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The diversity dimension in policy: Examining perspectives of Indigenous youth

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Abstract

This case study examines how rural, college students in Bolivia make sense of the diversity dimension within education policy. This study explores how educational policy in a postcolonial context may open up or close implementational spaces (Hornberger & Cassels-Johnson, 2007) for Indigenous youth from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Through vertical case study and discourse analysis methodologies, this study taps the perspectives of critical stakeholders and 'youngest policymakers' (McCarty, T. et al., 2011) to examine ethnic identity and assimilation in a dynamic context where marginalized students are negotiating their own identity (Deaux, 2006). The study attempts to examine the perceived role of language education policy in this space of tension and possibility. Additionally, this study builds on critical analysis of discourses of language endangerment (Duchêne & Heller, 2007) in Bolivia.

Keywords: vertical case study, Indigenous youth, language policy, diversity discourse

Introduction

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

Although cultural and linguistic diversity is valued firmly in the current education system through contemporary education policy, diversity is commonly conceived in essentialist and relativist ways at the societal and educational level (Osuna, 2013). A reason for this is a history of exclusionary and discriminatory approaches to multiculturalism and multilingualism in Bolivian education (Albó, 1994, 2001; López, 2010). A history of exclusionary practices also points to disparities in equal educational opportunities for Indigenous vs. non-Indigenous students; it is a rare feat for Indigenous youth to attain secondary or even tertiary education, particularly for those from far-flung communities with few socioeconomic resources.

Since the 1990s, education has aimed to close the "advantage" gap between Indigenous vs. non-Indigenous students. More importantly, all education reforms

post 1990 signal a paradigm shift in how diversity is expressed and approached. Discursive shifts, such as "educational democratization" and "quality education for all," have been met with both encouraging and problematic approaches in Bolivian education, especially where provisions for diversity are concerned.

One encouraging approach, the Latin American regional wave of education reform, *Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* (EIB), or the English acronym, Bilingual Intercultural Education (BIE), has supported national level education reform, such as Bolivia's National Education Reform (NER) or Law 1565 (1994). More recently, Law Avelino Siñani-Elizardo Pérez or Law 070 (2010) reflects the 2009 Constitutional mandate that education must be "inter/intracultural," and "multilingual." The latter law—positioned as a fundamental epistemological break from a historically discriminatory and exclusionary education system on the basis of ethnicity, socioeconomic class, and language—is the policy focus of this study.

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

This neoliberal economic approach post-1990s presents several challenges when applied to education, including, but not limited to, curriculum processes disconnected from the realities and imaginaries of grassroots implementers. However, neoliberal doctrine was not the only policy shaping education processes and practices. The discourse of social inclusion also shaped education reform during this time, changing how education was viewed and talked about. This shift is particularly true for the role of education in promoting linguistic and cultural rights. Since this era, the educational movement, Bilingual Intercultural Education (BIE), has been transforming policy towards a language-as-resource or language-as-rights orientation, and away from a language-as-problem approach (Ruiz, 1984).

Post-2000s, we have seen an increase in "anti-neoliberal" rhetoric in education, suggesting a "post-neoliberal social imaginary" (Fernandes, 2010). In this era, however, the contested nature of power in education has been met with over-politicization. This politicization of education, and the under-examined discourse of "inclusion" for the sake of "inclusion," is proving detrimental to the lived realities of grassroots implementers. Viewed as an expression of social power (Ball, 1990 in Vavrus & Seghers, 2010), policy discourse reflects particular forms of knowing. To the detriment of implementers, any exploration of social relations of power (Vavrus & Seghers, 2010) in the Bolivian policy context has occurred, and continues to occur, at the macro- and meso-levels only, largely excluding the perspectives and opinions of local actors on a micro-level.

Theory

This study draws from the fields of Comparative International

Development Education (CIDE) and Linguistics. The theoretical underpinnings of language issues and comparative education research used in this study are organized into two main sections: (1) revitalizing heritage languages in a postcolonial society, and (2) intra/interculturalism: deconstruction of the 'mestizaje' ideal or the hybrid cultural identity. These critical frameworks present a useful tool of analysis for examining education policy processes in multilingual, and multicultural Bolivia.

The critique of pluralism rhetoric in education reform in this literature review, couched in the two central theories stated above, discusses political intentions within two reform eras in Bolivia, and allegedly, two reform paradigms. This critique focuses on how recent policy processes have undermined the plight of marginalized groups, particularly for Indigenous youth. For the intended beneficiaries of education policy, Law 070 (2010), particularly the diversity dimension, proposes compelling but conflictive ideas about identity.

Revitalizing heritage languages in a postcolonial society. Balancing heritage language promotion with calls for economic and social development is a very real and daunting challenge, particularly in a postcolonial, developing society, such as Bolivia. Considering Krauss's (1992) heed for language revitalization of dying or extinct languages worldwide, the challenge to save certain languages from extinction may prove too difficult for small, rural, language communities in the developing world. Inheritance of the colonial project includes economic and educational disparities, particularly for far-flung communities from the Altiplano, Amazonian or Chaco regions of Bolivia. These disparities in wealth and access to quality education have further exacerbated language loss. In today's globalized context, the persistent imbalance that rural Bolivian communities face is daunting.

Today, rural communities are caught between upholding traditional livelihoods that depend on subsistence farming, amid growing international demands for local products--a new challenge that never before existed. The argument made for globalization is commonly economic renewal; by presenting poor farmers with a way out of poverty, globalization denotes a 'liberating' process. However, economic opportunity also exerts significant social strain with an onslaught of pressures to assimilate culturally, and thus, the loss of one's own heritage language. Therefore, language revitalization and concomitant revalorization of ancient traditions in this context is complex and worthy of deeper examination.

In 1992, Krauss proposed that "language loss projected to threaten the survival of 50-90% of the world's 6800 languages in the next 100 years" (Krauss, 1992, in Maffi, 2002, p. 386) a heed that signaled a growing awareness among linguists and the international educational development community about language endangerment in the post-1990 era.

With this sentiment, UNESCO's 1996 publication "of an atlas of endangered languages, and the compilation of "Red Books" of endangered languages and of a World Languages Survey" (Maffi, 2002, p. 386), called for linguists, anthropologists and ethnobiologists alike to research and uncover future prospects for the speakers of indigenous and minority languages, especially within societies experiencing powerful sociopolitical and economic change (Maffi, 2002).

As a result of this charge for more research about the survival and protection of these endangered languages, the relationship between linguistic and cultural diversity and biodiversity was established and promoted in the newly created inter-

disciplinary field, "biocultural diversity" (Maffi, 2002; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Oviedo et al., 2000; Harmon, 1996). However, this emerging trope has also been seriously critiqued by researchers for representing language as an 'organic whole' that needs defending against attack, rather than focusing on ongoing ideological struggles in particular contexts and the tensions created by these struggles (Duchene & Heller, 2007). This review centers on this critique. To examine language revitalization processes in Bolivia, unpacking and 're-writing' traditional narratives of language revitalization themes are key.

Catchy terms or phrases in the field reveal a web of complex meanings. In Bolivia, revalorization of "ancestral" or "heritage" languages in policy discourse makes wide assumptions about identity. For instance, the mythic quality attributed to widely spoken Andean languages, such as Aymara, undermines the volatility of certain Amazonian languages that are actually on the brink of extinction, such as Leco.

Additionally, constitutional discourse problematically labels all 36 Indigenous languages in Bolivia as "ancestral," assuming all Indigenous groups are equal status, all speakers regard language in the same way, and, foremost, that all Indigenous people identify with an Indigenous language. Critiquing 'discourse of endangerment' seems less relevant in Bolivia given the fragility of some minority languages and the political will, or lack thereof, involved in revitalizing these. Still, critiquing these tropes is important in order to examine deeper issues than language itself; the underlying language ideologies within reveal broader discourses of language, identity and power.

Language revitalization and maintenance approaches propose different goals, given fluctuating language learner motives and intricate relationships between learner and language (Hinton, 2011), particularly for learners in different contexts. In postcolonial Bolivia, for example, languages are subject to policy and ideological changes, amid dynamic sociopolitical processes. Thus, given the volatility of languages, meanings about why they change are subject to the dynamic contexts they occupy.

Another problematic discursive turn in Bolivia is "mother tongue education." The term, "mother tongue," conflates a "native" language with "Indigenous language" (as opposed to the hegemonic language, Spanish), which problematically (re) essentializes the Indigenous identity. Given Bolivia's great diversity and a history steeped in colonialism, identification with "mother tongue" in this bi-multilingual setting is difficult to determine. To this end, establishing a specific language as a medium of instruction (MoI) in schools within multilingual societies is controversial (Ricento, 2002; Stroud, 2001; Bourdieu, 1991; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Pennycook, 2002; Tollefson and Tsui, 2004).

Thus, for communities involved in revitalizing a vernacular language, a critical component of using a language revitalization approach is negotiating the tension between *acknowledging* the role of the heritage language and *promoting* the use of the same language. The success of language revitalization programs in postcolonial contexts relies on how this negotiation plays out. Below, the second central theme that I draw from in this paper connected to linguistic diversity, intra/interculturalism, is discussed.

Inter/intraculturalism: Deconstruction of the mestizaje ideal. The critique of language revitalization in Bolivia thus far is focused largely on sociolinguistic

issues in education. However, one of the pillars of contemporary Bolivian education reform, a critical piece of legislation, and a value promoted across current social reforms is interculturalism.

Sociologist Xavier Albó (2001) defines interculturality as a process by which different cultural groups relate positively or negatively. The latter type of relationship is clearly a critique of European colonization and assimilatory practices in education, whereas the former references a utopic sense of acceptance and recognition of differences in culture. Albó (2001) proposes that there is an additional step towards acceptance and recognition, which involves, "…entering into real interculturality with one seriously considering each person's contributions and values to create something together, making a common loom where everybody recognises his/her own part and is enriched by contributions of others" (p. 4).

Academic and politician Patzi (2000) disrupts the traditional definition of interculturalism and proposes that the concept is the "…integration of the non-dominant cultures by diffusion of values, beliefs, administrative systems, technology…on the one hand inculcating all of the symbolic representations, and the preservation of the local experiences or ancestral practices, that have been re-functionalized and suppressed under the logic of modernity and in the function of the growing capital" (pp. 151-153). Both definitions underscore the idea that interculturalism isn't merely a peripheral issue; rather, it's *central* to issues of power and identity inherent to the discussion on language in education in Bolivia.

*Intra*culturality is the concept of self-knowledge and experience between groups of the same or similar ethnicity, a philosophy that implies critical examination of notions of power and ideology. This concept also implies unsettling the *mestizaje* narrative. Flores Vásquez (2012) contends,

> Intraculturality in the urban context implies, first, a radical critique of *mestizaje* as identity, which eventually leads to a recuperation of Indigenous culture originating from those who by forces of coloniality and by their parents, distanced themselves or were distanced from, the experience of living their cultures. (p. 28)

Transforming education in diverse Bolivia presents a critical social task, one that is clearly closely related to unsettling the *mestizaje* ideal, or the hybrid identity. *Mestizaje*, the flattened representation of identity, is paradoxically present in a context that is truly diverse. The commonsense view about the ethno-cultural dimension is associated with a benign view of inter-mixing and cross-cultural contact. However, this notion of biological and cultural inter-mixing of ethnicities actually masks a history marked by violent domination of hegemonic groups over subaltern factions in Bolivia. The myth of *mestizaje* as benign phenomenon is problematic discourse that has its roots in hegemonic discourses of power. Sanjinés (2002) defines *mestizaje* as,

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

structures of power.

What contemporary education reform proposes to do through three conceptual pillars is to turn *mestizaje*, and its implied promotion of status-quo maintenance, on its head.

Turning *mestizaje* "upside down" (Sanjinés, 2002) implies critique of *mestizaje*, and challenges a reified, dominant cultural concept as *the* marker of identity. However, perhaps reflective of how complex the notion of mixed identity is, the "anti-mestizante" vs. "mestizante" binaries used to contest and theorize (flattened) representations of identity--are equally problematic. These binaries are critiqued as producing "…subjects that are socially located in the oppressed side of the colonial difference, to think epistemically like the ones on the dominant positions" (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 213) that may paradoxically produce, "reductive ideological and cultural dualisms" (Moraña, Dussel and Jáuregui, 2008, p.5).

To address the complexity embedded in pluralism and to do justice to the construction of identity beyond *mestizante*, essentialist ideals, analyses of the complex relationship of changing cultural policies with diversity, roles of language in education, and conceptions of national identity (Taylor, 2004) are worthwhile and needed.

Methodology

Drawing from complementary methodological approaches vertical case study and critical discourse analysis, this study examines recycling of ideology—or how policy discourses, particularly diversity discourses, move at various levels. This paper, however, examines the particular diversity discourses present in language policy, as understood by rural college students only. One research question guides this paper: (1) How do college students in rural Bolivia make meaning of Law 070, particularly the diversity dimension?

To address this question, I adopted methodological tools that critically explore the significance of local perspectives about policy. The following figure illustrates how vertical case study (Vavrus and Bartlett, 2006) is applied to the Bolivian case. This illustration comes from a larger study; however, for the purposes of this paper, only the Local level, within the vertical element, is addressed.

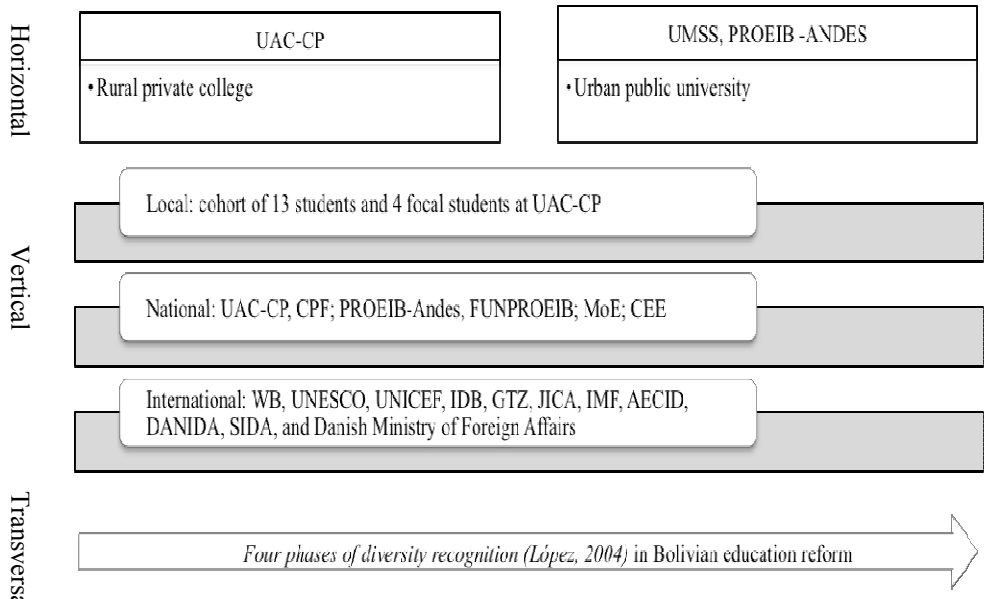

Figure 1.0: *Vertical case study and the Bolivian case*

Data Collection

Micro level data collection includes weekly observations of student interactions, one-time, in-depth interviews with students, and document analysis of student work. The personal student documents include first-person accounts of events and experiences (e.g. in-class writing assignments).

The 4 focal students are part of a cohort of 13, and all students are enrolled in the Education department, in their eighth semester, or fourth and final year of coursework. The entire study, from beginning to end, lasted for four months, with approximately the first half devoted to setting up the study and the last half devoted to carrying out the study. The first six weeks were devoted to reaching out to the UAC-CP community, fostering a commitment to listen closely to local actors. This approach is directly involved with practical problems, or 'problem-posing pedagogy,' used in order to create feasible and appropriate solutions by the grassroots stakeholders themselves, in this case, students. In the case of this study, the 'problem' is defined as, how can students interpret and make sense of highly political and discursive policy? Since the participants are future education leaders (all in the track, Educational Leadership), a reading of this law is necessary to be able to one day implement it.

Setting. This study takes place in the rural community of Carmen Pampa, in the Province of Nor Yungas, in the Department of La Paz, Bolivia. Located about 70 miles from the capital city of La Paz, Carmen Pampa is where community col-

lege[1] and research site, Unidad Académica Campesina, is located. The Nor Yungas region is situated on the eastern slope of the Andean mountain range, and is comprised of dense cloud forests, making travel (by foot, car, bus or bicycle) susceptible and vulnerable to 'the elements', particularly during the rainy season. Although a modern highway connects Coroico to La Paz, not all towns in the region enjoy modern infrastructure, which keeps some villages in isolation, both socially and economically (Stockton, 2005). Given the literal and figurative "in-between" space characteristic of the Nor Yungas region, I maintain that the study site is complex and rich for understanding *diversity* in Bolivia.

The Yungas inhabitant descends from Indigenous or Spanish hacienda families, from pre-colonial or colonial bilingual speakers, as well as from African descendants. The Afro-Bolivian population comes from the descendants of African slaves first brought to Bolivia to work in the silver mines in the Department of Potosí during the colonial era. Hundreds of thousands slaves died due to the frigid and high climate, so some were relocated to work the Yungas hacienda plantations. This population maintains syncretic, Aymaran-Afro cultural and linguistic traditions to this day (Angola, 2003). Given this complex socio cultural and historical context, it isn't surprising that language attitudes and perceptions of cultural identity are extreme and divisive among Indigenous group members in the Yungas region.

Stockton (2005) posits, "The phenomena of language shift in the Coroico municipality is the product of socio-political conditions in Bolivia that have, through centuries of colonization, created hierarchies of identity, prestige, social class, and mobility" (p. 6). It's within these phenomena and historical context that the setting for this study takes place. Thus, each student's social and academic trajectory is shaped by prevailing socio-political conditions, which differs between places of origin.

Participants. At the local level, this study focuses on the perspectives of rural, college students. The participants of this study include a cohort of 13 students, privileging the perspectives of 4 focal students. The four focal students were chosen based on the variation in age, gender, language and cultural backgrounds, and ideas represented. The central ideas of the focal students were identified in interviews, class interactions and writing assignments. The key ideas that the focal students held reflected particular positions of *uptake* or *resistance* to policy discourse. The 13 student participants are described at the time that I met them in (southern hemisphere's) Spring 2013 semester, the final semester of the year and the second-last year of the students' undergraduate careers. The thirteen students are diverse in age, gender, birthplace and first and second languages. Students come from rural areas and most identify with an Indigenous language.

1. Though it serves the Carmen Pampa community and other communities across the region, the College is a degree-granting, five-year College associated with the Catholic University of Bolivia San Pablo; the term 'community' here means literally belonging to the community. It doesn't imply a two-year college, like in the U.S.

Table 1.0: *Profile of Micro-Level Participants*

Name	Age	Province/Department of birth	L1	L2
Marisol	22	Nor Yungas, La Paz	Spanish	Aymara
José Luis	40	Oropeza, Chuquisaca	Spanish	Aymara
Lourdes*	23	José Ballivián, Beni	Spanish	Leco
Miguel	27	Murillo, La Paz	Spanish	Aymara
Julio	26	Nor Yungas, La Paz	Aymara	Spanish
Eva	24	Larecaja, La Paz	Quechua	Spanish
Félix	24	La Paz, La Paz	Spanish	Aym/Que
Héctor	22	Murillo, La Paz	Spanish	N/A
Efraín	22	Caranavi, La Paz	Spanish	Quechua
Marco*	22	Franz Tamayo, La Paz	Spanish	English
Estela	22	Caranavi, La Paz	Aymara	Spanish
Eduardo *	31	Larecaja, La Paz	Aymara	Spanish
Veronica*	21	Franz Tamayo, La Paz	Spanish	Quechua

*(*Focal students; all names are pseudonyms*

There are only two students that don't identify with an Indigenous language (both identify Spanish as their L1, with Marco, for instance, identifying English as his L2 and Héctor, for example, specifying no L2).

Data Analysis. Upon closer examination at the classroom level, this study highlights disparities (and, possibly, connections) between policy and practice. At the micro- level this may include policy and student recognition or indifference to notions of identity, and a sense of cultural belonging. At this level, I focus on how diverse college students perceive both challenges and possibilities present in educational policy, in connection to their own educational and social trajectories as culturally and linguistically diverse students. I examined hand-written observations, video and audio taped recordings of interviews, and student-produced documentation (e.g. writing assignments).

Centrally, the qualitative methods used here identify patterns related to topics of culture, language and identity, tracing social change through national policy documents. Peripherally, through interviews and participant observations, this qualitative project may produce insights about how Indigenous youth obtain educational opportunities, and the ways these paths vary according to linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Thus, vertical case analysis allows for examination of data at varied analytic levels as, "a means of comparing knowledge claims among actors with different social locations in an attempt to situate local action and interpretation within a broader cultural, historical, and political investigation" (Vavrus and Bartlett, 2006, p. 95). While the data collection/analysis focus in this paper is at the local level, it is clearly not disconnected from the larger social and political contexts in which study participants live.

Examining language-in-use across local, national and international levels. Bartlett & Vavrus (2014) define vertical case analysis as, "…an approach that maintains the centrality of ethnography—specifically multi-sited ethnography— in the study of educational policy while expanding its scope to the non-local level by tracing a process or set of relations that spans local, national, and global scales" (p. 1).

Drawing from multi-sited or "non-local ethnography," Bartlett & Vavrus (2014) contend that, "this approach incorporates vertical, horizontal, and transversal elements" (p. 2).

First, the vertical axis is defined as "simultaneous attention to and across micro-, meso-, and macro- levels, or scales, which constitute the verticality of comparison," (p.2). For the purposes of this paper, however, only data collected at the micro- level is discussed, with a focus on perspectives of diversity discourses at this level. Secondly, the horizontal axis is defined as one that, "compares how similar policies unfold in distinct locations that are socially produced" (Massey, 2005 in Vavrus & Bartlett, in press, p.2) and one that is "…simultaneously and complexly connected" (Tsing, 2005 in Vavrus & Bartlett, in press, p.2). Finally, the transversal axis emphasizes "the importance of transversal comparison, which historically situates the processes or relations under consideration and traces the creative appropriation of educational policies and practices across time and space.

The transversal element reminds us to study across and through levels to explore how globalizing processes intersect and interconnect people and policies that come into focus at different scales" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, p. 2). The third element is a critical piece of analysis in the Bolivian context, where movement along the continuum of legitimation of inequities and promotion of equality happens across time and space.

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

Across reform eras, however, the "ethnocultural diversity" dimension in the curriculum has been utilized as a mobilized dimension, either for inclusion or exclusion, depending on the reform era's social, political, historical, and economic context.

Since a central theme in data collection processes in this Bolivian case study is a constant "back and forth" movement along the progression of social inclusion (or the "recycling" of reform ideas) through education, the transversal element is the most important analytic element in this study.

In examining four central phases of educational reform in Bolivia—while attending to its global, national, and, in particular, local dimensions—the transversal element is adopted. Through examination across and through levels, with respect to actors' perspectives of diversity policy, patterns emerge. Bartlett and Vavrus (2014) propose that at this fourth element, the vertical case study makes an important contribution. It is where "the complex assemblages of power that come to bear on policy formation and appropriation across multiple sites and scales" (p. 1).

Applied to the Bolivian case study, issues of power largely shape whether "diversity" is approached, either problematically or in encouraging ways, i.e., either with a language-as-problem or language-as-resource approach (Ruiz, 1984). Issues of power also largely shape whether local actors take up or resist policy discourse.

Discursive turns in policy documents: Highlighting key moments of uptake or resistance. Considering the importance of examining educational policy within a sociopolitical context, I consider also social actors' engagement (or lack of it) with policy text. As Rogers (2011) explains, "Discourses are social practices, processes, and products. Discourses are both the object of study and the theoretical device used for meaning making" (p. 6).

Discourse analysis approaches, then, are tools to studying language-in-use. The nature of language as a contextualized semiotic process speaks to the uniqueness of how language is used, for what purposes, and by whom. How social actors perceive this function is dependent on many things, which may have nothing to do with public policy, but rather with personal identity. Rogers (2011) adds, "Given the broadness in parameters of what constitutes discourse, one can see many different definitions of discourse--from language use, to statements that assign meanings to an institution, to social identities, relationships, practices and categories" (p. 6).

Examining discourse with different approaches yields important connections and findings that may uncover tensions between speakers vs. text or speakers vs. talk. Van Leeuwen (2009) posits, "The term 'discourse' is often used to mean an extended stretch of connected speech or writing, a 'text'. 'Discourse analysis,' then, means 'the analysis of a text or type of text'" (p. 145). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approaches offer useful tools for analyzing *text* and *talk*, thus uncovering hidden, unequal relations of power in the larger social and educational context (Van Dijk, 2009).

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

Texts are filled with allusions, quotations, and references that point to other texts, creating an "intertextual network." This network is established through *recontextualization*, which is the process where something is extracted from the original context and inserted in a new context (Van Leeuwen, 2009).

When these textual artifacts enter a new context, new meanings are signified. Therefore, looking at the prior text and the new environment are key in order to understand the new meanings that become salient, as well as the old meanings that still exist below the surface.

For instance, given Bolivian policy's increased sense of importance with regard to "diversity recognition," as defined differently across two reform eras (post-1990 and post-2000), it is important to examine how these different texts talk to each other, borrow from each other, and/or shape each other's discourse.

Wodak (2004) defines recontextualization as a "transfer of main arguments from one text into the next", a link established by their intertexuality, or "the fact

that all texts are linked to other texts" (p. 3). The notion of interdiscursivity (used interchangeably with intertexuality) indicates that discourses are linked to each other in various ways (Wodak, 2004), which is a particularly important concept for examining Bolivian policy processes because of the proposed importance in policy documents for "diversity recognition," as defined by reformists across different reform eras.

Intertexuality or interdiscursivity may suggest social actors' varied understandings with diversity discourse, which may, in turn, suggest uptake or resistance to the specific type of discourse in the context of social change. Wodak (2005) proposes: "The notion of 'change' has become inherent to the study of text and discourse; the concept of 'recontextualization' is relevant to the analysis of social change" (p. 2).

Van Leeuwen (2009) explains recontextualization as a process of transformation of social practices. Some of the transformations involved in recontextualization can be ideologically motivated and aimed at reproducing certain forms of social domination, power abuse, and inequalities (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). For this reason, a fully critical account of discourse requires a complementary approach to recontextualization.

Conclusions

Original contributions of this study to scholarship in the field include bringing to light the perceptions and insights of largely forgotten or silenced voices: primarily, rural college students. Overall in this exploratory study, I drew on vertical case study and discourse analysis to understand the meaning making of educational policy at the local level. Through a critical discourse analysis lens, I identify particular moments of tension between policy and practice, highlighting moments when students either champion or resist policy, Law 070 (2010), particularly the diversity dimension.

For instance, at the micro level, I conducted lessons and did activities during class time, revealing contradictory, yet illuminating views around topics of policy and language and culture-in-education. Through this platform, students were given an opportunity to voice their feelings, perspectives and interpretations of diversity discourses. Students interacted in the context of a classroom discourse community, in which students co-constructed their social, scholarly and professional identities.

Three major patterns were identified in the findings at the micro level. Under an umbrella theme of *informed understandings* about educational policy, in particular the diversity dimension, students adopted one of any of these three views (or a combination of them): (1) Pragmatic value of the Law (2) Valorization of culture with the Law (3) Critical take of Law. Students held varying degrees of critical views towards policy, and meaning of educational policy was constructed through a contextualized lens. Thus, accounting for student's own experiences with schooling, place of origin and their linguistic and cultural backgrounds was key.

At the micro level, this study illustrates that a "plurality of discourses" permeate the meaning-making of education policy across age, gender, linguistic/cultural and ethnic differences in this focal group of rural, Indigenous, college students. First language of students, place of origin (rural or urban), what access to education they had, and the set of particular schooling experiences each student had—all play a role

in their meaning-making processes. While most studies don't focus on the particular realities, schooling experiences and the perceptions of policy that Indigenous youth hold, this study reveals that some students have critical stances towards educational policy, particular diversity discourses, and view issues of identity as pertinent and complex.

The varying views that students hold shapes how students make meaning about policy-- either resisting or adopting policy discourse. This variation on views can be viewed on a spectrum of "adoption to resistance" of diversity discourses. The spectrum implies that multiple and competing responses exist within student talk, highlighting the richness, complexity and promise of local perspectives. This spectrum has implications for policy, since interpretations of policy discourses may open up or close implementational spaces (Hornberger & Cassels-Johnson, 2007) for grassroots implementers from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, across social class, gender and ethnic differences.

Significance

Future educational research must understand the paradoxical situation within Bolivian education reform, where 'decolonization' initiatives co-exist with 'assimilationist' approaches. Future research must include Indigenous youths' voices, at any level of education. Most studies that focus on educational policy perspectives and policy impact on stakeholders focus on teachers or other meso-level social actors (Lópes Cardozo, 2011; Valdiviezo, 2013). Educational studies largely omit the perspectives and realities of students, a stakeholder group that is fundamental to evaluating policy implementation. This group's voice merits close attention as uptake or resistance to policy at this micro level shapes teaching and learning.

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