LOCAL RESPONSES TO GLOBALIZATION:
POLICY, CURRICULA, AND STUDENT CULTURAL PRODUCTIONS
AT A COLOMBIAN PUBLIC UNIVERSITY

DISSERATION

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By

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ABSTRACT

Globalizing trends—underscored by neoliberalism, privatization, and imperial legacies—are changing the nature and purpose of education across the world. Manifestations of these trends, however, vary in different locales, as do responses to them. Indeed, globalizing trends are continuously shaped and reshaped by local practices in diverse contexts. Drawing on theoretical perspectives from discourse analysis and cultural studies, this dissertation analyzes and complicates local discursive formations of globalizing trends at La Universidad Industrial de Santander (UIS), a public university in Colombia, South America.

Based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted at the UIS between July 2003 and June 2004, this dissertation examines local, national, and global dynamics in UIS policy, curriculum, and student cultural productions. By analyzing student-produced materials, including graffiti, campaign flyers, and political cartoons as local practices in response to globalizing trends, this study shows that such cultural productions openly contest and reshape globalizing trends. These student materials offer counter-discourses that reconstitute globalizing trends as “US imperialism” and as shared public, not private, concerns. Complicating the decolonizing effects produced by their counter-discourses, some student-produced materials ignore or reify gender and other hierarchies in order to resist imperial-global ones.
Embedded in global, national, and local policy contexts, the practice of policy as/in curriculum at the UIS also is a focus of this dissertation. Namely, this study considers local practices of and responses to a nationally mandated citizenship course entitled Ética. By offering Ética, the university is clearly in compliance with national policy and law. However, by examining curriculum policy, syllabi, readings, and historical formations of the course, as well as practices and perceptions of instructors and students, this study shows that Ética is often dismissed and contested. Therefore, the in/out binary of compliance is displaced. Compliance is more complicated; and it is theorized as a performance. Moreover, Ética is contested because as part of the imperial legacy in Colombia and at the UIS it positions students as barbarians in need of civilizing. Working against this, some students reclaim the barbarian subject-position, disrupting the civilized/barbarian and colonizer/colonized binaries. In short, this dissertation examines and complicates local innovations of policy, curriculum, and practice at the UIS in light of, or perhaps in spite of, globalizing trends.
Dedicated to public school teachers, especially

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Sharon Patton (10th grade English)
John Henshaw (High School History)
Regina Weigle (Mentor during student teaching)

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CHAPTER 1

IMPERIALISM AND GLOBALIZATION: A BACKDROP TO EDUCATIONAL POLICY, CURRICULUM, AND PRACTICE AT THE UIS

Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has. (Margaret Mead)

Prologue

This statement by Mead created a dilemma for me, and working through and within it prompted this research. I need to believe Mead. Yet who am I in this statement? Am I the thoughtful citizen, who has set out to change the world? Some of the conditions making this dissertation project possible emerged when I was a disillusioned US Peace Corps volunteer in Bolivia (1998-2000). Recognizing that thoughtful citizens often did unthinkable things in the name of “helping” people and “changing” the world and that I was complicit in it, I ran away from my problems as my privilege allowed. Like George W. Bush (Moore, 2004), I went on vacation.

The beginning of the end of the twentieth century, this was a particularly magical time in Machu Piccu. Record numbers of people, and I, too, made the pilgrimage to the ancient city of the Incas. I tried to come to terms with my role in US imperialism. After all, Peace Corps Volunteers, I had decided, were US governmental pawns. While in Cuzco, I met a fiercely anti-US, Colombian artist and activist who helped me deal with this.
On our trek around South America, I began to ask myself a simple question. Why did I think living in rural Bolivia was so cool, while living in rural Ohio was so not? I grew up poor in rural Ohio, and at 22 I moved “home” to San Diego to escape my “rural-ness” and get into my “brown-ness.” While joining the Peace Corps in South America had to do with reclaiming my ethnicity and learning Spanish, I also learned about my complicity in exoticizing and positioning others.

While beginning to recognize myself as a privileged subject, I did not unlearn this subjectivity. Through the streets of Lima on October 25, 1999, I marched with hundreds of thousands of people—mostly displaced Colombians. Marches in support of the dispossessed in Colombia took place all over the world. In hindsight, the situation of the dispossessed has improved only slightly, but amidst the revolutionary spirit, I believed Colombia’s civil war would end and here I was in the pith of it. I needed to believe in this magic—esperanza—in Mead’s famous words, but wasn’t I just trying to save the world, again?

These experiences and questions, and yet, again, my privilege, brought me to graduate school and two broad and complex foci: the first is the role of the relationship between education and difference (e.g., race, class, gender, nationality, ethno-linguistic affiliation, sexuality) in producing privilege, oppression, and equity. The second is how decolonizing change happens in imperialized transnational relationships. In other words, how do power relations shift among globalizing trends, national education policy/law, and local educational practices and actors? My transnational perspective on educational policy and law probably began with the passing of California Proposition 187 in 1994, denying education to non-documented immigrants. As a new public school teacher in
SoCal, who worked with students from diverse backgrounds, I started to think more complexly about the relationships among education, difference, society, and la frontera. Ultimately this project emerged, which complicates the local/global interrelationship and educational practices and policy.

The following introductory chapter begins with a brief overview of the project. After defining some of the significant terminology, I present the context of the study. The context situates the research in three ways. It links the study to conversations regarding globalizing trends articulated in the scholarly literature; it describes shifts in Colombia’s State and educational policies since the 1990s; and it places the study against the backdrop of Colombia’s imperial legacy. Next, I present the research problem and questions. Then, I discuss the study’s significance and limitations. Finally, I conclude with a short overview of the chapters that organize this dissertation.

**Introduction**

Globalizing trends—underscored by neoliberalism, privatization, and imperial legacies—are mediating social life around the world in different ways and to various degrees. In our globalizing world, laissez-faire economic policies are no longer only directed toward liberalizing and (de)regulating the market. Rather, under neoliberalism, “a [S]tate-initiated broadening of economic thinking … diffuses the enterprise form throughout society as its general organizing principle” (Lather, 2004a, p. 18, n. 19).

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1 In keeping with Montgomery and Canaan (2004), I use “globalizing” instead of “global” or “globalization” to describe current transnational neoliberal processes as incomplete (see also Spivak, 2004); in addition, I use it to suggest that while wide in scope, these processes vary across contexts (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, and Ramirez, 1997; Scholte, 2004). More details are discussed in the terminology section of this chapter.

2 The capitalization of the word “state” signifies federal, or national-level, government.
Liberalization and deregulation, then, are a guise, especially when accountability and efficiency are mobilized to ensure compliance with neoliberal policies (Acevedo, 2001; Stromquist, 2002a, 2002b). Mediating society under the pretext of deregulating it, the diffusion of neoliberal globalizing trends is actually on par with other forms of coercion.

Accordingly, many people from so-called Southern nations or the Third World consider globalizing trends to be one and the same with imperialism (Rhee & Sagaria, 2004). Indeed, “in the case of imperialism,” Puiggrós (1999) posits that “there is an important element of hegemony, that is, political and economic coercion receives crucial internal support” (p. 176). When one power subordinates and appropriates another, colonization, including the control of knowledge, value, and truth, is often the effect of imperialism (Said, 1994; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Willinsky, 1998).

Dominant discourses that come along with globalizing trends attempt to explain away privilege and subordination, as well as justify public divestment and privatization (Katz, 2001; Williamson, 1990, 1994). Meritocratic discourses, for instance, suggest that inequities are the responsibility of deficient and inefficient individuals and of “a welfare state that has made individuals [and institutions] overly dependent on government dole rather than being productive … [and] self-reliant …” (Montgomery and Canaan, 2004, p. 745). Less and less the collective and shared responsibility of the public, social concerns “are considered to be private problems for which individuals feel that they must have private solutions” (Shumar, 2004, p. 836, citing Bauman, 2000, p. 58). Likewise, reifying the elite nature of higher education, public education is shifting from a “public good” to a “private good” (Labaree, 1997; see also Shumar, 1997).
Globalizing trends are fundamentally changing social services such as education in both “Northern and Southern nations,” plus, as Montgomery and Canaan (2004) state, “…many developing countries adopt these [neoliberal] policies as a condition of receiving foreign debt relief” (pp. 742, 746, n. 3). However, the recent special issue of QSE, “Conceptualizing Higher Education Students as Social Actors in a Globalizing World,” focuses on major English-speaking capitalist countries, such as the UK and the US (Shumar, 2004, pp. 824, 827). By not including “Southern nations” that often are exploited targets of globalizing trends, Montgomery and Canaan’s (2004) special issue highlights the need for the study presented herein.

Manifestations of these trends vary in different locales, as do responses to them; indeed, globalizing trends are continuously shaped and reshaped by local practices in diverse contexts. Therefore, this dissertation investigates local/global context-specific dynamics in Colombia. It focuses on curriculum policy and relatively privileged students’ practices as local responses to globalizing trends at La Universidad Industrial de Santander (UIS), a prestigious public university in Northeast Colombia. In addition to analyzing UIS policies, I conducted ethnographic research at the UIS from July 2003 to June 2004. In my study, UIS students as social actors and cultural producers openly contest globalizing trends, unlike most of the students as social actors in the studies

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3 Not only is Colombia an ongoing recipient of World Bank and other external funding programs, as Randall (1992) notes, “even before but especially after 1960 Colombia was targeted as the ‘showpiece’ of US aid programs” (p. 189. The discourses of globalizing trends are embedded in such “development” projects (Escobar, 1995) and policy-based lending (Chossudovsky, 1997).

In Colombia, globalizing trends, along with local and national issues, have compromised public services and higher education. Government resources are limited by four decades of civil war, the fight against drug trafficking, corruption and embezzlement, and interest payments on external loans (Beltran, 2003). In addition, the privatization of State industries by multinationals results in less revenue (Leech, 2005); and “international best practices” encourage a shift in financial responsibility from the State to individuals who can apply for personal loans, as well as a shift in funding from higher education to basic education (World Bank, 2002, 2003). As neoliberal “structural adjustment” programs are adopted and contested (Chomsky, 2000), tension persists between the Colombian public university’s accountability to State law and policy and the State’s failing financial obligation to support public higher education (Acevedo, 2001).

Given this backdrop, this dissertation focuses on global, national, and local dynamics in policy, curriculum, and practice at the UIS. Particularly, it examines students’ cultural productions—graffiti,² campaign flyers, and political cartoons—as local practices in response to globalizing trends at the UIS. These cultural productions, what I refer to as “student-produced materials,” contest globalizing trends. This study also examines the multiple and sometimes contradictory effects of their counter-discourses. In addition, it considers UIS institutional practices of policy as/in curriculum,

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² Graffiti includes words (“tagging”), phrases and slogans, and more elaborate murals (Halsey & Young, 2002).
including a civic education course entitled Ética (Ethics), which was mandated by national policy and law. Colombian educational law/policy also required the Proyecto Educativo Institutional (PEI), obligatory policy for all institutions of education. By offering Ética, the UIS is in compliance with these policies and laws. However, because the course is perceived as part of the imperial legacy in Colombia and at the UIS, it often is dismissed and contested. Compliance, then, is not a simple linear process of agreement but a more complicated performance. Through analyzing these practices, I make visible, as well as complicate, some local perceptions of, as well as responses to, local, national and global dynamics at the UIS.

Levinson and Sutton (2001) use the term “localization” to refer to the context-specific appropriation or reshaping of forces. Anderson-Levitt (2004) has argued that while “the global inhabits local practice,” it is through local practice that homogeneous global processes are given meaning, often “‘within’ or at least ‘against’ transnational models” (p. 251). Through analyzing student-produced materials and the practice of policy as/in official curriculum, this dissertation demonstrates how the localization of globalizing trends—underscored by neoliberalism, privatization, and imperial legacies—can bring about decolonizing effects, meaning dominant discourses and their

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5 For the most part, this dissertation follows the American Psychological Associations (5th ed.) guide for preparing manuscripts. It varies from the standard format in the following ways. The Spanish text, as well as other “foreign” languages, has not been italicized. I do not wish to position non-English text as a “foreign” language. For the same reason, titles in the reference section appear in Spanish without translation. In the manuscript, English translations will appear in parentheses directly following the Spanish text. When block quotes are used, the English will come directly after the Spanish. In some cases, dual Spanish-English charts are provided.
appropriations are interrupted and displaced, or reappropriated. That is, local actors adopt globalizing ideas according to local values and circumstances, or as Anderson-Levitt (2004) states, they “indigenize” the global (see also Sahlins, 1999).

In addition to making visible how globalizing trends and policy as/in curriculum are contested and localized, this dissertation complicates such local articulations of policy and practice and their multiple and decolonizing effects. While the counter-discourses of student-produced materials reconstitute the dominant discourses of globalizing trends, some oppressions, such as gender stereotypes and hierarchies, are reinforced in order to work against racial-imperial ones. By drawing attention to these complications, the colonizer/colonized binary is displaced. Further disrupting this binary, some students reclaim the barbarian subject-position in order to work against the civilizing mission of curriculum policy and the Ética course that position students as barbarians in need of civilizing. Moreover, as indicated, this study also troubles the in/out binary of policy compliance, theorizing compliance as a performance.

As a Foucaultian-inspired ethnography, this study combines traditional single-site ethnography, multi-sited ethnography, and new applications of ethnography of policy, along with Foucaultian discourse analysis. Participant observation, interviews, grounded surveys, and material artifacts locate and describe in detail students cultural productions and the practice of policy as/in curriculum at the university. University students, faculty, administration, and staff participated in the study. However, this Foucaultian-inspired analysis in part shifts the site of investigation from people, places, and practices to the discourses that construct them (Foucault, 1985/1990, pp. 10-12; Pillow, 2004, p. 2).
Drawing from Hardt and Negri’s (2000) *Empire*, feminist poststructuralism and postcolonial criticism (Spivak, Landry, & McClean, 1996; Lather, 1997; Spivak, 1993, 1999, 2004b), and Latin American cultural studies (Mignolo, 2000; Trigo, 2000), the theoretical framework for this study—*transbinary research*—looks at binaries as complicity constructions, where power is constantly circulating between and among positions (Weems, 2000). In other words, authority is locally constructed through processes of negotiation among social actors and circulating discourses, e.g., through appropriation and re-appropriation, rather than through deterministic readings that hold dominant narratives and subjects in place. As Weems (2000) states, “because the ‘deviant’ largely serves to regulate normativity, it holds within it the possibility to interrupt, disrupt and perhaps transform dominant narratives, storylines, identities and practices” (p. 230). In addition, this study is situated within what Hardt and Negri (2000) call Empire, where power flows are de-territorialized and global trends discipline national and local subjects, and where local subjects and practice are “the motor” behind globalizing trends. All the more, the study is situated against the backdrop of Colombia’s imperial legacy, paying particular attention to Colombia-US relations. Its theoretical framework examines the complicity, interpenetration, and interconnectedness between positions, such as colonizer/colony, global/local, being in/out of compliance with policy, which are often framed as unified subjects and set binary positions. Below I address terminology important to the study.
Terminology

To ground the study, I first introduce some of the concepts associated with this project. In this project which examines the ongoing flux of lived practice in transnational contexts, terms can be elusive and difficult to define. Nonetheless, below I discuss the following: “globalizing trends,” “neoliberalism,” “imperialism,” “policy,” and “curriculum analysis.”

Globalizing Trends

According to Anderson-Levitt (2005), from the perspective of world cultural theory, the concept of “globalization” refers to the “accelerating growth in the twentieth century of connections among people, [places, and] … the flow of ideas…” (p. 990). To say that there are globalizing trends—shared world cultural processes—is not to necessarily suggest homogenization (Anderson-Levitt, 2005). Meyer, Boli, Thomas, and Ramirez (1997) posit that local and national culture and circumstances are culturally constructed, produced, and organized in conjunction with transnational forces, but “the complexity of the interplay among various world modes and local traditions” allows globalizing trends to play out differently across the globe (pp. 146-47). Globalization refers to world interdependence, but as Scholte (2004) notes, “definitions of globalization depend very much on where the definer stands” (p. 103). According to Ong (2004), Harvey (1989) may be right “that time-space compression is a key feature of contemporary globalization, but as his critics have noted, the vast majority of individuals and groups have little or no capacity to access, control, or enjoy the benefits of intensified mobilization and communication” (p. 66, citing Massey, 1993). In contrast to Hardt and
Negri (2002), Spivak (2004) further notes that “when we describe globalization as seamless unification of the globe achieved, we describe the dream of globalization as achieved, rather than acknowledge local “ruptures” (p. 76).

Given the above and in keeping with Montgomery and Canaan (2004), I use “globalizing” most often in this dissertation instead of “global” or “globalization” to describe current transnational neoliberal processes as incomplete. In addition, I use it to suggest that while wide in scope, these processes vary across contexts (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, and Ramirez, 1997; Scholte, 2004). Alternatively, “globalization” is used in the title of the dissertation and in some other places. It is the more widely recognized term and it also clearly applies to this study. Given its recognition, it could make sense to use “globalization” more widely throughout the study. However, precisely because “globalization” is widely used, I intend my use of “globalizing trends” to remind the reader to be mindful of the three qualities of globalization described above; namely, that globalization is (1) incomplete, (2) a process, and (3) varied across contexts (for more on globalization, see Castells, 2000; Held & McGrew, 2000: Held, 1999, 1991; García Canclini, 2001).

**Neoliberalism**

Neoliberalism stems from conservative economic theories, which suggest that society benefits from free trade and little State-intervention (laissez-faire policies), where the State’s role is to liberalize the market from governmental (public) regulation (Apple, 1995; Arno, 1997; Neave & van Vught, 1994; Puiggrós, 1999; Williamson, 1990; 6

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6 The capitalization of the word “state” (i.e., “State”) signifies government at the federal level, usually the federal government of Colombia, including federal or national level practices, policies, entities, such as the National Ministry of Education, and peoples.
However, neoliberalism is a form of discipline or (self) regulation when this market-based logic is diffused throughout society as standard (Lather, 2004a). While the rhetoric of liberalism suggests privatization, deregulation, and decentralization (i.e., the transfer of regulation to local levels, less State intervention, and more private-sector development), (1) the State may retain central control as it takes measures to ensure compliance (under the guise of accountability and efficiency) and (2) liberalization may pay little attention to quality and equity in its goal for growth and expansion (Stromquist, 2002a, 2002b; see also Apple, 1995; McLaren, 2005).

Colombia has adopted policies at the national level, which have resulted in the contested economic liberalization of education and the public (State) sector (Chomsky, 2000; Ley General de Educación, 1994; World Bank, 2003). Through policy-based lending, multinational organizations (World Bank) have imposed neoliberal policies, often termed “structural re-adjustment programs,” which shift the financial responsibility for public services, like education, from the State to the private sector and individuals (UNCTAD, 1991, 2003; World Bank, 2003). However, the State’s administration of “international best practices” and ability (and historical tradition) to make educational policy law means that the State retains control over many aspects of education.

**Imperialism**

Globalizing trends (neoliberalism, etc.) do not enter a neutral field, but one of longstanding inequalities between the so-called First and Third Worlds that emerged from colonialism and imperialism (Galeano, 1973; Rhee & Sagaria, 2004). According to Puiggrós (1999), “‘imperialism’ is a term that has been used … to denominate the economic, cultural, and political subordination of one state to another without territorial
occupation (p. 176). As mentioned, many people consider globalizing trends one and the same with imperialism (Rhee & Sagaria, 2004). However, there are those who differentiate between imperialism and globalizing trends, arguing that neoliberal globalizing trends are more overarching, fragmented, and disaggregated (see Hardt & Negri, 2000; Neave & van Vught, 1994; Puiggrós, 1999).

Policy

Finally, this section on terminology ends with policy. According to Levinson, Sutton, and Winstead (2005) policy is a dynamic practice of power under continuous negotiation and appropriation, “subject to political winds and practical contingencies” (p. 5). Policy is not a flat text, but a performative one. They “conceptualize the entire policy process as a complex set of interdependent sociocultural practices” (p. 2). Levinson, Sutton, and Winstead (2005) describe policy in the following way:

…as a complex, ongoing social practice of normative cultural production constituted by diverse actors across diverse contexts … [and] as a normative cultural discourse ... that is, a set of statements about how things should or must be done… Such a discourse also crucially presupposes an implicit view of how things ‘are’ [including who are the subjects of policy]. Policy as a normative discourse may be what we call officially ‘authorized,’ that is, backed by enforcement mechanisms of government or corporate charter. On the other hand, policy may also develop in more spontaneous and informal fashion, outside the agencies or offices that are constitutionally charged with making policy. In either case, policy may be documented and codified, or it may exist in ‘unwritten’ form, through ongoing institutional memory and practice…. [In sum, policy] posits ideal behavior in a model world. (pp. 3-4; emphasis in the original; see also Wright, 2005)

Thus, policy may be written (e.g., documents) or unwritten (e.g., other forms of authoritative discourses).
**Neoliberal Policy**

Important to this study are neoliberal policies, which circulate the dominant economic model of free enterprise. According to Wright (2005), neoliberal policy portrays its normative claims (ideal behaviors and model of the world) “in objective, neutral, legal-rational idioms so that they appear merely instruments of efficiency and effectiveness” (p. 6). In other words, neoliberal policies take politically charged matter and encase it in the “neutral language of science” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 196). As mentioned, mediating society under the pretext of deregulating it, deregulation and liberalization are organizing principles (forms of discipline and coercion) cloaked in neutrality.

**Analysis of Policy**

A large portion of this study focuses on policy, showing how policy is constantly happening, and showing how it is loaded when it constantly arrives in specific spaces and lives of peoples. That is, policy is not neutral but arrives brimming with force, with circulating discourses of authority—full of whatever it has collected en route. When policy happens, a process of bargaining occurs. In this way, policy-making and policy-implementation can be the same event.

Traditional educational policy analysis views the policy process as linear, not unlike that described by Stromquist (1997): “in the form of public declarations, educational policies follow, at a minimum, a four-stage process, beginning with problem identification, and moving into policy formulation and authorization (laws passed), implementation, and termination or change” (p. 31, citing Harman, 1984). The “technical-empiricist model” of policy analysis evaluates policy as a vehicle of
communication between policy-makers and practitioners, i.e., whether or not the intention behind the text was grasped and followed (Olsen, Codd, & O’Neil, 2004, pp. 60-61). Shore and Wright (1997) explain, “Dominant discourses work by setting up the terms of reference and by disallowing or marginalizing alternatives. Policies enable this to happen by setting a political agenda and giving institutional authority to one or a number of overlapping discourses” (p. 18). These hierarchical discrepancies have real effects in channeling resources, given that policy is “the exercise of power in the distribution of rewards and resources” (Levinson & Cade, 2002, p. xiii).

Contrary to a top-down approach, “a critical approach to education policy emerged in the 1980s as part of a broader critique of social reproduction, discourse, and the state under advanced capitalism” (Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2005, p. 6; see also Apple, 1995; Ball, 1990, 1993; Dale, 1989). Ethnographers of policy have shown policy practice to be a negotiation among multiple actors (Demerath, 2002). Arikan (2005), for example, states that “policy implementation is a multi-layered and complex sociocultural process in which multiple social actors interpret and negotiate policies in practice through a network of relationships” (p. 65).

Policies are sites of contestation. As such, they signify “the different resources [(bargaining power)] ... political actors bring to bear on policy processes to make their discourse prevail. … Some discourses are deeply embedded in institutional policy and practice, [but Shore and Wright (2001)] reveal how they are constantly contested and
sometimes fractured” (p. 20). In other words, policy as discourse is not reducible to a dominate/subordinate binary; instead, discourse suggests policy is a site of struggle—an ongoing performance. To signal this, I follow Sutton and Levinson (2001) and use “policy as/in practice.”

**Curriculum Analysis**

Levinson and Sutton (2001) use the phrase “policy as/in practice … [to] explicate policy as a practice of power and to interrogate the meaning of policy in practice” (p. 1). I use the phrase “policy as/in curricula” to specify curricula as the “practice” in which policy will be interrogated. Valverde (2004) indicates that curricular reform is often part of the goal of educational policy reform.

Curriculum theorizing, as Wright (2000) argues, is an “expansive and nebulous field … [composed of] not singular but multiple discourses, related to each other, if at all, only very tenuously” (p. 4). Like ethnography of policy, curriculum inquiry increasingly has been concerned with understanding the inter-contextual relationships between local practice and external influences. Indeed, Wright (2000) suggests that the future of curriculum studies includes “the examination of curriculum as…international text (and as global text) [and] … as institutionalized text (and as individual discipline/subject area and school/educational reform text)” (p. 6). Moreover, Levinson and Cade (2002) suggest that the ethnographic “… focus on “classroom” (salón de clases) research has been eclipsed by questions of social context and policy …. [and that] scholars have learned to think and theorize across national and disciplinary boundaries, including … curriculum” (p. ix). My
line of inquiry looks at policy as in curriculum and curriculum policy as a key conjunction for analyzing how socioeconomic and cultural factors, as well as how global, national, and local contexts, influence the formation of subject positions. Below I describe the context of this study.

**Context of the Study**

In this section, I contextualize the study within current scholarly conversations regarding globalizing trends and education, as well as within contemporary shifts in Colombia’s State and educational policies. To provide a backdrop for such trends and shifts, I describe Colombia’s external relationships, and particularly the legacy of imperialism that underscores them. Moreover, I show how both the development of the La Universidad Industrial de Santander (UIS) and local resistance to external trends are embedded in this imperial legacy.

**Globalizing Trends and Education**

Globalizing trends have extended all over the world, changing the relationship between the State and society (Appadurai, 1996; Arnove, 1997, pp. 79 & 88; McCarthy & Dimitriadis, 2000) as well as changing the nature of education (Lyotard, 1984; Shumar, 2004), research (Denzin, 2005; Lather, 2004b, 2005), the student subject (Canaan, 2004; Torres & Puiggrós, 1997), and the efficacy of resistance (García Canclini, 2001; McLaren, 2005; Said, 1994; Spivak, 1999). In Arnove’s (1997) examination of the arguments both in favor of and against neoliberal globalizing trends in education, he notes that societies adopt these trends in order to grapple with the challenge “to increase the equity, quality, and efficiency of [their] education system” (p. 80). However, these policies also have resulted in negative and/or unintended consequences for equity, access,
choices, and quality of higher education (Arnowe, 1997; Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002, 2002b; Stromquist, 2002a, 2002b). “As a result of neoliberalism, privatization, and the fraying of the welfare state,” Katz (2001) notes, “a crucial aspect of this shift [is] … the demise of the social contract” (p. 709). Katz states that “children, among others, suffer from these changes, as all manner of public disinvestments take place—including in education…” (p. 709).

Some of the rhetoric of globalizing trends argues that neoliberal privatization policies (e.g., structural readjustments) will lead to the reduction of external debt, lower inflation, less unemployment, economic/market growth and diversification, and less dependence on State and foreign donors (Garcia-Guadilla, 2001; Torres & Puiggrós, 1997; Urrutia, 1994; Williamson, 1994). The argument follows that these benefits ultimately will improve the quality of life for all people, including access to social services like healthcare and education. In other words, the privatization of higher education will provide better access and more choices.

As the rhetoric goes, under the neoliberal market-based model, higher education will not be an elite “ivory tower,” but a place to gain skills to compete for real work in the global marketplace (Montgomery & Canaan, 2004). An institution’s quality will be judged by demand for its services and efficient delivery (sale) of quality services to student customers. Under this model, students are positioned as important agents—albeit consumers—who are independent and have the freedom to make their own decisions and choices (Labaree, 1997; Shumar, 1997). Thus, individuals and institutions have much of the responsibility for their own respective success and failure regardless of broader constraints, such as scarce resources and longstanding social stratification.
Supporters of globalizing trends suggest that neoliberalism (e.g., free trade, privatization, etc.) and democratic societal liberties—including civil rights, freedom, equity, access to education, and social justice—are, and should be, linked (Fiske, 1996; World Bank, 1995; World Bank Country Study, 1995). Critics, however, call this neoliberal “democratic” rhetoric a guise, arguing instead that the lack of funding for public services, coupled with demands for efficiency, standards, and accountability, leaves students and institutions with fewer, not wider, choices and public spaces (Lipman, 2001; Castells, 1996; Garcia Canclini, 2001; Sassen, 1998). When political, financial, and longstanding imperialized and racialized structural forces that mediate lived practice are not taken into consideration, individuals and institutions are left with the responsibility to manage their own problems and the charge to be more inclusive (democratic), but without the resources to accomplish these goals (Shumar, 2004). Under the rhetoric of globalizing trends, institutions and individuals, not the State, take the blame and are deemed inefficient as well as deficient (Montgomery & Canaan, 2004). Not compatible with democratic systems of governance, the poor bear the heaviest burden for these shifts, leaving Latin America, an already deeply stratified society, further divided (Iglesias, 1994). Levinson (2005), for example, states that “while embracing the rhetoric of democracy, this trend toward liberalization under the pretense of ‘liberation’ has actually crowded out policies and practices oriented toward civic education for democratic citizenship” (p. 329). Others argue that globalizing trends have appropriated democratic practices (Kymlicka, 2004; Ong, 2004).
Educational policy, however, is a process of negotiation (Levinson, Sutton & Winstead, 2005). Local articulations of educational policy, curriculum, and practice involve multiple force relations across contexts. Global, national, regional, institutional, curricular, and student forces mediate policy and practice at the UIS. Robertson, Bonal, and Dale (2002) have referred to the nested layers of multiple contexts as an important analytical window from which to analyze the nature and consequences of globalization (see also Harvey, 1989). They state that “scale is constructed with particular activities taking place on different scales, where one of those scales might be dominant over others” (p. 475). A “scalar fix,” according to Harvey (1989, cited in Robertson, Bonal, & Dale, 2002), is where scales appear fixed by social processes and networks of legal codes, trade, and regulatory institutions, such as the national scale following post-WWII. Longstanding inequalities between the so-called First and Third Worlds or between the North and South, for instance, emerged from colonial and imperial pursuits (See Ong, 1996; Rhee & Sagaria, 2004). Robertson, Bonal, and Dale (2002) state that “while scales appear fixed … we can see that they are fluid and dynamic; they are produced, contested, and transformed through a range of sociopolitical and discursive processes, strategies, and struggle over what social space contains, …. [Thus,] issues that appear fundamental at one scale disappear entirely from view at another; factions that are active participants at one scale can fade from the scene or even change at another” (pp. 775-76; see also

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7 WWII will be used to signify World World II. A list of abbreviations used in this study appears in Appendix H.
Harvey, 1989, pp. 422-23). The production of policy and practice is a complex negotiation of power relations that interpenetrate multiple nested contexts or scales (Hamann, 2005). Below I discuss some of the shifts in the context of Colombia’s national policy that remain salient for UIS practice at the time of the study.

**Shifts since the 1990s: Policy and Higher Education in Colombia**

The ratification of the new Colombian Constitution of 1991 marks contemporary changes in national and educational policy and practice in Colombia (Torres & Puiggrós, 1997). It sought to attend to some of Colombia’s long-standing challenges, such as a fragile nation-state, socioeconomic stratification, widespread corruption within the State, and the country’s insecure position in the global community largely due to escalating external debt, narcotrafficking, and violence (Barbero & Ochoa Gautlier, 2001; Maya Restrepo, 2001; Montgomery, 2002; Ocampo & Tovar, 2001; Pearce, 1990). In spite of being “one of the most durable democracies in Latin America, . . . Colombia has been unable to incorporate its territory within a unitary idea of the nation, and the State has failed to solve profound social inequalities and to gain national legitimacy” (Uribe, 2004, p. 80). Since the 1980s, social and economic liberalizations, sometimes labeled as “globalization” or “US imperialism,” have infiltrated Colombian national policy and law (Alvarez, 1992). Such globalizing trends and policies have been openly contested in Colombia (Montgomery, 2002). The constitution emerged from these national and global dynamics.
Colombia is not the only country coping with tensions among neoliberal globalizing trends, multiculturalism, and citizenship (see Banks, 2004b). In the face of globalizing trends that emphasize the production of “the economically competent or adaptable worker, not the democratic or intercultural citizen” (Levinson, 2005, p. 329; see also Ong, 2004), citizenship and ethics education also are part of national and educational reforms in Colombia and elsewhere. Levinson (2005) notes that Mexico also implemented constitutional reforms and educational policy in the 1990s that focused on civic and ethical formation (p. 332). In addition, Joshee (2004), who provides an overview of citizenship education in Canada, notes how a concern about violence has led to looking for “ways of infusing education for peace into the curriculum” (p. 150). Curbing violence seems to be one of the main motivators for Colombia’s newly developed citizenship competencies for primary and secondary education (Altablero, 2004) and the ethics course for tertiary education that is the subject of study herein.

In Colombia, the constitutional policy goals concerning higher education (Articles 10, 41, 54, & 68-70) are also mandated by the following Colombian educational laws and policies: Ley 30 de 1992, Ley 70 de 1993, Ley General de Educación de 1994, and Colombia’s ten-year education plan, Plan Decenal de Educación, 1996-2005. These legislative changes have affected the nature and purpose of higher education, as well as official curricula, issues of access, and standards of accountability. As a result of globalizing trends, the Constitution of 1991, and the consequential legislation and educational policies, there have been major shifts in social sector policy and education in Colombia (Alvarez, 1992; Beltran, 2003). To shed light on local manifestations of these shifts, this study examines policy, curriculum, and students’ practices at the UIS.
This dissertation focuses on the shifting of higher education from a public “right” of citizens to a private “consumer service” (Torres & Schugurensky, 2002). Mollis (2001) notes that part of the tension of globalizing trends in higher education revolves around this shift, that is, defining the function of education. Is the function of higher education to form professionals, leaders, and moral character, or to give students market value in the global marketplace (see also Carnoy, 2000; Labaree, 1997; Ong, 2004)? Mollis (2001) calls the latter “a globalised entrepreneurial university profile” and argues that “the reforms pressed by the World Bank are aimed at the privatization of public universities and the discursive recognition as the market as the source of ‘innovation and quality’” (p. 33).

Because globalizing trends are criticized for eroding public higher education, one might assume that higher education in Colombia was at one time accessible, equitable, and indeed a “public good.” In fact, higher education in Colombia, like education in most countries, has contributed to both social stratification and social mobility (see Torres & Puiggrós, 1997). On one hand, it has helped maintain the colonial status quo and served purposes determined by State elites (Neave & van Vught, 1994, p. 12; see also Arnove, Franz, Morse, & Torres, 1997, p. 271). Access to higher education has always been and remains very selective; economic opportunities are limited, perpetuating a cycle of stratification for future generations (Nuñez, 2002, cited in World Bank, 2003). For example, gross enrollment for tertiary education\textsuperscript{8} is 24% in Colombia compared to 83%.

\textsuperscript{8} From the UNESCO Institute of Statistics, “Gross Enrolment Ratio is widely used to show the general level of participation in a given level of education. It indicates the capacity of the education system to enroll students of a particular age-group.” For more information about the calculation of this statistic, see the website http://www.uis.unesco.org/glossary.Term.aspx?name=Gross\%20enrolment\%20rate&lang=en
in the US (UNESCO, 2003/2004). Of higher education students in Colombia, 83% come from the top 40% of income groups (World Bank, 2003, p. 85). On the other hand, higher education in Colombia has provided opportunities and has served to educate reformists and motivate political and social liberation movements (Acevedo Tarazona, 2004; see also Torres and Schugurensky, 2002). Below I discuss the legacy of imperialism in Colombia.

**A Legacy of Imperialism: Colombia’s External Relations**

Contemporary globalizing trends in Colombian higher education do not enter a neutral field. Mediating society under the pretext of deregulating it, the diffusion of neoliberal globalizing trends is actually on par with other forms of coercion, and as indicated above, often is considered imperialism. Thus, globalizing trends in Colombia are contextualized at least in part by Colombia’s imperial legacy. While the impact of Spanish colonialism and other European interventions in Colombia are still felt (Pearce, 1990), this section particularly focuses on Colombia’s relations with the US and multinationals since the beginning of the twentieth century. In addition to the texts cited within this section, various sources of information in this project’s archive, including the Organization of American States (OAS) archives; World Bank policies from the 1940s and 1950s; and Colombian national education policies were helpful in forming a broad perspective. The events (e.g., external interventions) mentioned in the section were not chosen at random, but because data and participants in the ethnographic study (July 2003-June 2004) alluded to them in order to explain policy, curriculum, and practice at the time of the study. The imperial legacy described herein is important to the study as a whole because it is against this backdrop that the UIS developed in the 1940s and underwent a

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major expansion to include the Humanities in the 1960s and 1970s. Moreover, this backdrop not only helps explain how policy, curriculum, and practices are connected to this legacy, but also why globalizing trends and citizenship curriculum policy are contested at the UIS during the time of this study.

Colombia and US Relations

While the US was one of the first countries to recognize Colombia’s independence from Spain in 1820, Colombia has been the target of US imperialism—politically, economically, and militarily (Bucheli, 2005; Pearce, 1990; Randall, 1992). For example, US control of the Panama Canal for most of the twentieth century remains a symbol of US Empire in Latin America (Randall, 1992). Valdivieso (1991) concludes that “Estados Unidos era el árbitro indiscutible del orden internacional…” following WWII (p. 28). (the United States was the indisputable arbiter of international order.) While the US accused the USSR of using communism as a tool for Russian imperialistic designs, the US mobilized democratization as its tool (see US State Department, n.d.).

Reinforcing racialized imperial discourses about Latin America, the US utilized democratization to “humanize” and “civilize” it (US State Department, n.d.). The US positioned itself as superior to the southern nations of the Americas so it could serve as “protector” and as “benevolent helper,” and then, deemed democratization necessary to save the so-called poorer American republics from themselves—from their poverty, ignorance, illiteracy, savagery, and underdevelopment (US State Department, n.d.).

Two very helpful and adequate accounts of Colombian-US relations are Parks (1935) study, covering years 1765-1934, and Randall (1992), covering years 1890-1990. Randall’s book includes an extensive bibliography of what he calls primary archival sources and secondary works in both English and Spanish.
Kennedy’s Alliance for Progress\(^{10}\) provided financial aid and direction for development projects in Latin America, but was criticized by communist leaders for trying to “domesticate the people of the hemisphere to the orders of imperialism” (Maldonado, 1997, pp. 164, 168-169, citing Ché Guevara, 1961). US militarization and anti-communism during the Cold War contributed to lasting violence in Colombia, even though some State and military elites as well as some of the wealthy continue to benefit from Colombia-US military relations (Pearce, 1990).

**Colombian Elites**

Colombian elites often are perceived as accomplices to Colombia’s imperial legacy, negotiating socioeconomic, political, educational, and military reforms that benefit them, rather than society as a whole (Palacios, 1999, in Acevedo Tarazona, 2004; Pearce, 1990). Acevedo Tarazona (2004) explains how hegemony among the elites is able to position protests and protesters as illegitimate, arguing that Colombia elites use the tools of colonialism and imperialism, such as land possession and racial hierarchies, referred to as “being of ‘clean blood,’” to allow them to maintain positions of power (pp. 178-79). Largely sustaining their oligarchy, many Colombian elites have encouraged global relations in order to increase their power (Bucheli, 2005; Pearce, 1990).

**Colombia and Global Relations**

International, transnational, multinational, and global conglomerates, groups, organizations, agreements, and corporations [e.g., Área de Libre Comercio de las Américas (ALCA); Tratado de Libre Comercio (TLC); the United Nations (UN);

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\(^{10}\) *Alianza para el Progreso (Alliance for Progress)* was a US assistance program for Latin America. It began in 1961 during the presidency of John F. Kennedy.
Organization of American States (OAS); United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO); International Monetary Fund (IMF); the World Bank Group; Goodyear; etc.] have an impact on education in Colombia. For example, Colombia’s 10-year education plan (1996-2005, Ministerio de Educación Nacional, MEN) states that international financial organizations have characterized national education plans since the 1950s. Moreover, the plan states that Latin American regional-level- and Inter-America relations via the Organization of American States (OAS) also have influenced national educational policy:

En general, la planeación educativa hasta ahora efectuada en Colombia se caracteriza por haber sido una planeación burocrática, tecnicista y coyuntural; Focalizada en algunos problemas de la educación; y formalista, hecha para atender exigencias de organismos financieros internacionales. (MEN, Rodríguez Céspedes, Antecedents)

In general, up until now, educational planning conducted in Colombia has been characterized by bureaucratic, technical, and conjunctural [circumstantial, relational] planning; focused on some problems of education; and formulated in order to attend to exigencies of international financial organizations.

One of these financial organizations, for example, is the World Bank group. Known as the Currie mission because it was headed by Lauchlin Currie (1902-1993), the first mission of the World Bank in 1949 and subsequent policy-based loans of the World Bank, as well as aid from US programs, established a trend of dependency and subordination (Randall, 1992). Not only did the Currie Mission call for education as a key component to Colombia’s development, but it also called for “foreign” expertise:

In view of the central importance of progress in this field, we urge that there be further intensive study, taking full advantage of foreign experience, to design a well-rounded educational program as an integral part of Colombia's over-all development program. (World Bank, 1950, pp. ix, 48)

**History of the UIS in Santander**

The UIS grew out of regional needs determined by a study of geography and economy in 1938 by Mario Galán Gómez, the Director of the Department of Education for the Department of Santander. In the 1940s, a series of policies and laws officially established the university (Ordenanza 41, 1940; Decreto 583, 1947; Ordenanza 30, 1947; Decreto 114, 1948; see also Acevedo Tarazona, 2004, p. 158). Julio Álvarez Cerón, exiled from Spain during the Spanish Civil War, played an important role in the early direction of the UIS and served as the Rector from 1952 through 1956.

From its conception, the UIS played an integral role in the development of the region, in the formation of youth, particularly their social and moral character, and in the provision of services to students, such as alimentation. The departmental study in 1938 and the first curricular plan of 1945 show the development of science and character curricula, along with the subsidized food plan for students (Martínez, 2004). These plans show that the UIS began as a public university with strong ties to regional culture, local needs, public service, and also regional and national development. In addition, the character curriculum demonstrates that the UIS’s mission since its conception was integrated with “cultivating”—or humanizing, culturing, and civilizing—students (Martínez, 2004).
Historicizing Local Resistance

There is a history of resistance to external interventions in Colombia and at the UIS. In 1929 Colombian students formed the FEC, la Federación de Estudiantes de Colombia (The Federation of Colombian Students) and joined banana workers and socialist and communist union members in protesting against the United Fruit Company (Bucheli, 2005). In addition, the first UIS student protest on August 9, 1949 is important because it established the students as an important force in negotiating academic and economic matters of the institution with the government at the federal and departmental (state) levels. In 1957, UIS students were among some of the most important actors in ousting the government of Rojas (1953-1957) who assumed power after a military coup (Tarazona Acevedo, 2004).

Resistance to the UIS expansion in the 1960s particularly serves as a backdrop for the mediation of policy, curriculum, and practice at the UIS during the time of this study. The expansion was resisted because the UIS collaborated with external entities, including El Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo (BID), the Ford Foundation, UNESCO, some

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11 The United Fruit Company began in the late 1800s, developed into a transnational monopoly based in the US and has been immortalized in Gabriel Garcia Marquez’s One Hundred Years of Solitaire and for its abuses of people, land, and sea. Having undergone many transformations, the United Fruit Company is now known as Chiquita Banana International. Under rumors of foul play, Chiquita sold its share of Colombian market in 2004. See Bucheli, 2005; see also the Chiquita website, http://www.chiquita.com/.

12 From the BID website in English: “The Inter-American Development Bank was created within the Inter-American System in 1959 by an agreement drafted by the Special Advisory Commission of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council of the Organization of American States (OAS). It focuses on promoting economic and social development in its member countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. … The IDB is completely separate from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which helps countries suffering from external payments difficulties with financing and technical assistance, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD, the World Bank), a global development institution” (BID website). Also according to the BID website, the current distribution of voting power is as follows: the 26 Latin American and Caribbean states, 50.02 %; the United States, 30 %; Canada, 4 %; the 16 European countries, Israel and the Republic of Korea, 10.98 %; and Japan, 5 %.
US universities (Kansas State Teacher College, Kansas State University, Adams College of Colorado, and Professor G. L. Thuering of Pennsylvania State University), the US Peace Corps, and US consultants Price Waterhouse, to evaluate, restructure, and expand the university (Acevedo Tarazona, 1997; fieldnotes). Also at this time, the World Bank Group and US Alliance for Progress funded academic programs, professional development, and campus construction in Colombia. In 1967, heeding recommendations from these US university evaluators, the UIS initiated the Colleges of Medicine, Education, Sciences, Human Sciences, and Humanities. As well, the UIS merged with La Universidad Femenina, which offered other fields of study, such as Nursing, and opened the UIS to women. According to the external consultants, to be a “real” university, the UIS had to shift its focus from technical skills and the field of Engineering to a more integral formation of students, meaning a liberal arts education (Acevedo Tarazona, 1997). At the UIS, the division between engineering/technical education and liberal arts education also was framed as a division between working-class students of Santander and liberal arts education brought by State and foreign elites.

In 1964, UIS student Jaime Arenas Reyes, the President of AUDESA (Asociación Universitaria de Estudiantes de Santander), wrote a letter to the National Minister of Education, the Director of the Association of Colombian Universities, and all rectors of Colombian universities, stating several reasons why UIS students were going on strike, including the failure to address local aspirations in favor of foreign ones (Arenas Reyes, 1983, pp. 147-53, cited in Acevedo Tarazona, 2004, pp. 523-24). A member of the UIS community and participant in this study remembers the strike against the expansion as “la huelga más larga, mas sangrienta y mas dura que ha tenido la universidad” (the longest,
bloodiest, most difficult strike that the university has had), calling the rector at the time (1964) “un agente del imperialismo” (agent of imperialism) (personal communication, April 28, 2004).

Not only did these external interventions and reforms change the nature of the university during the 1970s, but according to a high-ranking UIS administrator, these same actors helped to create a Plan of Development (1970-1975), which remained the guiding institutional policy until at least the 1980s, and some argue the late 1990s (personal communication, February 12, 2004; see also Tarazona, 1997). This history of external relations and local resistance to intervention is the context within which present policy, curriculum, and practice at the UIS takes place. While not comprehensive, by drawing attention to some of the events mentioned in the data, this section etches out examples of Colombia-external relations that are the conditions from which the UIS emerged and expanded. In addition, it helps to explain the conditions from which resistance to external forces emerged and continues.

**Problem of the Study and Research Questions**

Civilizing, humanizing, domesticating, disciplining, and regulating discourses were imbedded in US and multinational development initiatives, military interventions, and educational plans in Colombia and at the UIS. Against this backdrop, globalizing trends are changing the nature and purpose of public education. Plus, these shifts vary across contexts, as do responses to them. This study aims to shed light on these shifts and dynamics by examining policy, citizenship curriculum, and student cultural production at the UIS. Higher education is an important site for the investigation of transnational
trends, given the dependence of globalization on knowledge and transmission (Carnoy, 2000; Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002).

The dissertation examines how policy, not only as documents, but also as a normative discourse of power, attempts to discipline subjects and how policy as a constantly constructed process of negotiation among actors and discourses interrupts and transforms dominant narratives among local, national, and global contexts. Analyzing policy as an interpenetrating, layered, and transnational process of power shaped by multiple actors, contexts, cultural logics, and histories, this study draws on what Robertson, Bonal, and Dale (2002) have called nested layers of contexts or scales. While globalizing trends and imperialism may be “controlling processes” (Nader, 1995, cited in Levinson, 2005, p. 336) that impact policy and practice, they are not pure, fixed, or decided, but continuously mediated and appropriated.

Moreover, this dissertation examines citizenship curriculum at the UIS. As Kymlicka (2004) and others note, globalizing trends have implications for citizenship education and democracy (Banksb, 2004; Levinson, 2005; Torres, 1998). Projects of multicultural citizenship education that have been designed to confront discrimination, teach civic equality and pluralism, and resolve violent conflicts among groups within nations are shifting (see for example, Joshee, 2004; Levinson, 2005; Ong, 2004). The feared result will be a “‘borderless neoliberal ethos’ …. [that is] no longer tied to any national project of social justice” (Kymlicka, 2004, p. xvi) or a neoliberal appropriation of plural democratic practices “disconnected from any project of social justice” that only serve to benefit State elites (Kymlicka, 2004, p. xvii; see also Ong, 2004). Levinson (2005) argues that anthropology “with its diverse methodological toolkit” is suited to
analyzing “the interplay between such local identities and broader social, cultural, and political-economic structures and processes” that has not been adequately addressed “by researchers in the fields of political science, comparative education, and social sciences” (Levinson, 2005, p. 336).

Research on educational policy, curriculum, and practice is being reconceptualized in light of globalization. Analyses of educational policy (Wright, 2005) and citizenship education (Banks, 2004) have tended to focus on the national level as the base unit of analysis (see Tikly, 1999; see also Castels, 2004; Kymlicka, 2004). Dale (2005) argues that the fundamental assumptions of comparative education, e.g., national base and topical focus, must be rethought in light of globalizing trends. Moreover, questioning whether or not ethnographic policy research has looked at “policy as a much too rationalistic, linear process, as opposed to a much more fragmented power process where a lot of retrospective sense-making is employed to make things look better,” Nespor (2002) suggests that policy-making is “probably a euphemism …[for] “an incredibly contingent and messy process” (pp. 162-63). Finally, according to Wright (2005), we need a new way to study large-scale processes and local practices. She argues for a perspective that includes the following:

on one end the national and international discourses, agencies and actors that are involved in the formulation and government of the new economic and political order and at the other extreme, people who in their day to day activities are engaged in governance and the management of the self in the fast changing conditions of their lives. (p. 1)

While this study demonstrates that national policy and law still mediate educational policy in Colombia, it particularly focuses on local articulations of the messy processes of
policy and global/local dynamics in higher education by examining UIS institutional and curriculum policy, the citizenship course, Ética, and student-produced materials.

The study answers the following research questions:

1) How, where, and by whom do external (global and national) policies (documents and authoritative trends) emerge within, and penetrate, institutional policy and practice?

2) What are the local responses to globalizing trends and national policies? I.e., How, where, and by whom are global trends and national policies produced/practiced and shaped at the university?

   a) By traditional actors, such as institutional policy-makers, administrators, and councils.

   b) By non-traditional actors and practices, such as students and student cultural production, e.g., graffiti, campaign flyers, and political cartoons, on the UIS campus and in the community.

   c) Through the practice of policy as/in curriculum.

3) What are the discourses produced by the local appropriation (reshaping, resistance, and adoption) of globalizing trends and national/institutional policy as/in practice?

   a) What are the decolonizing and contradictory effects produced by the counter-discourses of student-produced materials as local responses to globalizing trends?

   b) How do policies shape educational practice and actors, especially student-subjects? I.e., How does the practice of policy as/in curriculum perform—work as discourses—to produce and reconstitute subjects (barbarian) and interrupt binaries such as civilized/barbarian?

   c) How does policy as/in practice perform to produce compliance? I.e., How is the UIS compliance to the civic education curriculum mandate/law a performance and how does this displace the in/out binary of policy compliance?
Rationale and Significance of the Study in Colombia

This dissertation addresses the lack of research in Colombia generally and the lack of research on Colombian higher education specifically. As Bushnell (1993) notes, “Colombia is today the least studied of the major Latin American countries, and probably the least understood … one reason undoubtedly is that the pervasive image of violence leads fainthearted investigators to turn elsewhere” (pp. vii-viii). In terms of higher education in Colombia, Beltran (2003) notes the lack of in-depth empirical research on policy-making and its impact on institutions; the lack of descriptive studies which apply policy and discourses, to current university practices; the lack of reflection on contemporary practices in Colombian universities; and the failure of previous research to adequately situate practice and discourse in Colombian universities within historical and sociocultural contexts. My dissertation addresses these gaps.

Some studies of education and policy in Colombia have focused on primary education and some sociological studies have focused on university students’ origin, social mobility, and attitudes (Alvarez, 1992). However, little research has focused on “the role of universities and their relationship with other sectors of society…,” especially given the “changes in the world economy and political scenario” (Alvarez, 1992, pp. 45-46). In “Colombia: Educational Research and Policy—Problems of the 1980s, Issues for the 1990s,” Alvarez (1992) states that “the current restructuring of the global political economy leaves no room for alternatives …. [and] the country as a whole must follow the global movement…” (pp. 35, 46). Alvarez (1992) calls for educational research to address the reformulation of the State and citizens, the restructuring of institutions, the
problems of social inequality, and the relationship of the university to enterprise and the globalized world (p. 43).

This study also contributes to the turn in policy research to ethnographic or sociocultural approaches and the turn in educational research to policy (Foley & Valenzuela, 2005; Hamann, 2005; Honig, 2005; Lather, 2004a; 2004d; Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2005; Olssen, Codd, O'Neill, 2004; Shore & Wright, 1997; Sutton & Levinson, 2001; Valenzuela, 2005; Wright, 2005). Morales-Gómez and Torres (1992) state the need for educational research on policy, which takes into consideration “the social impact of structural adjustment on education at the individual, the family, and the community levels” (p. 194).

Historically, research on educational policy might be described in three ways: (1) as a linear process from development to implementation; (2) as the discrepancy between what the policy intends and what happens in practice; or (3) as local resistance to policy. Sociocultural policy analysis has focused on the appropriation of policy from below—“resistance is understood only as a reaction to policy imposed from above” (Street, 2001, p. 148). In this dissertation, policy includes “unofficial and occasionally spontaneous normative guidelines developed in diverse social spaces … constantly negotiated and reorganized in the ongoing flow of institutional life” (Sutton & Levinson, 2001, p. 2).

This dissertation contributes to ethnographic research of higher education in light of globalizing trends, especially in countries that are often targets of globalizing trends and the so-called “development” projects. In addition, this dissertation expands the current scholarly field by extending the discussion of globalizing trends to include the politics of empire and education, and specifically the role of US imperialism (Ong, 2004).
Embedded in the process of national formation, Ong (2004) writes that “Emersonian ideals of self-reliance, which were linked to notions of White Anglo-Saxon entitlements [defining others as inferior], were central in the forming of an educated public among the emerging middle class” (p. 51). These notions of hierarchical race, ethnicity, class, gender, and religion “justif[ied] the spread of American Christian Civilization and capitalism, and the transformation of [so-called] backward regions of the world” (p. 50).

While some scholars in education have unpacked the role of imperialism and reconceptualized US education (Dimitriadis & McCarthy, 2001; Willinsky, 1998), only recently have scholars in education considered local/global implications of US imperialism within and beyond the US, as well as among imperialized nations (Coloma, 2006; Daza, 2006; Rhee, 2006; Subedi, 2006; Subreenduth, 2006). In short, this study shows how local actors and practices at the UIS resist, reshape, and (re)constitute policy and globalizing trends and it demonstrates how educational policy, institutions, and subject-positions are mediated in practice.

**Organization of the Dissertation**

Following this first chapter, which introduced and contextualized the study, Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framework within which the study is further situated. It includes limited discussion of the following: Hardt and Negri’s (2000) *Empire*, feminist postructuralism and postcolonialism, and Latin American cultural studies. Chapter 3 continues to frame the study methodologically. It also describes the study’s research design and addresses issues of validity as they apply to limit-work, that is, research that is openly partial and limited.
While each of the data chapters (Chapters 4 and 5) are distinct, they tell the interrelated story of the local responses to globalization in Colombian higher education and at the UIS specifically. Chapter 4 focuses on students’ practices, or rather their cultural production, as local responses to globalizing trends at the UIS. It examines student-produced materials, such as graffiti, campaign flyers, and political cartoons. By producing alternate interpretations of globalizing trends, student-produced materials offer counter-discourses to the trends. The chapter analyzes and complicates the decolonizing effects produced by the counter-discourses of students’ materials.

Chapter 5 focuses on the civic education course at the UIS, entitled Ética (Ethics), which was mandated by the Proyecto Educativo Institucional (PEI), a national policy mandated by Colombian law for all institutions of education. The chapter examines how global, national, and local dynamics shape UIS institutional policy and how these dynamics and institutional policy play out as/in Ética. The UIS is recognized for being in compliance with these policies, but this chapter complicates being in/out of compliance, analyzing compliance as a performance. It also shows how policy as a civilizing discourse constitutes student-subjects as barbarians and how student responses produce unintended effects for educational policy and curriculum.

In the conclusion, Chapter 6, I discuss the limitations of my research, its implications for future research, as well as the major findings of the study. The research

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13 For the most part, this dissertation follows the American Psychological Associations (5th ed.) guide for preparing manuscripts. It varies from the standard format in the following ways. The Spanish text, as well as other “foreign” languages, has not been italicized. I do not wish to position non-English text as a “foreign” language. For the same reason, titles in the reference section appear in Spanish without translation. In the manuscript, English translations will appear in parentheses directly following the Spanish text. When block quotes are used, the English will come directly after the Spanish. In some cases, dual Spanish-English charts are provided.
shows that policy compliance can be a performance. In addition, it shows that students’
responses and practices to official policy and globalizing trends are complicated and even
contradictory, as well as capable of (re)shaping dominant discourses.

This chapter presented the study and its context. In addition, it served to introduce
readers to the study’s important concepts, research questions, and organization. The
following chapter theoretically frames this dissertation.
CHAPTER 2

THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF NONCOMPLICITY:
A TRANSBINARY FRAMEWORK FOR TRANSNATIONAL RESEARCH

Introduction: The Purpose of a Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework outlines the major theoretical assumptions informing the dissertation. Traditionally, a methodology chapter provides a procedural record—the length of observations, the number of subjects, how many surveys, which documents used. However, everything about research is inescapably value-mediated—the proposed design, data collection, observation, and the (re)presentation of results. Therefore, a presentation of research also may attempt to flesh out the research paradigm (Khun, 1962) or problematic (Althusser, 1970, in Spanos, 1993, p. 229, n. 52) that helps establish the way the research is produced and the way the researcher interprets the world. Weems (2000) calls this “framing the frames.”

Drawing attention to the interpretive lenses that frame what problems or issues are important, what questions are asked, and what stories are told (Glesne, 1999) often has been taken up solely in qualitative inquiries. This mistake fails to recognize knowledge production writ large as always the product of discourses, cultural logics, histories, politics, and value systems (Lather, 1986b; 2004c; Denzin, 2005). Research is not legitimate because it claims objectivity or appears neutral.
On the contrary, while all research in its ability to wield power is dangerous, research that claims disinterest is perhaps most dangerous because its political investments go untroubled. In addition, narrow views of science and claims of neutrality often allow dominant narratives to flourish (Lather, 2004b). On the other hand, acknowledging that research is particular and partial does not satiate the learned desire for objectivity, generalizability, researcher authority, and validity (Lather, 1993; Marcus, 1998). Science is not a neutral endeavor; thus, acknowledging how research is value-laden is an important part of research trustworthiness (Lather, 1986a; 1986b; see also Chapter 3).

The purpose, then, of the theoretical framework is to situate the research within these assumptions. However, even in projects where researchers acknowledge the project is value-mediated, other theoretical assumptions necessarily remain buried. Part of the work of this chapter is to explain why it is difficult for us to know what we do not already know and why this limited and complicit place is a productive position. In addition, it helps explain how I situate the knowledge claims that I do make.

Using the discussion of terminology in Chapter 1 as a springboard, this chapter turns to the theoretical assumptions informing the way this study frames Colombia-US imperial relations and globalizing trends. I combine contemporary critical theories that address imperial and power relations from Latin American cultural studies, globalization theory, postcolonial studies, feminist poststructuralism and education. Drawing on a few exemplars, this chapter outlines some of the major conversations in the literature regarding transnational and transcultural research. In this conversation, one of the major tensions is between the ongoing role of the nation and sovereign power as apposed to the
role of new forms of power at work in an increasingly de-territorialized world. This tension is not resolved but remains particularly pertinent to discussions of Colombia, given that, historically and presently, the Colombian State has not had the sovereign power associated with modern nation-states (Uribe, 2004). Colombian social space and actors are not disciplined in the traditional sense of modern sovereignty. For example, Colombia’s territory is extra-territorialized, rather than de-territorialized. That is, multiple and completing entities often claim territories in addition to, or over and above, the nation-state (Millet, 2002).

Mindful of a legacy of research that has framed studies of Latin America and the so-called Third World in limited and limiting ways, this study, while inescapably part of that legacy, also tries to work against it. This notion of being complicit and working though and against at the same time, is a trope that runs through this chapter (and the dissertation as a whole). It focuses on the problem of the subject of knowledge.

This chapter is organized into the following sections. First, I discuss some of the dilemmas of transnational work and look critically at some of the available approaches. Next, I provide a de-territorialized explanation for the current global condition, including sections explaining Foucault’s biopower, from Hardt and Negri’s (2000) Empire. In the third section, I specifically address complicitous research and subjects of knowledge. After I discuss the value of these theoretical assumptions at the UIS, the chapter concludes with a discussion of “transbinary research,” my term for this amalgamated framework, and its application to this study.
Frames for a South-North Study:  
US Researcher in Latin America

As Fals Borda (1970, 1992) argues, EuroAmerican analysts, drawing on dominant EuroAmerica theoretical frameworks, have “ignored the different nature of Third World phenomena and have tended to globalize or universalize things on the basis of their own limited experience” (Fals Borda, 1992, p. 315, note 1). Fals Borda (1992) in part refers to “the ill-conceived approach of so-called ‘economic and social development’ policies imposed by the rich countries” (p. 303) which were primarily based on structuralist, modernist, and binary theoretical notions, such as dependency theory. According to Tikly (1999), these theories, despite “a central referent to world systems,” have ignored “the transnational aspects of educational policy” in favor of a one-directional causal one that flowed from rich to poor nations (Tikly, 1999, p. 610; see also Fägerlind & Saha, 1989). Tikly (1999) further argues:

A large body of the literature on globalization and education and in particular that literature informed by a postmodern reading of the world takes as its point of reference Western industrialized countries. ... Where the education systems of developing countries are mentioned, this is often as an aberration to the European ‘norm’...[or in relation] to the developing world economic concerns … [ignoring] issues relating to race, culture, diaspora, and identity. (p. 617)

However, as Trigo (2000) notes, the turn to identity, (multi)culture, and migrancy (e.g., diaspora) continues to circulate western epistemologies of metropolitan power. In one example Trigo (2000) explains how George Yúdice’s effort to organize an Inter-American Cultural Studies Network, “beyond the parochial horizons of US academic, and under the umbrella of the ‘uneven transnational space’ …. [fails to surmount] the dominance of the Anglo-American research programs” and is therefore met with skepticism among Latin American intellectuals (p. 81). Trigo suggests this umbrella
organization focuses on identity politics, methodology, and other concerns based on a US cultural studies’ agenda that overshadows more pressing issues such as “the residues of capital” from where most Latin Americans experience globalization (p. 79). Trigo, however, attempts to refuse an essentialist and dichotomous antithesis to the global, i.e., “the fetishization of Latin America as a privileged epistemological locus and ethical reservoir … contain[ed] as a pre-logical time-space…that reproduces and reaffirms, surreptitiously, the uncontested authority of a presumably de-centered center, and thus keeps Latin Americans marginalized” (p. 86-87). In putting transbinary research to work, the question becomes how to work in the between spaces, not only of global-ness and local-ness, but also within the apparent gaps between policy/practice and compliance/resistance.

Trigo (2000) uses another example-- to explain how contemporary epistemological and intuitional trends offered to Latin American intellectuals “bypass—one from below, the other from above—the boundaries of the nation-state” (p. 83). While the umbrella organization is above the nation-state, e.g., global, or after it, e.g., post-national, in Trigo’s second example, the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group, “is, by definition, before and outside the nation”(p. 83). Trigo (2000) makes clear that “the national is still a capital issue in Latin America, and so is dependency theory” (p. 85). Trigo insists, “The political is crucial to any project within Latin American cultural studies”:

Among the most serious errors committed by US Latin Americanists has been to believe that globalization equals, in Latin America, post-nationalism; that civil society is beyond the national; that the successes of neoliberalism are final and go uncontested; that the politics of consensus have really replaced the politics of antagonism. (2000, p. 83-84)
In his article regarding ways to articulate indigenous movements in the contemporary era, Clifford (2001), for example, responds that “the power of place” is fundamental in articulating “sites of indigeneity”; he attempts to answer how “indigeneity” is “both rooted in and routed through particular places” (pp. 481, 469, his emphasis). Neither an “absolutist indigenism” nor “diasporism” works: “We cannot lose sight of ordinary people sustaining relational communities and cosmologies: composite ‘worlds’ that share the planet with others, overlapping and translating” (Clifford, 2001, p. 482). For instance, Clifford (2001) states:

When a community has been living on an island for more than a thousand years, it is not enough to say that its members’ claims to identity with a place are strategies of opposition or coalition in struggles with neighbors, or reactions to colonizing or world-systemic forces. It may be true and useful to say these things. But it is not enough. … [a grounding in place] offers a sense of depth and continuity running through all the ruptures and attachments. (pp. 482, 481)

Clifford (2001) does not want to relinquish all claims to place, but recognizes place is relationally constructed.

For Trigo and Clifford, and perhaps for all intellectuals inside the US academy hoping to do transnational decolonizing research within Empire, the question is “how not to become a neocolonial intermediary between subaltern Latin America and the hegemonic metropolis, without essentializing any social, cultural, national, ethnic, gendered, historical or regional position” (Trigo, 2000, p. 86). How do we do ethical political work, not just academic work? How do we maintain a “sense” of place or grounding without foundations?
In toiling with these questions, I turn to what Hardt and Negri (2000) refer to as Empire in their book of the same name, which also engages with Foucaultian methods and theories of power. Then, I venture on to the theorizing of Gayatri Spivak as a way of conceptualizing what decolonizing practices within Empire might look like. Here I also engage with what Trigo (2000) proposes, borderland epistemology. That is, I take up Mignolo’s (1998) call for a border epistemology “that would work simultaneously within modern Western civilization and its antithesis, Latin American barbarism, without privileging any one and holding them in tension” (pp. 87-88). In Chapter 3, I further discuss this position in the anthropological terms of “etic” and “emic,” or what I theorize to be the false dichotomy of outsider/insider research (Subedi & Rhee, in press). I call this epistemology when applied to research, transbinary research. Establishing the ties between these ideas and education, I refer (primarily through Lather) to the work of feminist poststructuralists in education.

**Empire**

Whereas the struggle of imperialism has been connected to territory, according to Hardt and Negri (2000), the struggle of Empire is over the production and regulation of subjectivity. Whereas the new world order—globalization—often has been labeled as US empire (Lipman, 2005), Hardt and Negri argue that Empire is de-centered deterritorial networks and the US only holds a privileged position. In Colombia and at the UIS, “imperialism” is used to describe both the struggle over space/territory and the struggle over subjectivity. Members of the UIS position the US as an imperial power but also implicate transnational organizations and free-trade agreements that supersede territorial boundaries. I read the seventh printing of Hardt and Negri’s book in 2001, but only
decided that their ideas made sense for this project when I found them the subject of
discussion at the UIS. Below I will outline the main tenets of Empire, particularly those
mentioned in a review of the book by a UIS scholar. Given the breadth of the text itself,
oto mention a plethora of responses to it, in this section, I stick to the ways that Hardt
and Negri differentiate Empire from imperialism and postcolonial theory and the way that
they theorize power and subjects, e.g., biopower, within Empire.

“Imperialism” signifies a shift from conquering territories of land (colonies) to
controlling and coercing—via economics, repression, and ideology—national-spaces,
such as former colonies or spoils of war (especially post-WWII) that became, or were
made into, sovereign nations, respectively. “Through imperialism,” as Hardt and Negri
(2000) note, “the modern state exports class struggle and civil war in order to preserve
order and sovereignty at home” (p. 232). They use Cecil Rhodes’s (1853–1902),
benefactor of the Rhodes scholarships to Oxford and British imperialist in (South) Africa,
to illustrate this point:

In order to save … the UK from a bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must
acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the
goods produced by them in the factories and mines. The Empire, as I have always
said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must

As globalizing processes (e.g., trade, immigration, knowledge, technology) increasingly
blur national borders and eat away at national sovereignty, Hardt and Negri (2000)
propose a new way of explaining how power works, arguing that “sovereignty has taken
a new form, composed of a series of national and supranational organisms united under a
single logic of rule … call[ed] Empire” (p. xii). While “Empire” is a new concept for explaining how power works to connect the world, it is “built on the ashes of the old ones” (p. 246).

In terms of research, Lather and others call this “working in the ruins” (Lather, 1997; 2001a; St. Pierre & Pillow, 2000). Lather (1997) uses “working the ruins” to situate her work both within and against the field of feminist ethnography: “against the grain of research traditions that fabricate inquiry as a triumphal continuity, [she] look[s] for breaks and jagged edges as a place from which to read the practices…” (p. 304). She posits that failures become the new “provisional grounds” from which to work (p. 304). In my opinion, Hardt and Negri do not make enough of this point, which would better explain the continued role of the nation-state in global relations.

Hardt and Negri (2000) do a Foucaultian genealogy of imperialism leading to Empire, tracing how power changes through imperialism by marking the shift in national sovereignty to biopower of disciplined subjects (discussed below). In keeping with Foucault (1978/1990), Hardt and Negri state that the “fundamental principle of Empire … is that its power has no actual localizable terrain or center. Imperial power is distributed in networks, through mobile and articulated mechanisms of control” (p. 384). “Social subjects” they explain, “are at the same time producers and products of this unitary machine. In this new historical formation it is thus no longer possible to identify a sign, a subject, a value, or a practice that is ‘outside’” (p. 385). Thus, in this full complicity, practices resisting domination are at once part of its legacy.
Education is a fruitful site to think about this sort of complicity. Historically, through missionary work both within and beyond nations, education has been a tool of colonialism and imperialism (Willinsky, 1998). At the same time, education has been a tool for liberation (Friere, 1970/2002). Contemporary debates among educational critical theorists have demonstrated education’s ongoing role in oppression and liberation (Ellsworth, 1989/1994; Lather, 1998).

In Empire, Hardt and Negri (2000) explain that the State (governments of nations) in the capitalist production of Empire is not the “motor behind the process” but that in the disciplinary society “the new rules of subordination and the disciplinary capitalist regimes are extended across the entire social terrain” and motored by the proletariat [which they rename the multitude], including “the subjective dynamics of resistance and revolt” (pp. 235, 242-243). In “the imperial overdetermination of democracy, in which the multitude is captured in flexible and modulating apparatuses of control,” the control of governmentality becomes apparent: “Rule is exercised directly over the movements of productive and cooperating subjectivities; institution are formed and redefined continually according to the rhythm of these movements; and the topography of power no longer has to do primarily with spatial relations [e.g., territories, colonies, nations] but is inscribed, rather, in the temporal displacements of subjectivities” (Negri & Hardt, 2000, p. 319).

Empire, therefore, is based on a Foucaultian idea of power (Foucault, 1978/1990). According to Foucault, power is not centralized; it is not State sovereignty, law, an institution, or “the over-all unity of a domination…given at the outset” (p. 92). Instead, he states, “power must be understood…as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in
the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization” (p. 92). For Hardt and Negri, the sphere of operation is global. In other words, power and resistance (force relations) are everywhere because power comes from everywhere and “resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power” (p. 95). Foucault (1978/1990) suggests that there is not an all-encompassing ruler/ruled binary at the root of power relations; “one must suppose rather that the manifold relationships of force that take shape and come into play in the machinery of production, in …institutions, are the basis for wide-ranging effects of cleavage that run through the social body as a whole (p. 94). When power appears “permanent, repetitious, inert, and self-reproducing,” Foucault (1978/1990) explains that this is the “over-all effect that emerges from all these mobilities, the concatenation that rests on each of them;” wherein effects of domination are “far-reaching [and hegemonic (p. 94)], but never completely stable” (pp. 93, 102).

According to Foucault, precisely because neither a “headquarters that presides over [power] …nor those who make the most important economic decisions direct the entire network of power that functions in a society (and makes it function),” change—cleavages, shifts, fractures, regroupings, remolding—happens (p. 96). Whereas Foucault (1970/1990) argues that power (force relations) are counterbalanced so the world is not reduced to “homogeneous mass, to the featureless form of the Same [where] all its parts…hold together with one another without a break,” Hardt and Negri argue that this counterbalance has been consumed, or lived out, in Empire (p. 24).
Conditions of Empire: US Constitutionalism and Hybridity

Summarizing the importance of this book for Colombia is UIS professor, Rueda Suárez’s review (February 2003). He states the following:

Una lectura cuidadosa y crítica de Imperio … es indispensable. … Negri y Hardt … muestran en esta trabajo que estamos ante el nuevo orden político mundial de la globalización, con radicales transformaciones económicas, culturales y legales, que es necesario conocer en el contexto de nuestra comprensión histórica de imperio y no de imperialismo, que no acepta fronteras ni limites. El imperio actual se basa en elementos del constitucionalismo estadounidense, con su tradición de identidades híbridas y fronteras en expansión. El libra ha levantado ampollas en la ortodoxia académica marxista, que sigue considerando que el imperialismo esta mas vivo que nunca. Su lectura se impone en la medida en que las crisis del Estado y el Derecho nacionales es más profunda que nunca y las oligarquias económicas y financieras, actuando como corporaciones supranacionales, han convertido la política en un simple medio instrumental a su servicio. (p. 5)

Empire, a mindful and critical book, is indispensable. Hardt and Negri show in this work how the new world political order of globalization is before us, including radical economic, cultural, and legal transformations, requiring us to situate our comprehension of this knowledge within the historical formations of empire and not of imperialism. Empire, unlike imperialism, has neither borders nor limits. Empire is actually based in elements of the United State’s constitutionalism with its tradition of hybrid identities and border expansion. The book has raised blisters in orthodox, academic Marxism that considers imperialism more alive than ever. Its text, that exists in the middle of the crisis of State and national rights/law/policy, is more profound than ever and the economic and financial oligarchies, set in motion as supernational corporations, have converted policy by simple means to an instrument of their service.

Toward explicating Rueda Suárez’s review of Empire, and towards explicating the conception of Empire, in this section, I will discuss the conditions for Empire that Rueda Suárez mentions: US constitutionalism, expansion, and hybridity.

First, according to Empire, the US project of a democratic republic operates with a kind of “democratic expansive tendency …. that the expansiveness of the immanent concept of sovereignty is inclusive, not exclusive. In other words, when it expands, this
new sovereignty does not annex or destroy the other powers it faces but on the contrary opens itself to them, including them in the network” (Negri & Hardt, 2000, p. 166). This imperial sovereignty works by opening spaces, keeping spaces open, being boundless, and in constantly reforming itself, i.e., “power finds the logics of its order always renewed and always re-created in expansion” (p. 167). Hardt and Negri refer to this as the imperial non-place of power (p. 319) that has evolved from the US constitution in what Arendt (1963) calls the foundations of a “stable constituted power …. that guarantees the space where freedom can operate” (cited in Negri & Hardt, 2000, p. 164). Unlike European conceptions of sovereignty (and imperial power), US constitutionalism integrated power within society and thrived on situating power as a free enterprise (p. 164). Hardt and Negri state:

The Constitution was designed to resist any cyclical decline into corruption by activating the entire multitude and organizing its constituent capacity in networks of organized counterpowers, in flows of diverse and equalized functions, and in a process of dynamic and expansive self-regulations. (p. 162)

In other words, sovereignty is not unified and static but dynamic and continuously re-imagined through networks of power relations—allowing for counternarratives and resistance. The idea that Empire as a theory of power relations is “a complex strategical situation,” i.e., made up of free force relations, again echoes Foucault (1978/1990, pp. 93-102). Foucault argues that the strategical model “is one of the essential traits of Western societies, that the force relationships ….gradually became invested in the order of political power” (p. 102), and that constitutional power rids itself of the Prince, referring
to Machiavelli (p. 97). Power rests within force relations among pervious subjects that are constructed (and constantly reconstructed) through these relations, not wielded by stable unified subjects.

Secondly, as Empire desires to encompass circulation of goods and the conditions of reproduction through the cooperation of social actors themselves, “…each subjectivity must become a subject that is ruled (in the…modern sense…), and at the same time each must also be an independent agent of production and consumption [within the “free” network of Empire]. …. In effect, the fundamental condition of the existence of [Empire] … is that it be hybrid, and that is, … the political subject be fleeting and passive, while the producing and consuming agent is present and active” (Negri & Hardt, 2000, p. 320).

In other words, according to Negri and Hardt, the troubling of binaries does not transform hierarchies but plays into the hybridity necessary to Empire. Again channeling Foucault (1978/1990): “resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power” and “there is no binary and all-encompassing opposition between rulers and ruled…” (pp. 95, 94).

According to Hardt and Negri (2000), this notion of hybridity lies with postmodern and postcolonial conceptualizations of power, resistance, and subjects. They argue that “a new paradigm of power, a postmodern sovereignty [the expansive sovereignty of Empire], has come to replace the modern paradigm and rule through differential hierarchies of the hybrid and fragmentary subjectivities that these theorists celebrate” (p. 138). Hardt and Negri state that while postcolonial theory makes “a very productive tool for rereading history,…it is entirely insufficient for theorizing contemporary global power” (p. 145). They argue that power in the postcolonial
framework “is assumed to operate exclusively through a dialectical and binary structure” (p. 145). In other words, the strategies of postmodern and postcolonial theory aspire to liberate subjects via the deconstruction of categories, the disruption of binaries, the hybridization of difference, and the proliferation of difference and fluidity. However, Hardt and Negri contend that Empire relies on these hybrid subject-agents. They argue that this is why the breakdown (or refusal) of binaries accomplished by postmodern and postcolonial theories does not transform hierarchies still prevalent in Empire (pp. 216, 317-318). On the contrary, they say, hierarchies and exploitation persist and the US maintains hegemony.

**Biopower**

Hardt and Negri use Foucault’s term “biopower” to describe the way that power mediates subjects and constructs agents. By “biopower,” they mean specifically, “a form of power that regulates social life from its interior, following it, interpreting it, absorbing it, and rearticulating it. Power can achieve an effective command over the entire life of the population only when it becomes integral, vital function that every individual embraces and reactivates of his or her own accord” (pp. 23-24). Towards the end of *Empire*, they state, “biopower is another name for the real subsumption of society under capital, and both are synonymous with the globalized productive order” (pp. 364-365). Foucault (1978/1990) describes the beginning of biopower as a shift in the concept of sovereign power, “characteriz[ing] a power whose highest function was perhaps no longer to kill, but to invest life through and through. The old power of death that symbolized sovereign power was now carefully supplanted by the administration of bodies and the calculated management of life” (pp. 139-140). At this time (18th and 19th
centuries), Foucault notes “bio-power was without question an indispensable element in the development of capitalism; that [capitalism] would not have been possible without the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes, … [and their growth and reproduction, along with] their reinforcement as well as their availability and docility (pp. 140-141).

Disciplining mechanisms—institutions and political practices, such as schools and demography, respectively—emerged along with “the regulated formation of the social body” (Foucault, 1978, p. 140). Given this understanding of power and the role of the multitude (subjects, citizens), Hardt and Negri argue that subjects are disciplined within Empire and simultaneously agents producing Empire. Given this complicity, they suggest that subject-agents also have the power to transform Empire.

In sum, the fundamental characteristic of Empire is its lack of boundaries. Wright (2005), who applies poststructuralist ideas to the study of educational policy, says studying shifting forms of power can illuminate our changing society, presently from modern power attached to States and governments to biopower where individuals are self-disciplining (2005). Boundary-less-ness suggests the following allowances. Empire (1) encompasses the globe without resistance from territorial boundaries; (2) it gets around history so that rather than take the form of historical regimes, originating with conquests, it is not limited by temporal boundaries; (3) it rules human nature and regulates all levels of social interaction by disciplining society to be actively complicit with its goals through the use of biopower; and (4) it uses the rhetoric of peace in the practice of violence and war (pp. civ-xv). Following Foucault (1971), "Humanity does
not gradually progress from combat to combat until it arrives at universal reciprocity, where the rule of law finally replaces warfare; humanity installs each of its violences in a system of rules and thus proceeds from domination to domination” (p. 151).

**Complicitousness: Remembering Spivak**

Whereas Hardt and Negri engage with Bhabha and Said around what they suggest are flaws of postcolonial theory, they fail to address Spivak. Their reasoning for including Said is that he is “one of the most brilliant to go under the label of postcolonial theory” (p. 146). Certainly, the same phrase might describe Spivak, although she herself would be reluctant to use that label. In fact, while I cannot point out all the weaknesses of *Empire*, its failure to mention Spivak’s contribution, specifically her ideas on complicity, which actually underscores *Empire*, is notable. Indeed, Hardt and Negri fail to mention the contributions of women, who arguably have superseded their work; Hannah Arendt and Rosa Luxemburg are exceptions.

Along with Spivak, other feminist scholars have been particularly keen in developing theories of power that include some of the same ideas offered by Hardt and Negri. Butler (1997) in linguistic and queer studies, hooks (1992), in education and black and cultural studies, Sandoval (2000) in Chicano/a studies, and Ellsworth (1989/1994), Lather (1991, 1996, 1998, 2000a, 2001a), Pillow (2004), and St. Pierre (2000) in education have all explored the limits and possibilities of the post for understanding how power works in the liberation and domination of subjects, as well as the complicity of the subject/agent as a tool for both. In addition, Latin American cultural theorists, such as anthropologist García Canclini (1990/1995), problematize space and territories, as well as the hybridity of subjectivity (see also Escobar, 1995, 2000, 2001; Mignolo, 2000). García
Canclini (1990/1995 notes the possibility of the subject-agent’s complicity with domination, despite intentions of liberation, particularly the strategies of inclusion employed by/for traditionally excluded classes and ethnicities (pp. 133-134). In this section, by remembering Spivak, I describe some ideas on complicity, subjectivity, and change that inform this study. In this way, I note how postcolonial and feminist work supersedes Empire, as well as addresses some of its gaps.

Complicity and Pervious Subjects

Drawing from Spivak, complicity is not the question for debate. “Subjectship” (her word) is learned and conditioned; subjects are always complicit and pervious. For example, Mignolo (2000) invites us to think about Bourdieu’s statement—“‘if we are not educated, we cannot think much at all, yet if we are educated we risk being dominated by ready-made thoughts’”—in light of the role of “language and education in colonial expansion and nation-building strategies”( p. 237). According to Mignolo (2000) and Bourdieu (1992) subjects are complicit “to the point where you cannot think the former without the latter” (p. 237). Unified subjects leave no room for change, but shifts (maybe slow and even disagreeable) do happen. By way of explanation, then, these shifts suggest the complicitous un-unified subject. Complicit and pervious subjects should not be dismissed as illogical or hypocritical. In fact, complicity makes (re)imagination possible (see Butler, 1997).
The questions are: what are the conditions of complicity and possibility? How is it to imagine the impossible—the unlearned subject suspended from cultural logics, histories, and politics, or suspended from positivities (Foucault, 1970/1994)? What is it to be in the position to imagine being outside of your position—thinking, being, and doing without that which makes your thinking, being, and doing possible? “Situating our object of study as a Foucauldian positivity,” argues Lather (2004d), “allows us to analyze ‘the ordering codes and reflections upon order itself’” (p. 281, citing Foucault, 1970, xxi).

To add to Lather, “‘the codes of language, perception and practice’ that rise up for awhile and make possible a particular understanding of ‘the order of things’” also make possible particular subjects of this order, e.g., subjects of knowledge (2004d, p. 281, citing Foucault, 1970, xxi). Positivities, then, become sites to work from, to think how order emerges as ordered moments, indeed, to get unordered, and for subjects, be disoriented.

According to Lather (2004d),

> In post-foundational thought, one epistemologically situates oneself as curious and unknowing versus the more typical sort of mastery project. This is a methodology of ‘getting lost’ where we think against our own continued attachments to the philosophy of presence and consciousness that undergirds humanist theories of agency. (p. 281)

Illustrating this notion of the embedded subject, I turn to an example given by Spivak. In an interview, Spivak (1993) states she is working on imagining the ethical subject or rather “the possibility of imagining an ethical subject outside of the monotheist Judeo-Christian arena… tradition and its critique” (cited in Danius, Jonsson, & Spivak, 1993, pp. 30, 25). According to Spivak, this is an (im)possible subject to imagine

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14 Foucaultian positivity refers to “the codes of language, perception, and practice” that arise for awhile and make possible a particular understanding of “the order of things” (Foucault, 1970, xxi).
“because all the ethical philosophy that one reads, even the non-Western ethical
philosophies, unthinkingly precomprehends that kind of subject, because the ones who
write are formed within various kinds of imperialist or anti-imperialist traditions”
(Daníus, Jonsson, & Spivak, 1993. p. 25). She offers the following as an example of how
to “make a start on formulating that possibility” (Jonsson, cited in Daníus, Jonsson, &
Spivak, 1993):

But just as I will fight tooth and nail—and I have both tooth and nail—against
white racists’ demands to keep what is conceived of as the European dominant in
power, I do not want to lose my right to say that what is counterposed is, in fact,
also itself completely to be unlearned by me in order to open the space of
imagining. (p. 30)

To explicate, below, I describe four interrelated ideas around complicity, which frame
this study.

**Complicity Analysis**

(1) According to Spivak (1994) and her reading of Derrida (1989), recognizing
complicity is an asset, not a weakness. Complicity disrupts the notion that binaries are
static and subjects are unified and pure. That is to say, subject-positions are “more
nuanced with a productive acknowledgement of complicity” (Spivak, 1999, p. xii). Part
of what I am calling the *transbinary research*, then, is complicity analysis. The question
is how can the nuanced subject be imagined or how can the learned subject be re-
imagined then in (im)possible ways—in suspension from historical and discursive
formations—in order to still be a “possible subject”—one who can know—but at the
same time to disrupt (unlearn) that which appears to fix your subject position; in order to
know something new or in different ways; and in order to change one’s subject position.
Spivak’s examples provide insights. First, her discussion of “attempts to engage the (im)possible perspective of the ‘native informant’” (1999, p. 49). She describes the “native informant” as “a figure who, in ethnography, can only provide data, to be interpreted by the knowing subject for reading. Indeed, there can be no correct scholarly model” for reading the native informant as the knower (1999, p. 49).

A second example is from essays on terror post September 11 (2002, 2004a). She invokes Martin Luther King, Jr. to provide another example of transforming binaries by re-reading subjects in more nuanced and complicit ways, such as “‘the ability to imagine the other side as another human being, rather than simply an enemy to be psyched out’” (2002, p. 101; see also 2004b, p. 207). Troubled by students who condoned state-sponsored murder of “terrorists”-subjects, Spivak (2004a) states the need for “the robust imagination…to undo the binary opposition between bad cop and good cop—and remember that they are both cops” (p. 103). Her comments won her the Polly Prize, “which is given by the person who was appointed by George W. Bush to his Peace Institute…to the academic, who has made the least appropriate statement, in the entire United States!” (2004b, p. 207). Being recognized for her efforts at complicating the terrorist-subject, she argues, demonstrates that this intellectual work did some political cord striking.

While Spivak (1990) notes that working against the authority of your own discipline is “a poor starting point for new research…,” she also explains that it was disciplines that constrained the “inexhaustible field of connections” but “the awareness of the potential inexhaustibility [that] work[ed] against the conviction of cultural supremacy” (p. 792). She argues that transnational study, by producing an inexhaustible
field of connections and negotiating “between the national, the global, and the historical as well as the contemporary diasporic”, “can help us undo disciplinary boundaries and clear a space for study in a constructive way” (p. 792).

In this project, I try to rework the following: the position of the so-called native informant as knower; binary notions of the researcher and the researched and the policy-maker and policy-follower; and local/global and other boundaries. For example, I validate the study as limit-work by positioning the researched as knower. By working in a transbinary way between the global/local, the study’s analysis also does not depend upon a super-indigenous or an essentialized romantic view of “natives” (in this case, those being researched), local culture, or the researcher-researched relationship. In fact, I tried to complicate these positions in various ways. Finally, instead of claiming authority based on my own position as a scholar of color affiliated with Colombia and Colombians, I work against this kind of commoditization.

(2) The gap between unified subjects maintains difference as binaries, e.g., fixed hierarchies, unilateral subjects, intellectual clear ‘thought,’ and North/west, European notions of purity or uncontamination (Spivak, 1994). Deconstructing the “gap” between unified subjects—the complicity analysis—results in irreducible, although not equivalent, “contaminations” (Derrida, 1989, pp. 39-40; see also Bhabha, 1994, p. 145). Since all forms of complicity are not equal, according to Spivak (1994), “We must continue to know, and to make known, ‘which is the least grave of these forms of complicity’” (Spivak, 1994, p. 25, citing Derrida, 1989).
(3) A complicity analysis creates the possibility for change in two ways. First, through unlearning or suspension from constitutions—“getting lost” as Lather, (2004c) puts it, the subject wiggles free in what I call a “momentary lapse of reason” (see Pink Floyd). In Spivak’s earlier work when she talked about “‘unlearning one’s learning,’ [she] was thinking more about how to behave as a subject of knowledge within the institution of neocolonial learning” (Spivak, cited in Danius, Jonsson, & Spivak, 1993, p. 25). Unlearning is a decolonizing move. Then, in a 1993 interview, she talks about suspending the subject position “without legitimizing it by reversal.” The former, “unlearning,” is somewhat of a negative project; the latter, “suspension,” is somewhat of a positive project. For suspension, she gives the following example, “now, …it is necessary for me to ask the question, how is it possible to imagine as the subject of ethics—that is to say, the human being who thinks of doing the right thing (and therefore is capable of doing the wrong thing) for the other person?” (Spivak, cited in Danius, Jonsson, & Spivak, 1993, p. 25). Put way too simply, imagining this kind of subject—complicit in its complexity in one way and yet suspended from its complicity in another way—allows for possibility in the way that the ethical subject inside of the “monotheist Judeo-Christian tradition and its critique” cannot (1993, p. 25; see also 1994).

Secondly, a complicit position is also a strategic position for agency, recognizing that only certain subjects in certain positions can be heard (Spivak, 1988; 1993). In this, I allude to Spivak’s notion of “strategic essentialism” and her essay “Can the Subaltern Speak?” (1988). According to Spivak, these are “two of the things that are best known of [hers]” and they have been misappropriated (Spivak, cited in Danius, Jonsson, & Spivak, 1993, p. 35).
Spivak notes that appropriations of strategic essentialism took it as “a union ticket for essentialism” forgetting “what is meant by strategy” (p. 35). While Spivak argues for "a strategic use of positivist essentialism in a scrupulously visible political interest" (The Spivak Reader, p. 214), she also posits an ongoing interrogation (Spivak, cited in Danius, Jonsson, & Spivak, 1993, p. 42). In a later discussion about liberal multiculturalism, she states that being strategic is “the alliance that one performs [and troubles] when one is trying to decolonize” from within (Spivak, cited in Danius, Jonsson, & Spivak, 1993, p. 42). In other words, Spivak complicates Audre Lorde’s (1924-1992) notable quote: “the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house” (1984, p. 112). Spivak’s position is to use the master’s tools to deconstruct and reconstruct but not to build a new master’s house. She says, “my solution is the formula that I’ve used a lot: ‘persistent critique of what one cannot not want’….the task one takes away [is]….the identity of the full-fledged agent of undoing the system that has inscribed you” (1993, pp. 42, 44).

In this same 1993 interview, Spivak describes how her interest has moved from the strategic use of essentialism to “seeing the differences among these so-called essences in various culture inscriptions” (p. 36; see also Spivak, 1994). How is agency dependent upon constitutions? How do different spaces inscribe agency differently? She notes that “constitutions are extremely historical things that are produced quite often by the dismantling of a colony or an empire, and, therefore, in the constitution, the mark of the former masters is still present….and yet, the possibility of female agency [her example] is written in that discourse” (p. 36). Again, Lather (1997; 2001a) calls this “working the ruins” of the master narratives. The idea I take up here is that complicit subjects are also agents. Indeed, complicity may give rise to agency and in this way is a strategic use of
complicity. I, too, find Trigo (2000) makes this point in his discussion of epistemological positions (global and subaltern) that “by-pass” the nation instead of finding it a strategic place from which to work. Escobar (2000) maintains that a Foucaultian sense of power is necessary for “rethinking the dichotomy of the local and the global and the dominance of the global over the local. Or that the only way the local can respond is through constituting themselves as supra-local and mega authentic. Instead, one might consider the production of ‘glocalities’\textsuperscript{15} representing a type of configurations that is neither global nor local, but both global and local in particular ways” (Escobar, 2000, p. 170).

In my project, university students and student activists from any socioeconomic strata may not be considered subaltern, if for no other reason than they have secured access to a highly selective and prestigious university. However, it is exactly because they are complicit (part of the structure and insiders) that they do have a certain agency and a certain access to higher education, which provides possibilities otherwise unavailable. I do not want to romanticize here. While some examples of what Spivak calls “critical intimacy” exists, many students already had certain kinds of access based on socioeconomic (family) background, many are not engaged as agents, and others still are not critical of their engagement.

(4) Described as “critical intimacy” by Spivak (1999, p. 425), the complicity analysis is the impossible “critique from within” (p. 49), the necessary embrace of that which “must be differed-deferred so that we can posit ourselves” (where the subject cannot not be) and the simultaneous dismantling of that which posits (1999, p. 425). Spivak’s (1999) example is Hegelian morphology, which “wants and needs to prove that

\textsuperscript{15} Escobar (2000) borrows the terms “glocality” and “glocal” from Dirlik (1999).
‘India’ is the name for this stop on the spirit’s graphic journey, [so] he makes his ‘India’ prove it for him,” making India time-bound and basing his evidence “on absent passages that he could not have read” (pp. 47-48). Spivak states that “such moves are not unusual among the ideologues of imperialism, then and now” (p. 49). In this example, Spivak argues that it is a mistake of Hegelian morphology and ideologues of imperialism to fixate “on so-called time-bound bits,” because without these bits, the conditions making the morphology possible do not exist. She states, “To critique it from within, to turn it away from itself, one must notice that these so-called time-bound bits are crucial to the system” (p. 49). The question, then, is what are the conditions of possibility from which subjects—such as India or any person or the “orient” (Said, 1978)—emerge? In other words, empires (writ large) require certain kinds of subjects; these subjects, like glass houses, are built on so-called time-bound bits. A critique from within is difficult because it asks the subjects not only to recognize the bits they are built on/with but to wrench the bits and consequently themselves.

Empire and/or Imperialism as Frames for the Study: Honoring Local Responses

Keeping the conception of Empire in play throughout the dissertation provides a productive tension for the ways in which I present the data. For instance, the central aim of the dissertation is to examine local responses to globalizing trends in policy, which suggests notions of local/global or internal/external, but Empire subsumes local responses (resistance, adaptation, adoption) to global forces into its networks. Dominant and counter narratives are complicit within Empire. In the earlier section on Empire, I discussed how it was being used to describe globalizing trends at the UIS and I shared an
excerpt of a review of the book by a UIS professor. Members of the UIS community, like academics everywhere, hold a variety of theoretical assumptions about global trends and power. In this section, I provide a few data examples of contradictory local perspectives on globalizing trends and subjects, demonstrating the need, I think, to keep these notions in tension.

Revealing a prevalent position among UIS members, the first examples reflect how globalizing trends are attributed to the US and how subjects are unified wholes. In Cátedra Libre, the UIS newspaper, August 2002, Sandra Galvis, UIS economist, states the following in her article “ALCA: Panorama y Reto” (Perspective and Threat/an insult):

[Uno de los] aspectos relevantes del actual contexto Colombiano [es] a contexto internacional caracterizado por la creciente globalización y la unipolaridad en el ámbito global, con un único polo hegemónico en lo política y militar, los EU, con una nueva agenda global en la cual la denominada lucha contra terrorismo ocupa el primer lugar y una región andina en ebullición por su inestabilidad social, política y económica. (p. 10)

[One of the] relevant aspects of the actual context of Colombia is an international context characterized by the increase in globalization and the polarity in the global scope. The US, the only one military and policy hegemonic pole within the new global agenda, denominated by its fight against terrorism, occupies first place while the Andean region is boiling with social, political, and economic instability.

While Hardt and Negri (2000) do not deny that the US holds a privileged place in Empire, Galvis’ comment names the US as the “hegemonic pole” of globalization, positioning the nation-state as a sovereign subject with a global-reaching agenda that disrupts other (sovereign) places, such as the Andean region. Moreover, Sarafín Martínez (2000) writes that the mission of the UIS in the integral formation of students should be to recuperate the unity of the fragmented notion of the subject of modernity. Clearly situating (hu)mans as the center of culture and mediators of culture, he writes that
“modernity has situated the man as the center of culture and for this reason man is the point of reference” (pp. 10-11). He writes against the notion of fragmentation, including the notion that (hu)mans might be mediated subjects.

The next example reiterates the view that force relations are no longer territorially bound. Following 11 September 2001, a UIS student in law and political science, Carolina Suárez Pinto, wrote in the Cátedra Libre (December 2001) about the globalizing effects of war and violence in this contemporary age of globalization, where war and global-level violence is no longer the privilege of States, exerting their force on other territories. She states:

La actual guerra no convencional, sostiene la politóloga, se caracteriza así, principalmente, por ser no interestatal (la actual sería una Guerra entre Estados y grupos, e incluso entre Estados y sus propias poblaciones): desterritorializada (en la medida que todo espacio es susceptible de devenir espacio de la Guerra, no solo los espacios urbanos, sino también los espacios virtuales, los espacios magnéticos, etc.); ni interna ni externa (pues no representa ya una afirmación de la nación, y un factor de unificación interna frente a un enemigo externo, sino incluso un debilitamiento del Estado frente a las dinámicas de la relación entre las poblaciones y sus gobiernos): de tiempos variables (con el abanderado nombre de ‘justicia infinita’ lo que se quiere aclarar es la duración indefinida de esta Guerra, en torno al ritmo de conveniencia de los servicios de inteligencia, de los circuitos financieros, de la velocidad a la que circula la información en la red satelital de espionaje, de los reportes cotidianos en los medios de comunicación, etc.); y de múltiples actores (antes, la Guerra dependía de las economías nacionales de países involucrados; hoy, los conflictos armados se nutren de los flujos económicos internacionales, y del manejo de la información, así como de la indistinción entre lo civil y lo militar como objetivos de la Guerra). (pp. 8-9).

The present war is not conventional. It is characterized thus, mainly, not among States (now it would be War between States and groups, and even between States and their own populations); deterritorialization (all space is susceptible to War, not only urban [tangible] spaces, but also the virtual spaces, electronic and media spaces, etc.); neither internal nor external (already it does not represent an affirmation of the nation and it does not represent an internal unified front to an external enemy, but even a weakening of the State confronted with the dynamic relations between populations and their governments); of variable temporality (with buzzword names [rhetoric] of “infinite justice” to clarify the indefinite
duration of this War, in the spinning rate of intelligence services that come
together, of financial circuits, of the speed and the circulation of information in
the satellite network of espionage, of the daily reports of media communications,
etc.); and of multiple actors (before, the War depended on national economies of
involved countries; today, armed conflicts are nourished from international
economic flows and the handling of the information, as well as from no
distinction between the civilian and the military, such as objectives of the War.

This project honors and acknowledges, then, that there are a range of local views
on globalizing trends and the role of Empire or US imperialism, like that of Rueda
Suárez, Galvis, Martínez, and Suárez Pinto above. At the UIS and in Colombia, like in
other academic and national settings, scholars debate to what extent subjects are
fragmented, whether unified subjects should be recuperated, and to what extent force
relations are borderless or mediated by territory. Foregrounding these tensions, this
conversation on how power is working, is the theoretical framework of this dissertation.

Transbinary Research

In this section, I bring these theoretical assumptions to bear in what I call
transbinary research. Then, I discuss how the theories discussed in this chapter inform
the remainder of the dissertation. I begin with a passage from Foucault (1970/1990):

From the limit-experience of the Other to the constituent forms of medical
knowledge, and from the latter to the order of things and the conceptions of the
Same, what is available to archeological analysis is the whole of Classical
knowledge, or rather the threshold that separates us from Classical thought and
constitutes our modernity. It was upon this threshold that the strange figure of
knowledge called man first appeared and revealed a space proper to the human
sciences. In attempting to uncover the deepest strata of Western culture, I am
restoring to our silent and apparently immobile soil its rifts, its instability, its
flaws; and it is the same ground that is once more stirring under our feet. (p. xxiv)

The loss of foundations does not mean sacrificing categories, subjects, and political work.

In the passage above, Foucault discusses threshold work, working in between categories
of constitutions. In these junctures, change and new pervious subjects emerge. Keeping
incompatibility open as starting-points instead of obstacles, Foucault’s focus is on the in between task—“the medium of this grey….an oscillation between the interior and the exterior”—not the subjects (pp. 10-11).

*Transbinary research* does not give up subjects and categories but uses a complicity analysis to understand how they are porous and mediated—how binary categories are complicit with each other. Working in the gaps, *transbinary research* explores the historical and discursive formations of subjects and discourses. In other words, *transbinary research* is an attempt to work in between binaries and to examine unified subjects as contaminated fictions. Subjects that are allowed to be complicated, and even contradictory, trouble simple binaries and exceed imagined boundaries.

*Transbinary research* is not a-political. It is interested in how working from a place of complicity while simultaneously interrogating this position is a political act. It looks for transformation and decolonizing effects in such moments of tension.

*Transbinary research* is particularly suited for transnational research, where processes and policies are the subject of study, rather than fixed places, peoples, or cultures. This reflects a shift in anthropology overall, as Wright (2005) states, “Indeed, anthropology’s ulterior conception of coherence, its fictive ethnographic ‘whole’ has shifted from ‘a people; to ‘a system’ or ‘process’” (p. 1). In this way, a process is the emergent and embedded subject of processes that it cannot not (want) to exist in. As a process, it necessarily moves. As discussed in Chapter 1, a policy process is continuously transformed and transforming.
Transbinary research tries to understand what conditions make possible the process and how the process to be recognized as a process must reproduce these conditions. However, this process is also changing in practice and performance and in turn changes these conditions and consequently its own nature in an ongoing interplay. In the interplay—the transbinary, complic it, grey space—is both repetition and transformation (Foucault, 1970/1994, pp. 24-25).

Transbinary Research Applied

Theorizing about transbinary research is certainly easier than doing it. My attempt, however messy, has resulted in a bouncing back and forth (an oscillation) between modernist subjects and postfoundational notions of power. In the methodology chapter (chapter 3), I continue to theorize how to do this work.

In positioning the context from which the analyses emerge, working from what I call a Colombian perspective, the introduction presented imperialism through Colombia-US imperial encounters (Coloma, 2003). While reviewing some Colombia-external relations in the twentieth century, it provides a context-based realist interpretive framework for understanding why student activism localizes globalizing trends. In other words, this is a realist tale of US imperialism from what I call a Colombian perspective, but which also reflects my political investments. Nonetheless, this context allows readers to interpret (read) the other data chapters in a way that makes the study cohere. For instance, in order to see how offering Ética as a Humanities requirement in compliance with State policy can be read as a performance or even resistance to external trends in educational policy, as argued in Chapter 5, the reading must be contextualized within Colombia-US imperial relations. That is, before I can say that local curricular practice
resists imperial impositions, I have to establish imperialism. Although data chapters 4 and 5 attempt to examine the complex ways that UIS subjects and practices reshape and are shaped by forces seeking to discipline them, the counter-narratives of student activism in chapter 4 and the use of compliance as performance in Chapter 5 both reference external/internal divisions and US imperialism as an external force. That is, I kept running up against these ingrained binaries (e.g., global/local; colonizer/colony) or rather I kept having to explain force relations in static ways in order to show how practice worked within and against them.

While I use the terms “transbinary” (this chapter) and “Foucaultian-inspired” to describe my choices in the analysis and representation of data (see Chapter 3), I found myself using modernist tools (language) and dealing with the modern-like subjects of nations, citizenship, and democracy. This is the nature of limit-work, of working the ruins. According to Spivak (1990) if we can communicate with the metropolis, “to exchange and to establish sociality and transnationality…[then] we have had access to the culture of imperialism…[but this is not] moral luck” (p. 794). In fact, she states:

The impossible ‘no’ to a structure, which one critiques, yet inhabits intimately, is the deconstructive philosophical position, and the everyday here and now of ‘postcoloniality’ is a case of it. Further, the political claims that are most urgent in decolonized space are tacitly recognized as coded within the legacy of imperialism: nationhood, constitutionality, citizenship, democracy, socialism, even culturalism. Within the historical frame of exploration, colonization, and decolonization, what is being effectively reclaimed is a series of regulative political concepts, the supposedly authoritative narrative of whose production was written elsewhere, in the social formations of Western Europe. (p. 794)

I found it impossible to do without these concepts, in general, and especially hard to think without them in the face of UIS and Colombian counter-narratives to globalizing trends that have also been coded with them.
Also important to note, some concepts used widely in the UIS were backgrounded here. Given the breadth of the study and my subject position, the study does not engage thoroughly with Marxism or Marxist concepts. However, Marxist history and ideas are duly noted as important to the UIS. Running up against the limits of my own training and the complexities of transnational work, in this way, the study is limited.

As indicated, this chapter provides the theoretical framework for the study. In particular, it selectively draws from *Empire*, Latin American cultural studies, and Spivak. Below I continue to discuss methodological concerns of the research, but focus more on the design and collection methods of the fieldwork.
CHAPTER 3

VALIDATING LIMIT-WORK: FOUCALTIAN-INSPIRED ETHNOGRAPHY

Introduction

Drawing on perspectives from discourse analysis and cultural studies, I describe my research project as limit-work and Foucaultian-inspired ethnography. Limit-work is the “working out of the failure of received knowledge,” such as the ruins of foundationalist and humanist claims of “solid, substantial, and whole—knowledge, truth, reality, reason, science, progress, the subject, and so forth” (St. Pierre & Pillow, 2000, pp. 1, 6, 17, note 4; Lather, 1993, 1997). A Foucaultian-inspired ethnography shifts the site of investigation from people, places, and practices to the discourses that mediate them (Foucault, 1985/1990, pp. 10-12, 1972; Pillow, 2004, p. 2). In this research, I examine policy, curriculum, and student-produced materials to analyze local/global dynamics of educational policy at a public university in Colombia. The purpose of this study is to shed light on local perceptions of, as well as responses to, globalization (e.g., neoliberalism, privatization, imperialism) and national educational policy mandates at the UIS. This study adds to a growing body of research trying to understand the complex, nested, and
reciprocal relationship between educational practices and policies, particularly in light of
global neoliberal trends (Arikan, 2005; Ball, 1990, 1993; Honig, 2005; Lather, 2004d;
Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2005; Levinson, Cade, et al, 2002; Levinson & Sutton,
2001; Pillow, 2004; Wright, 2005; Shore and Wright, 1997).

The following sections organize this chapter. The first section discusses the
combination of methodologies employed in this study. The second section contains the
research design, including the site, sample, data sources, and ethics and reflexivity. The
last section addresses research validity, including a story from the data that validates
limit-work.

**Combining Methodologies: Foucaultian-Inspired Ethnography**

Postpositivist (Lather, 1991) and blurred paradigms (Lincoln & Guba, 2000) are
established practices of qualitative researchers in education (Denzin, 2005) and
“intellectual production in and from the Third World”(Trigo, 2000, p. 76). These
practices value situated limited knowledges and ways of knowing (Lather, 1991, pp. 52-
53 & 2001a; Christians, 2000, pp. 133-55; Haraway, 1991). While my findings are
interpretive and partial (Tierney, 2002a), they are presented as a “realist tale.” According
to Van Maanen (1988), a “realist tale” produces “an author-proclaimed description and
something of an explanation for certain specific, bounded, observed (or nearly observed)
cultural practices” (p. 45). The produced cultural representations conveyed through the
tale are presented as authentic interpretations. Below, I discuss ethnography and
discourse analysis. I also consider how some of the tension between these methods
manifested itself in the production of this dissertation.
**Ethnographic Analyses**

As a school-site ethnography and ethnography of youth culture that draws on critical cultural theories, post-colonial studies, and post-structuralism, I can apply Hall’s (1999) description of ethnography to this study. He states that not only do ethnographies show “in detail and in depth how subjective meanings mediate the micro-social processes involved in everyday social life in something approaching their national settings,” but also they can theorize culture (p. x). According to Demerath (2003), “critical ethnographies of student culture have demonstrated that young people in contexts of rapid and contentious social change are cultural innovators who constantly negotiate competing discourses, contradictory ideologies, and often limited opportunities …” (p. 517, citing Holland and Lave, 2001; Levinson, et al, 1996; McRobbie, 1994). Aside from looking at cultural innovations in school contexts, ethnography has played an important role in producing works that document local groups shaping transnational processes, which also applies to this research (Escobar, 2001, p. 202). Utilizing ethnography in such ways, this study takes an in-depth look at how local actors and cultural producers actively shape educational policy, curriculum, and globalizing trends at a specific public university.

In this study, policy as/in practice and globalization, are processes. Ortner (1997/2000) shows that ethnography also is a useful way of analyzing multi-sited, fragmented, diasporic, and mobile objects of inquiry. Shore and Wright (1997) view policies as dynamic sites, both local and non-local, woven through with power: “in other words, a focus on policy provides a new avenue for studying the localization of global processes in the contemporary world” (p. 13). They argue “that policy increasingly
shapes the way individuals construct themselves as subjects, [such as] ‘citizen,’
‘professional,’ national,’ …. and that policy has become a major institution…on a par
with other key organizing concepts such as ‘family’ and ‘society’” (Shore & Wright,
Levinson, Sutton and Winstead (2005), Levinson, Cade, et al, 2002, and Sutton and
Levinson (2001) establishes ethnography as a method for studying educational policy as a
multilayered, multi-actor process. As mentioned, Wright (2005) states, “Indeed,
anthropology’s ulterior conception of coherence…has shifted from ‘a people; to ‘a
system’ or ‘process’” (p. 1). This move away from in-depth case-study to depth and
breadth studies in multiple, transcultural and transnational sites in fact challenges
“traditional valences in the discipline” that underlie ethnographic fieldwork, such as a
bound field site that one enters and leaves (Marcus, 1998, p. 247).

**Foucaultian-Inspired Analysis**

As indicated, a Foucaultian-inspired analysis shifts the site of investigation from
people, places, and practices to the discourses that mediate who and what they are
(Foucault, 1985/1990, pp. 10-12, 1972; Pillow, 2004, p. 2). Stuart Hall explains,
“…physical things and actions exist but they only take on meaning and become objects of
knowledge within discourse” (Hall, 1997/2001, p. 73; see also Britzman, 1995/2000;
Fairclough, 1992; Weems, 2000). Discourses are not fixed but performative—they
produce effects on, and are regulated by, lived practice—and therefore, are indeterminate
(Butler, 1997). As Foucault (1979) writes, “discourses are objects of appropriation” (p.
The genre, producer (author), reader/analyst, setting, and history of curriculum policy and students’ practices contribute to the analysis. (Fairclough, 1992; Hall, 2001; Van Dijk, 1993/2001), but possible meanings come from the ongoing “interplay between the text, author, and reader” (Voithofer, 2005, p. 3; see also Diamond, 2002; Eco, 1994). Thus, alternate interpretations of the data described in the dissertation surely exist and are welcomed from readers.

The fact that discourses are performative explains how reproduction gives way to change—(re)appropriation, localization, cultural innovation, hybridization, and decolonizing effects. According to Muñoz (1999), a transformative act produces decolonizing effects when it “taps into the force of … the original that is being repeated, while it draws on and, in time, covers the conventions that it will ultimately undermine” (p. 81). “In a voice that is doubly authorized, by both the metropolitan form and subaltern speech,” Muñoz (1995) states, the “easy binarisms such as [the] colonized and the colonizer are interrupted and displaced” (pp. 81, 82).

The Tensions of Blurring Methodologies

This dissertation is a non-ethnographic ethnography of discursive formations—a Foucaultian-inspired ethnography—quite different from the ethnography I imaged in 2002, when I returned from Peace Corps Bolivia and applied to graduate school. Reeling from my Malinowskian encounters in Bolivia, at that time I had designs to repeat such experiences in my doctoral study. I soon began to realize that the kinds of relationships and experiences that I had had in Bolivia would be impossible within a research

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16 See Foucault (1979, in Foucault & Rabinow, 1984) for further explanations of “author” and “author function.”
framework. In an interview, Spivak (1993) states that when “one is trying to learn outside of the traditional instruments of learning, “one … doesn’t investigate” (p. 25). She said, “I can’t imagine myself there as someone who is going to write anything, because if I do that, then my relationship to the entire situation changes” (p. 25). My position as a researcher changed the nature of transnational work for me. It changed the nature of my relationships.

Does this mean that ethnography is of secondary importance? On the contrary, I used both methods thoroughly and in integrated ways as was my intention, but I did not “write up” in typically ethnographic ways. As an emerging scholar, I prefer to err on the side of caution, perhaps sacrificing scholarly contribution, to avoid consumption. Of course, I know the arguments in the literature about voice, about honoring real people and their stories. We must ask, who should be telling what stories about whom? and for what purpose? Do the ethical risks out way the insight?

My embodiment of the researcher position had several results for this project. For instance, I do not provide many identifying characteristics of participants. This is the result of my concerns about consumption, as well as anonymity. If the text provides enough information so that individuals can be identified, removing participants’ names or using pseudonyms are irrelevant. While this ethnography does not tell individuals’ stories, it does spin a “realist tale” about policy, curriculum, and student cultural productions at the UIS.
Research Design

In this section, I provide a procedural account of the research. I explain how I collected and analyzed data. Descriptions of the sites and participants are included.

Sites

My study looks at processes of policy, curriculum, globalization, and counter-discourses to globalization. I also conducted fieldwork at a Colombian public university. Multi-sited ethnography disrupts the fixed field (Ortner, 1997/2000). Marcus (1998) identifies the mobile, multi-sited ethnography as one designed “to examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space; …. [therefore, employing] strategies of quite literally following connections, associations, and putative relationships [that] are thus at the very heart of designing multi-sited ethnographic research” (pp. 79-80; see also Marcus, 1998).

La Universidad Industrial de Santander (UIS)

The ethnographic research took place at the Universidad Industrial de Santander (UIS) in Bucaramanga, Colombia. The university was established in 1948 as an institute of science and engineering (Ley 143 de 1948). According to UIS historian Acevedo Tarazona (2004), the UIS is one of the most important institutions of higher education in Northeast Colombia (p. 126). He states that “the UIS has institutional and political significance, has embodied the history of the region, including social concerns, and has been the most important business for los santandereanos [people from Santander], since the middle of the twentieth century” (p. 126). In addition, since the founding of the university, UIS students as social actors and cultural producers have played an important role in shaping local and national sociopolitical issues (UIS Acuerdo 8, junio 28 de 1950,
cited in Acevedo Tarazona, 2004). Importantly, the UIS has been recognized for its compliance to national mandates. The university’s adoption of national policy into institutional policy (The Proyecto Educativo Institucional, PEI) was used as a training model for other universities (UIS website). In 2005, the university became one of a handful of Colombian universities to be nationally accredited, meaning it met national standards.

At the time of the study about 14,000 students (undergraduates and graduates combined) attended the university’s main campus in Bucaramanga (UIS Cifras 200317). A degree from the UIS is especially valuable, carrying a lot of weight (capital) in the very competitive job-market and on Colombia’s highly stratified and nearly static social-mobility ladder. While still highly selective, the UIS has increased its absorption of undergraduate applicants from 11% in 1988 to around 32% in 2003. The UIS admits students from all socioeconomic strata: 30% of the students come from the two poorest socioeconomic tiers and pay between 3% and 27% of tuition costs; about 44% of the students come from the middle tier and pay about 70% of tuition costs; and about 26% come from the three highest socioeconomic strata and pay between 95% and 100% of tuition costs.

**Sample**

This study used a variety of sampling strategies as describe by Glesne (1999, p. 29). The UIS has one of the most diverse higher education student populations in Colombia, lending itself to maximum variation sampling across socioeconomic strata (Sánchez, Quirós, Reverón, & Rodríguez, 2002). For the chapter involving the Ética

17 Unless otherwise cited, statistics for the UIS come from UIS Cifras 2003.
course, I used both typical and discrepant case samplings and key-informant interviewing. Finally, because my university liaison was the director of the School of Education, I was given an office in the school and I gained rapport with Education students and faculty. This led to opportunistic sampling of students in Education. A chart of the data collection appears later in this chapter.

**Negotiating Access**

With the help of Vicerrectora (Vice Provost) of Academia Affairs, Martha Vitalia, the UIS Academic Council, the university’s regulatory body for research, approved this study. Cesar Roa, the Director of the School of Education, served as a liaison for me to the UIS. As Rhee and Subedi (in press) and Glesne (1999) argue, access is not something that a researcher does once but is an ongoing process. I continuously had to negotiate access to archives, university documents, courses, policy meetings, student spaces, etc. My status as the wife and mother of Colombians helped to establish lines of communication with participants, especially because my partner is from Bucaramanga. Changing security concerns at the university due to student protests and car bombs previously exploded at other locations made physical access to the university an ongoing issue for everyone, complicating the “public” nature of the university.

**Introduction to Collection Methods**

Observation, interviews, grounded surveys, and material culture locate and describe in detail the practice of official and unofficial policy as/in practice at the UIS in light of globalizing trends. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000), qualitative researchers have become “methodological-bricoleurs,” employing multiple practices and methods (p. 633). When possible, I used audio, digital photos, and digital video to record
data. I also kept a handwritten field journal and typed field notes, utilizing Richardson’s method of four note categories—observations, methodology, theoretical, and personal (Pelto & Pelto, 1978; Richardson, 2000; 2002). While I used NVivo, a computer program for qualitative analysis, to code policies, documents, and interview transcriptions, many conversations were neither transcribed nor coded, but enriched my understanding of the local issues and context. After much deliberation, I decided to use the name of the university but not the names of participants. Details revealed throughout the article (e.g., a prestigious public university located in Bucaramanga, Colombia), make clear that the university under study is in fact the UIS. As mentioned, I do not give many details or names of participants; and I have not assigned pseudonyms.

In the course of almost daily observations over three university semesters from July 2003 to June 2004, I conducted both informal and formal (usually audiotaped) interviews with approximately 25 students and 20 members of faculty, staff, and administration (see Appendix A for the schedule of questions). Interviews included focus groups of students. Many faculty and administrators were UIS alumnae/i. Where appropriate, I videotaped observations, including courses, forums, and meetings. In addition, I had countless informal encounters and conversations with people on the UIS campus, in the university community, and in the city of Bucaramanga.

Data collected from, and produced by, students played a central role in this project. In addition to observations and interviews, I collected open-ended questionnaires (e.g., developed with the help of participants and from my ongoing observations) from 257 students from a wide range of disciplines, backgrounds, and rank in school. Students responded to questions on the following topics: public education, privatization,
globalization, imperialism, graffiti, and student activism, as well as the responsibility of schools and teachers to teach civil/citizenship education or competencias ciudadanas (citizenship competencies) and what is the role of education in the societal conflicts (violence, inequality, corruption) of Colombia (see Appendix B for questionnaires). Student-produced materials, such as campaign flyers, political cartoons, and graffiti, also served as important sources of data.

Material and visual culture, artifacts, documents, records, etc. corroborated with observations, interviews, and surveys. Data included course syllabi and reading materials, program bulletins, the university website, and university statistics published in a book called Cifras. In addition, data included university records, documents, and archival material, including school newspapers, development plans, meeting minutes, and institutional policies. Finally, data included many policies from the university, Colombia’s national ministry of education, the Colombian government (e.g., the Constitution of 1991 and subsequent laws), and from transnational organizations, such as Organization of American States, Kennedy’s Alliance for Progress, and the World Bank. Where available, websites were also sources of data, such as El Ministerio de Educación Nacional (MEN, Colombia’s National Ministry of Education). A list of key materials appears in Appendix C.
Overview of Methods

In this section, I describe each method: participant observation, interviews, surveys, and material and visual culture. In addition, I describe a few ways in which the methods for collecting data were unique to this study. For instance, the first section on participant observation, discusses the ways in which the participant’s position (observe) the researcher.

Participant Observation

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000), “all observation involves the observer’s participation in the world being studied. There is no pure, objective, detached observation… Further, the colonial concept of the subject …is no longer appropriate” (p. 634). Importantly, while all observation is participation, all participation—the participant observer subject position—is constructed of multiple forces. In accord with Glesne (1999), my role as a participant observer “entail[ed] a way of being present in everyday settings that enhance[ed] my … awareness and curiosity about the interactions taking place around [me]” (p. 60; see also Fontana & Frey, 2000), Below I contextualize participant observation in two ways: (1) within data collection as a community of researchers and (2) beyond data collection, where participation was contingent on me being an outsider—a participant-outsider.

On Glesne’s (1999) participant-observation continuum, I was an observer-participant; interactions were framed by data collection. Within data collection moments, participants, almost all researchers, and I shared the space of research. In other words, one of the bridges to this transnational work was a shared investment in research; or rather, our shared community was research. Interactions not framed by moments of data
collection were mostly possible when I was positioned as an English-speaking outsider. In my case, when participants involved me in activities beyond those categorized as data collection, my participation was contingent on my position (and skills) as an outsider. It is worth noting that members of the UIS community and I shared in a few social events, such as teas and parties, in what I would describe as near everyday-ness, unframed by the data collection moment or these participant-outsider moments.

Data Collection Moments: We, Researchers...

Because I collected data at one of Colombia’s best universities, where faculty were engaged in research and undergraduates complete theses comparable to Master’s Theses in the US, I believe participants understood what it meant to be in the research boat. I often heard comments similar to these, “we know you need data, how can we help...I have the newest addition of SPSS software, if you want to borrow it…I already have data on that, let’s swap.” While researcher empathy for participants has been criticized (Lather, 2000b; Daza, next section), what does it mean for participants to have empathy for the researcher? Within data collection moments, members of the UIS community, invested in research generally, extended an amazing generosity, sharing their space, records, meetings, courses, and limited free time with me.

Not all members of the UIS community were interested in participating in my investigation. One professor refused to let me observer her course. I suspected that she was irritated that the director had arranged the observation without contacting her. Her reaction was so emphatically negative; I felt it must have something to do with my position, perhaps as a “foreigner.”
Beyond Data Collection Moments: Being a Participant- Outsider

Beyond data collection moments, members of the UIS community invited me—as my outsider-self—to participate in various activities. I led a reading/discussion group in English with students and faculty. In exchange for video dubbing, I worked with the UIS video production staff, TELEUIS, to produce a recruitment video in English. I also participated in professional events, where my input—as a policy expert—was solicited, such as a regional planning meeting for the national teacher exam and weekly policy-making. In each of these situations, members of the UIS community recognized me as an outsider, not as a part of a shared community, where the word “we” would be used to describe the members (Marcus, 1998; Urban, 2001).

Shifting Role of the Ethnographer Observer

Marcus (1998) discusses the shifting role of the ethnographer observer in a multi-sited project, noting the many relationships across different classes and the multiple sites involved in one projects (pp. 105-131). Clifford (1996) states that part of the shift taking place with multi-sited ethnography “is the loss of depth of interaction, on which the entire ideology and ethos of fieldwork has depended in anthropology” (p. 245, cited in Marcus, 1998). See Pelto and Pelto (1978) for a description of participant observation designed to achieve depth (p. 68). Marcus (1998) posits that “the criterion of ‘depth’ [through long-term participant observation] has been at the heart of anthropology’s sense of standards…. [but now] the demands on the fieldworker for depth and breadth are much greater than ever before” (pp. 245, 247).
Interviews

Interviews in this project were used in conjunction with participant observation, placing me “in a position to vastly improve the data by systematic checking with informants” (Pelto and Pelto, 1978, p. 74). According to Pelto and Pelto (1978) “key-informant interviewing is used to best advantage when it is closely integrated with participant observation” (p. 74). Interviews did not follow a prescribed order set out by the interview schedule but emerged as conversations—“in streams of language”—connecting with my questions but in novel ways (Glesne, 1999, p. 74). According to Glesne (1999) I used topical interviewing, which “focuses more on a program, issue, or process than on people’s lives” (p. 69). Within the context of topical interviewing, one student, the only indigenous student in the study, seemed comfortable discussing his opinions about educational policy trends. However, he asked me to stop the tape recorder when he spoke about certain aspects of his community. Within the “shared notion of the process of research,” interviewees were willing to talk about processes, practices, courses, policies, graffiti, politics, but as this example illustrates, certain information was off-limits. Due to the framing of the research within a research community, as well as topical interviewing, students rarely talked in depth about their personal stories. Like in this example, students might offer a personal example, but also limited it. Like most students, UIS students gossiped about friends, clothes, music, family, etc., but I believe they did not consider this talk part of my research.

As Glesne (1999) notes, the position of the interviewer, interviewee, and the location of the interview all contribute to the nature of the interview (p. 80). In terms of coordinating times and places for interviews, she tellingly writes, “take what you can get”
Administrators were the most accessible. They have offices, keep regular hours, and can be reached by phone. Staff members share offices and have set hours; they also were accessible. While most professors share offices, they also have busy work schedules. While they expressed support for the research in various ways, scheduling interviews and course observations with them was a challenge. Interviews with students often took place in my office but were equally difficult to pre-arrange. Interviews with official student representatives took place in the student office. Official student representatives were accessible. I believe they viewed participation in the interview for my research as part of their role as an elected representative.

**Questionnaires/Surveys**

Three open-ended questionnaires/surveys were conducted. The first group served as a pilot. I solicited revisions and assistance from students and professors to make questions more clear and utilize appropriate terminology (see Pelto & Pelto, 1978, p. 218). Surveys were hand-coded and survey data was not disaggregated via a computer program. While open-ended, the surveys still allowed me to compare student responses more than the conversation interviews allowed. Also unlike interviews, students were able to remain completely anonymous. Surveys allowed me to reach a greater number of students from various academic programs and socioeconomic backgrounds.

**Material Culture and Visual Culture as Texts**

This study draws on a wide range of material and visual culture, to name a few, political cartoons, murals, student campaign flyers, governmental documents and laws, university records, course syllabi, and written policy documents. Material cultural and visual cultural can be read as texts (Hall, 1997; Hodder, 2000). Meanings of texts are
produced through readings (interpretations); “thus,” according to Hodder (2000), “there is no ‘original’ or ‘true’ meaning of a text outside specific historical contexts” (p. 704). In this study, texts are “used alongside other forms of evidence” (Hodder, 2000, p. 204).

Visual materials, such as graffiti and political cartoons, may be less familiar forms of data, however, they can provide alternative perspectives that interrupt dominant-narratives (Calvo, 2004; Diamond, 2002; Hasley & Young, 2002; Lopez, A., 2005; Phillips, 1999). For example, Halsey and Young (2002) argue graffiti is “a significant aspect of the negotiation of contemporary social space; …. [And it] poses a number of problems for agencies [dominant-or official-narratives] attempting …to classify … and … to control [it] (pp. 165-166). Moreover, Diamond18 (2002) notes that “cartoons provide alternative perspectives….that contribute to the creation and contestation of meaning within a given political context of power relations….affect[ing] the political context in a broad spectrum of ways, from supporting the prevailing pattern of authority and power relations to undermining or subverting it (pp. 251-252).

**Translation as Analysis and of Language**

Translation broadly defined is the problem and work of research and all interactions, as well as the problem of languages (Benjamin, 2002; Spivak, 1993; 2001). Churchill (2005) writes that ethnography is translation. Spivak (2001) states the following:

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18 Diamond (2002) provides a review of the literature on political cartoons.
I think all reading is translation, that mistake or errancy is part of the game of reading. … It could be that when we forget this, and read to identify, at worst to see our own face in the mirror of the text, we lose respect for the other as placeholder for the origin(al). … Do I believe “in fidelity to the original,” you ask. Yes, yes, not because it’s possible, but because one must try. … I think translation is defined by its difference from the original, straining at identity. The management of this difference as identity is the varied politics of the situation of translation. (pp. 14, 21)

Language translations for this study, from Spanish to English, are also interpretations. I am not a translator. However, I translated interviews, cartoons, survey responses, policies, and other data from Spanish to English, as needed to make this study accessible to English speakers. When I first wrote this dissertation, I inserted the Spanish quotes and moved on to the analysis in English. Going back to translate these passages, I knew how the passages fit into my analysis but it was difficult to write it in English. Translation is an aporia, a stuck-place that I moved through in order to complete this dissertation.

Some details about how I maintained the spirit of the Spanish text that may be important for readers follows. For audio tapes, native Spanish speakers from Bucaramanga, who were familiar with colloquialisms, transcribed the interviews. In fact, my partner, Sergio Daza, transcribed a majority of the interviews. Interviews and other documents were not translated into English before they were coded. In other words, my analysis is based on the Spanish text, not English translations. I also called on Sergio and other family members and friends, who are native Spanish speakers, to double-check my translations, especially when colloquialism and other context-specific allusions were used. Finally, I have maintained the use of Spanish to display the data, where possible.
Most documents (policies) are available electronically, so the Spanish text is directly copied from the original source into the dissertation document. Interview transcripts and excerpts are only slightly edited. Hence, Spanish speakers, especially those not from Santander, may find the syntax, vocabulary, and grammar unusual or non-standard. I chose to maintain the spirit of the conversation, rather than the purity of the language. Allen (1982) calls this “resisting the editorial ego.”

**Project Timeline**

The project has five distinct phases: (1) pre-travel, (2-4) three UIS semesters, and (5) post-travel. In the pre-travel phase, along with collecting policies and governmental documents available on the Internet, I was able to access websites for information pertinent to the study, such as the UIS site, World Bank online document archive, Colombian governmental sites, and sites to Colombian newspapers. This preliminary information helped me to formulate the project proposal, negotiate initial access, and develop more focused research questions.

Phases 2-4 contain the fieldwork at the UIS site. In the second phase, initial data collection, such as observations, informal conversations, and piloting an open-ended survey, helped me to develop an interview schedule, target key participants for interviews and key courses for observation. According to Pelto and Pelto (1978), “initial data gathering also establish[es] some of the terminology that … appropriate for interviewing…” (p. 79). The primary activities in Phase 3 were participant observation of policy-making meetings and audiotaped interviews of policy-makers and administrators. I began conducting formal audiotaped interviews with professors and staff. Also during this phase, I conducted mostly informal interviews with key student leaders and observed
courses. Phase 4 concluded the fieldwork at the UIS. During this time, major activities included taped interviews with students, follow-up interviews with key informants, observations of Ethics courses, and surveying pre-service teachers. During the final phase, post-travel, I began data analysis. However, data collection has been ongoing because as I analyzed data, following the policy process around, I found myself looking to/through more data, especially archival materials, such as online historical documents of Colombia-US correspondence.
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<td><strong>Interviews</strong></td>
<td><strong>Informal initial conversations with possible key participants.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Informal interview with MEN representative (1)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Informal interviews with administrators.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Students (25)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Informal interview with MEN representative (1)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Informal interviews with professors, students, and staff.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Audio Recorded Focus groups</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Administrators, staff, professors (20)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Formal interviews with students, professors, administrators, and staff.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Informal interview with ICFES representative (1)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1: Schemata of Data Sources by Project Phase
Figure 1 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surveys (257)(^{19})</th>
<th>Pilot classroom survey, mixed grade/discipline Survey of Graduating Students Pre-Service Teachers</th>
<th>Survey of Pre-Service Teachers</th>
<th>N/A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Material Culture</strong></td>
<td>UIS website El Tiemp (Colombia’s national newspaper) Vanguardia (Bucaramanga Newspaper) UNESCO website World Bank website Ministerio de Educación Nacional (MEN) website, 10-year education plan</td>
<td>UIS Academic program booklets and flyers Graffiti Planeación notebooks UIS newspapers UIS journals CIFRAS</td>
<td>Policy meeting minutes Florida International University, Colombia Institute Santander historical archive, UIS library</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{19}\) The number appearing in parenthesis refers to the sample size where applicable.
**Ethics and Reflexivity**

Conventions designed to ameliorate ethical dilemmas, such as “going native,” “informed consent,” and “reciprocity,” rely on protectionist, paternalist, and value-neutral assumptions about research (Weems, 2000; Christian, 2000). In limit-work, ethics cannot be about neutrality. As Weems (2000) states, “post-structuralism teaches us that issues of politics and ethics cannot be separate or partitioned to finite sections of writing, but rather are foregrounded throughout the writing project…” (p. 139).

**Ethics of Value-laden Research**

While reciprocity was not my objective, I was asked to do and did the following: held English conversation classes; served as a consultant on various questions about US education and policy; helped students write dissertation abstracts and other materials in English; translated and recorded a promotional recruitment video in English. In each situation, I wondered how these acts were construed by participants.

I was invited to do the English voice-over for the promotional video, but I stumbled over the names of the UIS branch campuses. These names are indigenous words and indigenous-Spanish hybrids. The technicians, now my language teachers, instructed me on how to pronounce the names. We practiced and re-recorded this section several times. My fumbling pronunciation of these towns displaced our positions. I was no longer the language expert. Thus, research and ethics are ongoing political interactions and negotiations.
Reflexivity

As a way of engaging with the issues raised by critical interpretive inquiry, researchers have turned to reflexive practices. While I address reflexivity in other sections, here I specifically address my position as an analyst. Though I included some confessions, this is not meant as a confessional tale (Van Maanen, 1988). Van Dijk (1993/2001) notes that discourse analyst take a position, given that “analysis is not—cannot be—‘neutral’” (p. 301). Richardson (2000) writes that “how … an author position[s] the Self as a knower and teller … engage[s] intertwined problems of subjectivity, authority, authorship, reflexivity, and process on the one hand and representational form on the other” (p. 931). Finally, Lather (1995; 2001a; 2004c) explores the importance and difficulty of taking up multiple perspectives, including her own, in her coauthored ethnography on women living with HIV/AIDS and subsequent reflections about this book. She writes, “from trying to simultaneously produce and theorize a book about [women living with HIV/AIDS], … I put myself in an awkward position that was not so much about losing oneself in knowledge as about knowledge that loses itself in the necessary blind spots of understanding” (2004c, p.1).

I have already discussed that I have a connection with Colombia beyond this project. My interest in telling about my relationship with Colombia is not to claim any kind of authority, but to share my political investment, to tell the reader that this connection shaped my research in important ways, offering both windows and blind spots. My position changed the nature of the field (boundary-less) and data. I might use “Colombian” to describe my community, language, news, music, art, literature, food,
problems with US immigration, son, and partner. Am I still in the field? I recently read an article in *Vanguardia*, Bucaramanga’s newspaper, about an important change in the educational policy I studied, is this data?

**Being Pregnant and a Mother in Colombia**

Another important aspect about my analyst position which influenced this research is my position as first a pregnant researcher and then a researcher mom. In Colombia, values about women, families, race, and working professional are shifting and too complex to discuss adequately here. Indeed, a comprehensive discussion would change the nature of this project. In this section are some of my initial thoughts on embodied research that focus on the female, pregnant/mother, body (see also Hill Collins, 1999; Villenas & Moreno, 2001).

In Bucaramanga, Colombia, a married woman my age would likely have children and parenthood often is seen as a right of passage into adulthood. In addition, women academics and students with children and families are not positioned in the same negative light, as seems more common in the US. On the ground, being a mother helped me make connections with women professors and students; it also helped me to garner a level of respect not readily available to single “girls” in a patriarchal culture. However, all my previous experience in Latin America had been as a young single-girl-woman. I had to relearn how to navigate in my new position.

Given the complexity of positions, being a pregnant researcher and being a researcher mom also had limitations (see Kenny, 2000). For instance, I believe I was not able to make as many connections with undergraduates for which I had hoped; because of my age, status, education, and language—all somehow made more visible in my pregnant
body—undergraduates read me as inaccessible. Because I was a mother, I was unable to accompany students on two invited outings, a camping trip and a trip to Malaga, the pueblo of one cohort of students and site of a UIS branch campus. In addition, because I was constituted as a mother, undergraduates treated me as they did other professors. They gave me a professional respect but also a professional distance. I still find shocking, the use of “Señora” and “Doña,” which they used to hail me.

This new position also revealed to me some of my own biases about women, youth, and being metropolitan. While the two terms “Señora” and “Doña” are used to refer to married women, I have associated these terms with being provincial, aged-mothers of multiple children. Like some of my counterparts, both US and Colombia, I did not picture these subjects as researchers. Therefore, my experiences in this new position, revealed to me some of my own metropol biases, helping me to expand necessarily my notion of researcher and to reconceptualize my values about married women and mothers as experts, knowers, and professionals.

Finally, it was through my experience as a mother that I learned firsthand about racial (or skin color prejudice) in Colombia. Racial prejudice deeply entwined with Colombia’s colonial legacy has been well documented, especially in studies that focus on Afro-Colombians and Colombia’s Caribbean coastal and southern regions (Thurner & Guerrero, 2003; UNESCO, 2001). While showing pictures of both my son and my nephew, who was born one month prior to my brother-in-law and his wife, both Colombians, comments often referred to the difference between the boys’ skin color. I frequently heard how lucky I was that our son had turned out blanco y rubio (white and light hair). I heard, “pobrecito el otro, tan negro” (the poor little other boy, so dark).
Some of these comments came from students and professors who in interviews and on surveys told me that race was not an issue at the UIS. Race, skin-color, indigeneity, and regional differences, as well as class, political affiliation, and disciplinary divides are all factors in higher education. Unfortunately, but also telling, very few students at the UIS identified as people of color or indigenous; it appears that most students consider themselves “white,” despite skin color. Higher education as a privileged, white space and the relationship of race to Colombia’s colonial legacy is a topic for further analysis.

In short, the above section entitled “Research Design” provided an overview of my research procedures. It particularly listed the forms and timeline of data collection. I also discussed how my position and the site of research shaped the study.

**Research Validity**

This section discusses the trustworthiness of the data. First, I will share a story from the “field” that lays open the discussion of epistemology. Next, there is a section on limit-work, where I will discuss the value of interpretive and partial research, the emergence of this limit-work, and some of the strategies suggested for validating limit-work. I also address the recent backlash to this work. Then, I will use my research to discuss how it has pushed my thinking methodologically, revisiting my data story. Finally, I address the trustworthiness of this study.

**A Vignette: Story-ing Epistemology**

After nearly a year “in the field,” I had to decide when I would be “done with data collection.” The quotations question the power embedded in these expressions, which often goes unacknowledged in research. Field boundaries are arbitrary. In a boundary-less field, the power to decide when to go “in” and come “out” helps define the
researcher’s role in the same way declaring data collection to be “done” does.

Nonetheless, the researcher’s authority, in part based on the researchers ability to control the research, define the field, end the project, and write what she knows into knowing, is not free from mediation, as my vignette will show.

In order to get one of those cheaper airfare deals, I needed to purchase my ticket about a month in advance, in other words I needed to estimate when I would be “done” with data collection. In the remaining month, I would conduct follow-up interviews and plan despedidas (good-bye parties)! Guided by rising debt and the ability to answer my research questions, on the evening of May 4, I purchased my return ticket from Bucaramanga, Colombia to Columbus, Ohio.

In the afternoon of May 4, I in fact had a follow-up interview with a student representative, one of my key informants. This student serves on high-level university-wide committees and on a department level committee. He is also involved with non-university-sanctioned student activism. We met in the office of university student government, which is located just past the front entrance of the university, adjacent to Ché plaza, a space for students to gather and hold events. The exterior walls of the student office advertised events in painted graffiti-like murals —the brighter the paint the more recent the event. Marquee posters of events haphazardly covered the inside walls of the office. Students worked on two computers. We talked for over an hour and the student loaned me some original documents from the national university student conference held at the university the previous September.
As we agreed, I returned the papers to the student office the next day. While exiting, another student representative that I had not met, but who had seen part of the follow-up interview, asked me about our conversation. I answered, “He gave me an interview for my dissertation project on the practice of educational policy at the university.” He asked me the same question again, “sobre qué?” (over what). Not wanting to reveal the actual details of our semi-private conversation but also wanting to answer his question, I responded generically with, “sobre la práctica de las políticas de la universidad (over the practice of the policies at the university).” That is when walking away he told me, “no entiendes nada, no?” (You don’t understand anything, do you?). 

Here I was, caught with my assumptions hanging out all over. I had just decided the night before that I knew something—enough—to buy my return ticket. I was supposedly “done” with data collection. Yet, this university insider told me I still didn’t get it. I thought, almost immediately, my methodology chapter will revolve around this, questioning the very notion of knowing, researcher authority, entering and leaving the “field.” Following a section on limit-work, I will return to this story.

Limit-Work

This research is an example of limit-work. By “limit-work,” I mean to embrace the uncertainty about the knowledge produced. As previously indicated, limit-work begins in the failure of (ruins of) foundationalist, humanist, and enlightenment forms of knowledge (Lather, 1993, 1997; see also St. Pierre & Pillow, 2000; Butler, 1992). When lives and communities surely go on, limit-work helps researchers and readers to realize projects are designed—fields are arbitrarily bound and to be “done” with data collection is an arbitrary closing.
The Value of Limit-Work

Not only should researchers embrace these limits as good things (Lather, 2004d), we should interrogate our desire for certainty and unified wholes. In the space of uncertainty created by partial knowing, possibility is constructed. According to Lather (2004d), “to make difficult what we take for granted as the good is to move into a social science that takes values and power seriously toward a progressive praxis…” (p. 291). The possibility that knowledge (and subjects) is (are) more complicated allows the possibility to think differently, to change what makes sense, and to be more complex. These possibilities are important pieces of validity and crucial to educational research hoping to be anti-oppressive and transformative (Tuhiwai Smith, 2005; see also Lather, 1986a, on catalytic validity). Moreover, playing on Lather’s (1993) “Fertile Obsession: Validity after Poststructuralism,” valid knowledge is fertile, i.e., it should be porous, able to be reshaped and appropriated, not rigid and reproduced. Importantly, permeability, uncertainty and contradictions should not discount knowledge production. On the contrary, these so called complications interrupt imperial “desires for ‘pure,’ uncontaminated, and simple definitions of the [other] by the [researcher]” (Tuhiwai Smith, 2005). According to Tuhiwai Smith (2005), “to escape definition, to be complicated, to develop and change, and to be regarded as fully human” are important aspects of anti-oppressive (decolonizing) research, that is, research that is “self-defining and self-naming” (p. 86).
Transnational Limit-Work: 
Dilemmas of Producing (Representing) Knowledge and Subjects

According to Tierney (2002a), partial and interpretive studies lead to an unresolved opening up of research.

Not only were the methodological practices of collecting data to be questioned, not only were the relationships a researcher developed with his or her informants to be interrogated, not only were the purposes and audiences of the research effort to be redesigned, but the texts themselves needed to be new, different, unique. Hence, the crisis of representation began slowly, but has remained, unabated and unresolved. (2002a, p. 388).

Data collection methods, researcher-participant relationships, researcher authority, and (re)presentation of findings remain concerns.

As Tierney (2002a) recalls, epistemology became an issue in research, when postcolonial, feminist, and poststructural analyses repudiated ethnography’s contribution to the “othering” and “exoticizing” of people and difference. According to Richardson (2002), “academic discourse names, categorizes, and constructs others in racist, masculinist, and colonial texts” (p. 880, also cited in Tierney, 2002a). According to Pratt (1992), “the power to constitute the everyday with neutrality, spontaneity, [and] numbing repetition … has become open to question and subject to scrutiny in the academy, as part of a large-scale effort to decolonize knowledge” (p. 2).

The issue is not that differences exist, but rather how knowledge about those differences is produced—represented, valued, or devalued, and then sustained (as natural and normal) by discourse, practices, and processes. And once a naturalized and normalized knowledge base is constructed, it becomes difficult to work against it, as one is also within it (Villenas, 1996). Foucault (1988) describes how truths produced in this way have been used to determine and sustain what is normal and deviant. Escobar (1995)
describes how a similar logic produced the truths by which the division between the
developed and undeveloped world emerged. Anthropology has been concerned with the
problem of so-called outsider interpretations of others at least since Boas (1943). Boas
suggested interpretations be “based on their concepts, not ours,” or rather, on emic, not

The project to decolonize knowledge and knowledge production has been taken
up in the following ways: in describing the global/local context of educational, feminist,
and/or subaltern struggles by Fals Borda, 1970; Ellsworth, 1989/1994; Lather, 1996;
Spivak, 1987/1988; Tuhwahi Smith, 1999 and others, in criticizing curriculum by Apple,
2004; Delpit, 1995; McCarthy, 1990; and Willinsky, 1998, in studying critical
multiculturalism by Giroux, 1992; Ladson-Billings, 2000; and McLaren, 1997, and in
decolonizing globalized imperial discourses by Said, 1978; Mudimbe, 1988; and Escobar,
1995. However, the problem of knowledge production persists. As Tierney (2002a;
2002b) discusses, how academics come to know emic views and “how authors ought to
present knowledge claims that they have created from their data” (2002b, p. 386) are
some of the main concerns that has lead to a crisis of representation and a turn to
reflexivity in qualitative research (Tierney, 2002a).

Reflexivity and Vulnerability: Strategies of Validity for Limit-Work

The reflexive turn in qualitative research requires the researcher to position
her/himself in relation to the study. As Foley (2002) and the other authors in QSE’s
special issue, Writing Ethnographies: Some Queries and Reflections, discuss, this has led
to various degrees of relationships and various ways of showing that the researcher could
know the cultural logics of the researched. Researcher vulnerability has been one
technique, as Behar (1996) writes in the following passage:

As a mode of knowing that depends on the particular relationship formed by a
particular anthropologist with a particular set of people in a particular time and
place, anthropology has always been vexed about the question of vulnerability.
Clifford Geertz [1995] says, ‘You don't exactly penetrate another culture, as the
masculinist image would have it. You put yourself in its way and it bodies forth
and enmeshes you.’ Yes, indeed. But just how far do you let that other culture
enmesh you? Our intellectual mission is deeply paradoxical: get the "native point
of view," pero por favor without actually "going native." Our methodology,
defined by the oxymoron "participant observation," is split at the root: act as a
participant, but don't forget to keep your eyes open. Lay down in the mud in
Colombia. Put your arms around Omaira Sánchez [a young girl, who died in a
mudslide]. But when the grant money runs out, or the summer vacation is over,
please stand up, dust yourself off, go to your desk, and write down what you saw
and heard. Relate it to something you've read by Marx, Weber, Gramsci, or
Geertz and you're on your way to doing anthropology. (p. 5, citing)

Behar (1996) went on to claim that research worth doing should break your heart.

While the arbitrary end of data collection and writing/doing described by Behar
(1996) resonates, my study and my researcher body do not fit her or Geertz’s description
of vulnerability. Letting another culture “enmesh you” (Geertz) or lying “down in the
mud in Colombia” (Behar) does not necessarily mean the anthropologist is vulnerable.
On the contrary, if you lay down in the mud you also position the subject in the victim
subject-position and reaffirm researcher authority, not vulnerability. While emotional
involvement can produce vulnerability, it does not necessarily trouble the binary power
relations between the researcher and the researched. Indeed, Foley (2002) argues against
the reproduction of Cartesian mind-body dualities. Condoning the emotionally vulnerable
researcher at best flips the dichotomy rather than troubles it.

Following this trajectory, Tierney (2002a) explains replacing one orthodoxy with
another, e.g., the passive voice for the reflexive first-person singular one, also fails in
representing data. He suggests that qualitative researchers should move “away from such assertions…false dichotomies” (p. 430; see also Lather, 2000b). I would phrase it this way: academic research emerges from raced, gendered, sexed, classed, colonized, etc. processes and practices but so does other cultural expressions, whether visual or literary.

Research is always political and partial. Lather (2001a) states the following:

The argument is that agency exists in the possibility of a variation within a repetition. In order to be intelligible, we need to repeat the familiar and normalized. The task is not whether to repeat but how to repeat in such a way that the repetition displaces that which enables it. (p. 204; see also Butler, 1993, 1997; Urban, 2001; Spivak, 1994)

Decolonizing and transformative research, then, is not about finding a noncomplicitous practice or form of knowledge production.

Trustworthy knowledge production accepts (and tries to recognize) its roughness, limits, and contradictions. One technique that was made available to me in this research was to analyze how the researched position me, the researcher (Tierney, 2000). There are no innocent, better methods; researchers must work within and against noninnocent strategies of inquiry. As Lather (2001a) states, “the work of methodology [does not] take us to some noncomplicitous place of knowing” (p. 204).

Returning to my data-story:

Re-conceiving Researcher Authority and Vulnerability as Validity

The notion that “research worth doing,” according to Behar (1996), or that research validity rests on the emotional bond between researchers and researched, concerns me precisely because I cannot make these claims in my project. I would describe my relationship with my participants as a cordial working relationship, as professional. In addition to participating together in my research o the university campus,
participants and I socialized together on occasion and few of us have been in email contact over the past year and a half. Yet, despite the fact that my project site is Colombia, none of them needed rescued from a mudslide. My project focused on breadth of a policy process, not depth defined in inter-personal ways (see Marcus, 1998).

Returning to my data-story, I was vulnerable but not in the sense that Behar describes. Being vulnerable can be thinking and doing without that which one has come to think of as necessary, such as researcher authority and a bound field. In this way, vulnerability—a momentary lapse—is liberating. Uncertainty is part of the power of limit-work.

In my case, the relations of power shift when the student repositions me, also making clear that any research I would produce could only ever be partial knowledge. Whereas the proclamation that the researcher did not know after a year of research would present some unsurpassable problems for a positivist, I embraced it—what luck!—finally a story from the data to illustrate my epistemological stance. Please do not miss the irony here. Yes, this story repositions my authority and the knowledge claims of the research as partial, but here I have appropriated this story as the grounds for my study’s trustworthiness as limit-work. I reclaim the authority and the validity. My attempt here at doubling the double move is to take up the burden of what I call transbinary work, or rather the analysis of complicity. Spivak describes this as “persistently to critique a structure that one cannot not (wish to) inhabit” (Spivak, 1993, p. 284, cited in St. Pierre,
2000). As St. Pierre (2000) explains, “Indeed, the seduction of this double move may be the chief pleasure and pain of poststructural work, what Lather (1996b) describes as “‘doing it’ and ‘troubling it’ simultaneously’ (p. 3)” (p. 479).

Conventions to Insure Trustworthiness

Van Maanen (1988) suggests that it is largely up to the audience to determine the quality (believability and trustworthiness) of the fieldwork (p. 46). He states that the determination is often based on “the background expectancies of an audience of believers…rely[ing], in turn, on the…credentials… [and] status of the fieldworker as a scholar or scientist…” (p. 46). Researchers of partial and openly value-laden research (e.g., critical interpretive analysis) draw on various conventions to try to establish trustworthiness. Along with reflexivity, I use some of these conventions.

The credibility of the data was maintained in the following ways. (1) I engaged in long-term fieldwork, meticulous data collection, and systematic inductive analysis, aided by NVIVO, the latest computer technology for coding qualitative data. (2) I employed multiple methods, data sources, and theoretical lenses, referred to as triangulation (Wolcott, 2001; Lather, 1986a) and crystallization (Richardson, 2000). (3) I practiced reflexivity in a variety of ways, such as journaling. (4) I used procedures that are “generally understood and accepted” and laid these out in the research design section of this chapter (Wolcott, 2001). Finally, (5) I am making the research public and open to scrutiny by participants and others who are constituted as “knowers” (Wolcott, 2001).

This chapter reviewed the combination of ethnographic and Foucaultian approaches employed to study policy as/in practice in this study. In this chapter, I also provided an overview of the research design, to give readers a sense, albeit partial, of the
site, sample, and data sources. As part of the research design, I acknowledged the importance of ethics and reflexivity. These methodological choices and procedures helped me to produce this study—a realist tale of the local/global articulations in policy as/in practice at a Colombian public university. While the dissertation has resulted in an examination of such discursive formations, I tried to honor both my investments and those of my participants. In particular, in the final section of this chapter, I showed how researcher authority is mediated by members of the researched community. I argued that such mediation helps validate this limit-work. In the following two chapters, I present the data analysis of the dissertation.
CHAPTER 4

LOCAL RESPONSES TO GLOBALIZING TRENDS: STUDENT-PRODUCED MATERIALS AT THE UIS

Introduction

This chapter investigates local/global context-specific dynamics in the UIS community. It focuses on relatively privileged students’ practices as local responses to globalizing trends. UIS students’ practices, particularly their cultural productions—graffiti, campaign flyers, and political cartoons—make visible some local perceptions of the dynamics of globalizing trends. This chapter specifically addresses the perceptions of and concerns about globalizing trends found in UIS student-produced materials. It also complicates how these materials localize and (re)constitute the discourses of globalizing trends, yielding counter-discourses and decolonizing effects. By decolonizing effects, I mean that dominant discourses and their appropriations are interrupted, displaced, or reappropriated to serve the local needs of students. While student-produced materials clearly intend to contest globalizing trends and produce alternative discourses about them, resistance practices often prove to be more complicated than opposing dominant forces. For instance, some student-produced materials not only fail to acknowledge differences and privilege, but also reinforce stereotypes and hierarchies.

20 Graffiti includes words (“tagging”), phrases and slogans, and more elaborate murals (Halsey & Young, 2002).
This chapter is organized as follows. First, it introduces the key data. Then, it analyzes and complicates how student-produced materials reconstituted globalizing trends by re-labeling them and by positioning the effects of the trends as shared public concerns in and beyond Colombia. It concludes with a discussion of decolonizing work.

At the time of the study, UIS students were involved to varying degrees in shaping discourses and practice about global, national, and local issues, but student-produced materials were widespread and highly visible in day-to-day life at the university and in the community. I collected an overabundance of student-produced materials (e.g. over 50 digital slides of graffiti) at the UIS. The key data for this chapter includes samples of widely circulated campaign flyers for student representatives to UIS governing committees; graffiti/murals and political cartoons visibly displayed in high-traffic public areas around the university community; and flyers and other written documents that also were widely circulated and produced for, from, or about student-organized events, including forums, strikes, marches, and conferences. Some materials, such as campaign flyers, are related to official university practice while others are not sanctioned by the UIS.

The analysis in this chapter focuses on student-produced materials, and not on the individual student-producers of the graffiti, flyers, etc. While some graffiti murals were signed, many of the producers of these visual cultural forms remain unknown to me. A few participated in informal conversations but not in taped and/or formal interviews. The conversations I had with three student leaders in which I gathered information about their
identity and background did enhance my analysis of UIS cultural productions. Talking with me in both informal and formal interviews over the course of three semesters, two male students and one female student described both their sanctioned- and unsanctioned activities, such as serving as official representatives on university committees or organizing school closings, respectively. One student was an engineering major, looking toward graduate school. The other two students expected to complete an undergraduate degree in education within 2-3 semesters. Like nearly three out of every four students at the UIS, and student activists generally, these students identified themselves as members of the middle or upper socioeconomic strata. Altbach (1989) writes, “University students come from wealthier families than the norm in virtually every nation, and activists come from the top families in terms of income and status. This factor is magnified in the Third World, where income differentials are immense” (p. 8). Regardless of socioeconomic status, just being higher education students, especially at the UIS, is a privileged position. Only one of the three students, the woman, acknowledged her own privilege as a soon to be graduate of the UIS. Below I focus on the student-produced materials.

**Student-produced Materials: Local Perceptions of and Responses to Globalizing Trends**

This section describes globalizing trends from the perspective of student-produced materials that contest globalizing trends. First, it describes their perceptions of and concerns about globalizing trends. Next it illustrates the ways that student-produced materials contest globalizing trends by locating them as part of a legacy of US

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21 After further analysis of the data, subsequent work will focus on these and other social actors, including the role that gender and ethnicity play in UIS student activism and in producing visual cultural forms and materials.
imperialism (Figures 2, 4, & 7) and by reconstituting the globalizing trends as dangerous (Figures 3 & 4). It also shows how the materials describe the hegemony of State elites (Figure 5). In addition, through one cartoon flyer (Figure 5), this section shows how students work within and against the official university political structure; i.e., it examines complicity. Then, it shows how the effects of the trends on local university life are connected with wider sociopolitical issues (Figure 6; see also Figure 2). In other words, counter-discourses reconstitute societal challenges as shared and public, showing solidarity with groups in and beyond Colombia (Figures 6 & 7).

While globalizing trends can be wide-ranging and produce a continuum of effects, this chapter particularly addresses the views expressed in UIS student-produced materials. The following excerpt from a UIS student campaign flyer makes visible their perceptions and concerns:

Las políticas neoliberales y privatizadoras del estado impuestas por la banca mundial, y aceptada servilmente por quienes en su momento hacen transito en el gobierno, en conspiración con el poder político y económico, han hecho del derecho a la educación, un servicio de consumo que por sus costos onerosos, es visto por la población marginal como suntuosos, algo de difícil acceso.

La educación administrada con criterios mercantiles, la han puesto en un preocupante proceso de transformación, los rectores son administradores, los profesores son impulsadores y vendedores de servicios, y los estudiantes clientes ávidos de consumo intelectual por el que debemos pagar….

Con estas reglas de juego capitalista ha de jugar la Universidad Publica en Latinoamérica. En Colombia, como fiel cumplidora de las políticas foráneas, la situación es de vergüenza nacional, ha abandonado su función social y es ahora un actor más del mercado. (Candidate for student representative to the highest administrative committee governing the UIS, 2004)
In a conspiracy with the rich political elite, the Colombian government has too easily gone along with neo-liberal policies of privatization imposed by the World Bank, making the right of education, a consumer service with burdensome costs, which the marginal see as a luxury to which access is nearly impossible.

Faced with meeting the demands of market criteria, higher education is undergoing a very worrisome process of transformation, where school presidents are administrators [bureaucrats and pencil pushers], professors are ‘pushers,’ ‘dealers,’ and salespersons of services and the students are clients of intellectual consumption for which they must pay….

With these rules of the capitalist game, the public university in Latin America has been played. In Colombia, where the national government is an accomplice to foreign policies, the situation is a national embarrassment. The government has abandoned its social function and is more an actor of the market.

This campaign flyer perceives that globalizing trends are external trends or foreign policies, including neoliberal policies, privatization, and capitalism. This flyer expresses concern and embarrassment over the national Colombian government being an accomplice to foreign policies. Other concerns include limited access to quality education, especially for marginalized populations, and the commercialization of education.

The imposition of globalizing trends on the State has consequences for national policy, which in turn has an impact on public universities and student life. Under the neoliberal policies that are part of globalizing trends, public institutions of higher education are encouraged to expand enrollment and at the same time decrease student services and materials. The following statements from a different student campaign flyer reflect these phenomena:

The negative effect of neoliberal and privatization policies on the country has led to a reduction of all student benefits at the UIS, including services, such as health care, housing, meals, library, etc., while at the same time the university population has continued to increase.
There is evidence of the decreasing capacity of the library to attend to students and you can find that just some years ago the student population was not even a third of what it is today. The amount of services, such as those provided by the cafeteria, healthcare, and dorms in relation to the increasing student population is disproportional. (A candidate for student representative to the committee for Student Affairs, 2004)

Both these fliers are concerned with the impact of globalizing trends on the national government and public higher education in general and for UIS students in particular. They reflect the perceptions of and concerns about globalizing trends found in student materials. In short, globalizing trends are changing education for the worse. Below, I analyze samples of UIS student-produce materials as local practices in response to these concerns.

**Globalizing Trends as US Imperialism and Recolonization**

In the cartoon below [Figure 2], Uncle Sam hoists the country of Colombia onto his back and walks. The comment asks, “Panama 1903: What are we going to do repeat history; ALCA or TLC, isn’t that recolonization?” This black and white cartoon, slightly larger than 8½ by 11 inches, was clearly discernable to customers and passersby at a busy campus copy center.
“Panama 1903” refers to when the US helped Panama secede from Colombia (often dated as 1904). Gaining strategic economic and military positions, the US controlled the Panama Canal for most of the twentieth century. The US paid reparations to Colombia in 1914 and returned the canal to Panama in 1999, but “The Panama Affair” continues to be a symbol of US Empire in Latin America (Randall, 1992).

ALCA refers to Área de Libre Comercio de las Américas (Free Trade Area of the Americas, FTAA) and TLC refers to Tratado de Libre Comercio Andino-Los Estados Unidos (Andean-US Free Trade). Various UIS student-produced materials cited these two free-trade agreements as exemplars of globalizing trends, claiming these kinds of policies are shifting the relationship between nations and between States and citizens.
While aimed at deregulating the trade market, according to this cartoon, these “free”-trade agreements not only regulate the market, but also mediate transnational relationships and the Colombian State. This visual depicts these trends and indicates that such “free” trade agreements and US hegemony are “stealing away” and “recolonizing” Colombia. In addition, whereas globalizing trends suggest that free trade will benefit Colombia, this cartoon illustrates that there is nothing “free” about free-trade, but rather that Colombia pays a great price. According to this cartoon, Colombia is being looted away by Uncle Sam.

By labeling globalizing trends—“ALCA,” “TLC,” and indirectly “US imperialism”—this cartoon reconstitutes the trends as neoliberal and imperial policies. In this way, they are less elusive and less likely to be misconstrued as beneficial. Naming is a way of localizing and (re)appropriating the trends, as well as a way of directing resistance towards them.

Moreover, by situating globalizing trends historically (e.g. “Panama 1903”) student-produced materials provide a context for re-reading globalizing trends. For instance, the image of Colombia on Uncle Sam’s back might suggest that the US is “helping” Colombia. However, given the historical context of how the US “helped” Colombia with the Panama Canal, this must be interpreted at best as ill-willed and commodified benevolence (see Spivak, 2005), or as the cartoon states “recolonization.” The image depicting Colombia on top of Uncle Sam’s back—as dependent on the US—also is reworking globalizing trends. While these trends suggest that actors are independent and self-reliant decision-makers, this cartoon suggests that actors are hostages—regulated, manipulated, coerced, and colonized by globalizing trends.
Whereas globalizing trends can appear uncontested (Montgomery & Canaan, 2004), elusive, and a-political (Kearney, 1995), these UIS student-produced materials identify them as dangerous and particularly as part of the legacy of US imperialism in Colombia. In addition, while the discourses of globalizing trends suggest that free trade leads to more choices and freedoms for States, institutions, and individuals (Brown, 2003; Bush, 2006), UIS student-produced materials suggest choices are more limited. Rather than “freedom,” globalizing trends lead to “recolonization.” By contesting and relabeling globalizing trends, this cartoon localizes and (re)appropriates them. When the cartoon makes public these alternative discourses of globalizing trends, it works toward decolonizing them.

While globalizing trends may “liberate” the market and consequently benefit global and State elites, the life-size mural in Figure 3 shows these trends as shackling Colombians. This graffiti mural was located in a central area of the UIS campus, near a popular outdoor café. The caption of the cartoon in English reads “It sure is good luck that globalization has liberated (freed) us from our misery.” Globalizing trends, e.g., “free” trade policies and policy-based lending, limit and shackle Colombians. The divestment in public services and education leads to misery, not “opportunity.” Using irony, Figure 3 re-works the “liberalizing” discourses of globalizing trends.
Figure 3: Global trends shackle Colombia.
Highly visible, the graffiti mural shown in Figure 4 was located on a block wall at the perimeter of the university campus near the front security gate.

Figure 4: Lady Liberty strangled by three arms; graffiti mural

Painted in red-white-n-blue, the caricature of a plump white girl in a stars-n-stripes outfit is life-size. She is being strangled by three differently colored and burly arms. Next to this picture, large black letters announce that “the problem is precisely capitalism, not a strong version or a weak version of it. Capitalism, or neoliberalism, or whatever else it is called, is a system that kills people and extinguishes the spirit.” Painted in red, the last two lines of text state “Get out Yankees from Colombia and the entire world!” Corroborating the message of this mural, the phrases “afuera Yanqui” (get out Yankees) and “abusa USA” (USA abuse) often were seen in graffiti messages and heard at protest marches.
Situating globalizing trends within this anti-US-discourse, this mural reconstitutes their benevolence. The discourses that underpin globalizing trends and policies suggest that they will improve educational access and quality (Arnove, 1997; World Bank, 2002). In contrast, this mural claims that no matter what globalizing trends are called or how they might be repackaged, these trends and policies result in death and loss of hope. The image of the US as a dangerous childlike girl, who is not stereotypically innocent, also raises questions about the intent and pretext of the US and globalizing trends. This depiction further suggests that globalizing trends and/or US imperialism can be insidious. At the same time, by picturing the US as a plump girl, the mural shows that the US is an overindulged spoiled child, whose gluttony (capitalism) consumes “Colombia and the entire world.” Since the US is characterized in these student-produced materials as synonymous with globalizing trends, the materials support the notion that globalizing trends and US imperialism are one and the same. Given this implication, both are self-indulgent, limiting, and dangerous—killers of people and extinguishers of hope.

Given that the US is shown as a white girl strangled by differently colored arms, the mural also refers to the racialized aspects of US imperialism and globalizing trends. As Coloma (2004) and others note, white supremacy plays a significant role in justifying the colonization of peoples and places (Schick & Denis, 2005; Spivak, 2005; Willinksy, 1998). This image suggests that peoples of color can extinguish white supremacy by working together in solidarity.

However, by depicting the burly arms as “male arms” and the caricature representing the US as “a plump childlike girl,” some stereotypical notions of gender and the body are reified. For example, the hierarchical male/female gender binary is
reinforced by the image of burly male strength overcoming a young girl. In order for the image to work in an ironic way against US imperialism (e.g., the image of the US as a childlike girl suggesting the insidious danger of US imperialism), then the reader first must assume that the young girl is innocent. The irony here depends on this gender stereotype, as does the production of decolonizing effects. Moreover, for the girl’s plumpness to indicate the US’s self-indulgence and gluttony, certain assumptions must be made about “normal” bodies. Ultimately, reading the image as a white girl being strangled by several differently colored and burly male arms reinforces gender stereotypes and hierarchies in order to work toward decolonizing racial-imperial ones. Even if it shows that people (men) of color might work together against white supremacy that underpins imperialism, it clearly depicts a violent act against a young girl as legitimate.

In this mural, the decolonizing effects rely on making gendered distinctions, while simultaneously not depicting other differences and inequalities within the US. For instance, the image of the US as a white girl insinuates that the US is racially unified. I found myself particularly implicated and complicit in this mural as a brown woman partnered to a white Colombian man, but nonetheless, a Yanqui researcher. Demonstrating the complexity of decolonizing work, this mural shows how race and gender are mobilized and silenced strategically in response to globalizing trends. Similarly, in the student-produced materials discussed later, inequalities and differences
are not acknowledged in the depictions and claims of solidarity building. The student-produced cartoon and flyer discussed below examines Colombian Elites as accomplices to globalizing trends, the institutionalization of resistance, and privileged UIS students’ complicity with elites as a factor in producing decolonizing effects.

**Accomplices and Complicity**

The cartoon in Figure 5 accuses The Consejo Superior Universitario, the university’s governing committee, as being little more than a tool of global and State elites who help to shackle the UIS to neoliberal globalizing trends. The Consejo Superior is similar to a state board of regents in the US, including governmental officials, the UIS director, and faculty and student representatives, as well as community and business leaders. Members of the Consejo Superior are both appointed and elected. In the last five years, elections and appointment practices have fluctuated, given various factors including changes in laws/policies and student demands. As seen in Figure 5, the Consejo holds out a ball and chain labeled with the university’s name, indicating that the university is costrained (regulated) by the Consejo, not deregulated. By picturing the Consejo Superior, the governing body of the UIS, as an elephant in a suit, e.g., a pencil-pushing bureaucrat, the political cartoon suggests that the Consejo is a pawn of global and State elites—a pawn that condones technocratic practices and policies, allowing globalizing trends to infiltrate the university. According Stiglitz (2003), technocrats are “‘experts’… ivory-towered (and usually US-trained) [and] … often backed by the IMF … [and] ‘technocratic proposals’ are more often based on ideology than economic science”…. [He suggests that ] deciding which policy to choose involves choices among values, not just technical questions about which policy is in some morally uncontroversial
sense ‘better.’ These value choices are political choices…. Look at the litany of technocratically inspired examples of privatization and deregulation in the 1990s….leaving a few people much richer, but the country much poorer ” (Comment).

The flyer, where the cartoon appeared, states, “the Consejo (dóciles) [i.e., obedient to State and global elitism] did not question the influence of the technocrats, nor their own complicity [the consejo’s complicity].”

Figure 5: Ball and chain for the UIS.
UIS alumnus and current UIS professor echoes the findings in this study that Colombian elites are accomplices to globalizing trends when he states that the Colombian people who are not in agreement with neoliberalism are the ones who do not have power:

La percepción que tengo es que hay una corriente global de neoliberalismo que nos imponen esos modelos de desarrollo esos modelos son impuestos desde afuera pero no solamente puestos de afuera sino que aquí dentro del país hay gente que los promueve de verdad sobre todo en el estado en el gobierno mejor dicho, el gobierno de verdad esta de acuerdo con esas políticas los últimos tres gobiernos que hemos tenido son neoliberales, el Gaviria [1990-1994], Pastrana [1998-2002] y Uribe [2002-present] son neoliberales muy neoliberales entonces no solamente les imponen esas condiciones por los prestamos internacionales sino que además ellos también están de acuerdo. Los que no estamos de acuerdo somos nosotros que no tenemos poder, digamos así. (personal communication, April 28, 2004)

The perception that I have about the global trend of neoliberalism that they are imposing on us—those models of development that are imposed externally are not only from the outside but also within the country. There are people that really promote them [these trends] from the State, or better said from the government. The truth is that the government is in agreement with these policies. The last three administrations have been neoliberal ones: Gaviria [1989-1994], [Samper (1995-1997), not mentioned by interviewee], Pastrana [1998-2002], and Uribe [2002-Present] [the three former and the current president of Colombia] are neoliberal, very neoliberal, so not only are these conditions imposed by international lending but in addition the State [elites] are also in agreement. Those of us who are not in agreement with these trends are those of us who do not have power, so we say.

In other words, according to this participant, Colombians with power, specifically Colombia’s State governments since 1990, are complicit in forwarding a neoliberal agenda that allows those with power to benefit.

While the cartoon (Figure 5) is useful for understanding the complicity of State elites with globalizing trends, it also sheds light on the complicity of student resistance with official university political structures at least in some cases. This cartoon is part of a flyer distributed by JUCO, the communist student group. The flyer encourages students to boycott elections in order to demonstrate how the Consejo was not a democratic space
but was complicit with global and State elites, as well as globalizing trends. The flyer states that “this process of electing student representatives functioned to legalize [institutionalize and legitimatize] the power of the Consejo within the university.” By giving the appearance of student participation in official governing committees of the UIS, the Consejo manages (disciplines) student activism by institutionalizing student opposition. In this way, JUCO argues that student resistance becomes part of the official bureaucracy, not an unbridled, vibrant, sometimes violent, political movement (see also Levy, 1989). This cartoon flyer suggests that university-sanctioned activities discipline and control student voices and non-official activities are the raw and undomesticated ones (Marshall, 1997). The cartoon flyer indicates that some forms of student resistance may be complicit with official university politics.

As higher education students at a prestigious university, I argue UIS students are in part complicit with the State elitism that their materials resist. Given their entrepreneurial pursuits, UIS students participated in some globalizing trends, while also actively resisting the effects of these trends. In other words, UIS activists’ ability to contribute to politics and social change was shaped by their privileges and complicity, including their educational, family, socioeconomic, and political backgrounds and statuses (see also Altbach, 1989). The simultaneity of complicity and resistance is perhaps when the possibility of decolonizing happens (Lather, 2001a; Muñoz, 1999; Pérez, 1999; Villenas, 2001). In the case of this study, the students benefited from attending a prestigious university like the UIS and they enjoyed a certain educational capital that allowed them for instance to call a meeting with
the governor or to claim “barbarism” (Chapter 5). Below, student-produced materials in their effort to respond to the privatizing discourses of globalizing trends, depict solidarity but ignore differences and privilege in the process.

**Globalizing Trends as Shared Public Issues**

By calling for the US to get out of Colombia and the entire world, the mural in Figure 4 pictured previously begins to illustrate the way in which UIS student-produced materials interpret globalizing trends as shared problems in and beyond Colombia. Below, the protest flyer shown in Figure 6 connects the effects of globalizing trends at the UIS with others in Colombia. The graffiti mural pictured in Figure 7 depicts a connection between Colombia/ns and Palestine/ians.
Figure 6 shows a newsprint flyer about 4 by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches that was circulated widely on May 17, 2004.

![Flyer organizing a strike and protest march.](image)

The flyer in the above figure encompasses a wide view of globalizing trends, connecting issues of education with industry, civil rights, State responsibility, and workers’ unions. It announces a strike and protest march to support the workers of the *Empresa Colombiana de Petroleo* (Ecopetrol), Colombia’s oil company, and the *Unión Sindical Obrera* (USO), a national labor union. In particular, the protest flyer makes visible how students are in
solidarity with other groups (workers and unions), protesting the changes to Ecopetrol resulting from Decreto 1760 (Decree 1760, June 26, 2003). Indeed, the arrows directing the routes for the march show how workers and students will come together at the intersection of 15th Avenue and 36th Street.

Decree 1760 made many changes, such as shifting the ownership of the company from the State to elite shareholders and developing a regulatory agency (National Hydrocarbons Agency) designed to keep the industry in line with international best practices. Critics argue that “the country’s economic elite and multinational companies … have prospered from the establishment of favorable investment conditions and flexible labor regulations” (Leech, 2005). According to Leech (2005), such labor laws result “in a decrease in permanent, full-time, unionized jobs and a corresponding increase in temporary positions that lack security and benefits” (Leech, 2005).

Like the student campaign flyer for the highest administrative committee governing the UIS, this protest flyer also alludes to the State’s conspiracy with globalizing trends. It states “NO” to the reelection. This refers to the reelection of the current president, Álvaro Uribe, who is a neoliberal “pro-Washington conservative” (Webb, 2006). It also states “NO” to TLC (Tratado de Libre Comercio Andino-Los Estados Unidos). This is the same free-trade agreement mentioned in the cartoon in Figure 1. The flyer states that the strike and march intend to defend “el patrimonio Público” (the Public legacy) and work “contra” (against) various threats to it, such as privatization of public education, the reduction of “la tutela” (State responsibility), and

Ultimately, the flyer in Figure 6 connects the issues threatening public education to national leadership, trade and commerce, civil rights, labor, and natural resources/energy sources. It demonstrates how student-produced materials show globalizing trends as shared collective problems that threaten the nature of Colombia’s public legacy (“patrimonio publico”)—the very ability for citizens and the State to share in societal issues, services, and the welfare of society. Consequently, the mission of public education is threatened and changing, as is the role of State government, trade, civil rights, labor, and natural resources. Similarly, by not only defending public education, but also “public legacy” (“patrimonio publico”), student-produced materials also locate the concerns of public education within broader contexts and illustrate the solidarity of students with other groups, such as transportation unions, utility industries, hospitals, and medical professionals. Figure 4 pictured previously also implies solidarity between students and racialized/indigenous peoples.

Along with establishing solidarity with groups in Colombia, UIS student-produced materials, at least at the time of the study, implied solidarity with groups beyond Colombia. In the example presented in Figure 7, the message of the graffiti clearly claims solidarity with Palestinians, arguing that Colombians and Palestinians share in a struggle for national sovereignty and against imperial impositions.
Figure 7: Solidarity with Palestinian fight for liberty.

Figure 7 shows a graffiti mural of a US flag, using skulls for stars, located on one of the UIS perimeter walls near the main entrance. The mural reads, “We support the Palestinian fight for liberty from the Zionist-imperialist occupation.” This cultural production claims solidarity with the Palestinians and others affected by globalizing trends, particularly imperialism and threats to State sovereignty. This image, especially given the skulls, shows solidarity against a common threat or enemy.

It also registers a shared struggle for national territory. To reiterate from Chapter 1, in spite of being “one of the most durable democracies in Latin America,” Uribe (2004) notes that “Colombia has been unable to incorporate its territory within a unitary
idea of the nation, and the State has failed to solve profound social inequalities and to gain national legitimacy” (p. 80). While Colombia’s long struggle to form and maintain itself as a nation-state might be comparable to the Palestinians struggle, some would argue that Colombia holds a privileged position. It is at least recognized as a nation-state, whereas Palestine often is in question altogether (Said, 1979/1992).

While transnational solidarity is a useful strategy against globalizing trends that draws attention to their scope, student-produced materials do not appear to acknowledge significant differences like the one above that can complicate building solidarity and doing decolonizing work. In a similar way, socioeconomic, educational, and other such differences that exist between UIS students and union workers are not acknowledged in the flyer shown in Figure 6. Hierarchies may not be reinforced directly but differences and tensions that exist are not visible or challenged in the materials. In addition to calling attention to the problem of negotiating difference and privilege in building solidarity as a decolonizing move, my analysis of these student-produced materials point to some of the limitations of their cultural productions.

Nonetheless, by displaying intra-and transnational connections, UIS materials reconstitute the effects of globalizing trends on public higher education as being inseparable from the effects of these trends on other entities within multiple locales (see Figures 6 &7). Affirming the collective approach displayed in student-produced materials, Seoane, Taddei, & Algranati (2005) write the following:
...in the current setting of Latin American social protest, particular significance is exhibited by the processes of regional and international convergence that ... constitute an unprecedented experience in this continent. ... The impact and consequences of the 'neoliberal globalization,' and consequently the irruption into national political settings of processes of continental scope (among others, for example, the so-called free trade agreements), in many cases linked to the penetration of transnational –particularly US– capital, have led to the appearance and reaffirmation of hemispheric coordination experiences .... (pp. 231-32)

UIS students’ cultural productions connect local consequences to global forces, share concerns over globalizing trends with others, and build solidarity with them. By positioning globalizing trends as shared public issues, they generate public dialogue and sustain public spaces.

Student cultural productions often place the local concerns of students, the university, and public education within, or in solidarity with, broader sociopolitical contexts, showing that concerns about globalizing trends are shared collectively by social groups and society and are part of national and global conversations. Rather than buy into the discourse of globalizing trends suggesting “private problems” and “private solutions” (Shumar, 2004), UIS student-produced materials re-present the problems of globalizing trends as shared by people and groups in and beyond Colombia. By taking this kind of comprehensive and shared view of the impact of globalizing trends, these materials interrupt and (re)appropriate the privatizing and meritocratic discourses which erode public conceptions of education. Making connections and building solidarity produces decolonizing effects but these effects are complicated when differences and disparity are hidden and silenced in the name of shared aims and concerns.
Decolonizing Work in Our Globalizing World

As cultural innovations that analyze and challenge dominant globalizing trends, the UIS student-produced materials examined in this paper are examples of local responses to dominant globalizing trends in the context of a Colombian public university. At the time of the study, these visible and widely circulated UIS student materials almost exclusively reflected anti-imperialist and anti-neoliberalist discourses, or in other words, counter-discourses to globalizing trends. Labeling globalizing trends “US imperialism” and framing them as shared public issues, these counter-discourses reconstituted the trends. Likewise, Christen (2003) posits that adolescents worldwide use graffiti to “engage in a reform process that teaches and … transform[s] their individual and collective lives, … [eventually introducing them] to a critical understanding of … power structures, and involv[ing] them in the construction of alternatives” (pp. 9-10).

Through their counter-discourses, these cultural innovations of UIS students produce decolonizing effects. When alternative discourses about globalizing trends are visible in ways such as graffiti and cartoons that subvert the dominant discourses from usurping or reappropriating the effects at least partially and temporarily, they work toward decolonizing the dominate discourses of globalizing trends, such as neoliberalism, privatization, and US imperialism. By analyzing these materials, this chapter also shows the complicated nature of doing decolonizing work in our globalizing world.

Privilege and differences, particularly gender and race, mediate local responses to globalizing trends and their decolonizing effects (see also Davis, 2004; Haleman, 2004).

Of course, students and their cultural productions might express various sociopolitical opinions. Pointing to student support for Franco (Walter, 1968) and Hitler (Altbach, 1989), Walter and Altbach have noted that student activism has been oppositional in nature but not necessarily leftist.
Many feminists of color have expanded and complicated our understanding of the intersections of race, gender, class, sexuality, and imperialism (Tuhiwai Smith, 2005; see also Crenshaw, 1995; Lorde, 1984; Moraga & Anzaldúa, 1981; Villenas, 1996). In addition, they continue to expand and complicate our understanding of difference and imperialism in light of globalizing trends, particularly showing how gender, race, and globalization intersect to both reproduce and transform social relations of power (Tuhiwai Smith, 2005; see also Gaspar de Alba, 2005; Spivak, 2005; Villenas, 2001).

Importantly, complicating decolonizing work should not discount it. Rather, complicating students’ responses to globalizing trends interrupts imperial “desires for ‘pure,’ uncontaminated, and simple definitions of the native by the settler” (Tuhiwai Smith, 2005). Where as simple definitions continue to colonize the Other, according to Tuhiwai Smith (2005), “to escape definition, to be complicated, to develop and change, and to be regarded as fully human” is decolonizing—“self-defining and self-naming” (p. 86).

As suggested in my analysis, student-produced materials contest globalizing trends. In addition to decolonizing the trends (i.e., displacing and reappropriating the dominant discourses of globalizing trends), the materials also produce multiple and sometimes contradictory effects. The materials mobilize gender hierarchies to counter racial-imperial ones. They silence privilege and difference in attempts to create shared public spaces. Moreover, as Diamond (2002) posits, “cartoons provide alternative perspectives,” as well as create and contest meanings, “in a broad spectrum of ways, from supporting the prevailing pattern of authority and power relations to undermining or subverting it” (pp. 251-52).
Hence, the counter-discourses of these materials even could be considered normative. The counter-discourses of these materials are the dominant counter-discourses—the center of the oppositional movement. They are far-reaching, highly visible, and part of daily life at the UIS. Plus, these counter-discourses are not new, but stem from a tradition of student activism at the UIS, in Colombia, and in Latin America (Acevedo Tarazona, 2004). Finally, as cartoons and graffiti use satire, many of the student-produced materials actually repeat, albeit in ironic ways, the “prevailing pattern of authority,” or rather, the dominant forms of globalizing trends that they oppose.

Decolonizing work, according to Muñoz (1999), actually “taps into the force of … the original that is being repeated, while it draws on and, in time, covers the conventions that it will ultimately undermine” (p. 81). “In a voice that is doubly authorized, by both the metropolitan form and subaltern speech,” Muñoz (1995) states, the “easy binarisms such as [the] colonized and the colonizer are interrupted and displaced” (pp. 81, 82). Similarly, as indicated in a previous chapter, Lather (2001) suggests that the possibility of producing decolonizing effects lies “…in the possibility of a variation within a repetition” (p. 204).

When UIS materials depict symbols of the US (e.g., the US flag, stars-n-strips, Uncle Sam), the intention obviously is not to display US patriotism. On the contrary, they tap into these recognized forms in order to displace them. The repetition works because the student-produced materials are graffiti, flyers, and cartoons (e.g., their speech) that utilize irony, satire, and other images (e.g., skulls for stars) to rework the US symbols. The alternative interpretations articulated in student-produced materials also draw on an historical event (e.g., The Panama Affair), but from a Colombian perspective, to reframe globalizing trends as US imperialism. Most of all, even though student-produced materials may be considered
common place at a Colombian public university, when these ways of reworking
globalizing trends are situated transnationally, they particularly are “... method[s] of
telling the story of those experiences that are not often told … and … tool[s] for
analyzing and challenging the stories of those in power and whose story is a natural part
of the dominant discourse—the majoritarian story” (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001, p. 475).
“Through international mobilization,” however turbulent the connections, Tuhiwai Smith
(2005) notes, lies that the possibility of calling attention to, and changing, the worldwide
impact of globalizing trends (p.103).

Since the studies in Montgomery and Canaan’s (2004) special issue demonstrate
that globalizing trends may go uncontested, Montgomery and Canaan (2004) wonder if
“The shrinking of social welfare benefits may result in worsening conditions that
ultimately will unmask the weaknesses of capitalism” (p. 745). My study at a public
university in the highly stratified Southern nation of Colombia that is a target of
globalizing trends sheds light on this query. It shows that some higher education students,
even relatively privileged ones at a prestigious university, explicitly challenge
inequalities and capitalism, as well as the relationship between neoliberalism and
imperialism.

The student-produced materials demonstrate that decolonizing work is
particularly complicated. Decolonizing research not only calls for this complication
(Tuhiwai Smith, 2005), but also the ongoing displacement of that which has been
counter-posed, especially when violence against certain groups is repeated in order to
justify decolonizing effects for others (Danius, Jonsson, & Spivak, 1993, p. 30). While
the nature and effects of student-produced materials will vary, I argue that students’
cultural productions not only are worthy of increased scholarly attention, but also can be particularly effective when situated transnationally. This chapter demonstrated that UIS student-produced materials openly contest globalizing trends. Below, the next data chapter examines how students perceive and contest local formations of policy and curriculum at the UIS as part of Colombia’s imperial legacy.
CHAPTER 5

GLOBAL/LOCAL DYNAMICS OF UIS CURRICULUM POLICY: CIVILIZING THE BARBARIANS AND COMPLICATING COMPLIANCE

Introduction

Like that of many other countries, Colombia’s official educational policy, and in turn UIS institutional policy, seeks to inculcate “good citizens” of the nation-state. However, due to globalizing trends and a legacy of imperialism, the nature, purpose and value of this education, as well as the meaning of “citizenship” are shifting (Banks, 2004; Fiske, 1996; Torres, 1998; Wright 2005). How and to what extent are globalizing trends, especially neoliberalism, changing power relations from States (governments) to “neo-liberal forms of power where individuals are expected to conduct themselves voluntarily” (Wright, 2005, p. 1) as citizen-entrepreneurials, citizen-consumers, and global citizens (Ong, 2004)? How are these shifts articulated in educational policy, curriculum, and practice? How are they perceived? Are they contested?

Some ethnographic studies suggests that higher education students do not openly contests these globalizing trends (Montgomery & Canaan, 2004; Shumar, 2004) or if they do contest them in “the absence of any democratic machinery … [it is impossible] … to call the institution to account” (Wright, 2005, p. 18). In Chapter 4 of this dissertation, I show that UIS student-produced materials resist these trends and produce multiple effects. In this chapter, I examine the global, national, and local dynamics of curriculum
policy at the UIS and particularly how curriculum policy is locally articulated, perceived, and contested at the university. Ética, a university-wide required course at the UIS, is the result of curriculum policy as/in practice. UIS policy and the course are embedded in global, regional, and national policy contexts. This chapter discusses and analyzes these policy contexts, how Ética is practiced at the UIS, and students’ responses to UIS curriculum policy as/in practice during the time of the study. The analysis produces two key findings. First, compliance with policy mandates can be more complicated than simple agreement. Second, resistance may be more complicated than simple oppositions.

**Contexts of Ética**

Global and Latin American regional policy contexts serve as a backdrop for Colombia national and educational policy contexts. These contexts situate Ética. “International best practices” (World Bank, 2003), “Washington consensus” (Williamson, 1990) and sometimes “universal convergence” (Williamson, 1994) are all terms used to describe “the policy initiatives that were being urged on Latin America [and the world] by the powers-that-be in Washington” (Williamson, 1994, p. 17; see also Iglesias, 1994, p. 494). Garcia-Guadilla (2001) argues while there are differences among Latin American countries, the World Bank and UNESCO propagated transformation models as exemplary. For example, the Chilean reform model—“alternative financing options; closer relationships with the productive sector; institutional efficiency, and evaluation and accreditation mechanisms”—was “sold” as one of the most “successful” in Latin America (Garcia-Guadilla, 2001, p. 30). In contrast, Manuel Camilo Vial Risopatrón, Bishop of San Felipe in Chile, states the following about it:
(1) The transformation…is hardly compatible with the democratic system of governance. (2) The heaviest burden has been borne by the poor. … (3) All progress [unions] had achieved was lost, and they were rendered powerless by draconian legislation. (4) The proposed system has produced social disparity… The growing inequities in the distribution of income have been alarming. (5) …The reduction in social spending for health services, education, and social security… [have] affect[ed] the poor, and in many cases the damage has been irreparable. (6) The resulting inequities are flaunted in advertising, which encourages the consumer to spend by creating fictitious and unattainable needs that give rise to deep-rooted frustration and the search for easy money through violence, prostitution, and theft. (7) Finally, the market economy has undoubtedly become an end in itself…of serious concern in particular is the loss of any sense of community…many sectors of society [are] on the margin. (cited in Iglesias, 1994, p. 497)

UIS institutional policy-makers referenced these failures of the Chilean reforms as lessons in their weekly planning meetings (fieldnotes). Urrutia (1994), the former Governor of the Central Bank of Colombia, summarizes such globalizing reforms in Colombia as the liberalization of trade, foreign exchange, labor, and finance, and the creation of the Constitution of 1991. Globalizing trends influenced privatization and decentralization of social services, all of which affect education (Urrutia, 1994; World Bank, 1992; Fiske, 1996). Below I describe the global context of national and educational policy in Colombia. I particularly draw on perspectives in World Bank documents.

**Global Context**

Colombia has a long relationship with many multi/transnational organizations and corporations, including with the BID (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo) since 1959, the IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) since 1945, and the World Bank since 1949. Colombia’s relationship with the World Bank is well documented in working papers, documents, reports, projects, and publications available
online (www.worldbank.org; see also Randall, 1992).\textsuperscript{23} As Urrutia (1994) states, “World Bank pressure for trade liberalization built up considerably as the Barco administration entered its second year [1987]….Few outside observers realize the depth of the reforms that took place in Colombia in these four years….the reforms had become inevitable” (pp. 289-292). Urrutia (1994) goes on to argue that the “influence of international economic opinion of the time” should be taken into consideration in policy analysis, especially in Colombia, where reform did not emerge from standard patterns of economic crisis and regime change (pp. 285, 304; see also Edwards and Steiner, 2000; Montenegro, 1995).

Delgado-Ramos and Saxe-Fernández (2005) confirm the role of US-European-dominated organizations (e.g., The World Trade Organization, the World Bank) as crucial actors in changing higher education in Latin America, particularly in commercializing it. They argue that “a greater reliance on market signals brings a shift in decision making power not just from government, but also from higher educational institutions—and specifically from the faculty, to the consumer or client, whether student, business or the general public” (p. 4, citing Johnston, 1998). Below I examine the neoliberal notions in papers, reports, and policy documents from the World Bank online archives. These ideas, especially decentralization, contextualize policy in Colombia and regulate social services such as education along market-based lines.

\textsuperscript{23} Most World Bank documents include some sort of disclaimer, stating that the views expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the World Bank or its policy. Nonetheless, these papers—including Fiske’s (1996) “The Story of Decentralization in Colombia” in Decentralization of Education: Politics and Consensus—inform policy documents like the World Bank Country Study: Tertiary Education In Colombia: Paving The Way For Reform (2003), as well as ideas and policy notions that mediate Colombian higher education policy and practice, whether officially sanctioned recommendations or not.
In an Education and Training Series discussion paper of the World Bank, Johanson (1985) reports that sector lending in education (e.g. policy-based loans) emphasizes policy and institutional change and tends “to use, influence and modify government procedures rather than attempt to bypass them” (p. iii). Johanson (1985) suggests that sector lending encourages local decision-making and local initiatives and at the same time strengthens local support for and capability to participate in policy and institutional reform. In other words, structural (re)adjustment is disseminated throughout society and strengthened by local level capability to support and initiate it. Hwa and Cherif’s (1987) Work Bank Country Analysis and Projections Division working paper on Colombia also calls for “liberalization policies.” Finally, Johanson’s discussion paper states that “since institution building and long-term policy changes are the essence of development, greater effectiveness in these matters makes sector lending a step forward in development financing, [and then argues further that] sector lending should become a more prominent instrument in regional education lending programs.” (1985, p. 22). At least Johanson (1985) correctly predicts that one of the disadvantages to policy-based lending is “greater Bank involvement in policy matters, which may be regarded as unwanted interference” (p. 13).

A World Bank report (1994) of its support for Colombia’s decentralization of health care, describes decentralization as follows:

In the broadest sense, the objectives of decentralization reform entail the fundamental reconfiguration of the state. Politically, popular elections of mayors, governors, and municipal councilmen are intended to strengthen the democratic process and to bring accountability for government actions closer to local

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24 According to many participants in my study, reports on healthcare are relevant to education because educational reforms in Colombia were modeled after those in the health sector (fieldnotes).
This market-based model emphasizes the transferring of public services from State to local levels based on customer demands. According to Fiske (1996), a consultant to the Education Group of the World Bank's Human Development Department, “exacerbates existing rich-poor gaps [because] local areas with abundant financial and human resources are in a better position than those with fewer resources to make maximum use of decentralized power… (p. 27)

While Fiske (1996) notes some equity problems with the consumer-based model in education, he also states that “the fact that decentralization has often exacerbated inequities is not a reason to abandon decentralization” (p. 29). Instead, he suggests “reserving a role for the central government to monitor the impact … of school reform, [stating that] central authorities can take steps to ensure that poor schools have the necessary financial and other resources to make use of the flexibility and other positive features of decentralization” (p. 29). As mentioned elsewhere in this dissertation, through measures to ensure accountability and responsibility at the local level, deregulation is at least in part a guise for organizing society as a market.

In his book entitled *Decentralization of Education: Politics and Consensus* from the World Bank’s Directions in Development Series, Fiske (1996) describes decentralization as follows:
Decentralization of schools is … truly a global phenomenon … [and] has manifold roots. Business leaders have discovered the limitations of large, centralized bureaucracies in dealing with rapidly changing market conditions. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the struggles of other socialist states have weakened faith in centralized [S]tates and increased the pressure for democratization. …Many centralized systems of education are simply not working. A global debate about the proper role of the [S]tate has led to more emphasis on the concepts of free markets, competition, and even privatization. Decentralization of schools is a complex process that can result in major changes in the way school systems go about making policy, generating revenues, spending funds, training teachers, designing curricula, and managing local schools. Inherent in such changes are fundamental shifts in the values that undergird public education—values that concern the relationships of students and parents to schools, the relationships of communities to central government, and, indeed, the very meaning and purpose of public education. School decentralization is also a highly political process. By definition, it involves substantial shifts—or at least the perception of shifts—in power. (p. v)

In short, he relates decentralization to democratization and democratization to free enterprise. He acknowledges that these globalizing trends can fundamentally shift the meaning and purpose of public education.

In Colombia, decentralization of education continues to result in multiple effects, including problems in the delivery of services when responsibilities for education are delegated to different levels of government in a decentralized system. In the mid-1990s, Colombia worked with the World Bank to reform its processes of decentralization. In 1995, the World Bank released a report and a Country Study on building local capacity in Colombia. Both documents focus on leadership, civic involvement, and on disseminating customer-oriented policy at local levels (World Bank Country Study, 1995; World Bank, 1995). In addition, a World Bank country report, entitled Colombia Reforming the Decentralization Law: Incentives for an Effective Delivery of Services (1996), states the following:
Over the last eleven months, the World Bank has been collaborating with the National Planning Department (DNP) and other national agencies (including the Dirección de Apoyo Fiscal of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministries of Education and Health) in a revision of the institutional and legal framework ruling decentralization with the purpose of recommending adjustments. This report summarizes the findings emerging from that work and makes recommendations oriented to making decentralization work. … The underlying logic of the report is to consider changes in the implementation, rather than the principles, of the existing framework for decentralization in order to make it more conducive to an effective [local] delivery of services. (p. v.)

Moreover, the LCSHD (Latin American Caribbean Social and Human Development) Paper Series from the Department of Human Development and of the World Bank’s Latin America and the Caribbean Regional Office not only indicates that Colombia’s relationship with the World Bank is ongoing, but in its Preface also implies that educational reforms will continue to be market-based:

At the behest of … the Government of Colombia, [while] examining options for improving the higher education sector over the next decade, … the World Bank … undertook an assessment of the state of tertiary education and made recommendations on how its funding, governance, structure, and scope could be reformed to better meet the needs of the country and the challenges it will face in a global market economy. (Holm-Nielsen, Jaramillo, Zuñiga, & Blom, 2002)


High-quality education and training must be provided for all age groups in both rural and urban areas, going beyond mandates for universal enrollment or access to literacy skills. This requires infrastructure investment, curriculum review, and
improved management. It entails … designing materials that impart substantive knowledge about issues of violence and peace. Schools are therefore powerful socializing institutions for shaping values and promoting citizen participation and democracy. Teaching the use of conflict resolution techniques in classrooms will provide examples that can be reinforced elsewhere in society….In this way, schools can act as a first line of defense… (Moser, 2000, pp. 58-9)

The Country Study (2003) concurs that “any knowledge strategy needs to take full account” of the following:

Violence in Colombian society which has brought about intolerance and social disintegration and has led to frequent shutdowns, interruption of classes, and a hostile atmosphere in universities that is not conducive to learning or to the spread of democratic values …. Colombia needs, first and foremost, to assure political stability and an adequate rule of law. Income and regional inequalities further contribute to the growing social tensions and any knowledge strategy needs to take full account of this factor. (World Bank, 2003, pp. xviii, 155)

Therefore, globalizing trends and civic (citizenship) education are at least affirmed by materials disseminated by the World Bank. Against this neoliberal backdrop, Colombia national and educational policy is developed and implemented. In the following section, I discuss the national context of civic education and Ética by examining relevant parts of the Constitution of 1991, subsequent laws, and the reinforcement of these mandates by national-level organizations and educational policy.

**Colombian Context**

Colombia’s new constitution in 1991 observes a monumental shift in Colombian national policy. The Constitution of 1991 set out to change economic policy, as well as the sociopolitical framework of Colombia. Importantly, it marks the start of major educational reform in Colombia (Holm-Nielsen, Jaramillo, Zuñiga, & Blom, 2002). It
particularly provides provisions for civic education, which are implemented as Ética at the UIS. In the Constitution of 1991, Under Headline II, “Rights, Guarantees, and Obligations,” Chapter I, “The Fundamental Rights,” Article 41 states:

> En todas las instituciones de educación, oficiales o privadas, serán obligatorios el estudio de la Constitución y la Instrucción Cívica. Así mismo se fomentarán prácticas democráticas para el aprendizaje de los principios y valores de la participación ciudadana. El Estado divulgará la Constitución.

All of the institutions of education, public or private, will be obligated to study the Constitution and Civic Instruction. Thereby the institutions will foment democratic practices, thus principles and values of citizenship participation, through learning. The State will divulge the Constitution.

Other relevant articles of the Constitution that lay the groundwork for Ética are presented in Appendix D.

The Constitution called for the educational reforms summarized as follows. All institutions of education must study the constitution and provide civic education that hinges on citizenship participation. Colombians have the right to, and should have, an “integral formation.” According to the Constitution, an “integral formation” includes moral, intellectual, and physical development, based on human rights, peace, and democracy for work and recreation. It values plurality and diversity of ability, ethnic affiliations, etc. It also includes access to, and goals of improvement for, culture, science, technology, and environmental protection. An “integral formation” in education is a well-rounded humanistic education, similar to a liberal arts education in the US.

Following the Constitution of 1991, Colombian national education policy and Colombian law took up the constitutional mandates for education. These policies/laws mandated educational reforms, requiring institutions to address certain topics, such as the integral formation of students, ethics, civil/citizenship education, peace/violence,
conflict-resolution, and so on. While these policies/laws sometimes refer to global or international standards, they very specifically intended to regulate institutional practice (curricula) in Colombia. For example, from the Constitution and Articles 6 and 73 of Law 115 of 1994, El Projecto Educativo Institucional (PEI) emerged. PEI is the Institutional Education Projects required of all institutions of education in order to outline the institution’s plan for meeting national mandates/laws. The UIS PEI is discussed later in the institutional-level policy section (see also Ávila & Camargo, 2002).

Educational policy is law in Colombia. Ley 30 de 1992 and Ley 115 de 1994 (Laws 30 and 115 from 1992 and 1994, respectively). This legislation resulted in various requirements for higher education. Some relative passages in Ley 30 and Ley 115 appear in Appendix E. This Colombian legislation directly corresponds to the constitutional aim of using educational institutions to systematize national reforms. The laws obligate institutions to address Colombia’s sociopolitical and economic needs, to contribute to national unity, and to study the Constitution. They specifically call for a one-semester course in civic education and the formation of ethical professionals as a fundamental element in all programs in all institutions of higher education.

According to Article 5 of Law 115 of 1994, the formation must be a process of integral formation, meaning all aspects of human development: morals (No. 1), environmental awareness (No. 10), hygiene and free time (No. 12). For example, integral formation must include moral and civic values (No. 1), such as respect for life and human rights (No. 2), respect for (and promotion of) national culture (No. 3, 4, 6, 8), and respect for legitimate authority. Moreover, institutions must integrate the ethical and moral formation reforms throughout institutional practice and processes, meaning especially
through curriculum and academic content. Finally, the law requires that the MEN and the institutions develop official plans to incorporate these aims.

The aims of the constitution and these laws are supported at the national level by The Colombian Institute for the Development of Science and the Technology (COLCIENCIAS), The Colombian Society of Pedagogy (SOCOLPE), and the Ministerio de Educación Nacional (MEN), all of which shape research topics and program and curricular reforms. Both COLCIENCIAS and SOCOLPE have been instrumental in directing educational policy, research, and curricula on the formation of Ética and values (COLCIENCIAS-SOCOLPE, 2000). In 2002, the organizations published a ten-year review of education research in Colombia with the intention of directing future research. Ética was noted as one of the most recent and important topics:

Los estudios sobre la formación Ética y los Valores. Constituyen una de las temáticas de investigación más recientes. No obstante la importancia ineludible del tema para el contexto nacional—afectado por la Guerra, la violencia y la intolerancia, unida a la crisis de los valores tradicionales—el ámbito educativo, hasta hace muy pocos años, continuaba actuando al margen de esta realidad social, desconociendo los efectos de la intolerancia, del irrespeto por la diferencia, la diversidad cultural, étnica y moral, y de la influencia de estos factores como fuente de conflicto y violencia escolar. (p. 24)

The studies on the formation Ethics and the Values constitute one of the most recent themes of investigation, nevertheless, one of inescapable importance for the national context—affect by the War, the violence and the intolerance, the crisis of the traditional values. The educational community, until these last few years, acted on the margin of this social reality. The effects of intolerance, of the disrespect for difference, of moral, ethnic, and cultural diversity, and of the influence of these factors as sources of conflict and school violence are unknown.

Moreover, the MEN’s 10-year plan notes that national education policy in Colombia has been based on the demands and requirements of international financial organizations. The 10-year plan emerged from the Constitution and subsequent laws.

The intentions of the 10-year plan appear below:

The most profound objective of the Ten-year Plan of Educational Development is that of instigating the confluence of wills and efforts of the whole nation around the most ambitious educational project of our history: the formation of integral human beings. Socially produced in the construction of a country in which community (working together) and tolerance predominate, human beings will...
have the capacity to disagree and to dispute without employing force; human beings will be prepared to incorporate Humanity’s scientific and technological knowledge towards their own development and of the development of the country. In sum, the Ten-Year Plan of Educational Development aspires to articulate all the ideas and actions that give sense to the great revolution implied by civic participation in the essential matters of the destiny of citizens and the exercise of fundamental citizen rights. (p. 3)

The second strategic challenge of Colombia is the strengthening of civil society and the promotion of civic contact (civil relationships). To construct some of the rules of play will forge a culture and an ethic that permits the solution of said conflicts, through dialogue, democratic debate, and tolerance among others. (p. 4)

Clearly, two of the main objectives of the 10-year plan are to produce students who are “integral human beings” and civically engaged, e.g., “good citizens.” Given these goals and the above-quoted passages, the underlying assumptions of the plan might be read as follows. Students are positioned as human beings who neither have the capacity to incorporate knowledge into their own development and that of the country, nor the capacity to resolve conflict through dialogue and nonviolence. Moreover, violence and conflict, rather than community, democratic debate, and tolerance, are the norm.

Colombia’s economic policy (liberalization, privatization) and military (Plan Colombia) reforms do not address the nature of the Colombian sociopolitical crisis. As outlined above in the Constitution of 1991, Law 30, Law 115, legislation intends for educational policy reform to address Colombia’s sociopolitical problems, such as violent conflict, intolerance for difference, social inequities, etc. Still these reforms do not address the nature of Colombia’s sociopolitical problems as described by Marulanda, Pearce, or UIS student-produced materials (see Chapter 4). A theme of civic education is “integral formation.” The idea is to form “good citizens” to alleviate problems, such as violence, inequality, and corruption. Civic education reform does not address the nature
of the problems, such as Colombia’s colonial legacy, US imperialism, the imposition of policy-based lending, inequitable land distribution despite land reforms, oligarchic socioeconomic hierarchies, etc. Improvising on Weems’s argument (2000), the source of this deficiency in such constructions is located in the individual student, rather in the complex dynamics of imperialism, etc.

Despite decentralization, or perhaps because of it, institutional policy of universities is strongly connected to Colombia national policy and law. Educational policy is embedded in these national contexts. In the following section, I discuss El Proyecto Educativo Institucional (PEI), the policy documents that national law/policy requires all educational institutions to develop, showing how national mandates are included in their institutional policy and practice.

**Institutional Policy Context of Ética: The PEI and Acuerdos**

Ética addresses Colombian national mandates for civic and ethics education. The UIS presented its Proyecto Educativo Institucional (PEI) on April 11, 2000, after Ética was already being offered. As a result of Acuerdo 102 of 1995 and Acuerdo 160 of 1998 (internal policy documents), the UIS began to offer Ética in 1998. The PEI explains how the university intends to meet national policy and law but in practice the PEI came after the implementation of the course. This flip-flop in policy-implementation demonstrates the non-linear qualities of policy as/in practice.

Acuerdo 160 de 1998 established this obligatory curriculum in the UIS. “Acuerdo” means agreement. Acuerdos are official internal documents of the UIS that legislate university business. The Consejo Académico is the second highest governing council of the UIS, responsible for academic decisions regarding curricula, research,
Academic programs, and degrees—similar to Academic Affairs or a university’s senate. Acuerdos have a certain format. Agreement Number 160 of 1998 (December 15) states its purpose: “Por el cual se establecen parámetros para la concepción de la formación integral en la Universidad.” (To establish parameters for the conception of the integral formation [liberal arts education] in the University). Following this, the council cites precedents, laws, and policies on which the Acuerdo is based. This section of the Acuerdo is entitled “Considerando” (Consideration for or with regard to). The Considerando of Agreement number 160 reads:

The Consejo Académico de la UIS in use of its legal attributes and in consideration: Part of the Academic Reform of 1995 to establish the integral formation (liberal arts education) and in response to Ley 30 de 28 de diciembre de 1992, Articles 128 and 129, which established that all institutions of higher education were obligated to require students to study the political constitution, civic instruction, and the formation (training/education) of ethics of the professional in each department.

Although the UIS PEI appears after Ética, the national mandate intended for the PEI to lay the groundwork for the official curriculum of Ética. Recognized for its compliance with national-level policies, the UIS actually served as a model in training other institutions on the adoption of national educational policy and law and on the development of the PEI. In 2005, the UIS became one of seven universities to be nationally accredited for compliance to national policy and standards of quality (Guzmán, 2005). Below I discuss and analyze relevant parts of the PEI.

In the PEI of the UIS, about a quarter of the text addresses the formación integral (integral formation) as part of La Reforma Académica (Academic Reform), providing the
basis for Ética. The formación integral is similar to what is referred to in the US as “a liberal arts education.” Chapter 4 of the PEI is devoted particularly to the formación integral. It states:

Este es un principio englobante y determinante de todos los demás porque expresa el ideal de la Institución con respecto a la formación de los estudiante y a su proyección social. Enuncio, entonces, las características del Universitario UIS; determina el contenido del concepto de formación integral y lo propone como una tarea compleja y de largo plazo, un objeto institucional que compromete a todos sus estamentos e instancias académicas. Así mismo, precisas el papel de la Ciencias Humanas y apela al reconocimiento; destaca su importancia en el proceso de formación y de construcción de una cultura universitaria y obliga al replanteamiento de las ideas sobre las llamadas humanidades.

Con la idea de formación integral se supera la perspectiva profesionalizada que ha tenido la UIS desde su fundación y se propone, en consecuencia, un objetivo institucional que integra el propósito tradición al de creación y conservación del conocimiento con los de formación humana y pertenencia social de los programas académicos.

Ahora bien, para avanzar hacia ese ideal de formación integral es necesario distanciarse críticamente de la concepción que se ha extendido en la comunidad universitaria de la UIS sobre el papel de las Ciencias Humanas….

Es necesario, en cambio, asumir la formación integral como un objetivo Institucional que ha de ser buscado y realizado por todos los estamentos universitarios y por todos los Programas Académicos de acuerdo a sus propias especificidades. La formación integral, en otros términos, obliga a la constitución de un ethos universitario o de una cultura Institucional como resultado de la convivencia y de las actividades propias de la vida universitaria. (2000, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48).

This is a principle inclusion and determinant of all the others because it expresses the ideal of the Institution with regard to the formation of the student and to her/his social projection. This chapter enunciates, then, the characteristics of the UIS Student; determines the content of the concept of “integral formation” and proposes it as a long-range and complex task—an institutional objective to which all classes and academia instances can commit. In the same way, Human Sciences’ precise role comes to recognition, emphasizing its importance in the process of formation and construction of a university culture; and it obliges the reestablishment of the ideas called humanities/the liberal arts.
With the idea of integral formation, the professionalization perspective that has been at the UIS since its foundation is surpassed and, consequently, an institutional objective is proposed that integrates the traditional purpose of the creation and conservation of knowledge with the human formation and social relevance of academic programs. However, in order to advance towards the ideal of an integral formation a critical distance from the conception of the role of the Human Sciences that has extended throughout the UIS university community is necessary.

It is necessary, on the other hand, to assume the integral formation as an Institutional objective. It should be sought and carried out by all university classes and all Academic Programs according to their own specificities. In other terms, as a consequence of the contact and activities of university life, the integral formation obliges a university ethos or an Institutional culture.

Re-establishing the importance of humanities/liberal arts at the UIS, the PEI integrates the traditional professional purpose of a UIS education, which is to create and conserve mainly scientific and technical knowledge, with human development and citizen-making. In addition, according to the PEI, the role of Human and Social Sciences at the UIS must be re-conceptualized. Whereas the Human and Social Sciences have been separate from the Natural and Technical Sciences at the UIS and in the Western world, stemming from the humanist project of the Renaissance and then the Enlightenment, the PEI proposes integration and the creation of a university ethos. Marking a shift at the UIS, the PEI directs programs of study, curricula, and extra-curricular activities to incorporate the formación integral (pp. 48-49). While programs should be socially and politically relevant and students should be prepared for Colombia’s diverse society and the world community, a primary purpose of formación integral is the inculcation of citizens—“good citizens” for Colombia—as a means to these ends.

For instance, “to give definite content to the term ‘integral formation,’” the PEI proposes “to emphasize the following aspects”: the formation of an ethical, moral, free
subject, who recognizes cultural plurality, regional identity, and Colombia’s identity.
This citizen-subject would be capable of acting morally and politically and of assuming
social and political responsibilities. The formation would include aesthetic sensibilities,
professionalism, vocational training, environmental awareness, and both Spanish and
English communication skills. See relative passages of the PEI in Appendix F.

The “integral formation,” as a major component of the PEI, intends to develop
citizens and student-citizen-subjects. If the object of the PEI is to produce an ethical
(“good”) UIS student, who appreciates poetry, literature, and the fine arts and so on, then
a critical reading of the PEI finds it creates a “barbarian” starting subject-position for UIS
students. They must be unethical, “bad,” low-brow students in need of civilizing and high
culture. Once developed—integrally formed and civilized—UIS students would be good
Colombian citizens, capable and ethical subjects who construct a better quality of life for
all citizens. Integrally formed citizen will act morally and politically without questioning
the universality or even possible competing values of moral and political actions. Free
and autonomous (neoliberal and entrepreneurial) citizens will be socially and politically
responsible individuals. It further assumes that the emphasis on individual responsibility
will overflow to the large community. Although cultural diversity is mentioned, culture
also is essentialized into a universal national culture and unified regional cultures. What
counts as literature and art? Would indigenous storytelling and artwork count? Artesanía
(handcrafted arts) are not mentioned. While required to learn English, here no mention is
made of indigenous languages. When culture is essentialized, it will be exclusive
generally along historical lines of race, class, gender, and so on (see also Ladson Billings,
2004). The barbarian student-subject position produced in the PEI is especially
problematic when situated against the backdrop of globalizing trends and imperialism in Colombia (Chapters 1 and 4). Below I explore the practice of policy as/in curriculum at the UIS and students’ responses to it.

The global, historical, and institutional contexts of national, educational, and curriculum policy frame the practice of policy as/in curriculum at the UIS. As indicated in Chapter 1, Levinson and Sutton (2001) use the phrase “policy as/in practice … [to] explicate policy as a practice of power and to interrogate the meaning of policy in practice” (p. 1). I use the phrase “policy as/in curriculum” to specify curriculum as the “practice” in which policy will be interrogated. “Policy as/in curriculum” signifies a highly mediated practice of power, which produces and distributes knowledge capable of constituting and reconstituting educational practices and disciplining subjects, such as what counts as compliance or resistance to policy and how students self-construct or discipline themselves as barbarians, rather than colonized subjects. Both policy and curricula shape how individuals are constructed and are shaped by power relations and contexts. Studying curricula policies and “curriculum-driven reform,” as Valverde (2004) demonstrates, is important for trying to understand the process by which “educational reforms, and reforms in curriculum governance specifically, take place concurrently as nation-states experience significant redefinitions of their relationships to the world system, the bureaucracy, and nonstate actors” (p. 175). To shed light on policy as/in curriculum, below I particularly examine Ética, the required civic education course at the UIS.
Ética: The Practice of Policy as/in Curriculum at the UIS

As an introduction to Ética, this section begins with lengthy quotation from a professor who taught the course at the time of this study. The professor’s reply reflects key points about Ética that I explore below. After I asked this interview question, “I heard that there is a course that every discipline in the university must teach, Ética. Do you know la historia (story) of this and cómo es (interrogative for “what is it like?” and/or “how is it?”) in your discipline?” The professor responded:

Te voy a contra la historia de todo, tuvimos un problema cuando éramos la escuela, la mejor escuela de ingeniería siempre tuvimos un problema que la gente de afuera decía “los ingenios son muy bueno, los ingenieros de la Universidad, son muy buenos para calcular para diseñar pero no tiene liderazgo y no tiene una cultura general no tienen una cultura humanística… etcétera”, por eso cuando se creo la facultad de humanidades de 1967. Lo que se pusieron fue a civilizar bárbaros ...de la siguiente manera, crearon lo que se llamaba cursos de humanidades y en esos cuatro cursos de humanidades se suponían que nosotros recibíamos esa formación humanística y así resolver las quejas que habían de a fuera. Pero las quejas siguieron viniendo igual. Eso no se resolvió, igual que éramos muy buenos pero solamente en el punto de vista de humanística, liderazgo pero de malas palabras….yo tengo una interpretación diferente a eso puede que no sea cierta…la Universidad es una universidad publica y la gente que viene, sobre todo de estratos bajos no traíamos mucha cultura de la cuna…otro problema fue que al crear esa mentalidad de que los humanistas debían venir a civilizar a los bárbaros hicieron que nosotros los ingenierios consideráramos las humanidades como algo extraño como algo externo como que no era de aquí y como algo secundario. Lo fundamental era de nosotros lo de mas eran aditamentos y entonces nos alienamos con respecto a las ciencias humana. También les creo a los de ciencias humanas la idea errada de que la ingeniería deshumaniza. Todavía lo creen. Nosotros creemos que es aparte, que eso es de afuera, entonces lo hicimos algo extraño a nosotros. El otro problema fue que las notas que sacaban los estudiantes en humanidades eran altísimas, entonces los estudiantes, no tomaban cuatro cursos que les tocaban sino que se tomaban 8 y 10 cursos, pero era solamente para subir el promedio y no aprendían nada. Y las quejas seguían llegando entonces nosotros propusimos acabar con las humanidades. Se pensó que la educación humanística no es problemas de los humanistas sino es problema de todos los universitarios, de los ingenieros, de todos. Ahora debe haber un curso de ética por que la constitución lo dice y segundo por que realmente se necesita un sitio donde convenga la reflexión sobre los problemas éticos. por que eso es uno de los graves problemas que tenemos en el país y en los problemas de corrupción
que hay en el país no son mas graves que los problemas de la guerra en termino producto interno bruto y los corruptos somos nosotros, los ingresados de las universidades. Entonces se necesita hacer un reflexión y ahora la ética se dicta para cada escuela, pero los ingenieros desafortunadamente no fuimos capaces de dictarla tampoco, entonces están llamando a los de humanidades para que vengan a dictarla. Aquí en esta escuela el que dicta ética es el director de la escuela.

(personal communication, April 28, 2003)

I am going to tell you the whole story. We had a problem even though we were always the best school of Engineering. The problem was that people outside of the university would say that our engineers were very good at doing their job, calculating and designing, but they did not have leadership skills or culture in general. They did not have a humanistic culture [i.e., a liberal arts background], etc. That’s why when the College of Humanities was started in 1967 they put themselves to the task of civilizing the barbarians. The University created four required humanities courses. In these courses, we would receive the humanist formation in order to resolve issues with our reputation outside of the university. But the reputation continued. Nothing changed. We continued to be respected as very good engineers but from the humanities’ point of view, in terms of leadership, and from our language, we were poor. I have a different interpretation because I don’t agree that this is right. The University is a public university and the people that come here do not have much “culture from the crib” [elite/colonizer culture—“not born with a silver spoon in their mouths”]. Because the humanists created the mentality that they were there to civilize us, they created another problem [a division]. We, the engineers, considered the humanities as something really strange and foreign, as something external, not from here….we adamantly alienated ourselves with respect to the human sciences. Also, I believe that among those in the human sciences there is an idea that still holds, which views Engineering as dehumanizing. We believe that they are apart and outside so that what they do is strange to us. Another problem was that our students’ grades in the humanities were very good and so the students, the barbarians, didn’t take just the four required courses. They took 8 to 10 courses in order to raise their grade point average, yet they didn’t learn anything [in terms of “elite culture”]. The reputation continued so we proposed to do away with the required humanities’ courses. I think that a humanities’ education [liberal arts education] is not just the problem of the humanities but also a problem for the entire university, of engineers…of all. Now we must have the required course Ética because the Constitution [of 1991] says so and secondly because really it is necessary. It is a site where we can reflect over ethical problems…some of the most serious problems that we have in the country along with the problems of corruption. There is no problem more serious than war in determining the gross national product and we are the corruptors, the alumnae/i of the universities, so it
is necessary to make a reflection and now in each school [discipline] Ética does that. Unfortunately, we engineers still were not capable so they called the Humanities to come and teach us it, but here in this school the one who gives Ética is the director of the school.

Namely, he mentions the “whole story” which historicizes and embeds the new course. In part, this refers to the contexts described previously. He includes Ética’s relationship with previous attempts of the Humanities to “civilize” the UIS students (particularly science and engineering students) who came from the “bottom strata” and did not bring the elite/colonizer culture and highbrow language with them. In addition, he draws the connections between the new required course in ethics, shifts in national policy/law, such as the Constitution of 1991, and civil (citizenship) education designed to address problems of the nation-state, such as violence and corruption.

While none of the official documents phrase the task of Ética as “civilizing the barbarians,” like the professor puts it in his reply, this appears to be one of the central objectives of the curriculum and of the mandates described in the previous sections of this chapter. What the above response does not convey, but the data as a whole does, is that the Humanities at the UIS began in consult with US universities, the Peace Corps, and the US-based Ford Foundation and Price Waterhouse and was financed externally (see Chapter 1). Until the late sixties, the UIS only offered degrees in Science and Engineering. UIS students violently protested the forced institutionalization of the Humanities at the UIS, arguing that it bore the imprint of US
imperialism, a legacy traced at least to the US-backed succession of Panama in 1904 (see Chapters 1 and 4). As in many countries, education via official obligatory curricula is being used to inculcate “good citizens” of the nation-state in Colombia. At the UIS, this inculcation—the civilizing mission of citizenship curriculum—is being localized and resisted in light of its global and imperial contexts.

Below I explore how policy is practiced as/in curriculum at the UIS by using discourse analysis to unpack Ética. First, I consider the course syllabi, readings, and instructors. Then, I consider how this course, while in compliance with national policy/law, can actually be a form of resistance to external policies. Hence, how the UIS produces its agreement with educational policy suggest policy compliance is a performance. In addition, I show how the course, when it is localized, can be neutralized (e.g., as if it did not exist) and resisted. I examine how some students would rather self-identify as “barbarians” in order to resist the “civilizing mission” of the course and consequently the colonizing mission connected with US imperialism. While the course constitutes students at the UIS, particularly Science and Engineering students, as “barbarians,” I explore the decolonizing effects of students’ reinterpretations of this subject-position.

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25 Parks (1935) provides an historical overview of early Colombia-US relations (1765-1934), set in the context of Colombia’s colonial heritage.

Using Discourse Analysis to Unpack Ética

In discourse analysis, the course’s history, setting, genre, producers, and readers, or in this case the student audience for the course, converge to produce the course’s meaning at the time of the study. As indicated, the course relates to the university’s Humanities tradition and legacy of resistance against imperial imposition. The curriculum might be seen as imported from discourses of imperialism. Below, I will explore the course content, instructors, and lineage, particularly the course’s connection to similar curricula in the 1970s that was violently resisted.

Ética Syllabi

Even though each department is responsible for its own course, many departments contracted this course out to adjunct and graduate student instructors from other departments. The adjunct instructor I interviewed taught multiple sections of the course for various disciplines. According to this female adjunct, the course content was developed in the following way:

Inicialmente cuando yo presente la propuesta, yo la presente para las escuelas y resulta que la necesitaban. Entonces me dijieron que si. Cuando yo llegue ellos me dijeron que temas tengo que hacer y como voy a dirigir ese curso pues lo que hacemos es; yo hago todo el arranque del curso en filosofía y después ellos sencillamente siguen a partir de ese texto y de otras revistas (personal communication, May 11, 2004).

Initially when I presented the course proposal, I presented it to the schools [colleges] and it turned out that they needed the course so they told me yes. Then, when I arrived [each department (career program)] told me the topics that I had to do and how I should direct the course. So how we did it is I had all the courses starting from philosophy and then it was simple to put in other journals and take out texts.

I reviewed six of her syllabi. While they varied according to career program, the syllabi indicated that the goal of ethical reflection in the course is to generate a new
citizen and renew society: “en donde complemente fuertemente la formación profesional con la formación humanística que genere un ciudadano nuevo y una sociedad renovada.” (Where ethical reflection strongly complements the professional formation [training/education] with the humanistic formation [training/education], it generates a new citizen and renews society.) The syllabi also had some similar objectives, seen in the examples below:

- Reflexionar sobre la responsabilidad ética, social y profesional que tiene ante el mundo actual el egresado de la Universidad Industrial de Santander.

- Llevar a los estudiantes a analizar y reflexionar sobre los valores y principios éticos que imperan en las sociedades contemporáneas. Desarrollar la capacidad de análisis, argumentación y crítica de los estudiantes mediante el debate y la producción de estritos en torno a las problemáticas que se presentan en la sociedad colombiana.

To reflect on the ethical, social, and professional responsibility that a graduate of the Universidad Industrial de Santander has before the actual world.

To cause the students to analyze and reflect on the values and ethical principles that reign in contemporary society. To develop the students’ capacity of analysis, argumentation, and criticism by means of debate and written work on the problematics that are presented in Colombian society.

Demonstrated in the policy contexts, Colombian national and educational policy, including curriculum, intend to address Colombia’s long-standing sociopolitical instability by inculcating Colombian citizens with certain values. These aims also are found in the syllabi of Ética. In addition, despite some add-ons and pull-outs, students in many departments were taught from the same core syllabus, that is the philosophy of the
syllabus remains constant. Some of the theories privileged in the course may support, or at least not contest, the civilizing discourse that students dismiss and reject. The readings, including some of these theories are addressed below.

*Ética Readings*

The purpose of this section is not to suggest what ought to be taught in Ética. Rather, this section examines how course readings relate to policy mandates and might produce discourses about students and citizenry. Readings from the ethics course connect the official curriculum directly to the PEI and national civic education policy/law. Like these documents, they suggest that Colombia and Colombian citizens are in need of ethics education. Moreover, ethics and values revolve around modernity, modern States/nations, and civic responsibility and participation (Cortina, 1994; Papacchini, 1997; 1998; Salazar Paniagua, 1998). For example, in one article, an interview with Carlos Gaviria Días, the President of the Constitutional Court (1991) and former professor, Chinchilla (1996) explores the relationship between the Constitution and ethics.

El hecho es que a esta Constitución del 91 se la ha asignado, desde sus inicios, un profundo sentido ético insoslayable, y esta normatividad de 380 artículos que surgió como el mayor consenso político y social de los últimos cuarenta años de nuestra historia, ha llegado a ser interpretada como una especie de manual de ética civil para el ciudadano. (p. 7)

The fact is that since its ratification, a deep unavoidable ethical sense has been assigned to the Constitution of the 91. Arising as a major social and political consensus from the last forty years of our history, the regulatory nature of 380 articles has come to be interpreted as a civil ethics manual for the citizen.
National civil ethics are reinforced in readings by calls at the global-level for civic (ethics) education, human dignity, and human rights (UNESCO in Delores, 1996; United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, 1948). However, the work of Jean Piaget (1896-1980) and especially Lawrence Kohlberg (1927-1987) provide the central discussion. Kohlberg’s (1958, 1981, 1984) theory of moral development is promoted in the course in the absence of critiques by Gilligan (1993) and Benhabib (1987, 1992). According to Benhabib (1987, 1992), not only Kohlberg’s theory but “universalistic theories in the Western tradition from Hobbes to Rawls … defend [a universalism] defined surreptitiously by identifying the experiences of a specific group of subjects as the paradigmatic case of the human as such. These subjects are invariably white, male adults who are propertied or at least professional” (p. 81). The use of Kohlberg and the absence of critiques seem particularly pertinent, when also trying to understand why some students resisted the course as part of an imperializing/civilizing mission. I.e., using traditional European and American theorists who propose universalistic theories without including critiques from feminist, Marxist, indigenous, and critical race scholars, who argue that traditional universalistic theories are Euro-American-centric, male-centric, and based on white supremacy is noteworthy.

Course Instructors

Key data for this section came from interviews with two professors of Ética. The first professor, who holds a degree in a marginalized field, taught the course for at least eight disciplines and can be identified as a woman, graduate student, and adjunct. As is the case with most professors of Ética, this professor was subjected in marginal ways by gender, professional status, and discipline. The other professor, whom I quoted in the
opening passage above, presents a discrepant case. As a male, full professor, scientist/engineer, administrator, policy-maker, Ph.D. graduate of a US institution and an alumnus of the university, he occupied a unique position of power, partly based on patriarchy, seniority, hierarchies among disciplines, the privilege of leadership and decision-maker roles, and the privileged position given to English speakers and holders of US and UIS degrees. Few university professors in Colombia hold doctoral degrees, and Colombia universities produce very few of their own Ph.D.s. Holders of these degrees, often males with tenure and seniority, gain positions of power in higher education. The way that these differences are valued hierarchically in Colombia is rooted in colonized, racialized, and gendered discourses of power and knowledge (see also Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

First, as the instructor who teaches multiple sections of the course explains, the problem of finding professors to teach the course was a general problem with the policy from the start.

Cuando se establece la cátedra, como todas las escuelas se necesitan implementar en las carreras y resulta que no habían profesores, por eso yo he tenido todo ese paseo no habían profesores entonces en algunas escuelas les toco optar por que la trabajara el profesor de escuela o algún profesor que se comprometiera….es muy difícil conseguir profesores de ética acá por que tiene que ser un poco como mas al lado de la filosofía y son muy pocos los que estamos por ese área de la filosofía, filosofía moral….A veces nos toca decir que trabaja filosofía moral y otros no y el resto son profesores de cátedra y algunos profesores que lo hace por que no hay mas. Por ejemplo en química me acompaña un profesor de flauta ese trabajo lo hago con ese profesor desde que arrancamos…el es belga….

Because when the course was established every school needed to implement it into all of the careers [disciplines/programs], there were not enough professors. That’s why I have had this journey/history [of teaching the course] because there were not many other professors who could do it. Some of the schools had no choice but to put whomever [whatever professor they could] into this compromising position. It is very difficult to find professors of Ética here because
one has to be a little bit on the side of Philosophy and not many professors are in this area of philosophy, moral philosophy…Sometimes we found professors in the area of moral philosophy and sometimes we did not. The left over spots went to instructors already working at the university and some had to do it because there was no one else. For example in chemistry, my colleague in Ética is a Flute [the musical instrument] professor, who has done this work since the beginning. He is from Belgium.

At the time of the study, there were approximately 13 instructors for this course. The course was required for all undergraduates at the UIS. On the one hand, this course provides an opportunity for graduate students, like the instructor quoted above, who teaches multiple sections of the course and who is studying the course in multiple disciplines for her Master’s thesis. On the other hand, the demands for instructors that the policy/law and required course (Ética in the case of the UIS) put on universities demonstrates how policies and legislation fail to recognize practical concerns of implementation.

Clearly, the backgrounds of the instructors of this course vary widely. Different instructors are given importance in stratified ways, based on their professional status, gender, degree, and so on. For instance, in the department where the director of the department teaches the course, students reportedly took the course very seriously, whereas students from other departments said the course was “para echarse un champusito” (Colombian slang for “a no-brainer,” “a gut,” “a Mickey Mouse course”). Like previous versions of this course and attempts to instill a Humanities requirement, students do not take the course seriously. This chapter will not argue who should or should not teach Ética. Rather, it notes that who teaches it and that instructor’s training matters for how the course is positioned.
The instructor of multiple sections of Ética provides the dominant case, where as the department director is the discrepant case. Ética instructors were marginalized in multiple ways. For instance, the female instructor was not a tenured professor but an adjunct and a graduate student. Her major/degree was in a marginalized field, according to the privilege of science and engineering at the university. Despite some notable exceptions of women in high-level administrative positions, women faculty at the UIS were marginalized. In part, this is because male faculty earned prestige and promotion through their ability to travel for advanced graduate work. While some women obtained degrees from the US and Europe, historically, significantly fewer women than men have these opportunities in Colombia’s patriarchal (machismo) society. The male instructor who provides the discrepant case had a Ph.D. in the field of Science and Engineering from the US and held several important administrative positions at the UIS.

As the instructor of multiple sections of Ética explains, even those who had the training to teach the course were marginalized. Her undergraduate degree was in Sociology and she had a specialization in Contemporary Political Philosophy from the UIS. Until Ética, there were not very many people in this field, nor was there demand for it. More recently, faculty has begun to develop criteria for teaching the course:

Era un poco lo que académicamente estaba buscando….aquí en el país somos tachados ….quería lavar el título…. habí a ese criterio poco a poco se ha habido arreglando con por profesores de cátedra que han llegado de colegios o de otras universidades o también por que la gente se está preparando para poder dictar esa cátedra.

Academically, there were few looking for this field….Here in the country we are marked ….I wanted to clean the degree….Little by little, faculty, who have arrived from high schools, other universities, or also who have prepared to teach this course, have started to develop a criteria for teaching this course.
Course Lineage

While the adjunct instructor of Ética completed her specialization at the UIS, she talked about taking courses similar to the ones that she now teaches. She explains the version of Humanities at the UIS in the 1970s when she was a student. Significantly, she states that while course names have changed (from Humanities’ Groups, to context, to Ética), the content is the same.

[Entonces cuando estaba] haciendo la especialización [a la UIS]…tomara unos cursos de contexto donde existía anteriormente…. En la década del 70 [cuando] el estudiante estaba saliendo muy pésimo y que no estaban siendo formados y entonces los colocan en dichos grupos de humanidades….Fracaso esos grupos de humanidades en ultimas como eran precisamente se vieron materias de relleno que no aportaban mucho a la formación del estudiante entonces lo colocaron como grupo de contexto esos grupos de humanidades son ahora grupo de contexto que se ha hecho honestamente. Prácticamente lo que se hizo fue cambiarle el nombre a las cátedras pero el contenido es igual, pero es mas toda la intención de la universidad que los estudiantes tengan una formación integral y en ese mismo sentido es que se establece la clase de ética en esa misma línea un poco por el momento social que esta existiendo desde la época de los 90 un poco como ese caos social en que estamos donde no se reconoce el prestigio no se reconoce el criterio como que no hay valores que se estimen sino que al contrario esos valores se desestimas es un poco como esa preocupación que a la sociedad se les ha caído todo una serie de referentes y esos referentes en tanto hemos creado los debemos crearlos como pues a través de cátedras a través de asignaturas que hay se puede hacer algo así. Eso es mi intención con ética.

[So when I was] doing the specialization [at the UIS]…I took some courses of context [humanities courses, similar to Ética] where courses like Ética previously existed …. In the decade of the 1970s [when] students that were graduating were very wretched and evil; they were not being formed and so the university placed them in Humanities’ groups [the courses of context]….These Humanities’ groups were failures and ultimately were viewed as “padding” that did not contribute much to the formation of the student. Therefore, the university put these Humanities’ groups courses into [what they called] a context group. What they did honestly and practically was to change the name of the courses but the content is the same, but it is more the intention of the university [now] that the students have an integral formation. Thus, in this same sense they have established the class of Ética in the same line but tailored for the social moment that exists now. Since the 1990s, there has been social chaos where one does not recognize prestige or criteria. There are not any values considered, in contradiction values
are lowly regarded. It is the worry that due to all of this [Colombia’s civil war, etc.] society has fallen. In all that this situation has created, we must believe that we can create courses to traverse the past, that there is something that can be done. This is my intention with Ética.

Therefore, while the UIS and this instructor intend for Ética to address contemporary problems in Colombian society, the course content is very similar to that of its predecessors. Moreover, there are similarities between this instructor’s description of students of the 1970s (wretched and evil, without formation) and her description of the contemporary situation (social chaos, lacking values, and failure to recognize prestige).

As noted in Chapter 1, the changes that manifested in the 1970s, particularly the addition of the Humanities was violently resisted. It was “la huelga más larga, mas sangrienta y mas dura que ha tenido la universidad” (the longest, bloodiest, most difficult strike that the university has had) and the rector at the time (1964) was deemed “un agente del imperialismo” (an agent of imperialism) (personal communication, April 28, 2004).

Ética is marginalized by these discourses and its history. It is situated by its instructors, its content, its place in the Humanities genre, which was considered an imperial imposition, and the way it positions students and society as “bad” and “uncivilized” in order to transform them through coursework into “good citizens.”

Below, I discuss students’ responses to Ética and UIS curriculum policy.

**Responding to Being Disciplined (or Colonized) as “Good Citizens”**

As indicated, students are constituted as problems—barbarians—in order to discipline, civilize, and colonize them into “good citizens.” For example, one Physics student writes that to be Colombian means “ante los ojos del mundo entero es por asi
decirlo un problema” (before the eyes of the whole world to be a problem) (September 17, 2003). In this section, I describe and analyze how some students respond and contest UIS curriculum policy and Ética.

According to a UIS Science student, it is the responsibility of the university to form Colombian citizens, but this student disagrees with the current curriculum policy, arguing that it is copied from foreign universities and it is inappropriate to use it to address Colombia’s problems. Moreover, this student argues that UIS’s desire for the integral formation of students is actually preparing them to be slaves to global powers:

Nos deberían dar un pensum de acuerdo a la problemática del país y no una copia de un pensum de las universidades extranjeras….quiere prepararnos para que seamos esclavos de las multinacionales con las que Colombia tiene convenio.” (September 17, 2003)

They should give us a curricula/program that is inline with the problematic of the country and not a copy of the curricula/program of foreign universities. They want to prepare us so that we can be slaves of the multinationals with whom Colombia has agreements.

From the perspective of some UIS students, the course, which intends to create responsible citizens who actively participate in democracy, instead comes from external imperial powers and creates slaves or rather docile citizens, who can be controlled and manipulated. A Biology student concurs.

Una de las principales responsabilidades de la educación es formar los dirigentes y constructores de un país, formar la identidad de ciudadanos. La política académica de la UIS tiene un espacio ‘extranjero’ o universal… (March 5, 2004)

One of the principle responsibilities of education is to form the leaders and constructors of a country…to form the citizen’s identity. …The academia policy of the UIS has a foreign or universal characteristic to it…

Ética, the civic education course, does not escape the UIS history of curricula policy or Colombia-external relations.
A “Barbarian” Perspective

This section explores how, in order to resist the “civilizing mission” (or colonizing mission) of the course, some students would rather take-up the barbarian identity, than be disciplined by the pacifying, acculturating, and/or civilizing tactics attributed to the course’s connection with US imperialism. The data shows that the course is part of curriculum policy to inculcate “good” Colombian citizens. The data suggests that this citizenship mission gets positioned as part of a “civilizing mission” of State elites, multinationals, and the US to colonize students and inculcate docile citizens—to create “esclavos sin libertad de poder pensar” (slaves without the freedom of being able to think) (survey of graduating student, September 17, 2003). A male engineer and graduate of the UIS stated the following in an interview:

La facultad de humanidades…se dedico ha humanizar a los bárbaros…. nunca nos civilizamos por que los bárbaros nos tenemos que civilizar nosotros mismos no que nos vengan a civilizar. (August 8, 2003)

the faculty of liberal arts…dedicated themselves to humanize the [student] barbarians…. We never civilized because barbarians have to civilize ourselves not allow them to come to civilize us.

These statements reflect the position of some UIS students. In other words, some students self-identify with the barbarian position and seem to feel it empowers them. In this position, students have the ability to act, to be autonomous, and undomesticated (Marshall, 1997). The barbarian perspective is undomesticated. From this position, I believe students try to act on what Lorde meant when she said “the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house” (1984, p. 112).
These students, however, as higher education elites in Colombia, are at least in some ways complicit with “the master.” In other words, they may use tools in a way that shakes down or shakes loose civilizing and imperializing discourses, but it is because of their position as higher education elites, as students at a prestigious university, that they are heard (remember Spivak, see Chapter 3) or that these their methods become tools. To ponder this, I ask the following. If a community of Colombia’s indigenous peoples arrived in this mix claiming to be “barbarians” in order to interrupt the civilizing mission of US imperialism and Colombian elites, would their move have a decolonizing, undomesticating effect? I argue it would not, because this group would be dismissed both literally and figuratively as the “barbarians” or “savages” that they claimed to be. UIS students can use the pejorative because as students at one of the top universities, when they employ “barbarism,” it has the potential to dislocate and disorient the discourses of imperialism that arrive with it.

The discourse of “barbarism,” while not unified, openly contests the “civilizing mission” of imperialized versions of democracy and peace. Barbarism, instead, defends and values democratic practices, public spaces, and education against the neoliberal colonizing mission of Empire (see Chapter 6). Like Lipsitz (1994) argues, the British motion picture, 

\textit{Zulu} (1964) “clearly intended to depict the Zulus as predatory savages opposed to the civilizing mission of the British empire”; however, when rapper activist Afrika Bambaataa, named Zulu Nation after it, “the Zulus were heroic warriors resisting oppression” (p. 180). I am not suggesting that the UIS get rid of general education requirements, civic education, the Humanities, or democratic peace strategies. My argument attempts to displace imperial conceptions of these terms—to force a
momentary lapse from positivities that keep the civilizing discourse in place (see Chapter 2). In other words, the master’s tools are used but reconstituted. The repetition (or citation, according to Butler, 1997) helps give the act its force, while the re-appropriation of the pejorative does some work of disorienting subjects and of displacing order.

Complicating the colonizer/colonized and civilizer/barbarian binaries has a particular and fruitful history in Latin American cultural studies (Ríos, 2004; Trigo, 2004). In the climate of the 1960s, following the Cuban Revolution (1959), Ríos (2004) argues that there was a need for reworking and interconnecting these essentialist ideas, as well as “a need to separate concrete political moments that moved [Latin America] closer to or farther away from the metropolitan centers of power” (p. 25). Fernández’s (1971/2004) groundbreaking essay on the Caliban is credited with rereading, inverting, and complicating the civilizer/barbarian binary (Ríos, 2004). In his essay, Fernández (1971/2004) traces the history of “caliban,” beginning with Shakespear’s use of the term as an anagram for “cannibal,” used to mean “anthropophagous.” He writes that the dependent are made cannibals—“…bestial [men] situated on the margins of civilization, who must be opposed to the very death” (p. 87). Fernández argues that “to assume our condition as Caliban implies rethinking our history from the other side, from the viewpoint of the other protagonist. …. [where] there is no real … polarity … Caliban is the rude and unconquerable …” (p. 98, his emphasis). In other words, to interrupt “the dialectic of the Caliban” is to be independent, or rather, to adopt “with honor something that colonialism meant as an insult” (Fernández, 1971/2004, p. 97). Hence, reclaiming what the colonizer uses to offend “as a mark of glory” is reclaiming “the honor of considering ourselves descendents of the…rebel” (Fernández, 1971/2004, p. 97).
According to Ríos (2004), it is only by (re)claiming the barbarian subject-position that Latin Americans “can we feel proud of who [they] are and leave the situation of dependence in which [they] have always been trapped (p. 25).

Therefore, the barbarian perspective as such resists institutionalization, regulation, and colonization. By offering Ética, the UIS complies with curriculum policy mandates. However, after looking at Ética in practice, particularly the ways in which some students respond to the course, compliance seems to be more complicated. Below I examine compliance as a performance.

**Compliance and Resistance: The Marginal Positioning of Ética**

By offering Ética, the UIS appeared to be in compliance with the Constitution of 1991, with federal laws 30 of 1992 and 115 of 1994, and with national education policy as defined by MEN, COLCIENCIAS, and SOCOLPE. These policies and laws require all students to take the one-semester course in order to graduate from the UIS. Moreover, initial informal interviews corroborated official documents and indicated that the Ética course was how the university incorporated (complied with) national mandates. In other words, when I asked if citizenship policy was practiced in university curricula, students, staff, faculty, and administrators all pointed me in the direction of Ética.

However, some members of the university community felt that the policy aims were not present in university practice. Summarized in the following statement from a male professor of Education:

…the policies are not practiced…good luck looking for this because it does not exist here. For over ten years, since the 1994 reform, there has been a lot of talk and there have been many policies, but nothing really new has happened….the administrators are ignorant…[and] have divorced themselves from true academic life. (personal communication, August 14, 2003)
The same professor told me the following:

Major obstacles to implementing these policies was the freeze on funds. The university is expected to do more with the same amount of money. For [the following] five reasons, implementing reforms, such as 1991 constitution and the UIS development plan, are impossible. ...The problems of Colombia and the problems of the university...[are] one and the same. ... Because of (1) [the UIS] location, it serves the Western part of the nation and is really the only major state university to do so [i.e., the absorption rate is low]; (2) this area and the areas the UIS serve are guerrilla and paramilitary infested; (3) and it is thus also a major area for growing narcotics (coca and marijuana); (4) the area and areas served do not have any major industry or source of income; (5) the area and areas served sit on the country’s petroleum fields, not that there is much left in Colombia, but petroleum is a point of conflict and has long and complicated history in Colombia. (August 14, 2003)

According to this professor, Ética did not exist in practice because of the way it was positioned within the challenges, histories, and politics of Colombia, of the region, and of the institution. Despite compliance to both external and institutional policy mandates, something else was going on in practice. This prompted my investigation into Ética and policy compliance.

My observations of weekly meetings of UIS institutional policy-makers who were working on the next UIS development plan prompted me to think about compliance in ways that are more dynamic than just simple agreement and as a form of resistance. A general description of UIS policy-makers will help explicate this. The UIS director appointed one faculty member from each school/college of the university to serve on a commission charged with developing the next UIS policy. When I began attending the sessions, aside from the administrative assistance who took the meeting’s minutes, the policy-makers were senior male faculty who had studied outside of Colombia. The commission also included a male student representative; but he never attended a meeting.
during the months I conducted this study because of his course schedule. To my knowledge, the committee did not attempt to arrange meetings around his schedule. I attempted to contact him several times but we never did meet.

In policy-making sessions, I learned that UIS policy-makers were not always in agreement with federal mandates. I observed their efforts to serve both State policy/law and their own opinions for the “wellbeing” of the UIS. A policy-maker said that institutional policy “dibuja la linea” (draws the line) between external forces and the UIS community. On making university policy that resists neoliberal policy impositions, another policy-maker stated the following:

Con todas esas políticas neoliberales la Universidad se esta deformando, hay muchos cosas que van por cominos que a nosotros no nos parecen correcto entonces nosotros queremos poner un discurso académico que enfrente el discurso legalista o jurídico, administrativo y económica que es el que esta dominando en la Universidad” (personal communication, May 3, 2004).

With all these neoliberal policies that are deforming the university, there are many things that are going in different directions that do not seem correct to us, that’s why we want to put an academic discourse in front of the legalistic, administrative, and economic discourse that is dominating the university.

A senior female professor who recently had held a high-level administrative position at the UIS indicated that the role of university policy was to negotiate between external forces, State mandates, and real life at the university, including student demands (personal communication, August 19, 2003). To be (or at least appear to be) in compliance with policy/law was imperative, especially for receiving State and outside funding, which was always a goal (personal communication, February 12, 2004; personal communication, April 14, 2004). However, policy-makers also felt that it was their job to confront external dominant and destructive discourses in order to meet local needs and
demands of faculty, staff, and students (commission observations, February 16, 2004 & April 26, 2004). Therefore, part of their work was how to shape institutional policy in order to stay within the law and at the same time meet local needs and resist what they perceived as harmful neoliberal trends that erode public education.

While external trends were not adopted wholesale on arrival, they were not openly resisted, either. Resistance was not explicit but cloaked in appropriate language. Nonetheless, in these policy-making meetings policy was locally shaped. Through struggles for power and resources, in an effort to draw the line between mandates and local politics and practice, policy as/in practice was produced.

I began to analyze compliance as resistance in the case of Ética after I observed the reshaping of compliance to meet the committee’s needs in the following situation. Because there were not any women on the committee, the UIS director sent a note to the committee obligating them to appoint a woman. Whereas the director invited the male members of the committee to serve, in this case the director allowed the committee to pick the token woman representative. The committee complied with this directive but compliance was being reshaped from the start. Presumably, the intention of having gender diversity on the committee is to have multiple perspectives. Instead, by allowing the committee to choose the woman representative, they picked someone who would agree with them, as one policy-maker stated, “someone who would be good for it,” where “good” signified agreeable to their line of thought. I do not want to criticize here the line of thought of the committee, however, with which I happened to agree most of the time. In addition, instead of taking the place of the committee member from her school/college, she became an extra member. The senior male professor from her school/college
remained on the committee as the representative for retired faculty. The woman representative had less seniority than did her male counterparts. She entered a committee that had been in session and had already formed a community. She spoke less frequently than the men did and if there was a need for someone to write on the board or flip-chart, she often took up this task. (A gender analysis of this study’s data would certainly yield interesting results and will be pursued post-dissertation.) The men manipulated the directive towards their interest; this woman also took up the position as it was laid out to her.

Therefore, effective resistance is not necessarily visible or overt, but works through the quiet appropriation (co-opting) of even good-intentions, as well as the re-appropriation (consciously or not) of enduring discourses, in this case traditional gender roles. In addition, compliance does not mean agreement or that instructions were followed. It is not so simply achieved. Compliance, on the contrary, is a complicated political production.

I began to wonder in what ways Ética helped the UIS to appear to comply with State mandates and in what ways it might resist them or manipulate them in practice. I learned that not only is compliance a euphemism for a complicated political production, but also it might be described as a performance. Based on the data, I am not able to say whether there was a conscious effort made to use the course as resistance to external impositions. However, it has been positioned (localized) through historical discursive formations in this way. As the professor said, it did not really exist. Importantly, the way
that Ética is positioned at the UIS in practice complicates compliance. Compliance is not simple agreement with policy for that is achieved simply by offering Ética. Instead, compliance is more of a performance.

Conclusion

My discussion and analysis in this chapter show the embedded-ness of policy in global, national, and local contexts. By utilizing discourse analysis, this chapter also examines how the course’s lineage/history, genre of civic curricula, and instructors work to situate it. These analyses are helpful for understanding policy practice and compliance from local perspectives in light of globalizing trends. This analysis shows how the course and curriculum policy positions UIS student-subjects as barbarians. It helps to explain why students resist the course through dismissal (as a “Mickey-mouse course”) or by taking up the barbarian subject position rather than be “civilized,” as defined by the course, its imperial legacy, and its global and national contexts. When students refuse to carry the burdens of society on their individual backs, they refuse to be simply docile bodies. In this way, they also refuse the tenet of neoliberal globalizing trends that shifts responsibility from the State to the individual. In addition, the chapter shows that compliance is complicated. Despite being in compliance with policy/law mandates, the course is dismissed and resisted in practice. I deduce that policy compliance is a performance; this disrupts the in/out binary of policy compliance. These findings are discussed further in the next and final chapter.
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION:
COMPLICATING RATHER THAN RESOLVING OR RECOMMENDING

Introduction

This chapter concludes the dissertation. It is organized into the following sections: introduction, summary, limitations, implications and contributions, and conclusion. In the introduction section below, I describe some of the current tensions in fields of educational and cultural studies research to which this dissertation aims to contribute. By representing the data in ways that complicate binaries and trouble common logics of not only globalizing trends, but also citizenship education in Colombia, this research aims to do some decolonizing work, be it partial and limited. It does not seek to resolve conflict or make recommendations.

This chapter, in fact the dissertation in general, registers current tensions in educational and cultural studies research: the gaps among research, theory, and practice (Demerath, 2002). Beneath shifting policies for academic research, especially funded work, the burden to produce tangible, measurable, and generalizable results has increased. Rather than produce better research or critical results, researchers fall under pressure to crank out easily identifiable recommendations that fit within existing neoliberal logics. In the US, Lather (2004c) refers to this as “Bush-Science.” Wright (2005), describing higher education in the UK states the following:
They are changing society to meet the needs of capitalism and universities are given no option but to wed themselves to this project. Alternatives are ridiculed. Those who adhere to the cultural ideal that universities are to critique the present and posit scientific and social alternatives (Readings, 1996), the Secretary of State calls ‘medieval seekers after truth’ who he thinks, should only be retained at a hundredth of their current level, as ‘an adornment’ to society. Instead he offers universities two instrumental roles, an important economic role in the new knowledge economy and a political role to produce a new kind of citizen and worker. (p. 9)

In other words, if research is not creating ways to make money, producing money, or disciplining people to make money, current logic judges it as irrelevant, theoretical, and unnecessary frill. On the other side of this debate, calls for research to make recommendations that will counter these trends can be just as limiting and essentializing.

According to McCoy (1995) and Weems (2000), the conclusion of a dissertation typically offers implications of the study for real practice and recommendations for future policy; however, this model, to diagnose and cure, rather than do the political work of transforming discourses, can serve to reinscribe the model and these discourses (Lather, 1999, cited in Weems, 2000). In contrast, some analysts suggest that research should produce recommendations for a better-fitting policy (Welmond, 2002). This registers the problem of making recommendations that might avoid being usurped by existing and normative discourses (Wright, 2005). Take for example, the US policy of the 2001 No Child Left Behind Act; it is quite easy to dismiss criticism of this policy, saying, “Those who oppose this Act want to leave kids behind.” My dissertation project, for instance, questions whether the democratic practice of citizenship education is an imperial ploy to discipline docile students. Therefore, recommendations to curricula policy designed to produce ethical citizens could be misconstrued in a number of ways—that I am
suggesting education should produce unethical students, and possibly, even that I am proposing a terrorist act.

Moreover, results and research can be appropriated in unintended ways or appropriated in intended ways but have unintended consequences. If, for example, recommendations would be employed and political parties and factions in Colombia were to misconstrue or disagree with the recommendations and/or their implementation, the consequences could be quite severe. In addition, with this research, which examines how policy does and does not inculcate “good” citizens, I do not intend to help policy-makers to produce better policy to discipline citizens toward neoliberal ends. Nor do I intend to suggest ways to squelch counter-discourses. Under the current climate of dominant research logic, though, what else could a better-fitting policy be?

Given my position as a US-based academic, my remarks in this chapter address a primarily US-based academic audience, i.e., lessons from the South for the North. Here I register the recurring tension of how to resist the position of cultural broker who acts for the South or translates the South for the consumption of the North. In addition, any recommendation I might make to Colombia would run the risk of being relegated to the shady imperial legacy between Colombia and the US. Even worse, my position in the US also would dismiss any recommendations I might make as “academic benevolence.”

In contrast, political transformative work of policy might be said to aim at exposing, complicating, and disrupting the rules—the cultural logic—within which policy operates. In this spirit, I provide a summary of the research and its limitations, followed by a discussion of its implications and contributions:
Summary

My analysis of UIS institutional-, Colombian-, and transnational policies served to focus the dissertation in its early conception by formulating a trope of educational policy through multiple contexts. Between July 2003 and June 2004, I conducted fieldwork at the UIS, focusing on policy-making, curricula, and student-produced materials. Observations, interviews, student surveys, and material artifacts composed the data. I used a field journal, typed fieldnotes, and audio/videotaping. After returning to the US, I coded and mapped the data. The topics of curriculum policy compliance as performance and counter-discourses in student cultural productions emerged for analysis.

This study is located in the fields of anthropology of policy, transnational cultural studies, and education. Considered transbinary limit-work, the study brings to the foreground its complicity with other knowledge projects. Labeled “Foucault-inspired ethnography,” practice and data are considered performative and are inscribed in the same way that text is framed—by its genre, author, reader, setting, and history, which provide the text’s circumstances and meaning or discourse (Fairclough, 1992; Hall, 2001; Van Dijk (1993). Not a fixed structure, discourse is performative; it produces effects on, and is regulated by, lived practice (Butler, 1997). I used discourse analysis to examine and complicate the following: the counter-discourses of student-produced materials; policy compliance as a performance; and the production of civilized/barbarian subject-positions and binaries in curriculum policy and Ética. Below I summarize these findings.
The counter-discourses in student-produced materials are a part of powerful historical discourse of resistance found in UIS student activism. At the time of the study, these counter-discourses produced decolonizing effects by reconstituting globalizing trends as US imperialism and State elitism and by reshaping the dominant discourses of globalizing trends, such as privatization, through solidarity and other strategies. In this process, some other hierarchies, privileges, and inequalities were ignored and in some cases reinforced. In complicating the effects of counter-discourses, dominant and imperial desires, maybe even common sense desires, for simple, uncontaminated, unified binaries that allow the colonizer/colonized binary to continue, are displaced. As previously indicated, “to be complicated,” according to Tuhiwai Smith (2005), is “to escape definition … and to be regarded as fully human” (p. 86). The analysis of curriculum policy discussed below reinforces the importance of complicating rather than resolving research findings. In addition, by complicating resistance, it shows the significance of having the power to be self-defining and self-naming (Tuhiwai Smith, 2005).

Against the backdrop of globalizing trends—neoliberalism, privatization, and imperial legacies—Colombia’s national and educational policy, like that of many other countries, has sought to inculcate “good” citizens of the nation-state. Despite its intention to decentralize education, the 1991 constitution presented contradictory aims when it also mandated changes to institutional policy (PEI) and laid the groundwork for laws that mandated national citizenship curriculum as a general educational requirement. The UIS is recognized for its adoption of these policies and laws, particularly the PEI that was mandated by Colombian Law 115 of 1994. In practice, at the time of the study, the value of this education and the meaning of “citizenship” were deeply contested (Acevedo
This dissertation explored the discourses and complex meanings embedded in educational policy, as well as explicit and implicit local responses to national mandates as articulated in UIS policy and curriculum. The UIS has met compliance with the citizenship component of the current educational policy through offering a required Humanities course on ethics, called “Ética.” The Humanities at the UIS began in consult with the US government, US universities and businesses. Until the 1960s, the UIS only offered degrees in Science and Engineering. In the 1960s and 70s, UIS students violently protested the forced institutionalization of the Humanities at the UIS, arguing that it bears the imprint of US imperialism, a legacy that could be traced to the US-backed succession of Panama in 1904. This imperial legacy remains attached to the Humanities and serves as the context for the citizenship course at the UIS.

Ética’s position, as part of the colonial “civilizing mission” of the Humanities, then, constitutes the students as “barbarians.” In fact, protesting the imposition of US influence on educational practices has led to a counter-subject or discourse. Refusing to be disciplined, students self-identify with “barbarism” in order to disrupt this imperial imposition. Through a comparative analysis of two professors of Ética, who represent one typical- and one discrepant case, I extrapolated how the course was marginalized, dismissed, and contested, suggesting that being in compliance is more complicated than simply offering the mandated course. Compliance might be resistance since the course was placed in the Humanities and the in/out binary of policy compliance is not sufficient to explain the data. Thus, I theorize compliance as a performance.


Limitations

This study is presented as “limit-work” (see Chapter 3). Providing a laundry list of the study’s limitations in this section would suggest that the study could be complete, if only this or that had been done. Changes in the study would make it different, though not necessarily any more complete. Rather, the limitations shared throughout the dissertation and in this section should be helpful in situating the study as limited and partial. In Chapter 3, for instance, I noted some of the challenges to collecting data from students as a limitation of this study.

Nonetheless, below I describe the primary limitation of the study: its large scope. In addition, I describe some of the under- and unanalyzed data for future work. Then, I discuss the left-shifting political regimes in Latin America, which likely will have an impact on Colombia’s transnational relationships, and consequently, the analysis of this dissertation.

The large scope of this study—the boundary-less-ness of transnational policy processes and globalizing trends—presented many challenges. As previously indicated, Wright (2005) states the need for studying both global and local extremes of large scale processes. However, she also notes the problem of scope in the following:

…Studying large scale processes of transformation—ones that included in their ambit at the one end, the national and international discourses, agencies and actors that are involved in the formulation and government of the new economic and political order, and at the other extreme, people who in their day to day activities are engaged in governance and the management of the self in the fast changing conditions of their lives” presents a problem of scope. (p. 1)

Wright (2005) explicates, “The problem, as I found when using this method [multi-sited ethnography of policy as a practice of power that considers multiple actors] to study the
shift to neo-liberalism in Thatcher’s Britain, is that it is too big a project for one person” (p. 2). She argues that the ability to “assemble groups of anthropologists to study in the same field” is why the Institute of Educational Anthropology at the Danish University of Education “makes it possible to conduct multi-sited analyses in ways which are not possible anywhere else … in the anthropological world” (p. 2).

Below, I describe how the scope of this project affected my study. For example, traditional ethnographic data, e.g., participant observations and interviews, is limited to members of the UIS community. Although I was able to interview two people at the national level, the study uses material artifacts and secondary sources to build an archive from which I constructed a data narrative about regional-, national-, and global-level contexts. My analysis of these contexts relies on an overwhelming amount of documents. While I consider texts performative, these sections lack the benefit of input of more participants and the transformative quality of lived practice.

At least 6 categories of data emerged in the preliminary analyses of the data archive that remain under- or unanalyzed. This data includes the following categories: (1) the involvement of US companies in UIS restructuring; (2) the UIS School of Education, Teacher Education and credentialing, including the development of a new national test for teachers; (3) Citizenship Competencies for K-12 education; (4) the new system of national university accreditation in Colombia; (5) policies/politics, strikes, student research on harassment, and hierarchies among professors and student activists based on or concerning gender; and (6) informal education. While requiring further analysis, this also helped to corroborate the study herein.
The data categories labeled 1-4 are directly related to the transition in Colombia between a modern concept of power and what Wright (2005) calls “neo-liberal forms of power where individuals are expected to conduct themselves voluntarily in ways that contribute to the government’s idea of moral order” (p. 1), or what Hardt and Negri (2000) refer to as “Foucault’s biopower.” Further analysis of this data may yield insights into the ongoing shifts in the nature and purpose of public education in Colombia. Gender politics (category 5) permeated institution policy and practice in implicit and overt ways. In data category 6, by “informal education” I refer to communities that have been educating their youth in what they call Escuelas Populares (popular schools). Because many Colombians have been displaced internally, many of them are living outside of the national system, in “camp-towns,” they have formed informal community schools.

After one month at the UIS, I began to scale back the project. Initially, I had planned to interview government officials in the region, who served on education policy-making committees. Since one of the aims of the institutional policy was to expand access and enrollment, I had planned to examine how this was or was not happening. I learned that while resisted for various reasons, expansion took place in the following ways: corporate style institutes such as an ESL institute, distance education, and branch campus. I was unable to explore these sites in depth. As noted, multi-sited ethnography shifts anthropology’s focus on depth to include breadth. When I tried to split the difference in this study, both proved to be limited. Wright’s impossible suggestion of team research would be doubly impossible for a dissertation project. Finally, while this project was a bit ambitious, the scope also marks the study as unique, joining a small but growing and increasingly important body of anthropology of educational policy.
Now, I turn to the recent regime changes in Latin America. While neoliberal global trends supersede partisan politics and each country’s social-left is unique, political regimes, nonetheless, have moved leftward in Latin America. The political regime changes intersect a number of issues raised herein: sociopolitical change, the important but changing role of nation-states, regional politics, US imperialism, and the welfare of society.

Leftist leaders concerned with social issues and refuting US imperialism have been elected to high government positions across Latin America in the last few years. For example, Evo Morales, socialist and union organizer of the Cocaleros (coca farmers), was elected Bolivia’s new president in December 2005. Morales vows to roll-back neoliberal reforms and reinstate national social services. Mexico’s frontrunner in upcoming presidential elections also is from the left. Colombia is certainly an exception to these trends. Álvaro Uribe, the current conservative president, is popular in the polls and will likely be re-elected.

If this shift to the left might signify unification in Latin America, along the lines but certainly different from the European Union, what will be the impact globally, and for countries like Colombia who lag behind in regional unification? Will regional and national actors work together against globalizing trends and US imperial hegemony? That is, will regional solidarity reconfigure force relations and produce a decolonizing effect?
What will be the impact on national sovereignty, social stratification, and social institutions, such as education? As the leftward regimes take power, shifts in Latin American national politics and the impact of these shifts on educational policy and practice likely will present topics for future research.

**Implications and Contributions**

This study intersects policy, transnational cultural studies, and education. In this section, I discuss the implications of this research. Below I discuss compliance as performance; students as discourse-shapers; and how the reclamation of the barbarian subject-position is disorienting.

**Compliance as Performance**

Whereas the practice of educational policy has been framed as “in” or “out” of compliance, and studies often focus on the problem of being out of compliance, Ética suggests that the UIS is in compliance. However, when students perceive the course as complicit in the imperial mission, the analysis of how curricular practice complies with policy is complicated. The in/out binary is too simple. One implication, then, for educational policy research that might open up new ways to think about policy and its implementation is to focus on sites of policy compliance, rather than the opposite.

Thus, studying sites that are in compliance with policy may yield more complex understandings of policy and practice. The UIS, for instance, has even been acknowledged in several ways for its successful compliance with national policy; yet, policy-makers talked with me about putting academic discourse in front of these policies. Demerath’s (2005) study of a “successful” suburban high school shows how compliance with neoliberal policy demands are changing schools, educational practices, and students
in a variety of ways. For example, in order to have more time on standardized tests and possibly increase test scores, parents are having their “average” students designated with special education needs. While teaching at an urban school, I saw a host of practices, all within a sense of compliance, employed to eliminate traditionally poor test-takers from being counted in the school’s standardized testing. Practices like these suggest, therefore, that policy analysts need to start looking at compliance as a problem—as a production and a performance.

Thus, combining ethnography’s strength of making the familiar strange and Nader’s (1972) call for “studying up” allows for a closer look at compliance—at seemingly successful policy-implementation. This framework allows different kinds of questions, such as what is manipulated or performed to comply with policy? What kinds of habitus do successful policy-makers and practitioners have that allow them to be or appear to be in compliance—or to perform compliance? This shows that policy compliance may not indicate agreement with policy nor that educational reform has worked; but rather, it shows the skills and knowledge of social actors to mollify globalization in performing compliance.

Reconceptualizing the in/out binary of policy compliance as a performance raises a question about the kinds of knowledge and habitus that would be useful in performing compliance. It also raises questions for inquiries into deficiency and meritocratic discourses that are circulated and reinforced by globalizing trends. These discourses have been applied to students who exceed normative subject positions and “deficient and inefficient” schools that “fail” to comply. Providing a more complicated view of
compliance can disrupt the notion that the policy process is a smooth linear one.

_Compliance as performance_ draws attention to the fact that policy, producer, subject, and context(s) are NOT neutral but politicized.

**Students as Discourse-Shapers**

Previous studies in education have focused on the way(s) social actors, especially teachers, are reshaping policy in practice (Arikan, 2005; Ávila & Camargo, 2002; Street, 2001). My study considers the ability of students and their cultural innovations to shape the discourses of globalizing trends—neoliberalism, privatization, and imperialism. The complicated counter-discourses of student produced materials and the reclamation of the barbarian subject-position trouble the colonizer/colonized and civilized/barbarian binaries and re-work globalizing trends. As a result, the study demonstrates how students can be viable discourse-shapers. Further analysis is needed to understand the impact that (re)shaping discourses has on official policy documents and authoritative policy discourses. Are students as discourse-shapers assuaging globalizing trends and neoliberal policies?

When student-produced materials localize globalizing trends, the trends are relabeled, demystified, and politicized. When students claim to be barbarians, rather than be part of the imperial civilizing mission, they are defining themselves. Foley (2002) suggests that “cultural identity groups resist stigmatization and marginalization and ‘produce’ themselves through self-valorizing expressive cultural forms” (p. 471). Within this study’s theoretical framework—Hall’s arbitrary closures, Trigo’s borderland epistemology, Clifford, Mignolo, and Escobar’s theorizing of place, Spivak’s strategic essentialism, and Lather’s within and against—this study provided an example of how
naming, localizing, and complicating force relations can produce decolonizing effects, allowing subjects to exceed their positions in discourse. Does this ultimately transform policy and practice, i.e., localize and decolonize transnational force relations? In student-produced materials, the methods of building solidarity and situating global trends within local cultural logics and historical discourses reframed globalizing trends, but ignored differences. This suggests that further research is needed to explicate the local/global implications of solidarity relationships and their power to mediate globalizing trends (see Seoane, Algranati, & Taddei, 2005).

**The Pejorative as Disorienting**

In this study, I argued that students self-identify using the pejorative term “barbarian” in order to disrupt the imperial discourse that seeks to “civilize” them. Fernández (1971/2004) has theorized that the barbarian subject-position is the self-identification of Latin America/ns that proves its/their actual existence (see also Ríos, 2004). Similarly, some people who do not self-identify as heterosexual, have appropriated the historically pejorative term “queer” to signify their sexual orientation, arguing that claiming the term recalls and displaces hetero-normative discourses and interrupts hetero/homo binaries, which provide limited choices for sexual orientation (Anzaldúa, 1987/1999; Butler, 1993, 1997). In other words, and as I have stated in Chapter 3, the deviant position holding the dominant in place is able to disrupt/disorient the normative discourse (see Coloma, 2006). However, educational research has shown that students sometimes take up “pejorative” positions that can delimit their future in
non-liberating ways (Demerath, 2003; see also MacLeod, 1987/1995; Willis, 1977/1981). Consequently, when is it liberating and disrupting/disorienting to mobilize the pejorative and when is it limiting? Alternatively, how is it both simultaneously?

**Conclusion**

The findings of this research contribute to transnational and educational research on policy and globalization. They complicate and reconceptualize policy, power relations, and decolonizing work. Being in compliance with policy does not simply signify agreement, but possibly even resistance. In fact, in this research, I found that policy compliance was complicated and a problem. Re-conceptualizing *compliance as performance* interrupts former articulations of policy compliance (e.g., in/out, local-to-global). Importantly, this new conception of *compliance as performance* is possible when the binaries of these traditional ways of conceiving of policy are disrupted. In *transbinary research*, “in/out” and “local/global” are complicit, mediated constructions. In other words, the UIS is not “in or out” of policy, and the “local/global” relationship is not a one directional relationship but an inter-penetrating one. Likewise, students as discourse-shapers reconstitute the dominant discourses of globalizing trends and produce complicated and contradictory effects that work toward decolonizing the colonizer/colonized binary by also allowing inter-penetrations or complications and contaminations. Similarly, the self-proclamation of “barbarian” helps to disrupt (i.e., the pejorative can be disorienting) the “civilizing mission” that for students underscores the democratizing and liberalizing objectives of globalization and national and educational policy in Colombia.
Social actors and practice undergo a constant process of innovation, and thus, renovation. The ability of social actors and their cultural productions to appropriate and re-appropriate forces demonstrates their power to mediate and change them—to localize them. Localizing globalization, then, can be a decolonizing move.
APPENDIX A

Interview Schedule

(Questions for Focus groups were pulled from the following, also.)

1. How do you describe yourself? (socioeconomic, cultural, ethnic, family background)
   a. Do you live with your parents? If not, where?
   b. Who lives with you?
   c. What is the highest level of education completed by each person?
2. What is your affiliation with the university? (student, faculty, staff, alumni)
   a. Why did you come to university?
   b. How long have you been here?
   c. If student, Year started school? Year you plan to finish?
      i. Program (major)?
      ii. age?
   d. What are your plans for after graduation?
3. In what ways do you participate in the university?
4. How much time do you spend at UIS each week?
5. Do you work outside of the university? Explain?
6. How are you financing your university education?
7. Did you do a practicum? If not, why? If so, how did you arrange it? And where?
   a. In what ways did the practicum help or hinder you?
8. Did you write a thesis? If not, why? If so, what was your topic? Is it related to your practicum? Why did you choose the topic? How will the thesis help or hinder you?
9. Have you perceived changes in the UIS institutional policy? If so, please describe them.
10. What do you perceive as the relationship between national education mandates in Colombia and Colombia as a nation-state?
    a. How do you perceive this relationship is related to the UIS or university education in general?
    b. How do you perceive this relationship is related to globalization or the current global order?
11. Do you perceive the UIS as promoting Colombian nationalism? If so, in what ways?
    a. What does it mean to be Colombian?
    b. Do you think of yourself as Colombian?
12. What is the image of Colombia that you would like to communicate?
13. Do you believe the university should play a role in making Colombian citizens? If so, in what capacity?
14. Does the university play a role in Colombian citizenship? How?
15. What do you consider citizenship education?
16. What do you think it means to promote national identity?
17. In your opinion what does it mean to be a citizen of Colombia?
a. Did any of your university courses include the promotion of nationalism?
b. What about events or activities?

18. In your opinion what does it mean to be educated in Colombia?
19. Who is able to obtain a university education in Colombia?
20. Do you believe a university education is helpful? How, in what ways?
21. Whose responsibility is it to educate Colombians? Individual families? The State? Municipalities?
22. Describe what you consider the world market?
23. What does it mean to enter the world market?
24. How do you define globalization?
25. Is there a relationship between a university education and globalization? If so, please describe it.
26. Do you perceive the UIS as preparing graduates to enter a globalized world?
   a. For students: are you prepared to enter the global market? What does this mean?
27. In what ways are you familiar with the UIS institutional policies?
28. One of the UIS institutional policies uses the phrase “think globally, act locally.” What is your perception of this phrase? What is your perception of the phrase as part of the UIS policy?
APPENDIX B

Questionnaire

ENCUESTA DE DISERTACION DOCTORAL DE STEPHANIE DAZA (daza.1@osu.edu).
Me encuentran en la Escuela de Edu.

FECHA: __________ NOMBRE (Opcional): __________________

Para una entrevista conmigo, ponga su TELEFONO: ____________ SEMESTRE: __________

ENFASIS: __________________ COLEGIO: __________________

1) ¿Cree que el Ministerio de Educación Nacional debería tener el poder
Para mandar en las regulaciones y en las políticas de la UIS? SI____ NO____
Y de los colegio normales? SI____ NO____
¿Por qué?

2) ¿Está amenazada la educación pública de Colombia por la privatización? SI____ NO____
¿Cómo?

3) ¿Cuando termine su Licenciatura, va a enseñar educación básica? SI____ NO____

4) ¿Cree que la privatización de la educación viene por globalización? SI____ NO____
¿Por qué?

5) ¿Cree que el énfasis en acreditación y credencialismo viene por la globalización? SI____ NO____
¿Por qué?

6) ¿Cree que el maestro es una posición que especialmente tenga capacidad
Para trabajar con los problemas sociales del país? SI____ NO____
¿Cómo?

7) ¿Piensa que todo el que enseña la educación básica debe tener
Una Licenciatura de una universidad? SI____ NO____
¿Por qué?

8) ¿Cree que educación en Colombia está afectada por globalización? SI____ NO____
¿Cómo?

9) ¿Piensa que su programa de Educación Básica va a mejorar la
Calidad de la Educación Básica en Colombia? SI____ NO____
¿Cómo?

10) ¿Cree que el maestro debería tener la responsabilidad de enseñar a ser ciudadano (competencias ciudadanas)? SI____ NO____
Si dice sí, ¿cuáles son los temas más importantes?
11) ¿Cree que los conflictos al dentro la UIS están reflejando los conflictos del país? SI____ NO____
¿Cómo?

12) ¿Cuál es el papel de la educación en los conflictos de Colombia?

13) ¿Cuál prefiere más, la enseñanza o la investigación? ____________
¿Por qué?

14) La Constitución de 1991 garantiza AUTONOMÍA a las universidades. ¿Qué piensas? ¿Que quieran decir con esto?
¿ para usted que significa “autonomía”? 

15) En el edificio donde tienen sus clases, hay muchos letreros y graffiti sobre los temas de anti-imperialismo, anti-fascismo, y la resistencia popular. ¿Cuáles son sus pensamientos y perspectivas sobre estos temas en educación y sobre esta forma de expresión?

16) ¿Por qué escogió la UIS y El programa en Educación Básica? ¿Si no estuvieres en el programa qué estarías haciendo?
APPENDIX C

Materials in the Data Archive

**Global, Trans/Multinational and Regional**
- Multinational documents and policies: ALCA, Plan Colombia, TLC
- OAS archived documents and memos on the Internet
- Kennedy’s Alliance for Progress
- Websites: IMF, OAS, OEI, UN, UNESCO, World Bank, World Trade Organization

**National and Regional within Nation**
- Colombian newspapers
  - *El Tiempo*
  - *Vanguardia*
- Santander historical archive at the UIS library
- Governmental (State) Documents: Constitution of 1991, Ley 30 de 1992, Ley General de 1994; and policies (plans) of the Colombian Ministry of Education
- Websites: DANE, DNP, ELN, ICFES. MEN, Presidential

**Institutional**
- UIS newspaper archives
- UIS journals: *Humanidades; Revista Docencia Universitaria*
- Key secondary texts: Acevedo Tarazona, 2004; Beltran, 2003
- UIS newspaper archives
- University documents and policies: *Acuerdos*; institutional plans; *Cifras* (statistics)
- Curricula materials: syllabi and course readings
- Student-produced materials: Campaign flyers; national student conference program;
- Program bulletins
- UIS website
- Policy meeting minutes and emails
Chapter 2 of the Constitution entitled “Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights,” states the following in Article 45:

El adolescente tiene derecho a la protección y a la formación integral. El Estado y la sociedad garantizan la participación activa de los jóvenes en los organismos públicos y privados que tengan a cargo la protección, educación y progreso de la juventud.

The adolescent has the right to protection and integral formation. The State and the society guarantee the active participation of the youths in private and public agencies that have the charge of protection, education, and progress of the youth.

Article 67 of the same chapter states:

La educación es un derecho de la persona y un servicio público que tiene una función social; con ella se busca el acceso al conocimiento, a la ciencia, a la técnica, y a los demás bienes y valores de la cultura.

La educación formará al colombiano en el respeto a los derechos humanos, a la paz y a la democracia; y en la práctica del trabajo y la recreación, para el mejoramiento cultural, científico, tecnológico y para la protección del ambiente. El Estado, la sociedad y la familia son responsables de la educación, que será obligatoria entre los cinco y los quince años de edad y que comprenderá como mínimo, un año de preescolar y nueve de educación básica.

La educación será gratuita en las instituciones del Estado, sin perjuicio del cobro de derechos académicos a quienes puedan sufragarlos.

Corresponde al Estado regular y ejercer la suprema inspección y vigilancia de la educación con el fin de velar por su calidad, por el cumplimiento de sus fines y por la mejor formación moral, intelectual y física de los educandos; garantizar el
adecuado cubrimiento del servicio y asegurar a los menores las condiciones necesarias para su acceso y permanencia en el sistema educativo.
La Nación y las entidades territoriales participarán en la dirección, financiación y administración de los servicios educativos estatales, en los términos que señalen la Constitución y la ley.

Education is a person’s right and a public service. It has a social function; it seeks access to knowledge, to science, to technology, and to the goods and values of the culture.

The education will form a Colombian with respect to human rights, peace and democracy; in practice for work and recreation; for cultural, scientific, and technological improvement; and for the protection of the environment. The State, the society, and the family are responsible for education that will be obligatory between the five and the fifteen years of age and that will understand as a minimum, a year of preschool and nine years of basic education. Education will be free in the institutions of the State, without charging those to whom academic rights are designed to help.

Corresponding to the State, institutions will complete the regular practice of full inspection and vigilance of education in order to attend to its quality. Quality will be measured by the implementation of its end; by the best moral, intellectual, and physical formation of the students; by the guarantee of adequate coverage of service; and by assuring children of the necessary conditions for their access and continuance in the educational system. The Nation and the territorial entities will participate in the direction, financing, and administration of state educational services, according to the terms indicated the Constitution and the law.

Article 68 states:

Los particulares podrán fundar establecimientos educativos. La ley establecerá las condiciones para su creación y gestión. La comunidad educativa participará en la dirección de las instituciones de educación.

La enseñanza estará a cargo de personas de reconocida idoneidad ética y pedagógica. La Ley garantiza la profesionalización y dignificación de la actividad docente. Los padres de familia tendrán derecho de escoger el tipo de educación para sus hijos menores. En los establecimientos del Estado ninguna persona podrá ser obligada a recibir educación religiosa. Las integrantes de los grupos étnicos tendrán derecho a una formación que respete y desarrolle su identidad cultural.

La erradicación del analfabetismo y la educación de personas con limitaciones físicas o mentales, o con capacidades excepcionales, son obligaciones especiales del Estado.
Individuals will be able to start educational establishments. The law will establish the conditions for their creation and management. The educational community will participate in the direction of the institutions of education.

The teaching will be the charge of people recognized for their ethical and pedagogical suitability. The Law guarantees the professionalization and dignification of teaching. The parents of the family will have the right to choose the type of education for their children. In the establishments of the State, not a single person will be obligated to receive religious education. The members of ethnic groups will have the right to a formation that respects and develops their cultural identity.

The eradication of the illiteracy and the education of people with physical or mental limitations, or with exceptional capacities, are special obligations of the State.
APPENDIX E

Excerpts from Ley 30 de 1992 and Ley 115 de 1994

Original Español | English Translation
---|---
Ley 30 de 1992, Capítulo II, Objetivos, Artículo 6 | Law 30 of 1992, Chapter 2, Objectives, Article 6

Son objetivos de la Educación Superior y de sus instituciones:

a) Profundizar en la formación integral de los colombianos dentro de las modalidades y calidades de la Educación Superior, capacitándolos para cumplir las funciones profesionales, investigativas y de servicio social que requiere el país.

b) Trabajar por la creación, el desarrollo y la transmisión del conocimiento en todas sus formas y expresiones y, promover su utilización en todos los campos para solucionar las necesidades del país.

c) Prestar a la comunidad un servicio con calidad, el cual hace referencia a los resultados académicos, a los medios y procesos empleados, a la infraestructura institucional, a las dimensiones cualitativas y cuantitativas del mismo y a las condiciones en que se desarrolla cada institución.

d) Ser factor de desarrollo científico, cultural, económico, político y ético a nivel nacional y regional.

a) To deepen the integral formation of Colombians within the modalities and qualities of Higher Education, qualifying Colombians to perform investigative and professional functions and social service that the country requires.

b) To work for the creation, the development and the transmission of knowledge in all its forms and expressions and to promote its utilization in all fields to solve the needs of the country.

c) To lend to the community a quality service reliant on research-based evidence, measurement and processes, institutional infrastructure, quantitative and qualitative dimensions, and on the conditions in which each institution develops itself.

d) To be a factor of scientific, cultural, economic, political, and ethical development at the regional-level and the national level.
e) Actuar armónicamente entre sí y con las demás estructuras educativas y formativas.
e) To act harmoniously between itself and with the other formative and educational structures.

f) Contribuir al desarrollo de los niveles educativos que le preceden para facilitar el logro de sus correspondientes fines.
f) To contribute to the development of the preceding educational levels in order to facilitate the achievement of their corresponding end.

g) Promover la unidad nacional, la descentralización, la integración regional y la cooperación interinstitucional con miras a que las diversas zonas del país dispongan de los recursos humanos y de las tecnologías apropiadas que les permitan atender adecuadamente sus necesidades.
g) To promote national unity, decentralization, regional integration, and inter-institutional cooperation with consideration of making available human resources and the appropriate technologies to the diverse zones of the country, permitting them to attend adequately to their needs.

h) Promover la formación y consolidación de comunidades académicas y la articulación con sus homólogas a nivel internacional.
h) To promote the formation and consolidation of academic communities and dialogue with their counterparts at the international level.

i) Promover la preservación de un medio ambiente sano y fomentar la educación y cultura ecológica.
i) To promote the preservation of a healthy environment and to foster education and culture of ecology.

j) Conservar y fomentar el patrimonio cultural del país.
j) To conserve and to further the cultural patrimony (legacy) of the country.

Artículo 128

En todas las instituciones de Educación Superior, estatales u oficiales, privadas y de economía solidaria, serán obligatorios el estudio de la Constitución Política y la instrucción cívica en un curso de por lo menos un semestre. Así mismo, se promoverán prácticas democráticas para el aprendizaje de los principios y valores de la participación ciudadana.

Artículo 129

La formación ética profesional debe ser elemento fundamental obligatorio de todos
los programas de formación en las instituciones de Educación Superior.

Ley 115 de 1994, Artículo 5, Fines de la Educación

De conformidad con el artículo 67 de la Constitución Política, la educación se desarrollará atendiendo a los siguientes fines:

1. El pleno desarrollo de la personalidad sin más limitaciones que las que le ponen los derechos de los demás y el orden jurídico, dentro de un proceso de formación integral, física, psíquica, intelectual, moral, espiritual, social, afectiva, ética, cívica y demás valores humanos.

2. La formación en el respeto a la vida y a los demás derechos humanos, a la paz, a los principios democráticos, de convivencia, pluralismo, justicia, solidaridad y equidad, así como en el ejercicio de la tolerancia y de la libertad.

3. La formación para facilitar la participación de todos en las decisiones que los afectan en la vida económica, política, administrativa y cultural de la Nación.

4. La formación en el respeto a la autoridad legítima y a la ley, a la cultura nacional, a la historia colombiana y a los símbolos patrios.

5. La adquisición y generación de los conocimientos científicos y técnicos más avanzados, humanísticos, históricos, sociales, geográficos, y estéticos, mediante la apropiación de hábitos intelectuales, adecuados para el desarrollo del saber.
6. El estudio y la comprensión crítica de la cultura nacional, y de la diversidad étnica y cultural del país, como fundamento de la unidad nacional y de su identidad.

6. The study and the critical comprehension of the national culture, and of the cultural and ethnic diversity of the country, such as the foundation of the national unity and identity.

7. El acceso al conocimiento, la ciencia, la técnica y demás bienes y valores de la cultura, el fomento de la investigación y el estímulo a la creación artística en sus diferentes manifestaciones.

7. The access to knowledge, science, technologies, and other goods and values of culture; the promotion of the investigation; and the stimulus of the artistic creation in its different manifestations.

8. La creación y el fomento de una conciencia de la soberanía nacional y para la práctica de la solidaridad y la integración con el mundo, en especial con Latinoamérica y el caribe.

8. The creation and the promotion of a conscience of national sovereignty and for the practice of solidarity and integration with the world, especially with Latin America and the Caribbean.

9. El desarrollo de la capacidad crítica, reflexiva y analítica que fortalezca el avance científico, y tecnológico nacional, orientado con prioridad al mejoramiento cultural, y de la calidad de la vida de la población, a la participación en la búsqueda de alternativas de solución a los problemas y al progreso social y económico del país.

9. The development of the critical, reflexive, analytical capacity that fortifies scientific advances and national technology, oriented with priority of the improvement of the culture and the quality of life of the population, the participation in searching for alternative solutions to problems and economic and social progress of the country.

10. La adquisición de una conciencia para la conservación, protección y mejoramiento del medio ambiente, de la calidad de la vida, del uso racional de los recursos naturales, de la prevención de desastres, dentro de una cultura ecológica y del riesgo y de la defensa del patrimonio cultural de la nación.

10. The acquisition of a conscience of conservation, protection, and improvement of the environment, of the quality of the life, of the rational use of natural resources, of the prevention of disasters, within a culture of ecology and the risk and defense of the cultural legacy of the nation.

11. La formación de la práctica del trabajo, mediante los conocimientos técnicos y habilidades, así como en la valoración del mismo como fundamento del desarrollo individual y social.

11. The development of work practicum, training in technical knowledge, abilities, and assessment, based on individual and social development.

12. La formación para la promoción y preservación de la salud y la higiene, la

12. Education for the promotion and preservation of health and hygiene, the
prevención integral de problemas socialmente relevantes, la educación física, la recreación el deporte y la utilización del tiempo libre, y

13. La promoción en la persona y en la sociedad de la capacidad para crear, investigar, adoptar la tecnología que se requiere en los procesos de desarrollo del país y le permita al educando ingresar al sector productivo.

ARTÍCULO 25. FORMACIÓN ÉTICA Y MORAL.

La formación ética y moral se promoverá en el establecimiento educativo a través del currículo, de los contenidos académicos pertinentes, del ambiente, del comportamiento honesto de directivos, educadores, y personal administrativo, de la aplicación recta y justa de las normas de la institución, y demás mecanismos que contemple el Proyecto Educativo Institucional [PEI].

ARTÍCULO 72. PLAN NACIONAL DE DESARROLLO EDUCATIVO.

integral prevention of socially prominent problems, physical education, recreation and sport, and the utilization of the free time, and

13. The promotion in the person and in the society the capacity to create, to investigate, and to adopt technology that is required for the country’s process of development and that will permit the educated to enter the productive sector.

ARTÍCULO 25, Ethical and Moral Education

The ethical and moral formation will be promoted in the educational establishment through the curriculum, pertinent academic contents, the environment, the honest behavior of executives, educators, and administrative personnel, the just and fair application of the norms of the institution, and through other mechanisms that contemplate the Institutional Educational Project [PEI].

Article 72, National Plan of Educational Development
El Ministerio de Educación Nacional, en coordinación con las entidades territoriales, preparará por lo menos cada diez (10) años el Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Educativo que incluirá las acciones correspondientes para dar cumplimiento a los mandatos constitucionales y legales sobre la prestación del servicio educativo. Este Plan tendrá carácter indicativo, será evaluado, revisado permanentemente y considerado en los planes nacionales y territoriales de desarrollo.

PARÁGRAFO. El primer Plan decenal será elaborado en el término de dos (2) años a partir de la promulgación de la presente Ley, cubrirá el periodo de 1996 a 2005 e incluirá lo pertinente para que se cumplan los requisitos de calidad y cobertura.

ARTÍCULO 73. PROYECTO EDUCATIVO INSTITUCIONAL. [PEI]

Con el fin de lograr la formación integral del educando, cada establecimiento educativo deberá elaborar y poner en práctica un Proyecto Educativo Institucional en el que se especifiquen entre otros aspectos, los principios y fines del establecimiento, los recursos docentes y didácticos disponibles y necesarios, la estrategia pedagógica, el reglamento para docentes y estudiantes y el sistema de gestión, todo ello encaminado a cumplir con las disposiciones de la presente ley y sus reglamentos.

El Gobierno Nacional establecerá estímulos e incentivos para la investigación y las innovaciones educativas y para aquellas instituciones sin ánimo de lucro cuyo Proyecto Educativo Institucional haya sido valorado como excelente, de acuerdo con los criterios establecidos por el Sistema Nacional de Evaluación. En este último

The Ministry of National Education, in coordination with the territorial entities, will prepare National Plan of Educational Development at least once every ten (10) years the that will include the corresponding actions in order to fulfill the legal and constitutional mandates on the installment of the educational service. This Plan will have an indicative character; it will be evaluated, permanently revised, and considered in both territorial and national development plans.

PARAGRAPH. The first ten-year Plan will be elaborated in the term of two (2) years. From the promulgation of the present Law, it will cover the period from 1996 to 2005 and will include anything pertinent in order that is complies with the requirements of quality and coverage.

ARTICLE 73. INSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL PROJECT.

In order to achieve the integral formation by educating, each educational establishment should devise and put into practice an Institutional Educational Project in which the following aspects, among others, are specified: principles and aims of the establishment, necessary and available educational tools and resources, a pedagogical strategy, regulation for professors and students, and a system of management. All should be directed towards the compliance of the dispositions of the present law and its regulations.

The National Government will establish stimuli and incentives for investigation and for the educational innovations for those institutions that do not intend to make a profit, but whose Institutional Educational Project has been valued as
caso, estos estímulos se canalizarán exclusivamente para que implanten un proyecto educativo semejante, dirigido a la atención de poblaciones en condiciones de pobreza, de acuerdo con los criterios definidos anualmente por el CONPES Social.

PARÁGRAFO. El Proyecto Educativo Institucional debe responder a situaciones y necesidades de los educandos, de la comunidad local, de la región y del país, ser concreto, factible y evaluable.

excellent, according to the criteria established by the National System of Evaluation. In this last case, these stimuli will be channeled exclusively so that they establish a similar educational project, directed to the attention of populations in conditions of poverty, according to the definitive yearly criteria yearly of CONPES Social.

PARAGRAPh. The Institutional Educational Project should respond to the situations and needs of educators/students, of the local community, of the region, and of the country. The project should be concrete, feasible, and able to be evaluated.
En la formación del ciudadano que implica como prerrequisto insoslayable la formación de un sujeto ético capaz de actuar moral y políticamente; es decir, de sujetos morales conscientes, libres y autónomos, capaces de asumir responsabilidades sociales y políticas. 

The formation of the citizen that implies as an unavoidable prerequisite the formation of a capable ethical subject to act morally and politically is; that is to say, conscious moral subjects, free and autonomous, capable of assuming social and political responsibilities.

En una formación que integre armónicamente la recepción de la cultura universal con la diversidad y particularidad que surge de la identidad cultural de los colombianos y según las especificidades de nuestras propias regiones. En la actualidad, la constitución de la sociedad civil y la configuración de una comunidad nacional que tenga presencia en un contexto internacional pasan por el reconocimiento de la particularidad y diversidad regional. 

A formation must harmoniously integrate the admission of universal culture with the diversity and particularity that arises in the cultural identity of Colombians, according to the specificities of our own regions. Currently, the recognition of the particularity and regional diversity surpass the constitution of the civil society and the configuration of a national community that would have presence in an international context.
En una formación estética que como parte de la formación cultural, propicie el desarrollo de la sensibilidad hacia sus manifestaciones teóricas, artísticas, y vitales. En la poesía, la literatura, el arte en sus manifestaciones plásticas y pictóricas, la música y el teatro, se valora y expresa lo cotidiano que se le escapa a la reflexión analítica y científica. Pero en esta, también se expresan, como en aquellas actividades y en todas las formas de la vida humana aspectos de lo bello y el gusto que solo se descubren mediante el desarrollo de la sensibilidad estética.

En la idoneidad profesional que oriente a un trabajo calificado capaz de contribuir en la construcción de una mejor calidad de vida de todos los ciudadanos.

En una formación profesional y ciudadana versátil que permita afrontar los desafíos laborales y teóricos de un mundo globalizado y disponga positivamente para ejercer una ciudadanía de alcance universal.

En un desarrollo físico y mental de la persona armónicamente concebido con el cuidado del medio ambiente. La salud, aspecto esencial a la calidad de vida, integra en un todo indisoluble la cultura del cuerpo, el equilibrio mental y el nicho ecológico en donde se desenvuelven las actividades humanas.

Esthetic formation is a part of cultural formation, causing the development of sensibility toward the arts, theoretical demonstrations, and lived-experience. In poetry, literature, and art, manifested in fine arts, pictorials, music, and theatre, daily life that escapes scientific and analytic reflection is valued and expressed. However, in this, also what is expressed, in those activities and in all the forms of human life are aspects of beauty and opinions (likes) that alone are discovered by means of the development of esthetic sensibilities.

Professional suitability marks people for work capable of contributing to the construction of a better quality of life of all the citizens.

Vocational training permits versatile citizens to confront labor and theoretical challenges of a globalized world and to avail one self positively to bring to bear a citizenship of universal reach.

Mental and physical development of the person harmoniously conceived with the care of the environment. Health, an essential aspect to quality of life, is indissolubly integrated through the culture of the body, the mental equilibrium, and the ecological niche where human activities unfold.
En suma, la búsqueda de la formación integral responde a la concepción de la Universidad como un proyecto cultural cuyo objetivo último es la formación del UNIVERSITARIO UIS, claramente reconocido por las siguientes características:

CIUDADANO, ÉTICO, CREATIVO, PROFESIONAL EXCELENTE Y VERSÁTIL, CULTO, ESTÉTICAMENTE FORMADO, DESARROLLADO FÍSICA Y MENTALMENTE, PREOCUPADO POR EL CUIDADO DEL MEDIO AMBIENTE Y CON UN ELEVADO SENTIDO DE SU RESPONSABILIDAD SOCIAL.

Esas actividades, que rebasan las específicas de los Planes de estudio, están orientadas a la formación de:
- Un comportamiento Ética y políticamente orientado.
- Una conducta permanente de cuidado del cuerpo.
- Una sensibilidad educada.
- Un proyecto cultural elevado respecto del destine de la nación.
- Una habilidad para expresarse oralmente y por escrito en español y en inglés.

(pp. 46-47, 48; Capitalization is from the original)

In short, the search of the integral formation responds to the conception of the University as a cultural project whose final objective is the formation of the UIS UNIVERSITY STUDENT. The student will be clearly recognized by the following characteristics:

CITIZEN, ETHICAL, CREATIVE, PROFESSIONAL EXCELLENCE, VERSATILE, CULTURED, AND ESTHETICALLY FORMED, PHYSICALLY AND MENTALLY DEVELOPED, CONCERNED ABOUT CARING FOR THE ENVIRONMENT, AND A HEIGHTENED SENSE OF HER/HIS SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

Beyond the Program of study, activities should be oriented to the formation of:

- Ethical behavior and politically training.
- A permanent conduct of care for the body.
- An educated sensibility.
- An elevated sense of cultural project regarding the destiny of the nation.
- An ability to express oneself orally and in writing in Spanish and English.
APPENDIX G

Map of Colombia

From the Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection, UT Austin, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/colombia.html
APPENDIX H

Abbreviations

(US)AID (United States) Agency for International Development
ALCA Área de Libre Comercio de las Américas
BID Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo
CIAP Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress
COLCIENCIAS The Colombian Institute for the Development of Science and Technology
DNP National Department of Planning
ELN Ejercito de Liberación Nación
FARC Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
IBRD International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IMF International Monetary Fund
IRB Institutional Review Board
M-19 Movimiento 19 de Abril
MEN Ministerio de Educación Nacional
OAS Organization of American States
OEI Organization of Iberoamerican States
UIS La Universidad Industrial de Santander
UN United Nations
UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
US United States
USDEA United States Drug Enforcement Agency
SOCOLPE The Colombian Society of Pedagogy
TLC Tratado de Libre Comercio
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