were referred to by others, as belonging to *nacionalidades indigenas* which literally translates to indigenous nationalities. In English the expression is not used unless as a direct translation. The word thus appears to belong to different semantic clusters in the different languages (Shore and Reinhold 2011:101).

It has also lead to a change in the outlining of EIB, renaming it EIIP ( Educación Intracultural Intercultural y Plurilingue) and today all students are obliged to study an Indigenous language and Spanish, as well as English. This is a good example of how contestation of a policy is not always concerning a will to remove it but rather to adapt it to better fit one’s perceived reality. In this case simply changing the language when re-translating from legislative law to constitutional opened up a more inclusive rhetoric that acknowledged the need for cultural understanding also within and between the indigenous groups, as well as reflected the minimum of trilingualarity among the students (Shore & Wright 2011:14). Their teacher-training program for EIB teaching is considered highly successful and the best in Latin America. The three official languages of EIB are Quechua, Aymara and Guaraní (Cortina 2017). The country however has granted official status to an additional 33 indigenous languages.

Ecuador was quicker to accept EIB-related policies into their constitution, already back in 1998, but it was not implemented through the Ministry of Education until 2011. Instead it was handled exclusively by Indigenous groups. The policy is now intended for everyone in the education system and indigenous languages are to be taught as well as “nonofficial national realities, histories and local knowledge(s)” (Martínez Novo 2014:108, recited in Cortina 2011:8). However, the adoption period appears to be lengthy and few schools actually offer an EIB pedagogical model. Kichwa, the name for a branch of the Quechua language family, is the dominant indigenous language. The country has an additional 12 indigenous languages ranging from 5 to 35,000 native speakers. No indigenous languages are official. However Ecuador does have one of the most active indigenous groups of the Andes known as CONAIE (Confederation of indigenous nationalities of Ecuador), created with the mission of consolidating the indigenous nationalities and fight for their rights to land, EIB and lives free of oppression (URL 1). This consolidation may be seen as the first steps towards “identity politics” in the region, uniting many different nationalities as to pursue a common political goal already back in 1980.

Peru was the earliest with a constitutional reform in 1993 that promoted national unity through the acknowledgement and preservation of cultural and linguistic diversity, adapting it to suit the traditions of the different regions. The regional approach is evident also in the teacher training; whereas the Amazonian region has had ongoing and partially successful projects since the late 1980s, the highland region lags behind as the primary level education available to indigenous youth is not of sufficient quality to allow them to go through teacher training themselves later on. Quechua and Aymara are the most widely spoken indigenous languages, although around 150 more exist. Only Quechua has been granted official status (Cortina 2011).

All three countries have in common one particular thing; the creation of new institutions that specialize in the implementation of EIB. This is an inevitable part of larger policy implementation processes, showing the agency policies hold as creators, especially as new specialist groups emerges (Shore & Wright 2011:1-2). Not all creations are predictable though. As previously mentioned, on a larger societal scale the introduction of EIB has

impacted the national identity of all these countries, propelling them towards the construction of intercultural states in which the power imbalance in place since colonial times is slowly transforming, allowing for social and political participation also for those who have been previously excluded. One interesting development this has led to is the rapid increase in the amount of people self-identifying as Indigenous. As self-identification is the main measure of a person's indigenosity in the Andean countries, the policy can be said to have caused an augmentation of one social group at the expense of another, changing the environment into which it was introduced and as Power (1997) puts it, had a "runaway effect".

### **Issues with implementation**

While the adoption of EIB rights into the constitution has come a long way in all three countries, implementation remains an issue. The reasons, according to this study, are many. Financial resources are not enough for the extensive training needed to train teachers able to give high quality education and the Indigenous students are still underrepresented among those given the opportunity. The languages are also many, leading to the question whether or not it is possible to cater to them all. Many teachers of Indigenous origins, who may be the obvious choice to start off in-service EIB training are not literate in their own Indigenous language. Furthermore, several of the indigenous languages have not been standardized, making it difficult to produce learning materials. The EIB policy implementations still focuses heavily on the countryside indigenous villages, while the reality of today is that around 50% appear to be living in urban areas. Lastly there is also a lasting inherent assimilationist approach in teacher-training (Cortina 2017).

Looking at it from an anthropologist perspective, perhaps the issues go farther than this. As established previously, a policy process can only function under certain, almost clinical, conditions in which objects are to be easily delimited and evaluated. However reality is many times much messier than this and as such a big part of the struggle can lie in the struggle to adapt this "messiness" of non-standardized languages mixed indigenous/non-indigenous urban schools into a framework that is implementable (Shore 2011)

### **What do people make of it and how does the government speak of it?**

Then what do people make of policy and how do they engage with it (Shore & Wright 2011:8)? Across several different kinds of media two separate rhetorics appear. On the one hand, the national governments in official statements speak of doing the right thing. Ecuador's Minister of Education, Fander Falconí, expressed that "with this plan we are paying the historical debt that the country holds towards the indigenous villages and nationalities and ethnic minorities" (URL 2). While the implementation process is slow from the side of the governments the EIB is still spoken of much in a manner of repaying the debt and correcting the wrongs of the past. They phrase it in terms of morality, as a moral responsibility on the side of the state.

The indigenous peoples themselves rather speak of the EIB in terms of respect towards diversity and its implementation as a sign that their unique nationalities are being acknowledged and respected. It is also spoken of in terms of pride. "We feel proud to participate because we know it is a celebration of our ancestors" (ibid) says two indigenous young students attending a native ceremony dating back to the time of the Inca Empire. The government and the indigenous peoples meet in one respect though. When speaking of the utility of the EIB policy both groups explain it in terms of statistics, as the policy has proven to enhance student learning outcomes. This duality of approaches of the indigenous peoples in the debate, on the one hand playing on the emotions of pride of officially acknowledging indigenous knowledge in schools and their acceptance as equal citizens, and on the other speaking in terms of statistics and education level measurements echoes the perspective that Macarena Ossola (2017) found among her young indigenous students. They viewed the western and indigenous worlds as separate thought universes, yet utilized methods from both equally when forwarding the plight of the peoples. The indigenous students had understood that they needed to learn from western knowledge and use their rhetoric, such as statistics, to ensure the continuation of their villages traditional lives. Similarly the indigenous peoples of the Andes speak of the importance of the EIB policy in terms of statistics as to rationalize it to the government and international actors.

Interestingly enough it is difficult to find any criticism or contestation of the policy as a whole, aside for a few individuals arguing that language policies in schools should focus on English. Nor does the non-indigenous population appear to take an active role in the discussion. Perhaps this can be viewed through a lens of “authoritative instrumentalism” in which the non-indigenous people assume that a higher authority, such as the government, has determined indigenous learning as a “problem” and the EIB as the “solution” and the underlying rationality stops them from questioning it (Shore & Wright 2011:10).

### **Chap 3 The “following” of a policy – backward and horizontally**

#### **SIL**

It appears that the first to introduce bilingual education in Latin America was a US-based non-profit Christian organization; The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). Their intentions were twofold; on the one hand they were professionally trained linguists and anthropologists working towards the documentation of minority languages and the literacy of such languages among the concerned populations, while on the other translating the Bible and attempting to evangelize through their missionary work. It was founded in 1934 by the Presbyterian minister William Townsend after he had spent a year doing missionary work and translating the Bible among the indigenous peoples of Mexico. The organization made its way to Bolivia in the 1930s and Peru and Ecuador in the 1940s and would be the main supplier of education material as well as bilingual educators throughout several decades. Their involvement ended as indigenous peoples as well as anthropologists began questioning their religious colonialism claiming that while their linguistic work was of great meaning, their religious work had impacted the villages negatively, erasing certain aspects of indigenous culture (Trapnell 2003).

At this stage of tracing one must make the decision as to whether or not continue to trace further back in time. Would it be of use to investigate from where Townsend got his ideas and the underlying ideology of Christian missionary activities, or would it perhaps be more prudent to trace forward in time again to when the first versions of what is called EIB appeared in the 1980s and 1990s? As Wright and Reinhold (2011:87-88) explain, tracing a policy is not simply following it in a straight downward line to its “origin”. A policy must also be traced horizontally, it must be placed in a larger context to be made sense of. Thus if the global environment of the time in which Townsend embarked upon his mission to translate bibles was one of the religious “civilizing” of the savage, what social movements permeated the 1980s?

## **EIB is born**

The two decades leading up to the 1980s saw mobilization of indigenous groups all over the world to an extent unprecedented. The support of Non-Governmental Organisations and the technological advances were contributing factors to this. Indigenous peoples in different countries and even on different continents could communicate much more easily and even visit each other, beginning to understand the similarities of their situations. Anthropologists who had witnessed the genocide of indigenous peoples in the Amazon, help set up *The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs* (IWGIA) in 1968 as a global human rights organization. Still active, their main work includes advocacy, empowerment and documentation (URL 3). In turn they aided in the development of the *World Council of Indigenous Peoples* (WCIP) in 1975 that at one point represented nearly 60 million indigenous peoples across the world before dissolution in 1996. Their purpose was to have aboriginal rights accepted worldwide and brought with it two important things: political participation experience for the indigenous peoples in the organization on an international scale, and the world's first international indigenous conference, to which Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru all sent representatives (Dunbar-Oritz 2010).

This time period can thus be viewed as the one in which the first surges of indigenous “identity politics” on a global scale came about. The WCIP was built around the notion of a shared history of genocide and discrimination of indigenous peoples all over the world and could as such provide a basis for a common identity from which they could pursue political goals with strength in numbers. As the 1980s brought about the worst debt crisis Latin America has ever seen, forcing the countries to go to IMF for help and being coerced into free-market capitalist models which further increased inequalities, the fortified indigenous movements could hold their own against a weakened state. Another interpretation would rather explain that the decade brought with it a better functioning democracy, open to the plight of the indigenous peoples of wanting their human rights to be fulfilled (Dunbar-Oritz 2010).



Interculturality was introduced into bilingual education policies in the 1980s as a response to the assimilationist and civilisatory paradigm inherent in the schooling of indigenous peoples at the time. As is common with many policies a distinct authorship cannot be traced, but as its meaning has been contested and changed as it has traveled across different settings one may argue that it is not relevant to know the *who* as much as the *where* in terms of its origin. Trapnell (2013) views interculturality as an indigenous notion and as such it can be seen as a testament to their agency in the policy process of educational transformation.

However as one looks closer at the EIB policies of the 1990s in the nations of the Andean region there are distinct differences from the ones used in present day. While they originally were aimed at the rights of indigenous peoples to education in their own language and culturally relevant to them, it has in Bolivia and Ecuador evolved into a policy pertaining to all citizens regardless of their origin or ethnicity (Cortina 2017). We know from Shore & Wright (2011) a policy is never stagnant, there is a continuous change in how the problem and possible solutions are perceived, a constant reimagining of the implementation process as the final evaluations suggest new findings, but also due to transformations on a societal scale such as ideological shifts and global influences.

While the previous chapter has given us ample information on the history and formation of the policy, perhaps we must return to present day and trace these new changes horizontally in order to understand how EIB and the schooling of indigenous youth is being designed today.

## **TERCE**

The first lead may be encountered already on the initial pages of the book. The whole reason behind the study *Indigenous Education Policy, Equity, and Intercultural Understanding in Latin America* (2017) was a recent survey known by the acronym TERCE (The Third Regional Comparative and Explanatory Study). The statistics in the survey show that indigenous children are still performing worse in national standardized tests than their non-indigenous counterparts. As previously mentioned, Cortina et. al. attempts with their study to show how well-functioning EIB schools have helped students achieve better scores in these

tests. The EIB thus have a more specific goal in their eyes. The students are to be allowed to study in their own native languages as to understand the lessons better with the ultimate goal of scoring better on these tests. As such the badly scoring indigenous youth is identified as the “problem” and bilingual education as the “solution”, using Feldman’s (2011:35) approach. Breaking it down into these parts aids in forming an understanding of what meaning it carries. The problem is only such in relation to this particular standardized test and does not imply that all indigenous educational levels are bad, rather in which circumstance. The question then is what the EIB is supposed to help the indigenous youth to learn?

TERCE was carried out between 2011 and 2014 as the third regional study of this size conducted by LLECE (The Latin American Laboratory for Assessment of the Quality of Education) since its foundation in 1997. 15 countries participated. Peru and Ecuador both participated in the study, Bolivia appears to have abstained although they did participate in the first one in 1994. It looked at learning achievements among primary school students in four categories; natural science, math, language and writing. It does not mention why they use these four categories. The main objective of the study was to contribute to a public debate on inclusive quality education that guaranteed the right to education. It was developed in a collaborative manner with the participating countries as to make it relevant to their individual school curriculum as well as to assure no foreign standards were imposed upon them (UNESCO 2013). However here one might question: foreign standards to whom? The nation-state? As the majority of schools are still monolingual and monocultural there is no way not to impose foreign standards on the indigenous population.

The study looked at primary education as its quality is fundamental for later opportunities for further studies, and the test results may be compared to the two studies implemented earlier as to see where it is developing and where it is not. The measuring of writing skills are done as they believe the organizational skills and coherency of expressing ideas are fundamental to both human and professional development in the 21st century. Also in tune with this is their assessment of the usage of ICTs (information and communication technologies) in present day education and the impacts this holds for learning achievements. The study is unique in that it also investigates associated factors that may impact the students’ performances, such as socioeconomic factors or local educational policies. The information gathered on unequal

education opportunities “... can provide valuable input for the elaboration of public policies on education appropriate to the national reality, and pertinent to the political and social context and to the capabilities of each Country.” LLECE hopes for TERCE to be a way to form a shared conceptual framework of primary education for the participating countries in the region, enhancing the knowledge base on how to assess education in general and systemize it (UNESCO 2013).

## **LLECE**

So what then is the LLECE (The Latin American Laboratory for Assessment of the Quality of Education)? A brief background history reveals that it was founded under the supervision of the Regional Bureau of Education of UNESCO for Latin America and the Caribbean (OREALC/UNESCO Santiago) in Mexico City in 1994 as a regional cooperation among the 15 member states; Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic, Uruguay and Venezuela. Their main aspirations are to advocate for empirically based education policy, develop education evaluation competence and act as a forum for the sharing of educational practices across nation borders. The organization was created in a time in which many countries of the region were introducing educational reforms without enough understanding and funding to design and audit them in a proper manner. OREALC/UNESCO was therefore continuously working in projects such as the PPE (Major Project in Education for Latin America and the Caribbean) and later EFA/PRELAC (Regional Education Project for Latin America and the Caribbean) to reduce illiteracy and enhance the quality of education across the region (UNESCO 2013).

United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization is thus the next lead in the quest to find out what influences the EIB policy. First however it appears important to look at what the United Nations says of indigenous rights in general.

## **Chap 4 Indigenous Rights - the concatenated domain- and a discovery of statistical exclusion**

### **UNDRIP**

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) was adopted by the General Assembly in 2007 after more than 20 years of drafting and redrafting by the Working Group on Indigenous Populations. 144 nations voted in favor, 11 abstained, 34 did not vote and only four voted against. Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador all voted in favor of its adoption. The declaration constitutes of 46 articles establishing the minimum standards for the well-being, dignity and survival of indigenous peoples worldwide. It ties into already existing international human rights, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child, but approaches them in situations specifically related to indigenous peoples. The main themes include the right to cultural identity, the right to self-determination, the right to be free from discrimination and the right to free, prior and informed consent (Blackstock 2013). Particularly relevant to indigenous educational rights, especially as they pertain to the EIB, are the following;

#### **Article 14**

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.
2. Indigenous individuals, particularly children, have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State without discrimination.
3. States shall, in conjunction with indigenous peoples, take effective measures, in order for indigenous individuals, particularly children, including those living outside their communities, to have access, when possible, to an education in their own culture and provided in their own language.

#### **Article 15**

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations which shall be appropriately reflected in education and public information.
2. States shall take effective measures, in consultation and cooperation with the indigenous peoples concerned, to combat prejudice

and eliminate discrimination and to promote tolerance, understanding and good relations among indigenous peoples and all other segments of society.

(UN 2008:7)

Hornberger (2000) argues that language practices can reinforce power structures and is supported by Gal (1989:347) who sees “linguistic practices as parts of a larger system of social inequality”. The trick is to ask *what does it mean, how is it conveyed and why is it expressed in such a manner?* when approaching the matter (Pennycook 1994:116) The UNDRIP document means first of all that the indigenous plight is now a truly global matter. The amount of ratifications also suggests a global move from the ideology of “one language – one nation “(Hornberger 2000:117) approach to one that is open to plurality. However it also takes for granted that the indigenous peoples are living in democracies. The ideas are textually communicated in a formal language, thus presuming the reader is literate and shares interpretative rules or at least has access to conceptual translation. Furthermore, the reader must be fluent in one of the six official UN languages or at least have access to an interpreter. The articles are also carefully expressed in neutral terms that do not really convey any measurable sentiments yet will hold great importance in the implementation process. Why then is the declaration expressed in this manner? As a declaration, and thus not legally binding, it functions as a guideline in a manner similar to policies and as such it is also structured in a similar way.

The implementation of UNDRIP must be handled in cooperation between the Indigenous Peoples, the government and the UN according to the declaration. The Indigenous Peoples also hold the right to be helped by the international community and to be compensated should their rights be violated. However as a declaration it is not legally binding. How can a government be punished if it is not illegal to not follow the declaration? Despite thorough reading it appears difficult to find an explanation of how the indigenous peoples would seek justices if the nation states violate the rights stated in UNDRIP.

It does however turn out that all three nation-states have ratified ILO 169 (Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention). The convention states certain fundamental rights to land, employment, vocational training, education and health but is not as detailed as UNDRIP. As a

convention it is legally binding and the nation states must uphold the rights stated there or risk facing the international criminal court. However the international criminal court cannot prosecute a government but rather suggests how it ought to proceed. Other nation states may however take action and decide on sanctions and boycotts if the international criminal court deems the actions to be unwarranted, putting a serious strain on the economy which may force the government to reconsider. So even if it is unclear how the Indigenous Peoples of the Andes can receive outside help if the national governments decide to ignore certain articles in UNDRIP, they can still turn to the ILO 169 convention in certain legal matters against the nation state and hope for international intervention (URL 4). Indigenous rights are considered in both documents to be an extension of basic human rights. As such it could be argued that human rights can be realized also outside of the nation state.

With an understanding of how the rights of indigenous peoples are spoken of in general, it appears to be of use to return to the specific field of education and look into what contemporary UNESCO documents say of education in Latin America.

### **Latin America and the Caribbean: Education for All**

The first document I encounter on the matter of education in Latin America, as envisioned by the UNESCO, is the *Latin America and the Caribbean: Education for All 2015 Regional review*. However as suiting as it sounds, already on the initial pages it seems that it cannot be utilized in this study to explain the education levels of indigenous populations. Instead it becomes a showcase of how statistical exclusion can lead to policy exclusion. The reason is the usage of ethnic categories, which are “operative” rather than “anthropological”. People are referred to as either indigenous or non-indigenous, but the first category contains all those who have been historically disadvantaged in the education system, for example including people of African descent in Brazil. It is a different form of social categorization, dividing people into the ones with advantages and the ones without, more similar to how it was viewed before the Latin American states began to acknowledge their multiculturalism. It appears only 8 of the 41 countries in the region have even reported statistics on the differences in educational level between the ethnicities (UNESCO 2015a). Whereas statistics automatically translates into neutrality to many people (Shore 2011:171), this is a clear manner in which it can be biased. For the policy process to function there must be indicators to measure the

success of the policy, but the choice of these may be arbitrary. By simply excluding a social group as an indicator in statistical research, one can exclude that social group from the policy making process itself as it renders them invisible. Finally at the end of the day this is the statistics policy-makers use to make informed decisions as how to improve the current situation. As such, despite the aim of the document's creators to evaluate the challenges and still present issues relating to education gaps in the region as to inform future educational policies, indigenouness and ethnic identity have not been identified as major challenges facing the future of education equality (UNESCO 2015a).

However one section in particular was of much interest, that of "global citizenship education". In a world of globalization processes and increased mobility citizenship education must go beyond national borders. Education for the 21st century with unique skills required for the "world of work" in present day society is in focus as to answer "how to develop people who are able to perform in a globally interdependent world" while also caring for local knowledge. It ties into education for democracy which they consider to be of utmost importance in a region that has been devastated by decades of war and dictatorship (UNESCO 2015a). Interested in a better understanding of this supranational education for the 21st century I decided to look into how UNESCO speaks of education for all of humanity.

## **Chap 5 Education For All – a global consensus- and the alignment of policy domains**

### **Previous reports**

The 2015 report *Rethinking education: towards a global common good* springboards off two earlier UNESCO publications: *Learning to Be: The world of education today and tomorrow* (1972) known as the ‘Faure Report’, and *Learning: The treasure within* (1996) known as the ‘Delors Report.’ The Faure report was created during a time in which traditional education was being questioned, and demanded lifelong learning to be considered by policy-makers. The focus of the report was on the individual's right of developing personally, socially, economically, politically and culturally through learning. The Delors report continued upon this “learning for life” thought 24 years later while also expounding upon it through the addition of “the four pillars of learning”; to know, do, live together and to be. It was developed as to initiate a global discussion on what kind of society humankind wanted and what kind of education was needed for that to happen. It also identified a range of issues that had come about through the rapid change in technology as well as social change and the global economy, in particular with regard to the material vs the spiritual and modernity vs tradition, but also access to equal opportunities. These remain relevant in *Rethinking education: towards a global common good* (UNESCO 2015b).

### **Why was it written?**

The approach in *Rethinking education: towards a global common good* is humanistic and education is seen as “an essential common good”. Education is seen as a foundational component in the global integrated framework of sustainable development goals, a set of 17 goals to “end poverty, protect the planet and ensure prosperity for all” (URL 5). Much emphasis is therefore put on the teachings of sustainability in the recommendations for the education of people worldwide. Teachers are to be viewed as change agents as education is seen as a transformative force. The objective behind creating this document is to initiate an international debate on the need, purpose and organization of education for the 21st century.



The definitions of three keywords are explained; knowledge, learning and education. Knowledge is seen as the manner in which individuals and societies bestow signification upon events and may include information and understanding as well as abilities, values and mental outlook, all of which have grown out of their own sociocultural, institutional and environmental framework. Learning is focused on the method of obtaining abovementioned knowledge as well as the effect brought about by it, a practice that is both individual and collective. The fundamental issues are what, where when, why and how. Lastly, education is seen as the intentional and organized manner of learning in an institutionalized setting, which is the type represented in this document. Other kinds of learning, such as internships and community- or family-directed teachings are considered informal and while acknowledged by the writers as important parts of every person's socialization they are not considered further by this publication (UNESCO 2015b). It is rather self-explanatory as the document is written as to serve as a foundation for future policy-making. Since informal learning cannot be adequately measured and thus does not opens up for transparency and evaluation it cannot be used as a basis for policy making (Strathern 2000)

### **What does the world look like?**

To make sense of the need for this document one must look into how the creators considered the tumultuous world of present day. In the text below that summarizes the state of the world in present day, certain key terms of contemporary global discussion can be determined. These are presented in brackets and as such mimic Feldman's (2011) approach to speeches in the European Parliament, showing how a discussion on education inescapably includes many other policy domains.

Societies are transforming, becoming increasingly more urban. Some nations are becoming younger with a large percentage of the population under the age of 18, made possible in part due to the halving of global poverty rates in combination with increased access to healthcare. Other nations are facing an aging population and will be in a greater need of adult education throughout life. People worldwide are also increasingly demanding basic human rights. Despite progress many of these basic human rights still faces implementation issues and as a result vulnerable groups, such as women or indigenous peoples, continue to encounter discrimination in their everyday life on a global scale (Social inequalities). The

implementation is also complicated by increasing intolerance which often ends in disagreements and even violence. These take many different forms from wars and terror to domestic and school violence (Security). What all these types of violence have in common is that it all contributes to the many millions of children out of school in the world, who later become adults who are often excluded in the formation of education policies (Education).

While global poverty rates are being reduced through economic growth, inequality gaps have widened both between countries and within them and exclusion have escalated. Half of the world's wealth is in the hands of 1% of global population. Economic globalization has brought with it a greater degree of unemployment as well as vulnerable employment. Present day education systems often reinforce these inequalities through concentrating quality education on a privileged few, leaving others at a disadvantage and exacerbating their position as poor and allowing for it to continue(Global economy).

The manner in which people produce and consume goods has contributed to global warming, an increasing amount of natural disasters and a general deterioration of the environment. The very planet itself is under strain related to the environmental toll of supporting humanity. While economic growth has previously been viewed as a given in all development plans, the toll the unsustainable production and consumer culture has taken can now be seen. Non-renewable sources are being depleted, the climate is changing, biodiversity has been lost in many places and the damage done thus far seems to be irrevocable (Sustainable development).

While new digital technology increases the possibilities for information exchange and learning, there is also a global upsurge in identity politics engaging in the mobilization of its members through these very technological means. These often take the form of separatist movements founded in ethnic and religious prejudice (Identity politics).

There is also a greater dissonance between education and the working world that must be bridged, as must the mobility challenge in which learners and workers are increasingly moving across national borders and are thus in need of validating their knowledge at a much

greater rate than what is possible today (migration). As non-state actors become to a greater extent involved with education on both national and global level it makes it harder to distinguish between the public and the private which threatens “the democratic governance of education”. This statement appears oddly paradoxical considering the aim of the document it is written in. Perhaps with the title of inter-state actor it does not apply?

Altogether education is believed to be of aid in many separate policy domains, ranging from social inequalities and security to the global economy and sustainable development. This fusion of separate policy domains into one common problem echoes what Feldman (2011) came across in the European Parliament where the different actors disagreed on the amount of attention needed on the separate areas but who all agreed that they were in fact a problem. As such this edition of UNESCO frames a variety of areas into one common “problem” for which education is the “solution”. This also means they have captured a wide audience from within many fields who can agree upon the importance of education.

### **What must change?**

Just as the world is changing, so must therefore education change in order to prepare people for the future and this development must be inclusive in the sense that it allows for diverse worldviews and knowledge systems to be taken into consideration. While focus earlier has been on general basic access to education worldwide in order to ensure numeracy and literacy, we must now focus on moving beyond that and tend to the quality itself. It is no longer valid to simply put people through an education system, what they learn must aid in the global strife for global solidarity and social equity as well as give them an understanding of the present state of our planet. In this manner the three pillars of sustainability; social, environmental and economic may be put into realization worldwide. The responsibility must be shared in this progressively more interdependent world and this can be taught through national education systems by increasing knowledge in the areas of mathematics, natural science and literacy. This echoes the four indicators of student learning in the TERCE study, which was used to assess student learning income among the indigenous peoples of the Andes, which in turn was used to legitimize the use of EIB in schools by the book upon which I based the study; Indigenous Education Policy, Equity, and Intercultural Understanding in Latin America (2017). Whereas it is not explicitly stated anywhere that it was UNESCO that decided on the

particular learning indicators used in TERCE, it appears relevant to make the connection, considering TERCE was conducted by an organization created by a UNESCO regional subdivision. This perfectly illustrates how difficult a process it can be to trace the origin of ideas fundamental to not only the policy itself, but also the legitimization of it. It could be argued that from a UNESCO perspective the usage of the EIB could be viewed in a positive light as it facilitates the understanding and implementation of the sustainable development goals on a local scale.

## **Chap 6 The overarching processes of power – governmentality and neoliberalism**

### **Governmentality and political technologies**

It is now, as the different parts of the *dispositif* lie spread out in front of us, interacting, that one can begin to see the complex currents of power that underlines them and see Foucault's governmentality concept play out. Whereas certain parts of the *dispositif* are rather taken for granted actors in the process of policy-making, such as the government and indigenous movements that share the quality of being easily identified, others are not so straightforward and require one to investigate more deeply. Nor do these necessarily have a clear author, especially as we reach intergovernmental levels, which is the case for the UNESCO document Education For All. According to Cruikshank (1999) this is the most effective form of domination as there are no distinguishable targets to contest. In fact, in my attempt to properly cite the documents of use in this study I realized that all the documents related to the UN either had no author listed, or if it did, had a disclaimer attached noting that the opinions represented there might not be shared by the UN as an organization. So if anyone wanted to contest the organization, the UN could deflect it with the disclaimer, and what use is there in contesting an individual not pertaining to an organization?

While Hyatt (2011) speaks of “technologies of citizenship” one may utilize “technologies of global citizenship” in this context to explain how people are simultaneously volunteering and being coerced into following the guidelines of the international community through the interpretations and implementations of their governments. “(...) the actions of citizens are regulated, but only after the capacity to act as a certain kind of citizen with certain aims is instilled” (Cruikshank 1999:4). As such the indigenous peoples of the Andes can contest their unfair treatment and advocate for lingual and cultural improvement but only through the particular medium and framework of policy. A framework so wrapped in a cloak of rationality it is not questioned, even as its particular process is unable to include certain aspects of indigenous culture such as non-standardized -languages.

The same could be said about the intercultural part of the EIB. It is introduced in a positive manner as it responds to the needs of the indigenous peoples to culturally relevant education; yet introducing these native practices into a normative foreign system again allows it to be implemented, but only through that particular framework. The native practices must thus be modified to fit into the already established standardized system of school policies which leaves them open for change. As part of daily school-based education, that changed version then holds hegemonic power in general society. Hornberger (2000:1) explains it as “the ideological paradox inherent in transforming a standardizing education into a diversifying one“. However not having interculturality be part of daily education lead to a loss of indigenous knowledge and cultural values among Trapnell’s (2003) informants.

It is not a simple top-bottom perspective with the international organisations influencing the unknowing indigenous person. The indigenous peoples coined the term interculturality and their political groups have fought for their right to education on their terms. Perhaps an even more interesting development in this area is how certain indigenous youth attend school in order to learn the western man's knowledge as to be able to play according to the rules of the global game to the extent needed in order for their villages traditional lives to keep on with business as usual (Macarena Ossola 2017). “Being part of the indigenous community functions as a social bond that legitimates a group of individuals’ knowledge acquisition, as long as the knowledge acquired is used in service of the community” (Czarny 2008). As such they live dual lives, responding to national or even international demands on education while effectively using that very system as a way to maintain their indigenous lifeways.

However the *dispositif* consists of more than physical entities such as the government or the International Labour Organisation. As previously mentioned, Dreyfus & Rabinow (1983:121) explains that the *dispositif* “ refers to the ‘ensemble’ of practices, institutions, architectural arrangements, regulations, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical propositions and morality that frame a disciplinary space”. As such the *dispositif* contains other actors aside from the practices of the EIB pedagogy and the institutions engaged in it (government, indigenous groups, international organizations). It also consists of architectural structures such as remnants of historical power relations and present ideologies. This is what I have attempted to display through my varying discussions on themes from indigenous

invisibility and monocultural hegemony to mobilization and international level identity politics that allowed for the birth of EIB. An example of scientific statements can be seen in how the EIB is promoted in terms of statistics of learning improvement, which ultimately proves its legitimacy to the government. Morality enters the picture in how the government frames it as a moral obligation to repent for the mistreatment of indigenous peoples in the past, and in doing so echoes the global arena. Lastly there are also philosophical propositions, such as Peru's *unity through diversity* message that came with their 2009 constitutional change. That said it does not mean that the people are "docile bodies" (Shore & Wright 2011:17) always shaped by the different aspects of the *dispositif* as is it is often interpreted in the texts of Foucault. Rather they are "reflexive subjects" (Giddens 1991) and can relate to imposing powers of governance in a different manner than intended, as proven in the previous paragraph.

### **Western hegemony and neoliberalism**

The UN is a complex entity as it is created by nation states, for the people of the world and intends to be a global observatory and initiator of discussions as well as a platform for the creation of policies and international law. While it pertains to a sort of global democracy one cannot overlook the fact that the hegemonic discourse rests with the developed (and thus mostly western) nations who pushes for their agendas and in doing so hurl other, less equipped countries along in the process (Ali 2005). The debates and policies trickle down to local levels, and while it may experience certain changes along the way it can remain largely the same, as in the case of the four student learning indicators. It is a great example of "Governing through freedom at a distance" (Shore & Wright 2011:20) while for all intents and purposes remaining invisible or faceless, rendering opposition nearly impossible.

So what about education as a vehicle for change, or even as a vehicle of neoliberalism? Nguyen, Elliot, Terlouw & Pilot (2009) argue that the process of globalization is pushing western neoliberal paradigms of education upon non-western countries that feel pressured to adopt policies developed in very different cultural settings in a strive to live up to international standards of education. If one takes into consideration the many different domains of society the UNESCO believes may be influenced by education and adds what has

been presented in this paper on how policies have agency and as such changes the environment into which it is introduced, it is not such a stretch to assume that education holds great importance to sociocultural formation and that if the former changes so does the latter.

Reinhold & Wright (2011) uphold the importance of keywords in the art of “studying through”. Certain words can be found at all levels of this study, from the indigenous peoples themselves to the final UNESCO document. “Quality education” is one of them. It is never expounded upon what this may entail, yet everyone agrees on its importance. In what may appear paradoxical, the expression is utilized as a politically neutral word that simultaneously holds great meaning and value to the individual or organization at the time in which they express it. One may argue it appears to be apolitical until it is implemented and first then reveals the ideology of the implementer. As such it is incorporated into many different semantic clusters in different settings. Seeing as it appears to be the four learning indicators that are considered most important as part of a “quality education” in the Andean countries (given that these are the ones tested for), the hegemony lies with the international agenda rather than with the people.

So who does benefit from the EIB? Perhaps it is beneficial on several levels, somehow being born at the intersection of many different agents’ wants and needs. The bilingual aspect is a manifestation of the acknowledgment of different indigenous peoples as distinct sociolinguistic groups and allows for the language to revitalize and flourish in everyday settings. It is also a way to improve learning outcomes so that the nation-state may advance in international rankings and gain greater cultural capital. Lastly as the student learning indicators originate in the international arena and the bilingual policy would aid in the advancement of these, it aligns also with the global agenda. The intercultural aspect works in a similar manner. The indigenous peoples are given access to culturally relevant education and a possibility to learn about and participate in native practices also in school, while the government achieves a greater control over such practices as they are converted to fit pedagogical models in official institutions. Finally, it also goes in line with the global community’s beliefs in indigenous rights.



## **Food for thought**

Lastly one cannot but comment on the fact that throughout the debate a few matters do not appear to be contested at all. One is that of school hours. It is cast in such rational terms that just as the framework and limitations of policy are not contested, but rather the content of them, the hours are not contested but simply what one ought to fill them with. Another matter that is not contested is whether the indigenous peoples of the Andes actually need or want such a proficiency in the four subjects tested in TERCE. One may argue that schooling more in tune with matters such as agricultural seasons and one that invests in the possibility for irregular school hours and distance learning ought to be discussed, allowing for a multitude of perspectives. Lastly, if one can take anything from this essay it is that there is a global discourse on having a global discourse. Documents such as the UNESCO *Education For All* highlight an ideological paradigm, that of a common framework for all. One question remains unanswered: does every single person on this planet really need the same type of “global citizenship education”?

## Chap.7 Summary and conclusion

The main question of this investigation concerned what larger structural power processes the study of EIB may reveal. It is a very broad question and as we have witnessed contained many different aspects and answers. It initiates a discussion on the very subject of policy itself and its relation to the science of anthropology. The study attempts to highlight the messiness of the policy process as it moves between local, regional and global scales and encounter different actants along the way.

My first sub-question read; which are the different actants influencing the EIB policy? To approach this I utilized Foucault's concept of *dispositif* to put together all the different actors aligning at the intersection of EIB. As such there were the obvious parts like the government and indigenous confederations, whereas others such as the UNESCO required some more research to find the connection. I also included areas such as historical inequalities and mobilization movements, as well as shifts in ideology and morality. Following Shore & Wrights (2011) approach concerning the agency of the governed I looked into how the indigenous peoples themselves had contributed to the debate and how they internalized the policy, sometimes in manner very different from what was intended.

My second sub-question was; what does the EIB mean to the different actors and how do they relate to it? The indigenous peoples spoke of recognition and a feeling of pride. The government was more of moral rhetoric, speaking of an obligation to right the wrongs of the past. Both shared a common usage of statistics in promoting the EIB. The researchers in the book *Indigenous Education Policy, Equity, and Intercultural Understanding in Latin America* (2017) talked in terms of social equity and stopping the erasure of culture.

The third and last sub-question was; which actors benefits from EIB? I explained this as a mutually beneficial policy serving several agendas at once, albeit with some structural power imbalance. However it did appear as if the indigenous peoples felt the recognition of being

able to use their languages in such an official occasion while also being able to revitalize them and the cultural practices, whereas the government could see it as a manner of getting better national learning scores and being more in control of native practices as they take place there. Even the global community benefits as the policy improves the indigenous peoples possibility of learning the four subjects and thus participating in furthering them internationally towards a global consensus.

So what of the overarching power processes the policy? Using Foucault's governmentality concept I explained how the indigenous peoples could contest their mistreatment but only through the medium of policy, thus giving the people the ability to act but only once they had been taught how to conduct themselves when doing so. As such they are restricted by a framework so wrapped in common sense it is barely visible. I also explained how education can function as a vehicle of change, and neoliberalism, as certain countries under pressure from the international arena implement policies that were developed in very different cultural setting, which are often not to the benefit of local one. What with the importance of education in the enculturation process I explain how this can lead to changes in culture over time.

Lastly I also looked into the inevitable parts of policy processes such as runaway effect, in which policies have a certain ability to spread their affect much further than what was originally intended. The all over difficulty of applying normative and standardizing to the messiness of life also ends up with paradoxes in society.

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