

Intercultural, Bilingual Education as a Tool for Development:

The Indigenous Quichua of the Ecuadorian Altiplano

By

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Abstract

Intercultural, Bilingual Education as a Tool for Development: The Indigenous Quichua of the Ecuadorian Altiplano

By Linda Jane Liutkus

Within Ecuador intercultural, bilingual schools provide quality education for indigenous students along with a strengthened cultural pride. The research also demonstrates that ICBE schools have brought about a level of what is termed by me as *decisive collective organization*. This characteristic has outcomes such as: economic advancements, political awareness, community cohesion and an improved quality of life. The most important outcome is that communities are organized for action providing a foundation for future projects and programs. The CONAIE has been using the mobilizing capacity from this decisive collective organization as a catalyst to fight for cultural rights for all indigenous peoples in Ecuador. The end result of this struggle has been that spaces for participation for indigenous peoples have been opened, allowing for new interactions with government. Due to the presence of ICBE schools in indigenous communities in Ecuador, the *conditions* are now present for the alleviation of social exclusion.

April 28, 2006

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Those in Ecuador, above all Charlie Gervais and Tom Walsh,
The amazing Vancouver/BC girls,
Ma chère amie de Halifax,
My bestest friends Bethany and Tim,
Dad, Janey and my family,

...

The insanity of this life seems manageable with all you around.

Towards a Fellowship of Peace

In the light of our new knowledge and understanding, we would have an opportunity to enjoy that delightful pleasure now known to a fortunate few- the warmth of friendship for fellow-men in other lands. We would realize that the men of this earth were not born to hate but to love, that they and we are victims of a vicious system breed by greed and nurtured by the will to power. We would see them stand with arms open to receive us. We would perceive them overwrought with that desire which flows from a heart sick with quarrels and intrigues. Man was not made for bestial fighting. Man was conceived in peace. And in peace shall he find himself and his lost virtues and his departed joys. That, far more than the economic benefits that might be realized, would be sufficient cause for creating a people's institute. That would be more than an international dividend. That would be the common man's contribution to the realization of that great day for which we all sigh- "the day of universal peace and federated man."

(Moses Coady, *Masters of their own Destiny*)

Abbreviations:

BSS	Basic social services
CECI	The Canadian Centre for International Studies and Cooperation
CEPAL	Comision Económica para América Latina y el Caribe
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CONAIE	Confederación de las Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador)
CONFENIAE	Confederación de Nacinoalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon)
DINEIB	Direccion Nacional de Educacion Bilingüe (National Intercultural, Bilingual Ministry of Education)
DIPEIB	Direccion Provincial de Educacion Bilingüe (Provincial Intercultural, Bilingual Ministry of Education)
ECUARANI	Confederación de los Pueblos de Nacionalidad Kichua del Ecuador (Confederation of Quichua Pueblos of Ecuador),
ECUARUNARI	“Ecuador Runacunapac Riccharimui” (Ecuador Indians Awaken)
FEI	Federación Indígena del Ecuador (Indigenous Federation of Ecuador)
FENOC	Federación Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas (National Federation of Campesino Organizations)
FOCIFCH	Federacion de Organizacion Cooperativo Indígena de las Faldas de Chimborazo (Federation of Indigenous Organizations of the Slopes of Chimborazo)
FTAA	Free Trade Areas of the Americas
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IADB	Inter-American Development Bank
ICBE	Intercultural Bilingual Education
IERAC	Instituto Ecuatoriano de Reform Agraria y Colonización (Ecuadorian Institute for Agrarian Reform and Colonization)
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INEFAN	Instituto Ecuatoriano Forestal de Areas Naturales y Vida Silvestre (Institute for Forestry, Natural Areas and Wildlife)
INODEP	Instituto Ecunemico al Servicio del Desarrollode los Pueblos (Ecumenical Institute for Development of Peoples)
LDC	Less Developed Country
MICH	Movimiento Indígena de Chimborazo (Indigenous Movement of Chimborazo)
MOSEIB	Modelo de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (Intercultural Bilingual Education Model)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OSG	Organizaciones de Segundo Grado (Second level organizations)
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development
PRODEPINE	Proyecto de Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas y Afroecuatorianos (Development Project of the Indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian Nations)
PROMECEB	Programa de Mejoramineto de la Calidad de la Educación Basica (Program for Improving the Quality of Basic Education)
SAP	Structural Adjustments Policy
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Office
UOCIC	Union Organization de Campesinos Indígena de Chimborazo (Union Organization of Indigenous Campesinos of Chimborazo)

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Chapter One:

Introduction

Article 26: (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least at the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. (2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all. (3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children. (United Nations, 1948: Article 26).

The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights identifies education as an inherent human right for all. Further, one of the United Nations Millennium Development goals is the achievement of universal primary education for children everywhere by the year 2015. In the year 2000, countries signed on to these goals as a means of affecting development for less developed countries (LDCs). By concentrating on education within the Millennium goals, the place of education as an important tool for development is highlighted and reinforced.

Since the International Conference on Education in 1934, the international community has endorsed primary school education as a human right of every child everywhere and argues that every child must be in school. The reasons are well-known: everyone agrees that primary education is the salvation of struggling societies, that every additional year of schooling –beyond providing the glorious wellspring of knowledge- brings with it the best chance to defeat poverty, the best chance for better parenting, a better health, better nutrition, greater opportunity, and a direct line to economic growth. From UNESCO to UNICEF to the World Bank, it is agreed that universal primary education is the ultimate vector of human progress (Lewis, 2005: 75).

With the introduction of education in LDCs a complex set of problems among the marginalized populations has resulted. These problems include: low attendance rates, high drop-out rates, selective student participation and poor quality education. This thesis argues that with this poor quality education, schools have reproduced the very social exclusion which they profess to alleviate. The dilemma arises because, education is necessary for development, yet the liberal model of education introduced has not

resulted in this development. This phenomenon is particularly widespread within indigenous communities.

As elsewhere, indigenous peoples¹ throughout Latin America echo the sentiment that what their children need is a chance to be educated. What form this education takes is very important if it is to be successful. In indigenous communities, positive results have been recorded in intercultural, bilingual schools. The International Labour organization (ILO), in its Convention 169 Concerning the protection of indigenous populations, states in article 27:

Education programmes and services for the peoples concerned shall be developed and implemented in co-operation with them to address their special needs, and shall incorporate their knowledge and technologies, their value systems and their further social, economic and cultural aspirations (International Labour Organization, 1999:29).

The model of intercultural bilingual education (ICBE) is in stark contrast to the current model of liberal Education. The liberal model involves a curriculum that is alien, complete with culturally inappropriate teachers and unsound pedagogical techniques and unfamiliar languages. The ICBE model assumes that if students receive the chance to acquire the basics of learning in an appropriate cultural context, education in the end will be more effective. Whether or not this is true is the central research focus of this thesis. This research was carried out through the examination of the issues surrounding the concept of social exclusion, education and development.

¹ Indigenous being here defined as, “the original inhabitants of particular territories; often descendants of tribes people who live as culturally distinct colonized peoples, many of whom aspire to autonomy” (Kottack, 2002: see Glossary section).

1.1 Research Focus and Problematic

The research topic of this thesis is the link between the intercultural bilingual education of indigenous children in the highlands of Ecuador and development. To evaluate the model of intercultural, bilingual education in Ecuador, the communities of Pulingui San Pablo and La Delicia, in the province of Chimborazo, are studied. The major questions that guide the research are: i) Is this ICBE education in Ecuador a successful example of the model of ICBE? ii) What have been the impediments or supports in relation to these communities gaining access to ICBE schools? iii) Are cultural rights being successfully implemented in Ecuador? iv) How has this new educational model opened-up new spaces for participation for indigenous groups? v) What effect has the introduction of this new model of education had on the degree of social exclusion felt by these communities? vi) And has the model of ICBE been an effective tool for development in these indigenous communities? The problematic for this research may be summed up as: **has intercultural, bilingual education in the highlands of Ecuador alleviated the social exclusion which indigenous Quichua peasants experience?**

1.2 Methodology

a. Methodological Approach

The methodological approaches for the research were interpretive and narrative/descriptive. This involved the systematic collection of qualitative data for both understanding and describing the communities, their schools and the present national context. By also collecting what could be termed the 'life histories' and by using

interpretation, one is able to make sense of the group's lives and thus to see what effect the introduction of the model of ICBE has had on the communities. Using a mixed methodology approach to gather primary and secondary data allowed for a triangulation of the various techniques and methods to increase the data's validity by supplying a more complete and accurate view of the educational situation in Ecuador.

The knowledge claim for this research design is that of social constructivism. To understand how education may be aiding an indigenous community in bringing about development clearly relies on discovering the participants view of the situation. By situating the research within this knowledge claim allows for a useful observation of the education situation in the communities. The research hopes to understand within the particular social and historical context of these communities, if education has led to development.

b. The Project

A few simple considerations guided the selection of the research sites. The main requirements were that there be a primary school within the community that was part of the Intercultural Bilingual Program and that the community be mostly indigenous. All those considered as possible research sites were in the municipality of San Juan, in the province of Chimborazo. Many sites were ruled out simply due to logistical problems such as being too far off the main road and inaccessible or not being able to provide a place to stay while in the community. In the end, the communities of Pulingui San Pablo and La Delicia were chosen, my residence being in the former community throughout the research.

As I was invited into the communities in a dual role (that of researcher and teacher) I was allowed a smooth transition into the communities, which was very advantageous. My time was spent teaching from 0800 to 1630 hrs daily in the primary indigenous school in Pulingui San Pablo, while also carrying out research. A similar structure was set-up in La Delicia, teaching daily from 0730 until 1230 hrs for two weeks. At times having to perform other duties during the research process was a constraint, mainly in the form of time limitations. Work periods needed to be divided between research and the other non-research activities. In this case, the role of teacher, although occupying a large part of the day, allowed for continued observation in the research setting.

c. Data Collection Strategies

1. Data collection within community setting

The first level of research was at the community level. Several quantitative variables were gathered, beginning with population data on: ethnicity, age, gender, number of children, location of home, languages spoken, years of schooling, children in school and family income generating activities. Quantitative data on the community addressed issues of community organization make-up, and the area's geographical situation. Qualitative data themes revolved around the issues related to parents' views on culture, language, education, the community school and the intercultural, bilingual program. Through interviews, data was collected on: reasons for sending their children to this school, parental participation in school activities, hopes and aspirations for themselves and their children, and feelings about their own educational paths.

Qualitative data also included information about the community's history, the school's role in the community, current and future development projects, hope for change, and the general social, political, economic and cultural situations of the community members. This set of data about the communities sheds light on the types of populations that reside in these communities and the views of community members on the topics of education and development, culture and social exclusion.

Research methods used for phase one were six different data collection strategies: focus groups, surveys, interviews and participant observation which included systematic note taking and secondary data collection. The purpose of these methods was the gathering of primary and secondary data that would fully describe the communities. Research began in Pulingui San Pablo with a focus group of fifteen parents and family members of the students from the community school². The expressed aim of this exercise was two-fold: firstly to gauge the level of knowledge and awareness of topics of interest to this research and secondly, to aid in the formulation of appropriate and culturally specific questions for later interviews.

Semi-structured interviews with parents then followed.³ After having completed two of these interviews, I decided to switch to group interviews. Because I felt that the women were not generally comfortable being interviewed alone: it became evident that they were capable of expressing themselves more freely in groups. These interviews were carried out in groups of various sizes and in the end involved 42 participants. The sample consisted of adults of all ages, both those with children and without. One semi-

² Most participants were women, as the focus group was carried out on a day that a doctor was brought to the school to perform check-ups on mothers. This strategy was necessary as a logistical solution to the problem of inaccessibility of parents due to the diverse household locations.

³ Again, done with mothers, as they were generally the parent that came to the school to help with school activities as a high percentage of men were engaged in economic migration for most of the year.

structured interview with a past student, the very first graduate of the community school, was also carried out. All these interviews were audio taped and conducted in Spanish with participants speaking amongst themselves in Quichua, translated into Spanish for my benefit. Unstructured, informal interviews were also carried out with community association members, women's group members and tourist hiking guides. The expressed aim was to garner a full picture of the community's present economic, social, political and cultural situation.

Surveys to gather the quantitative population data about the community was gathered through oral surveys. For the most part, these surveys were administered at the end of group interviews. Because of the high rate of illiteracy of the parents in the community this technique allowed for the collection of data from those who otherwise would not have been able to complete the purely written surveys.

Another strategy used was direct and participant observation in the community. These techniques were used to allow a cross-check between what people were saying and what their actions were showing. Having a residence on the intersection of the only two roads of the community allowed for daily observations of community life. As well, taking part in the day-to-day activities of the community, such as taking part in '*mingas*'⁴, tree planting, visiting community members, skinning alpacas, washing clothes and tending gardens, allowed for a deeper understanding of latent activities of community life. This also helped with gaining access to various cultural aspects of the community.

Through secondary data collection, a full quantitative picture of the community was constructed. A help with this were baseline studies carried out by the '*Federación De Organizaciones Indigenas de las Faldas del Chimborazo*' (Federation of Indigenous

⁴ Mingas are communal work projects.

Organizations of the Slopes of Chimborazo) (FOCIFCH) as well as looking at projects and papers that have been done on the part of the '*Union Organization de Campesinos Indigenas de Chimborazo*' (Union Organization of Indigenous Campesinos of Chimborazo) (UOCIC), the two main indigenous organizations working in the area. Throughout my time in the field, systematic note taking accompanied all my experiences at the research locale, and was a valuable data collection strategy.

In the second community of La Delicia, the same process was carried out. Because the school year finished earlier than anticipated, only two weeks were spent in this community as opposed to the three months in Pulingui San Pablo. However, already having fashioned the research schedules in San Pablo, tasks were carried out much more quickly the second time around. In the end however, the research on this community was not as extensive. Two group interviews and group surveys were carried-out, encompassing sixteen parents. Neither living nor spending extensive time in the community meant that the observations were relatively limited. The observations that did occur rested solely on, and with, community members during school breaks and on the 45 minute walk to and from the main road to catch the bus.

2. Data collection within school setting

The second level of data collection was at the school level. This data concerned the topics of a) the student, including background, attendance rates, drop out levels, behaviour, future goals and opinions about school; b) the curriculum formation and ministry involvement; c) teachers' methods, techniques, qualifications, background, future goals, opinions on Quichua and culture, and impressions about the school and community; d) language content of classes; e) classroom structure and size,

teacher/student ratios; and f) the school's financial situation and history, specifically dealing with the intercultural bilingual program. Themes looked at included the form of school in use, and its strengths and weaknesses. Research at the community level also linked to the larger questions of whether this model of ICBE has been an effective tool for educational development and has this new model of education led to development within the community.

The primary research method for phase two was participant observation, used to extract information vis-à-vis the school setting. Strategies for both communities were the same. This schoolroom observation was augmented by being a teacher in the communities. Alternating between teaching and observation, I was able to sit in the back of the classes and engage in record keeping. Several informal discussions were also held with the children to ascertain qualitative information, such their impressions about education, culture and their goals. The second research strategy was formal, semi-structured interviews held with the teachers (three in Pulingui San Pablo and two in La Delicia). The interviews were conducted in Spanish, lasted approximately one and a half hours and were audio taped. These interviews were used to gather teachers' background information as well as to gauge the teachers' impression about the communities, culture and the schools.

3. Data collection at regional and national level

The third level of research comprised both regional and national context as the data collected was on the same themes. Quantitative data at these levels looked at government spending towards education, number of students, schools and teachers (both in Hispanic and bilingual schools), drop-out levels, and education attained in various

regions and between various ethnic groups. Qualitative information was generated about program policies, specifically focused on the creation and implementation of the intercultural, bilingual program. Other issues included; the various aims and goals of the program, teacher training, policies and practices of educational decentralization, ministry involvement in schools, and the program's future projects and outlook.

The final data collected looked at the history of the model of ICBE in Ecuador, the country's indigenous organizations, their successes, goals within the educational sector, and a general social, political, economic and cultural situation of indigenous people in the region and nation. This data speaks to the issue of what have been the major impediments and supports to the introduction of this new educational model. Again, this data is also important in looking at issues of culture, participation and social exclusion for the indigenous Quichua populations in Ecuador.

This phase of the research consisted of semi-structured interviews. This began with members of the '*Direccion Provincial de Educacion Bilingue*' (Provincial Intercultural, Bilingual Ministry of Education) (DIPEIB) in Riobamba. The main interviewee was a minister from DIPEIB and data collection was done through formal, semi-structured interviews as well as informal discussions. The interviews were conducted in Spanish and were audio taped. These interviews were complemented by post-interview fact checking using ministry resources. Two other informal sessions or quantitative fact-finding missions were carried out with two DIPEIB ministry workers to garner the needed quantitative data at the provincial level. Having been unable to gain access to contacts at the national education ministry or the '*Confederacion de*

Nacionalidades Indigenas de Ecuador' (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador) (CONAIE)⁵, there were no interviews carried out at the national level.

The final interview was conducted with Tom Walsh, the gatekeeper for this research and a NGO worker in Riobamba. Having carried out informal discussions with him for the duration of my research as a form of conceptual-assumption cross-checking, our final discussion was concluded with a formal, semi-structure interview. Issues brought forward dealt with the history of Pulingui and its social, political, economic and cultural situation.

The final research activities were brief observations and interviewing within a public school in the city of Riobamba and the very remote indigenous community of Gallo Rumi. This was done to allow for a comparison between the research sites and schools that were not part of the Intercultural, Bilingual programs. This was important because it lessened the likelihood of allowing one's own national education to be the benchmark with which to gauge techniques, teachers and outcomes of the study sites. In Riobamba, observation was done in a classroom, concluding with a formal, semi-structured interview with the teacher. Similar school setting themes from the previous research sites were examined. In Gallo Rumi, brief observations and informal, unstructured interviews about the education of the community were carried out.

1.3 Chapter Outlines

The thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter one is the introduction section which looks at the topic of indigenous education and development. The main emphasis

⁵ CONAIE is the national indigenous federation in Ecuador.

of this chapter is on the methodology used for the research in Ecuador. This chapter also provides a summary of the research's conclusions. Chapter two is the literature review which begins with an overview of education and development, in both a general and indigenous context. This chapter also examines the model of Intercultural, Bilingual Education and paints a clear picture of what this model entails. Finally, this chapter deals with the literature and theories around the concepts of social exclusion, cultural rights and spaces for participation. The purposes of this chapter are: to set-up the conceptual framework for the research; to bring forward key questions for research; as well as to highlight and define key concept within the issues of the education *for* development debate.

Chapter three is the case study section of the two indigenous communities of Pulingui San Pablo and La Delicia in Ecuador. This chapter outlines a general overview of the country of Ecuador, a full overview of the indigenous communities within Ecuador, and the policies and programs around the educational systems in Ecuador. The notions of social exclusion, cultural rights and spaces for participation in an indigenous Ecuadorian context are also discussed. The chapter ends with a description of the fieldwork carried out in Ecuador.

Chapter four is the discussion section which analyzes the major findings of the research as well as the main significance of those findings. Chapter five is the conclusion section. This section examines the lessons learned from the Ecuadorian ICBE experiences well as supplying questions for further research.

1.4 Summary of Conclusions

The literature concerning the issues of indigenous education and development indicates that indigenous peoples in Latin America are living in a situation of social exclusion. Many researchers of this subject agree that one way indigenous people can go about alleviating this social exclusion is through the attainment of the cultural right for intercultural, bilingual education. This model of education is markedly different from the liberal model of education in that ICBE adheres to the following ideas; having culturally appropriate curriculum and textbooks, having teachers from within a similar cultural background and demonstrating bilingual language usage. These elements of the education model when brought together allow indigenous peoples to achieve three goals; a higher quality education, at the same time as they strengthen their cultural identity and their indigenous organizations. This gives the indigenous groups the chance to interact with the government and larger society in new and useful ways. The theory is that this type of education will allow for development within indigenous communities that will bring about the execution of cultural rights and the creation of spaces for social, political and economic participation thus alleviating social exclusion.

Our research found that in the case of Ecuador the model of ICBE did indeed have positive educational outcomes. However, research in two indigenous communities in Ecuador substantiated that the model of ICBE was neither easy to implement nor was it always successful at reaching all three goals. The community of Pulingui San Pablo exhibited a successful model of ICBE with outcomes similar to the model as expressed in the literature, achieving all three goals. The second community of La Delicia however

did not meet the prescribed objectives and neither exhibited an accurate model of ICBE nor were they striving for any goals beyond a good quality of education.

As a result of empirically identifiable outcomes, I will be adapting the following perspective: We have seen that within Ecuador the ICBE schools do indeed provide a high quality of education which is a very positive experience for indigenous students. Beyond this outcome the two communities were vastly different. The variant element between the two communities was the presence of what will be termed by me *decisive collective organization*. This element, seen only in Pulingui San Pablo, has allowed the community to rally around the ICBE school in the community and as a result they have begun participation in social, cultural, political and economic endeavours in ways unseen in La Delicia.

The strong indigenous organizations within Ecuador have been using the mobilizing capacity that comes from this decisive collective organization as a catalyst to fight for cultural rights for all indigenous peoples in Ecuador. The end result of this struggle by the CONAIE has been that spaces for participation for indigenous peoples have been opened up at not only the community level, but also at the national level. However, there are still problems in relation to this model. The three main problems are: insufficient financing, a lack of educated teachers as well as lack of adequate indigenous leaders within the communities.

Chapter Two:

Literature Review

2.1 Education and Development

2.1.1 General Education and Development

When speaking about education, it is necessary to ask the question; “What counts as education” (Keddie, 1973: 9). For the purposes of this research, education will refer to formal education. The terms ‘education’ and ‘schooling’ will be used interchangeably. Formal education refers to knowledge that is transmitted in institutionalized social organizations, that is to say, schools with a formal teacher-student relationship, time-specific activities, set curriculum, textbooks and graded outcomes. We are looking at students that are part of this formal ‘schooling’ structure. As the first years of school are the most important in terms of initial learning, this research concerns itself only with education at the primary level, defined as those students in levels kindergarten through grade six.

Education, in its simplest form, can be traced back to the earliest days of mankind. Indeed, “there is no known human society in the world, which does not have a system of transmitting its skills, wisdom and way of life from one generation to the next” (Francis, 1993: 105). At its conception, the role of educating was allocated to families and communities. In this way, the responsibility for educating the children, was shared and benefited everyone. However, when speaking of education in the current form of the liberal model, one has to look to Western Europe in the 17th century for its origins. Considered the pioneer of modern schools, Bishop John Amos Comenius envisioned schools to be devices to “teach everybody everything” (Carnoy & Samoff, 1990:4). In

this same view, education was seen as a process of learning, which would “bring people out of their ignorance and underdevelopment into enlightenment and civilization” (Carnoy & Samoff, 1990: 4).

Since that time, the necessity has been recognized for, “new educational policies responding to new objectives of development” (Francis, 1993: 2). As an example, in the 19th century, Alfred Marshall made the link between schooling and development in saying, “knowledge is our most powerful engine of production” (Oxfam, 1986: 46). This need for education to fulfill new societal requirements has sparked much debate in the 20th century. As stated by Adam Curle, in terms of education and development, “in order to consider what education might contribute to development, we have to consider what development might be” (Curle, 1973: 118).

Development in the 1940’s was about economic growth and modernization, encompassing the idea that, “cultural differences are only a question of backwardness’ (Verhelst, 1990). Modernization (or Westernization) was carried out with projects aimed at improving agricultural productivity, housing, health, with a special emphasis placed on education. At this time, economic discourse led to education being seen as a matter of human resource planning. Basically, this, “sought to identify the conditions that had given rise to development in the first world, and specify where and why these were lacking in the third world” (Rapley, 2002: 15). As industrialization increased, education was allotted the task of imparting skills to workers.

In the 1950’s development was defined as an increase in production and consumption. Redistributive approaches, such as the Keynesian model of the time, used the state as an engine and director of development, while still viewing capitalist

expansion as the key to progress. W.W. Rostow (1956) put forward the notion that there are stages of growth, through which all countries must pass. During the educational boom of the 1950's, programs focused on the role of education in 'solving' problems or obstacles in the South (Edwards et al., 2001). The 1960's brought about the proposal that development was the elimination of dependency. As this theory came to prominence, education was allotted the role of simply imparting functional literacy and vocational skills in the form of human capital (Healy, 1998; Bebbington, 1999).

The Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) defines human capital as "skills and knowledge acquired in the course of initial education" (Healy, 1998: 32). The human capital theory itself was formulated by Schultz and Becker in the 1960's. According to Schultz, the process of acquiring human capital changes a person by imparting skills and the capability to act in certain ways, allowing policy makers to remain conscious of the rate of return on these investments. This is tied up with the idea that an educated population is a productive population. In an environment that required flexibility and adaptability, renewing and increasing the skill base of the population was needed for economic growth to be realized. The concept is predicated on the idea of preparing people for the jobs their labour markets offered within the global context (Brock-Utne, 2000). By investing in the future through education, it was argued that financial returns would result from neutralizing obstacles and the building-up of the workforce's proficiency, thus improving the development context of nations.

Dependency theorists continued on into the 1970's. Known as the second development decade, development came to include the presence of individuals who had

the capacity to make and realize decisions. Fletcher used the term development to denote the “actualisation of implicit potential” (Fagerlind & Saha, 1989: 4). The situation of LDCs at the time was viewed not as backwardness on the part of societies but a, “systematic process of exploitation” (Verhelst, 1990: 13) of countries. Structures at the local, national and international level were theorized to be causing poverty. The main contribution of the dependency theory to education was it, “focused on the role of education for domination rather than for development” (Little, 2000:288).

Central elements of concern included the meeting of people’s basic human needs, and allowing them to live above mere subsistence. Education in the 1970’s, although unorganized and inappropriate, was seen as the only way for LDC governments to mimic Northern successes and deal with these problems. This position was observable as states placed increasingly, “high hopes in the 1960’s on expansion of education as a means of narrowing the gulf separating them from the advanced countries, and how this idealism was gradually replaced by realism” (D’Aeth, 1975: 15). Many theorized such as Little (2000) express the idea of “formal schooling in dependent economies play[ing] a key role in the furtherance of a cultural and economic dependency of peripheral upon central economies” (Little, 2000:288).

With the 1980’s, the neo-liberal model brought back the notion of development being equated with economic growth. Neo-liberals such as Friedrich Hayek believed in the ‘invisible hand of the market’ and added that capitalist economics granted widening choices to individuals. Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP) promised to bring about rapid economic growth, which would inevitably lead to development. This involved a

promise of future progress through economic growth. Of education during that decade it is written that,

It is expected to be the primary vehicle for developing and training skills to ensure that the next generation in the society is adequately prepared for the specific tasks that the society expects of it (Carnoy and Samoff, 1990: 7).

At the same time, the neo-liberal model of education was concerned mainly with education's effectiveness and efficiency. This trend also included the idea of human resource development as a means to the alleviation of poverty. Education was deemed appropriate in that it was an institution for training, thus aiding students in gaining employment (Van Der Veen, 2003). It was contended that if one succeeded at school, one was liable to enjoy a 'good quality of life'. This view of education is highlighted by the World Bank using the examples of the 'Asian Tigers'. When speaking about these countries it is said that they, "did not build, work and grow harder so much as they built, worked and grew smarter" (World Bank, 1999: 19).

In the mid-1980's economic writers such as Sen (1988) and Streeten (1984) came to prominence within development theory and tied in the notion of increased welfare with 'human' development. Sen challenged that development was, "a process that enhances the effective freedom of the people involved to pursue whatever they have reason to value" (Sen, as cited in UNESCO, 1995: 22). Nonetheless, increased income was the most effective means of achieving this goal. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 2004) stated that development was the widening of people's choices allowing for a long life, knowledge acquisition and a decent standard of life.

At the beginning of the 1990's, development branched out into the direction of 'alternatives to development', which continues to look for viable alternatives to the growth oriented models of development. To aid in this endeavour education concentrates

mainly on the concept of 'Education for All', which advocates that every child everywhere receive primary education. What is ascertained from this timeline of the history of development since the 1940's is the fact that the main goals have remained economic. Consequently, education is allocated the role of preparing people to partake in the processes of modernization and economic growth.

2.1.2 Indigenous Development and Social Exclusion in Latin America

This general overview of education and development can be said to be suspiciously lacking of any indigenous focus. As indigenous issues are the heart of the theoretical component of this thesis, we now turn to their unique situation in an attempt to gain an understanding of education and development from an indigenous perspective. Because indigenous peoples have been labelled as 'backward', 'savage', or in need of modernization, development and education goals of the past have often aimed at 'helping' them overcome these 'faults' (Verhels, 1990). As a result of this view it has been seen that in Latin America, "Indians remain the poorest and most destitute of the region's population with the highest rates of infant mortality and childhood malnutrition and the lowest rates of literacy, and schooling" (Davis and Patridge, 1999: 2). It has also been stated that, "Indigenous people are among the poorest in the societies surrounding them, they are also more disadvantaged in the fields of housing, education, social and health services and legal issues (Pirttijarvi, 1999: 4). In short, it is stated that the indigenous population of Latin America are subjected to a state of social exclusion (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005: Pirttijarvi, 1999: Veltmeyer, 1992).

The term social exclusion is said to have originated in France in the 1970's. The concept, however, goes back as early as Adam Smith. The present use of the concept

came about as a metamorphosis from terms such as; deprivation, inequality, poverty, marginality and discrimination. Because these terms are often interpreted as very one-dimensional and mainly concerned with the issue of those who are without work, writers such as Stiefel & Wolfe (1994), use the concept of social exclusion to move research beyond poverty alone. Silver (1995) has gone on to provide a comprehensive list of what people can be excluded from, such as: earnings, education, legal equality, democratic participation, public good etc.

Social exclusion is essentially the opposite of social integration. It denotes the lack of opportunity to participate in the organizations and institutions of society. Individuals, though part of a group, experience social exclusion by their inability to participate or enjoy the benefits of the larger community. One of the original ways that social exclusion was conceptualized was through Polanyi's two models; 'modes of economic integration' and 'social relations' (Reimer 2004). Economic factors include issues of market exchange, redistribution and reciprocity; while social aspects encompass relations with markets, bureaucracies, associations and communities. In a similar vein, an economic definition of social exclusion is,

Processes and conditions of exclusion from participation in the economic, social and political institutions of the broader society, ie. Lack of participation in the benefits of the development and modernization process (Veltmeyer, 1992:5).

This implies (i) a lack of access to labour markets and (ii) a lack of opportunity to work. As is noted only workers with 'working capital'⁶ are able to engage in many forms of work. There is also (iii) a lack of access to 'good' or 'decent' jobs, as well as (iv) a reduced access to social services and (v) a lack of access to the means of social

⁶ Working capital is seen as the abilities, knowledge and most importantly the financial capital to successfully partake in labour activities.

production⁷ (Veltmeyer, 1992). Most importantly, there is the present, “incapability of household members to meet their basic needs” (Veltmeyer, 2003: 6). This denotes a mixture of related problems such as lack of work, lack of housing and lack of skills, all combined with low incomes.

From a more social view Stiefel and Wolfe (1994) see social exclusion as, “a process that involves the trajectory of vulnerability, fragility and precariousness, a breaking of ties along [diverse] dimensions of human existence- work, socio-familiar, cultural, and human” (Veltmeyer, 1992: 5). Bhalla & Lapeyre (1997) also see social exclusion as having a decidedly economic, social and political dimension.

The UNDP does not use the term ‘social exclusion’ instead opting for the phrase ‘cultural exclusion’. An example of the use of this expression is,

The indigenous people of Guatemala are excluded from political participation and economic opportunities because the state does not recognize their language in schools, law courts and other official arenas (UNDP, 2004: 7).

The UNDP explains that the concept has two distinct components; living-mode exclusion and participatory exclusion. Living mode exclusion, “denies recognition and accommodation of a lifestyle that a group would choose to have” (UNDP, 2004: 6). Participatory exclusion is outlined as, “when people are discriminated against or suffer disadvantage in social, political and economic opportunities because of cultural identity” (UNDP, 2004: 6). Incorporated in this is the idea that, “cultural liberty is a vital part of human development because being able to choose one’s identity- who one is –without losing the respect of others or being excluded from other choices is important in leading a full life” (UNDP, 2004: 1).

⁷ Social production can be seen from anything to access to land, access to organizations or access to community structures.

A fourth conceptualization is from the reformist neo-liberal Amartya Sen, who has done extensive work in the area of social exclusion. He attests that poverty is the concept of income shortage while social exclusion is essentially 'capability deprivation' (Sen, 2000). Sen's work states that, "social exclusion can, thus, be constitutively a part of capability deprivation as well as instrumentally a course of diverse capability failures" (Sen, 2000: 5). In this analysis, three items are highlighted as necessary to avoid this deprivation: education, basic economic entitlements (such as land rights) and participation in the market economy.

A key characteristic of these definitions of social exclusion is the deepening of income inequalities. The increase in poverty is a large problem in LDCs, while social exclusion makes these problems more pronounced because of the present social inequalities. Shucksmith (2004) explains that social exclusion is based on individuals' lack of integration in such processes as networks of and for employment. Poverty, because of a lack of resources and low-income work, is combined with the propensity for the underclass individual to be divided from the cultural norms of society.

Having used several different lenses through which to view the processes of social exclusion, the next step is deciding which conceptualization is most appropriate for our purposes of explaining the state of social exclusion for indigenous peoples. The causes of social exclusion that have been examined were political standpoint (Veltmeyer, 1992), social (Stiefel & Wolfe, 1994), cultural (UNDP, 2004) and economic (Sen, 2000). The process that is most appropriate within the research on the state of indigenous social exclusion is that put forward by Veltmeyer (1992). This political definition denotes the causes as exclusion with regards to social, economic and political institutions, with the

main consequence being the lack of participation in national development. As a result, it is ascertained that participation is key in alleviating this social exclusion.

It has been recognized that because the current development models have led to social exclusion for indigenous peoples a new development paradigm is needed. Because of this situation, many indigenous groups have begun advocating for self-development or ethno-development as a more appropriate way to overcome this problem of social exclusion (Plant, 1998). Self-development is recognized as,

Those processes which are defined by and controlled by the indigenous peoples themselves as they seek better lives for their communities in the face of increasing poverty and social disintegration (Carlos Alfonso Palma from the Organización Indígena de Colombia, as cited in Partridge et al., 1996: 3).

Multilateral organizations have begun working with indigenous groups towards this form of development and stress the need for, “Indigenous peoples’ own organizations to ensure that they formulate their own needs and development models” (Plant, 1998: 35). This process of development realized over a long period of time, must incorporate the notion of a gradual, cumulative, unfolding of ‘potentiality’. As well, it is said that, “genuine development is an autonomous process representing a community’s vision of its history, its values, and its future goals as it seeks for a better life” (Partridge et al., 1996: 3). This development is theorized in the context of indigenous peoples’ reality. As such, can it be instrumental in alleviating the problems of growth-oriented models of development? As attested by indigenous peoples in Barras (2000), “We do not want somebody else taking us by the hand to lead us wherever they want us to go” (p.51). Thus indigenous development would represent, “a dramatic increase in indigenous representation in the political system and participation in the decision-making processes that affect their own development” (Partridge et al., 1996:4).

From empirical work done in Latin America writers such as Moody (1998), Garcia (2003) and Barras (2000), claim this definition to be appropriate as an alternative paradigm of indigenous development. To further its usefulness Partridge et al. (1996) have included ten indicators with which to operationalize the concept of indigenous development. These are the presence of a) land rights, b) food security, c) income-producing activities, d) improved health, e) strong social organizations, f) respect for evolving cultures, g) support for intercultural, bilingual education, h) indigenous political 'voice', i) interaction with the national society and j) promotion of indigenous peoples in natural resource conservation.

2.1.3 Indigenous Education in Latin America

Many problems facing indigenous people's lack of development in Latin America are said to be the result of countries' poor educational sectors. Noted in the 1970's,

Latin America faces a paradox; to improve its education it must change its social order; to change its social order it must develop and distribute its economic resources; but it does not have the educational system to provide sufficient personnel who can do the job (Cummings, 1973:1).

In the 21st century this sentiment is still relevant for indigenous communities in Latin America. Problems are not only poor quality education, but also indigenous people's lack of access to these services, lack of schools as well as lack of qualified teachers (Pirttijarvi, 1999). At the same time, it is well documented that educational deficiencies is not a problem for indigenous peoples alone. In many LDCs, education is of very poor quality (Blat, 1983: Carnoy, 1974: D'Aeth, 1973: Lewis, 2005). This widespread problem is seen in a study carried-out by Oxfam which highlights the number of years it is averaged to take for students within certain LDC to complete to grade five. The numbers are as follows;

Number of years to complete to fifth grade;	
Chad	15
Cuba	5
Mozambique	11
Nicaragua	9

Adapted from Watkins, 2000:89

With regards to Latin America specifically research reveals that, “Almost one-third of children in primary school in Latin America are repeating a grade, estimated to be around 4 million (Watkins, 2000: 91). Therefore a useful area for exploration is how indigenous groups can attain full, quality education, when LDCs as a whole have not been successful in this endeavour?

Another key issue is the fact that because the majority of indigenous education is state provided, it is paramount to evaluate if, “The perpetuation of the underprivileged position of most indigenous peoples has been ensured by the low priority accounted to their education by governments” (Aga Khan & bin Talal, 1987: 18). This begs the question of whether it is poor educational institutions or if it is in fact unfavourable government policies towards indigenous peoples.

Under state-led approaches to education and development education was still seen as a viable investment for governments to make. This led to government investment in areas such as schools, teacher training and educational materials for the betterment of the citizenry. Thus education for indigenous people was financed and expanded.

Once states began experimenting with market-led approaches to educational provision, two main problems became evident for indigenous groups, that being privatization and decentralization of educational services. With these two parallel progressions quality of education was ignored to concentrate on efficiency. Due to debt repayment problems, states began concentrating on, “the dismantling of the welfare state

or, to put it euphemistically, ‘unburdening’ the state of the social agenda” (Teeple, 2000: 109). As Latin American countries began adopting neo-liberal policies to combat stagnant economic growth, international lending agencies changed their focus “from a professed concern for poverty alleviation and meeting the poor’s basic needs to securing the capacity and willingness of debtor countries to service their debts” (Veltmeyer et al., 1997:16). In a 1999 World Bank paper on the effects of structural adjustment it was reported that, “people below the poverty line will probably suffer irreparable damage in health, nutrition, and education” (World Bank, 1999).

Privatization is one of the central pillars of neo-liberalism and one that effects indigenous education specifically as most indigenous education relies on state provision and cannot survive in an arena of private funds alone. This privatization can be done through a variety of paths. One option is to move some services into the private sector while retaining public financing of these services, such as the example of universities. Another course of action is to make the service state-regulated and mandatory, but provided by private companies, as in the case of private schools. Privatization also creeps in through, “incremental degradation of benefits and services” (Teeple, 2000: 110). Through rising eligibility criteria and decreased quality, the service is rendered so useless that public outcry allows the private sector takes over.

The final technique is ‘privatization by attrition’, which is the steady reduction of service provision by governments due to spending cuts. In terms of indigenous educational spending this has led to school closures, unequipped classrooms, underpaid or uneducated teachers and rising tuition costs. This has resulted in the fact that, “When the World Bank did a worldwide survey in 2005, seventy-six of ninety-two developing

countries canvassed had some form of user fees acting as deterrents to (school) attendance. One way or the other, families living on less than a dollar a day simply can't afford to pay a tithe for their children to go to school" (Lewis, 2005: 92).

A parallel progression during the 1990's was the decentralization movement in Latin America, which has affected rural areas, specifically indigenous communities. It was believed that, "shifting responsibilities and resources to sub national units of government" (Dillinger & Fay, 1999: 19), would lead to a higher level of service provision and efficiency. However, sub-level government spending has been cut so drastically that there are very few resources to disperse. Essentially, the onus of service provision is relegated to the local level and it is often the poor who are bypassed when it comes to spending on education. Vandemoortele et al. (2000) surmised from evidence from 20 developing countries that, "the richest quintile of the population receive, on average, about twice as many benefits from public spending on education and health than the lower 20 percent of the population" (p.18). Therefore it is important to ascertain how privatization and decentralization have affected educational provision for indigenous peoples.

Education is now faced with a dual problem. As most elites in countries of the South send their children to private schools, cuts in social services do not affect the quality of their children's education. Essentially, "in many countries public spending in basic social services systematically discriminates against minorities and indigenous peoples" (UNDP, 2004: 66). Theory states that efficient education could help with this situation, unfortunately, "systemic financial instability, entrenched social inequality and

chronic under investment in social, economic and physical structures” (Peck, 2001: 453) has also led to less educational opportunities.

Another issue of concern is the fact that although economic achievements for indigenous peoples are still a desired output from educational inputs and, “increased levels of education among indigenous peoples have been found to be positively related to increasing income and social mobilization” (Partridge et. al., 1996: 2), this is not the only desired outcome from education for indigenous people. As the literature suggests (Partridge et al., 1996, Barras, 2000), indigenous communities are striving for more than economic returns from education and development. To ensure that these communities achieve goals such as language revival or food security, a group of educated indigenous people are needed. As well, it is evident that to ensure that a group of successful indigenous peoples are available requires that students remain in school for a full course of education past the primary grades. A question then is, what form of education is most appropriate to help these indigenous peoples bring about their own self-development?

This idea of education and development being linked as a tool for the alleviation of social exclusion or to bring about social change is not, new nor is confined to indigenous groups alone. In the 1960’s Adams & Bjork (1969), writing on education in LDCs stated that, “Development is an educational process whereby people learn to understand and alter constructively their relations to their natural and social environments” (Adams & Bjork, 1969: vii). This included the idea of learning to produce more food and exploring ideas about new employment and the task of creating new values. Another example from the present can be seen in the Rural Landless Peasants Movement, *Sem Terra* of Brazil. The movement attests that,

Education must aim to promote amongst students the idea of participation itself. The values transmitted must be concerned with: justice in the distribution of goods and equality of participation in all processes (McCowan, 2003: 7).

From evidence of *Sem Terra*'s schools, educational institution that have goals beyond economic outcomes have promoted development. In this same way, can indigenous groups in Latin America use education as a tool for their own self-prescribed development? Intercultural bilingual education has been offered as an alternative that does.

2.2 The Model of Intercultural, Bilingual Education vs. Liberal Education

2.2.1 Liberal education in an indigenous context

Today, the most prolific concept of education continues to be the liberal education theory. This educational theory revolves around one clear premise: that education leads to social change. Justification for this view has been conceived by looking at “the disparity between the wealth and status of educated people compared with uneducated people” (Francis, 1993: 138). Therefore, because it is felt that education leads to social betterment and integration, parents do not object to paying high taxes for schools in the belief that their children will one day profit from the system. Schools enjoy an unquestioned place in society and as such, are left untouched or unreformed in hopes of future benefits. Essentially, the idealized vision of education from a liberal point of view can be summarized as follows,

The aim of education, as all the great educationalist have rightly argued, is to develop such worth while human capacities as intellectual curiosity, self-criticism, the ability to weigh-up arguments and evidence and form an independent judgement, to cultivate such attitudes as intellectual and moral humility, respect for others and sensitivity to different ways of thought and life and to open students' minds to the great achievements of humankind (Parekh, 2000: 227).

This Utopian view of the liberal education model ignores the main aims of many states which is described as the process, “to maintain class structure and social order” (Carnoy & Levin, 1976: 245). States often espouse the liberal model being in line with the human capital view of education as developing, “skills in response to societies’ economic needs” (Carnoy & Levin, 1976: 260). Theorists attest that this socialization aims to impose the state’s ideals, while building loyalty to the nation-state and maintaining the state’s current economic interests (Fuller, 1991).

As the liberal education theory is the dominant model in use today, criticisms are often directed at this model when pushing for indigenous educational reforms. In terms of indigenous peoples, the critique is essentially aimed at the “Eurocentric and in that sense mono-cultural, content and ethos of much of the prevailing system of education” (Parekh, 2000: 224). It is also seen that this education, “divorces children from their rural communities, ignores their culture, in-cultures unsuitable attitudes related to urban life and fails to encourage an understanding of the environment in which they will grow-up and live” (D’Aeth, 1975:61). This is seen as propagating, “the ‘legitimate’ culture as opposed to the ‘barbarian’ one” (Leon, 1985: 31).

Finally, the indigenous critique of liberal education also is concerned with quality of education provided. Quality in this section is used to denote the type, or more aptly said, the presence of appropriate education for indigenous people. There are four main concerns with the standard western, liberal system of education when applied to indigenous students. These concerns are high drop out rates, high repetition rates, low retention rates and low achievement. In short,

Experience has already shown beyond a doubt that the kind of education-learning- that is required to transform indigenous societies... is not the kind provided by today’s urban-oriented educational system whose values, prestige symbols, incentives and rewards are

basically incompatible with the fundamental goals of indigenous life. This kind of education implanted in indigenous communities has become mainly a transmission belt for moving talent to the cities, not a powerful instrument for changing and improving such communities. Radically new educational conceptions and approaches are needed to meet the broad and diversified knowledge requirements and manpower needs of indigenous development (CIDA, 1991: 7).

The purpose of reviewing and subsequently testing educationalists' critiques of liberal education is twofold. The first purpose is to understand faults within education allowing for the answer to the question of whether a new model of education is really necessary. The second and most important purpose is to be able to test if indeed the model of ICBE is a new model of education or if it has merely incorporated education's old faults under the guise of a new politically correct name. If one avoids this topic, it will ultimately lead to 'more of the same', meaning more education being provided with no better results for indigenous people. As stated by Ivan Illich, "Don't improve schools- rather question the assumptions on which the school system itself is based" (Illich, 1970: 108).

Some key questions for analysis on these topics are; How do curriculum policies serve the interests of dominant groups within societies? How do language policies in schools create inequalities among learners? (Tollefson, 2002). Is the dominant liberal model of education in fact inefficient, ineffective and irrelevant in an indigenous context? And is ICBE an appropriate educational model for indigenous people?

2.2.2 The Model of Intercultural, Bilingual Education

Many writings (Moody, 1988, CIDA, 1991, Freeland, 1993) show that traditional liberal education has not proven to be the best model for indigenous communities to follow. One of the main reasons is that, "Education and educational systems are about as laden with emotion and as characteristic of a given culture as its language" (Hall, 1961:

53). In this light, an alternative educational method has been sought. A model that has been tested in many countries with high percentages of indigenous peoples, such as Mexico and Guatemala, is the model of Intercultural Bilingual Education (ICBE). There are many elements within liberal education that have shown to be problematic for indigenous peoples. This section will attempt to draw attention to these issues of problems within the liberal model and demonstrate how the model is theorized to overcome these problems. This section will also provide a clear description of what the model of ICBE is as well as the three main goals of the model of ICBE, those being i) the strengthening of indigenous cultures, ii) the strengthening of indigenous organizations and iii) a higher quality of education.

2.2.3 Curriculum: Friedenbergr, Marxism, Apple and Weis

The first component to look at when dissecting the liberal model of education is the question of curriculum. Edgar Friedenbergr, suggests that there is a divide between education and schooling. This sentiment gained its impetus from the fact that ‘knowledge’ was being shaped by the dominant cultures within countries. The problem lies in the idea of there being a “one-sided subjective development of reason” (Young, 1971: 17). This concept of reason, which refers to how knowledge is created and passed on, is given an ‘instrumental’ and ‘positivist’ role, when critics are adamant that the concept requires both a political and ethical voice. Friedenbergr proposed that in effect what is occurring is that people are being provided with goods and services, such as education, without being given the opportunity to determine how those services will be administered to them.

Similarly, Marxists look at curriculum from the point of view of education's economic outcomes. Termed the educational reproduction theory or 'sorting of students', the basic function of schools through its curriculum becomes the reproduction of the will of the state into prescribed future economic outlooks. According to Marx, schools are used as a tool to reproduce the current status quo (Livingston, 1995). The neo-Marxist view of education is highlighted by Bowles and Gintis, in their work, Schooling in Capitalist America (1976). Using the term, 'correspondence thesis', this work points to education's ability to "perform the stabilizing function of affirming dominant social institutions and cultural forms" (Livingston, 1995:58). Neo-Marxist also point to capitalist societies' tendencies to ignore personal development in order to legitimize current social inequalities. Neo-Marxists are adamant that education's main role is "sustaining and reproducing capitalism" (Edwards et. al., 2001: 421).

On this topic, seminal authors include Michael Apple and Lois Weis who have worked with the concept of the 'hidden curriculum'. Central to this notion is the idea that within the curriculum used at schools is a very explicit, consciously planned course of objectives. For instance the use of timed classes and timed exercises teaches students the need to be able to follow not only instructions, but to be aware of time as well. It is theorized that the skills that are garnered through the use of a hidden curriculum are instrumental skills for labour opportunities outside of the schools. Inevitably, "the hidden curriculum reinforces norms of work, obedience, punctuality and so on" (Apple, 1979: 63). In a similar way, Antonio Gramsci points to the hegemony that is at play within these curricula. He observes that instead of physical coercion, or overtly obtrusive tactics, the state uses these hidden tactics as forms of cohesion (Apple, 1979).

As well, this hidden curriculum highlights how knowledge is not neutral and the process that it uses selects, organizes and stratifies students. In that certain students (most notably upper-class students) will respond to this hidden curriculum better than others, the students who have the cultural practice to do so will progress further within their studies and ultimately society. On average within Latin America, of the 9 million students in primary education 4 million failed the first time they entered schools because of the problems with value-laden curricula (Franko, 2003).

It is theorized that one way to lessen this problem is to introduce an intercultural curriculum into indigenous schools. First, having a curriculum that is free of dominant cultural content allows for schooling that is liberating as opposed to oppressive (Freire, 1972; Illich, 1974; Giroux, 1992). Secondly, it is much easier for students to learn when the curriculum is based on notions they can conceptualize and can easily identify from real world occurrences. And finally, an appropriate curriculum will impart knowledge that is fitting to rural children's environments (UNESCO, 1974). These sentiments were echoed by Gandhi when he wrote,

Modern... education makes young people unfit for any useful function in life. There is no doubt that the young people, when they come back knew not a thing about agriculture. His education is calculated to wean him from his traditional culture (Gandhi, 1953, as cited in Esteva & Prakash, 1998:134).

At the same time, theorists are adamant that there is a need to avoid the tendency for curriculum to be based *solely* on indigenous people's rural environment (UNESCO, 1995). As these students are already disadvantaged, this 'ruralization' of schools is said to lead to increased discrimination. It is theorized that the curricular content should reflect a rural or indigenous reality but should not be defined by it. Another problem with the 'ruralization' of the curriculum is that this simply creates two educational

systems, one urban and the other rural. This idea of teaching only agricultural or animal husbandry skills to rural kids also cuts off their choices and future opportunities. This is very similar to the debate about education in the affluent areas of the United States as oppose to poor areas, where it is said that, “In Highland Park, Texas, in Marin County, California, and in West Palm Beach, Florida, children will be educated. In Detroit, East St. Louis, and Newark they’ll be trained” (Ivins & Dubose, 2003: 93). It is surmised that rural education, “should be equivalent to, if not identical with, that provided throughout the rest of the country” (UNESCO, 1974: 20). That is to say, identical in the sense of quality and learned material, not manner of study.

Essentially, in an indigenous context it is theorized that curriculum should include knowledge from a broad range of sources (Spajic-Vrkas, 2004). The main aim should be bringing about curiosity and imagination, leading students to appreciate; unity, diversity, sympathies and complexities. At the same time, it is theorized that appropriate curriculum leads to lower rates of rural to urban migration. As it currently stands, “Evidence shows that the more years of schooling rural children have, the more they wish to migrate to a city. This is partly because of the curriculum and the outlook of the teachers are urban biased” (D’Aeth, 1975: 86). By taking into account economic and social realities, students can open up new possibilities within the community, thus alleviating the need to leave in search of a livelihood. Parekh (2000) states that Indigenous education,

[S]hould help pupils understand the history, social structure, culture, languages and so on of their cultural and political communities in order to enable them to understand themselves better and find their way about in these communities (p.227).

On the topic of curriculum formation, it is also argued that in the end what is being taught in the urban-biased schools will better equip students for life in society as a whole (Barry, 2001). Ultimately, as Adams & Bjork (1969) state,

The subordinate group may desire strongly education in the culture of the dominant group because of status advantages with which they know it can equip them. Or [they may] wish to reject the dominant culture, uniting the institution of the school with their own language and culture” (p.125).

From this literature, further questions for research are, how can communities influence the curriculum and what outcomes are seen when a curriculum is created with community input and culturally appropriate content?

2.2.4 Teachers’ Techniques and textbooks: Freire, Illich, Willis and Carnoy

Two more operational elements of concern when dissecting the use of liberal Education in indigenous communities are the issues of teacher techniques and textbooks. In the area of teacher techniques, theorists such as Paulo Freire have much to say about problems encountered. Coming from his experiences in North-eastern Brazil in the 1960’s, learning how to teach illiterate, rural peasants how to read and write, Freire theorized that the move towards modernization led the peasants to exhibit signs of self-deprecation. Freire points to the ‘culture of silence’ that engulfs the oppressed, to show how traditional schools and their teaching techniques have led to manipulation and an inclination towards cultural invasion by the dominant class. In so far as, the oppressed attribute their lack of education to their own failures or their poor upbringing. Freire comments that, “one of the major obstacles that the pedagogy of the oppressed must overcome is the participation of the oppressed in their own domination” (Freire as cited in Frankenstein, 1983: 319).

Freire's main opposition to traditional education is its use of the 'banking system'. This system sees students as in need of assistance and views acquisition of knowledge as a process of memorization of textbook facts. In his monumental work Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1972), he uses the approach conscientizacao (Portuguese for conscientization), defined as the development of critical consciousness. Freire defines this by saying it is "learning to perceive social, political, economic conditions and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire, 1985: 20). Strategies for education therefore must incorporate direct participation, open dialogue and active questioning on the part of the students. He also highlights the right of students to maintain respect for their cultural identity, in his words, "unity with diversity" (Freire, 1997: 310).

In a similar light, Ivan Illich writes about the need for new educational techniques as the notion of 'de-schooling', or the un-institutionalization of learning. At present modern institutions, such as schools; defeat their own purposes, weaken self-reliance and threaten people's ability to enjoy life (Illich 2000). According to Illich, "The adoption of international standards of schooling forever condemns most Latin Americans to marginality or exclusion from social life- in a word- underdevelopment" (Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997: 98). He believes that these institutions, set-up by governments, are so ingrained into society that people become completely dependant on them. Therefore, the present ideas associated with modern education have to be erased starting with the concept of teachers being the sole bastions of knowledge. As well, the process of learning within the classroom has to be deprogrammed.

Paul Willis' work, Learning to Labour (1977) analyses education from a class perspective. Willis asserts that because certain students are 'supposed to fail' to keep up the status quo, these students disqualify themselves from school before they are able to be disqualified by the teachers and educational system. This can be seen in many cultural forms of resistance, such as students skipping class, acting-out or dropping out. As James Herndon (1968) gathered from his work with inner city kids in the United States, a student would rather be seen as a 'bad-ass' as oppose to a 'dummy'. This theory sees disadvantaged students, such as indigenous ones, as reproducing themselves into the working class and looks at the important cultural implications of malediction. Teachers have had the effect on lower class students of teaching them to "learn to appreciate manual labour because it isn't mental" (Willis, 1977: 102). They are taught that manual projects are not only acceptable but preferable. In this environment teachers have forced schools to be, "structurally incapable of being agents of change" (Willis, 1977: ix).

In this same way, Martin Carnoy with his Theory of Cultural Imperialism wrote that, "Schools transfer culture and values and channel kids into various social roles" (Carnoy, 1974: 8). By having teachers who use strict rules for pupil selection, focusing on specific cognitive skills and defining rules according to the dominant culture, the social and economic structure of the society is transmitted from generation to generation. In a structure such as this, it is the students, not the teachers, nor the textbooks, nor the schools that are seen as the failure.

When looking at how to improve the quality of education in developing countries, these two issues of teachers and textbooks are at the core of the debate. A central question remains, "who should do the teaching and under what condition." (Apple, 1988:

81). As stated by an indigenous leader in Guatemala, “I remember the teacher saying; ‘We should not teach these Indians too much, for they are clever and they will rise up’” (Panduro, 1988: 277). This example exemplifies how, if the model of ICBE is to be implemented correctly and effectively in indigenous communities, the teachers must be ideologically in-line with the students and community. Because of this fact it is important to ascertain how, where and to what ends teachers are educated. Teachers are the one apparatus that could, as Giroux and Freire acknowledge, introduce the language of possibility into schools in an easy and straightforward way. Because of their role in the success or failures of students, reformists often call for the need to educate the educators. Ultimately, it is said that, “the reform of teachers education is perhaps the highest priority” (Francis, 1993: 116).

Having indigenous teachers or culturally appropriate educators within the ICBE schools is of utmost importance because, except in very rare cases, it is seen that with the introduction of teachers from the cities the result is that a “cultural gulf exists between the teacher and the village” (Adams & Bjork, 1969: 109). Many theorists are adamant that it is vital that teachers be from similar cultural backgrounds as the students because, as stated by Hall (1961), “People reared in different cultures *learn to learn* differently” (p.53). As well, “It seems inconceivable to the average person brought up in one culture that something as basic as this could be done any differently from the way they themselves were taught” (Hall, 1961: 63). As well, the teaching techniques of ICBE schools attempt to incorporate processes of *conscientizacao* and deinstitutionalization, thereby allowing it to be an agent for change.

Textbooks are also important in the creation of a system of ICBE because it is said that in the developing world “textbooks are the major- if not only- definition of the curriculum” (Crossley & Murby, 1994: 100). Fundamental to this issue are the questions of, within the model of ICBE; who is in charge of textbooks, what elements are included, how they are constructed and how available are they to the students? In regards to textbook formation, content, and construction, it is acknowledged that if LDCs continue to rely on former colonial powers for their textbooks, the outcome risks being a form of ‘cultural imperialism’ (Crossley & Murby, 1994). An option is to begin in-country publishing by the countries’ Ministries of Education (often supported by International Agencies). This allows a strict focus to remain on the ministry’s curriculum with important input from ICBE teachers and schools (Crossley & Murby, 1994). With regards to the availability of textbooks, a study of school performance carried out in the Tonga found that,

There continues to be a critical shortage of textbooks, reading materials and supplementary books [and that this] has been identified as a significant factor contributing to the poor performance of indigenous Fijian student (Gannicott & Trosby, 1992: 100).

Because textbook availability is linked with indigenous student performance, foreign aid agencies have made this an educational priority over the last few decades. It is concluded that “increased access to textbooks that are pedagogically sound, culturally relevant and physically durable is currently recognized as one of the most cost-effective ways of improving the quality of education in developing countries” (Crossley & Murby, 1994: 114). Because of these facts, it is acknowledged that the model of ICBE must incorporate appropriate teaching materials.

2.2.5 Bilingualism: Bourdieu and Keddie

A major concern often ignored in the theory of liberal education is the notion of the institution of schooling being 'neutral'. This is the main point that Pierre Bourdieu makes with reference to his theory of Cultural Capital. Bourdieu explains that the,

Importance of institutionalised knowledge and qualifications lies in social exclusion rather than in technical or humanistic advance. They legitimate and reproduce a class society... it is the exclusive 'cultural capital'- knowledge and skill in the symbolic manipulation of language and figures- of the dominant groups in society which ensures the success of their offspring and thus the reproduction of class position and privilege. This is because educational advancement is controlled through the 'fair' meritocratic testing of precisely those skills which 'cultural capital' provides (Willis, 1977: 128).

As Bourdieu points out, schools are portrayed as neutral domains when in reality it is the upper/ middle class culture which has infiltrated throughout schools, making it very subjective. How society is organized has a great influence on what is deemed as important to learn in schools. By this measure, lower class children have not profited from the home or language environments which would have given them the language skills, values and norms to navigate the school environment. Schools as they are set-up now, "always tends to reproduce the structure of the division of cultural capital among these groups or classes, contributing at the same time to the reproduction of the social structure" (Lourie, 1989: 33).

Along this similar theme, Neil Keddie wrote on the theory of Cultural Deprivation. Bringing together a collection of works titled, "Tinker, Tailor... The Myth of Cultural Deprivation" (1973), Keddie asserts that the term deprivation stipulates the presence of a complex set of variables or pre-conditions responsible for normal educational progress. According to theory, this cultural make-up of a person's background may be lacking in some of these key variables. Some clear variables are parents who read to their children, speak the dominant national language and encourage

educational excellence from their children. Lacking in these key factors is responsible for holding back natural progress of indigenous students.

Keddie counters the notion of 'cultural deprivation' by saying that essentially, "no group can be deprived of its own culture" (Keddie, 1973: 8). Instead he terms this phenomenon the 'deficit theory', because students are deficient in the pre-prescribed cultural norms only. Therefore, lower- class students are deficit in the verbatim, verbosity and a general knowledge that makes up the curriculum of school. Simply put, the lower class child's home environment did not "provide the conceptual tools to comprehend knowledge" (Keddie, 1973: 15). At the same time, these children's cultures are labelled, "at least dissonant with, if not inferior to, the 'mainstream' culture of the society at large" (Edwards et al., 2001: 421).

Basil Bernstein (1970) argued that this school system has the dual role of marginalizing the deficit students while averting attention away from the inherent faults in the liberal education system itself. He points to the way individuals, families and communities are blamed for deficiencies, while social and economic structures are left out of the debate,

It follows... that the school has to compensate for something which is missing in the family, and the children are looked at as deficit systems. If only the parents were interested in the goodies we offer, if only they were like middle-class parents, then we could do our job (Bernstein, 1970: 345).

As the name suggests, in the model of ICBE, bilingualism is characterized as one of the most important elements and in theory its presence overcomes both the problems of Cultural Capital and Cultural Deprivation. This is important because a high percentage of developing countries, in Latin America specifically, exhibit one dominate

language and various other lesser-used languages (most often the mother tongues of the indigenous populations. In this situation,

One reason for the drop-out rate among the indigenous that do have access to schooling is language alienation, and even where bilingual education programmes exist, they are often only transitional and the content is alien and value-laden.” (Aga Khan & bin Talal, 1987: 19).

On the issue of Spanish-only schools, empirical findings show that indigenous youth are at a great disadvantage in these schools. Research on indigenous youth in Spanish-only schools in the Guatemalan Altiplano concluded that “children who spoke Catchiquel at home performed more poorly than those whose families spoke Spanish” (Jacoby et al., 1999:30). Similarly, in a study carried-out in 1993-94 in Spanish-only schools in Huaraz Peru, “Spanish rather than Quechua at home resulted in a significant increase in reading and vocabulary scores” (Jacoby et al., 1999: 36). Essentially, these institutions did not allow for indigenous students’ bilingualism to be of assistance in their learning. More extreme cases are reported from Nicaraguan coastal indigenous youth who speak about “Spanish-medium school systems that proscribed and punished their vernaculars” (Freeland, 2003: 243). Studies such as these exemplify how Spanish-only schools result in defensive language usage, decreased cultural pride, and an uneven sense of identity.

As a response to this problem of overcoming the language difference, the model of ICBE has gone through a process of metamorphosis over the years in terms of language usage. There are essentially four models of language programs in Latin America, these being Spanish-only, transitional, maintenance, or mother-tongue-only schools. In the 1960’s, ‘castilianisation programs’ (such as the UNESCO- sponsored programs in Nicaragua) were introduced in many indigenous communities throughout Latin America (Freeland, 2003). It was felt these Spanish-only programs would help

indigenous youth in the future. However, this tortuous education strategy of “submission and punishment” (Freeland, 2003: 249) ended in low retention and poor success rates.

Another option are mother-tongue only programs, which for a time were on the increase. An example of these programs in Nigeria concluded that although students were at a disadvantage when they entered high schools, due to a lack of proficiency in the dominant language, they did outperform in other subjects, such as mathematics and the sciences (Bamgbose, 1984). Examples from Paraguay also showed that using only non-dominant languages in schools was detrimental to students (Corualan, 1984). More often than not, these vernacular-only programs end in the ‘museumization’ of indigenous peoples.

Other campaigns have put forward the use of transitional bilingual programs. These programs use bilingualism in the first few years of schooling as a ‘bridge’ to ease the switch to Spanish. The incorporation of bilingualism into Peruvian and Nicaraguan schools was initially of this type. Many indigenous groups in Nicaragua have expressed the view that these programs are “perfectly acceptable, provided they are chosen by the community and used as a vehicle for the history and culture the group wishes to revive, rather than only as a bridge to Spanish” (Freeland, 2003: 254). The final option, the model that has proved most effective is the maintenance bilingual program. “Th[is] model utilizes both languages throughout the educational program” (Cummins & Tamayo, 1994: 9). This final model of bilingualism has been seen to be the most effective in educational terms and is what most ICBE models use as a language policy.

There are however examples of indigenous groups who have not advocated for this change to bilingual education programs. An example of this could be seen in a small

town in Ccara, Peru (Garcia, 2003). The parents in this small indigenous community were uninterested in what outside ‘activists’ told them in regards to the benefits of bilingual education and responded simply with, “they learn Quechua from us, their parents, in their homes with their families. In school they need to learn the skills that will help them become something more than just *campesinos*” (Garcia, 2003: 71).

Unfortunately, this situation is very precarious. By removing the indigenous peoples as agents of change, as done in this example from Peru would suggest, goes against everything an intercultural, bilingual education hopes to bring about.

Henry Giroux, who is known for his work in the area of ‘radical education’, states that bilingualism is important in education yet one must be wary of its use as a mechanism of compliance. He attests that the curriculum must reflect the needs of the indigenous community being educated, not simply the language component. In areas where there is resistance in education from indigenous communities the use of transitional bilingual programs are often employed to deactivate this resistance. One must therefore analyze how the creation of intercultural, bi or multi-lingual curriculum has overcome these concerns. Ideally, the model of ICBE, “responds to community demands, places cultural and linguistic rescue and revival in community hands and permits flexibility and dynamic in the expression of individual identities” (Freeland, 2003: 252).

2.2.6 Financing and Participation

Finally, there is the issue of participation within and financing for ICBE programs. Regarding financing, an impediment to education’s success, regardless of the form it takes, is how governments, communities and indigenous families will finance

education. The 'Education for all' agenda that has been pushed by the United Nations (UN) throughout developing countries calls for free primary education for all. Social services have been subjected to what has been termed, 'the culture of cuts' (Reimers, 1991), and there have been "drastic reductions in public sector salaries, employment and social programmes" (Hristov, 2005: 190). With regard to teacher education, the future of ICBE programs requires an ever growing group of educated teachers. If indigenous teacher training institutions are not funded, ministries will not be able to carry on providing quality education.

In a 1995 UNESCO study it was found that rural schools in Latin America were ill-equipped (UNESCO, 1995). Indigenous community schools are forced to run with very limited resources, requiring excellent allocation and administrative tactics to remain running. In this way community members' cooperation and donations in-kind are of the greatest importance as, "even the poorest people are glad to make their humble contribution to schools which their children attend" (UNESCO, 1974: 55). Financially, one very positive aspect of ICBE is the fact that costs are reduced due to lower repetition rates. It has been estimated by the UNDP, in a study done in Guatemala, that these lower repetition rates is cost equivalent to schooling 100,000 new students a year (UNDP, 2004). In this same way another study carried out by the UN concluded that, "The internal efficiency of education systems also needs to be improved to reduce repetition rates. The annual cost of repetition in 15 countries of Latin America and the Caribbean is estimated at US\$11 billion" (The Millennium, n.d.: 2).

In terms of participation, communities' inputs are needed at every level of the model, from the curriculum formation, to the teacher and textbook selection, to the

decision about the best use of bilingualism, to the issues of financing. Theoretically, this high level of success is instrumental for the model of ICBE success. Ultimately, intercultural education has similarly stated aims as liberal education, those being,

The expansion of the mental and physical faculties, character-building, the strengthening of the personality, the command of the language and its use in expressing logical thought and in the practical form of examples taken from the environment (UNESCO, 1995: 31).

In conclusion, returning to the main problems within indigenous education: high repetition rates, low retention rates and poor quality, the ICBE model is offered as a means of avoiding all three. Therefore the main research questions are; with an appropriate curriculum, good teachers, local languages instruction and community participation, are repetition rates lower? Is this the most effective teaching method? Do students stay in school longer? Do they receive a better quality of education while they are there? And finally, can the model of ICBE allow students to sustain their cultures and strengthen their indigenous organizations?

2.3 ICBE Education for Development of Non-exclusion

2.3.1 ICBE as a solution to Indigenous Social Exclusion

Section 2.1.2: *Indigenous Development and Social Exclusion in Latin America*, highlights that indigenous peoples in Latin America are living in a situation of social exclusion. It is also recognized that indigenous development is a means through which to alleviate social exclusion. This section also shows that one element in achieving indigenous development was the introduction of ICBE into indigenous communities. In section 2.2: *The Model of Intercultural Bilingual Education*, it was ascertained that the main goals of ICBE are i) the strengthening of indigenous cultures, ii) the strengthening

of indigenous organizations and iii) a higher quality of education. It is now important to make the connection between the introduction of ICBE into indigenous communities and an alleviation of social exclusion.

There are many theorists such as Edwards et al. (2001) who state “It is arguable that the contemporary analysis of social exclusion is operating in a similar way to the earlier notion of cultural deprivation” (Edwards et. al., 2001:421). The suggestion is that the characteristics of the poor themselves are the reason they are poor. One of the most widely discussed solutions for this situation of social exclusion is known as the recognition versus redistribution debate (Fraser & Honneth, 2003). The economic resources-based (redistribution) approach sees the solution in terms of egalitarian conditions. If, on the other hand, we are speaking about identity-based disadvantage (recognition), the remedy is that, “value be given to groups who had been previously disparaged” (Kabeer, 2000: 86). If you conceptualize injustices as economic, it is best to pursue the mainly economic remedies, such as factors of exploitation. If you view social exclusion and inequality stemming from cultural forms of representation, such as cultural deprivation or imperialism, then resolutions will be in the area of integration, increased visibility and acknowledgement (Kabeer, 2000, Fraser & Honneth, 2003). As Fraser believes, “the solutions to one kind of oppression may ill fit the other” (Spinner-Halev, 2000: 1).

In light of the situation of indigenous peoples in Latin America, the recognition side of the debate seems the most appropriate starting point. Unfortunately, the in-depth explanation for this is beyond the scope of this thesis. Suffice it to say that the present socio-political and economic situation of indigenous peoples in Latin America leaves

little space for an implementation of redistributive measures as a critical first step. As a critique, it is worth noting that Nancy Fraser attests that recognition is not the best path, “insofar as the politics of recognition displaces the politics of redistribution” (Fraser, 2000: 108). The case being made within this thesis is not that recognition is the end, but that this recognition is a means to an end or more so, a means to a beginning.

Alex Honneth (1991), in looking at the issue of recognition, asked the question why does recognition matter? He highlights three main reasons; because it ensures primary relationships, allows for communities of values and leads to legal relations. Struggling for a ‘situation of mutual recognition’, it is theorized that by Honneth that engaging in politics of recognition and legal relations, indigenous groups can further their engagement in the political, social and economic fields. The question is then posed, how does the model of ICBE include the concept of recognition?

2.3.2 Indigenous Culture: cultural diversity, multiculturalism and cultural rights

Theory shows that one of the best ways for indigenous peoples to ensure recognition, leading to legal relations, is to promote their own unique cultural identity. As mentioned, one of the main aims of the model of ICBE- the cultural strengthening of indigenous peoples. Once a group possesses a strong cultural identity it is then possible for that group to petition the state for recognition from the wider society.

If one is going to champion for cultural revival through education, it is necessary to understand what ‘indigenous culture’ is. When talking about culture, it has become, “so widely accepted, so unconscious, that its specific historical construction, and the unequal power relations implicit within [it], are simply ‘overlooked, forgotten, even theoretically denied” (May, 1999: 45). This situation amounts to, as Iris Marion Young

states, assuming cultural principles to be difference-blind, when in actuality they are, “a reflection of one hegemonic culture” (May, 1999: 45).

To begin, it is useful to highlight various definitions and concepts for clarity, so as not to mistakenly interchange expressions. Race can be regarded as a way to organize humans based on similarities and/or differences imparted at birth. Ethnicity is simply group classification based on cultural defined differences (Barry, 2001). UNESCO (1995) defines culture as, “the way of living together” (p. 24). Levi-Strauss (1985) uses the words, “particular lifestyles that are not transmissible” (as cited in UNDP, 2004: 17). Gilbert (2000) likewise defines culture as the, “totality of social practices in which they engage” (p.33). A definition that seems to fit for the purposes of indigenous culture is from Hall (1961) which states that culture is, “the way of life of a people, the sum of their learned behaviour patterns, attitude and material things” (p.31).

As the model of ICBE strives to strengthen indigenous culture as a way to help in the alleviation of social exclusion, it is also important to understand how indigenous culture is perceived by societies in general. There are some general feelings about indigenous culture, such as it a) weakens states by breaking national unity, b) leads to violence, c) leads to countries having to decide between culture and development, d) leads to a lack of development, and e) implies that some cultures are better than other in developmental terms. Negative ideas are even present within indigenous groups, such as Quechua peasants from Peru, who state, “What I want most for my son is that he is not a *campesino* like me. And being an Indian is worse! So you shouldn’t tell our children to be Indian!” (Garcia, 2003:78).

In situations such as this, when states are faced with different cultures within their borders, two different policy structures are used to deal with problems that may arise between the diverse groups: those being policies of cultural diversity and multiculturalism. With respect to cultural diversity, there are four stances: that it is a basic human right; the romantic view that it is aesthetic and stimulating for the world; that it increases the range of options available; and that it leads to individuality and progress (Gilbert, 2000: Parekh, 2000). Notwithstanding, theoretically cultural diversity revolves around the idea of there being ‘equality with difference’. Multiculturalism then follows as by definition it is, “a set of concepts and practices aimed at valuing cultural diversity” (Canen, 2003: 253). The different levels of multiculturalism differ between the idea of there being only one ‘rational’ society (monism), to radical culturalists with all culture being highly valued (pluralism), to the belief in culture only so long as it is in line with liberal principles (liberalism) (Barry, 2001: Gilbert, 2000: Verhelst, 1990).

In essence there is a problem for indigenous peoples with such terms as culture, cultural diversity and multiculturalism. As these terms have been conceptualized with neither an indigenous understanding nor an indigenous outlook, they are irrelevant. In this same way, if cultural terms are to be constructive for indigenous peoples they need to be conceptualized in alternative ways. As described by David Scott it is, “the double aspiration of people to be free and to be rooted, without compromising either to universalism or to nativism” (as quote in Robbins & Stamatopoulou, 2004: 431). In essence indigenous groups have advocated for cultural policies that adhere to the idea of there being ‘unity and diversity’ (Parekh, 2000: Robbins & Stamatopoulou, 2004: Garcia,

2003). This idea of striving for unity amongst multicultural societies is not new, as can be seen from the writings of Aristotle,

It is true that unity is to some extent necessary... but total unity is not. There is a point at which a polis, by advancing in unity, will cease to be a polis [...] The truth is that the polis is an aggregate of many members; and education is therefore the means of making it a community and giving it unity (Aristotle, 1948, as cited in Crick, 2000: 113).

The relevant questions for research is does the model of ICBE use cultural strengthening for the advancement of the indigenous communities' goals as opposed to for the continued homeostasis of the nation in which they live? If one agrees that, "A multicultural society faces two conflicting demands and needs to devise a political structure that enables it to reconcile them in a just and collectively acceptable manner" (Parekh, 2000: 196), than this thesis' research asks the question, does the model of ICBE aid in this endeavour to bring about 'unity with diversity' of the citizenry?

2.3.3 Cultural Rights and Spaces for Participation

To answer these question and in trying to understand how cultural strengthening of indigenous cultures through the model of ICBE can have the affect of alleviating social exclusion, two more issues, cultural rights and spaces for participation need be explored. Although human rights have been touted as , "perhaps the only framework that poor peasants at the rural grassroots can invoke in the hope of making an appeal that will be heard" (Hristov, 2005: 89), in terms of indigenous peoples, cultural rights have taken precedence of late in Latin America. Defined, cultural rights are,

Doctrine that certain rights are vested not in individuals but in identifiable groups, such as religious and ethnic minorities and indigenous societies. Cultural rights include a group's ability to preserve its culture, to raise its children in the ways of its forebears, to continue its language, and not to be deprived of its economic base by the nation-state in which it is located." (Kottack, 2002: see Glossary section).

Cultural rights originally appeared in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948); Article 27 as “the right to ‘participate’ in the cultural life of the community.” (United Nations, 1948: Article 27). Following their official recognition in 1966, Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights stated (1976),

In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exists, person belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the rights, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language” (International, 1976: Article 27).

It is also important to mention the difference between cultural rights and indigenous rights. Indigenous rights most often encompass, “land rights extended from the fact of residence and rightful occupation” (Gilbert, 2000: 161). Cultural rights on the other hand are seen as much more neutral and non-aggressive towards the power of the state or elites within the country. In this same way,

Cultural rights are a profound political significance both because they have to do with identity and because they are a means of attaining economic and political objectives that cannot be attained more directly” (Robbins & Stamatopoulou, 2004: 427).

When speaking about indigenous peoples in Latin America and cultural rights, there are three rights that theorists recognize as pertinent these being: constitutional recognition, language rights and intercultural bilingual education (Garcia, 2003, Parekh, 2000, Robbins & Stamatopoulou, 2004). The first and most obvious cultural right is constitutional recognition of multiculturalism within a nation-state. Indigenous peoples throughout Latin America have been fighting for this recognition, some with great success such as Ecuador, others to a lesser degree such as Mexico.

A second cultural right is the right to language. At the same time it is said that, “the linkages of language policy to indigenous mobilization has, indeed, had some important consequences” (Garcia, 2003:76). The UNDP (2004), states that within

multilingual societies, language policies are crucial for ensuring democracy. For example, in Malawi only English is spoken in parliament, not Chichewa the national dialect. This is contrasted with Tanzania where enhanced political participation of the citizenry has been achieved by adding Kiswahili as a secondary language to parliamentary processes.

Finally, the most important cultural right is the provision of appropriate educational policies and institutions, such as intercultural, bilingual programs that have been instigated in multicultural countries such as Indonesia, Guatemala and Nicaragua. Educational activists in Peru, when fighting for bilingual education programs for the youth attest that, “Things will change when Quechuas look beyond simple language issues to more political ones” (Garcia, 2003:79). Although we have been speaking in length about the model of ICBE the difference that becomes important is the notion that the education be provided for and endorsed by the state.

Not only do cultural rights allow for areas of alliance to be animated and strengthened but most importantly, they make demands on the states in what is seen as a very ‘neutral’ terrain. Nation-states are aware that to some degree they need to acknowledge indigenous peoples’ claims to privileges. Claims to cultural rights, such as recognition, language and education are not overtly conflicting with the state’s agenda and are thus easier to accommodate. An example of these successes can be seen in the case of Peru, where although indigenous peoples have not traditionally been afforded many concessions by those in power, it is seen that,

Initiatives by advocates of bilingual intercultural education- such as teacher-training workshops, parent schools, and the implementation of the program in highland classrooms- are developing into potential new spaces for socio-political debate and action (Garcia, 2003:74).

Many theorists highlight the fact that claims made for cultural rights are very different from asking for self-determination (see Robbins & Stamatopoulou, 2004, Cornwall, 2002, Van Cott, 1995). This can be seen in the way that minorities have gained vastly more ground than indigenous peoples in the area of recognition of rights, because they have not asked for self-determination. In this way, cultural rights are,

A ground for possible resolution of conflicts over indigenous rights that cannot be resolved in terms of self-determination. That is, through cultural rights indigenous peoples can achieve a good portion of the goals they want out of the right to self-determination, but without posing the same threat to existing states (Robbins & Stamatopoulou, 2004: 427).

Asking outright for re-organization of the state is seen as a blatant form of power sharing (or taking), which is a very precarious move in Latin American countries.

By their very presence cultural rights do not supply indigenous groups with a situation of non-exclusion. What it has been theorized that they do supply are spaces for participation (see Cornwall, 2002: Veltmeyer, 1992: Van Cott, 1995). Participation on its own has come to mean that, “those who will be substantially affected by decisions made by social and political institutions must be involved in the making of those decisions” (McCowan, 2003: 1). The main critic in terms of indigenous peoples and participation is that the purest form of participation, that is bottom-up, fully equalitarian, and equitable, can still leave the members out of the mainstream. Because of an inability to deal with societal structures, participation does not imply an entrance into processes or engagement with outside agents. This is now viewed as an important, necessary step in the area of social exclusion (see Cornwall, 2002: Veltmeyer, 1992: Van Cott, 1995). This engagement on common territory is how cultural rights are used in the creation of spaces for participation.

These theorists (see Cornwall, 2002: Van Cott, 1995: Nagengast & Kearney, 1990) argue that the most influential ways to use cultural strengthening gained from appropriate indigenous education such as the model of ICBE, is as a neutral domain to create spaces. Cornwall (2002) defines spaces as, “ways in which opportunities for engagement might be conceived or perceived and more concretely, in terms of actual sites that are entered and animated by citizens” (Cornwall, 2002: 2). In theory, the presence of spaces allows for new actions to occur that are organized, occupied, conceived and perceived by the actors themselves.

It is also interesting to note that “particular spaces may be produced by the powerful, but filled with those whose alternative visions transform these possibilities” (Cornwall, 2002:9). The idea of filling spaces through the participation of different actors became very popular in the 1990’s. Insofar as the 1990’s saw a shift in the state’s role in development, this resulted in new spaces for public involvement of citizens. It should also be highlighted that simply creating spaces will not equal the desired outcomes or goals. There are two defining features needed for effective spaces. One feature is that the creation of spaces is best done at the government level be it local, provincial or national, but it must be within the existing patronage and power structures. As well, it is imperative for participants to understand how spaces are perceived as well as they must understand the rules of the game in which they are situated.

The conclusion is that, “citizens become part of the processes of governance” (Cornwall, 2002: 22). The stated aim of this tactic is “equipping ordinary people with the ‘weapons of the powerful’” (Cornwall, 2002: 28). Fung & Write (2001), in their writings highlight the positive aspect of, “creating spaces for participation in which agents of the

state and citizens interact in a new way” (as cited in Cornwall, 2002: 15). This interaction changes the boundaries that have been set by the state towards its citizens. These new spaces or institutions that are created invoke what is known as continuous participation and not simply fleeting moment of involvement⁸.

2.3.4 ICBE Education *for* Development

How this is relevant in terms of the model of ICBE will be discussed by beginning with the question, does ICBE open up spaces for participation? The literature on the subject of spaces for participation opened up by cultural rights suggests that in a sense it is not solely about, avoiding ‘ideological conflict’ and direct political confrontation, it is also about making ‘material claims’ in a way that, “seems more likely to win international assent than some of the other tactics currently in play” (Robbins & Stamatopoulou, 2004: 424). This leads to the conclusion that claims that are made are not done for second rate claims to institutions or privileges but rather done in a way that is both accommodating to the indigenous groups and done in an area of little interest to governments. The most important aspect is the fact that using cultural rights such as the right to ICBE to create spaces moves indigenous issues into the mainstream. It is still off to the side of the mainstream, but nonetheless still within the mainstream. One could describe it as an ‘easing’ in of power.

Within the literature, when speaking about participation that is empowering, the question remains, are spaces being created that enable indigenous groups to attain new decision-making powers? Using the cultural domain of ICBE as the arena for indigenous participation is an excellent starting point because it enables an interaction, be it even nominal, from which further debate, dialogue and interactions can occur. It can be stated

⁸ Fleeting moments of involvement can be such examples as casting a ballot or joining in a march.

that, “it is exactly in the areas of language and educational policy that the renegotiated relationship between indigenous peoples and the nation-state is beginning to be visibly outworked” (May, 1999: 49). As well, it should be pointed out that cultural forms, such as language, have allowed indigenous peoples to obtain rights conferred on them from the government itself. In this way,

Bringing government squarely into the frame, exclusion becomes in itself a denial of rights and the basis for active citizens to make demands, backed by legal instruments (Cornwall, 2002: 16).

Critiques point to a fault within this line of theorizing. Not denying rights does not automatically guarantee that rights will be protected. It simply means they will be free from rejection. The actual attainment or fulfillment of these rights is still in the hands of the various groups who advocate for them. A good example of this would be government ministries allowing for intercultural, bilingual ministries to be created and programs to be implemented in community, but allocating little or no funds to those new ministries. Critics in this area of work also bring forward the issues of participation in cultural spaces as being unable to move out of education or cultural areas into more social or political spheres. At the same time there are those who believe,

Cultural rights like the right to education and the right to cultural participation have a real-world political strength. They make ‘material claims’, and claims that have a reasonable chance of being satisfied. They stake out a zone in which it is possible for some quantity or power to change hands (Robbins & Stamatopoulou, 2004: 431).

In spite of the many problems in the area of education, social exclusion, participation and education, indigenous groups have, “begun the process of creating new cultural identities by preserving core values from the past and marrying them with the realities of the present order to synthesise viable entities with which to meet the demands of the future” (Goehring, 1993: 50). Literature and case studies point to many examples

were the struggles of indigenous people have been successful, precisely because, “forms of peasant politics are deeply rooted in the material conditions of peasant existence” (Perreault, 2003: 62). By identifying with this existence, action can bind itself to a, “new paradigm that emphasises the need for social inclusion, participation and sustainability” (Veltmeyer, 2003: 23). As Veltmeyer (2003) has stated, “The key to substantive change- to move from social exclusion to development- is for its proponents and protagonists to reach beyond both the state and the market into the popular movement and mobilise the forces of resistance in a new direction” (p.23)

In conclusion, “not only must indigenous peoples accommodate themselves to the larger society; they must, through their new found organizational identity, find acceptable ways to ensure that the dominant society will accommodate to them” (Goehring, 1993: 58). The question is whether or not the model of ICBE will be fruitful in not only cultural strengthening but all these endeavours to bring about the alleviation of social exclusion and thus development. Critics in the area of cultural rights such as the right to ICBE, are not satisfied by many of the points brought forward and maintain that many more areas still need further analysis. This cannot be denied, but can be countered with this statement about ICBE,

The new Indian movement in Latin America has not yet produced a specific coherent ideology, and perhaps it has not need for it. But it is developing a new discourse, which has changed the way the wider society views Indians and the way they view themselves. Most of all, the movement and its various expressions are changing the relations between indigenous peoples and the state in Latin America (Sieder, 2002: 32).

2.3.5 Hypothesis

In conclusion, education actually plays a dual role in this analysis. The use of intercultural, bilingual education’s new pedagogical model adheres to the idea of the schooling institutes being culturally appropriate, with a suitable curriculum, sound

textbooks, community-minded teachers and maintenance models of bilingualism. One could say from an educationalist's point of view that at the very least ICBE will lead to cultural revival of indigenous youth while providing a quality education. In the best case scenario, from a developmentalist's point of view, this education could lead to the alleviation of social exclusion and a deeper integration into the developmental processes of the larger society.

The hypothesis for this research is therefore, intercultural, bilingual education in the high plateau of Ecuador alleviates the social exclusion which indigenous Quichua peasants experience by providing the communities with quality education as well as engaging the communities in a process of cultural strengthening of their indigenous identity. This cultural revival is used by indigenous organizations to rally for cultural rights which will open up spaces for participation. This moves indigenous participation and action into the national realm, helping to overcome social exclusion.

Chapter Three:

Case Study

3.1 Ecuador

3.1.1 Country Profile

Ecuador, named for its position on the Equator, is one of the smallest South American republics and is located next to the Pacific Ocean, between Peru and Columbia. Geographically, the country is separated into four parts, the coastal lowland regions, the Andean Sierra, the Ecuadorian Amazon and the Galapagos Islands. The Amazon accounts for half of Ecuador's territory and is a mix of subtropical and tropical rainforests. The Andes, which "forms the backbone of the country" (Murphy et al., 1997: 28), covers approximately a quarter of the territory and consists of two main mountain chains, running for over 650 kilometres north to south and is 50 to 80 kilometres wide. The national capital of Quito and most major Andean cities are situated in these ranges. Next, there is also the coastal area, which consists of between 100 and 200 kilometres of lowlands that is considered to be one of the most fertile agricultural plains in the Americas (Striffler, 2002). Finally, there are the Galapagos Islands, which are an archipelago of several volcanic islands located in the Pacific Ocean, about 970 kilometres west of the mainland.

Ecuador's geographical diversity is matched by the country's ethnic and cultural diversity. "Ecuador is a multi-cultural, multilingual and multi-ethnic country" (Masaquiza-Jerez, 2003: 103). Ethnically, the country's 13.4 million inhabitants vary from region to region. Along the coast resides a *mestizo* (mix of Spanish and indigenous blood) population with a small percentage of coastal indigenous and black Ecuadorians

making up 40% of the population. In the Amazon, Indian tribes and a small population of *mestizos* make up 10% of the population. The Galapagos Islands have only about 2000 inhabitants. In the mountains can be seen a fifty-fifty split between the Quichua Amerindians and a mix of *mestizos* and indigenous groups. This area accounts for 40% of the country's population (UNDP, 2004).

As a country, Ecuador ranks 100th out of 177 on the United Nations Development Program's (UNDP) development index. The country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is \$24.3 billion, with government spending on education at 1%, health at 2.3% and debt service at 9%. GDP per capita is \$3,580, with 40.8% of the population living on \$2/day. Ecuador has the 29th highest foreign debt, the 6th highest inflation and is number one in rate of infectious diseases and motor accidents (UNDP, 2004).

3.1.2 . Political situation

On May 24, 1822, under the direction of Jose de Sucre, Ecuador gained independence from Spain. This was accomplished by the '*Criollos*⁹' who were fed up by the influence Spain held over the country. The main task that faced the '*Criollos*' who now had control of Ecuador was the "welding together [of] three relatively isolated colonial departments into a single unit" (Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997: 11). The undertaking involved the fusing the conservative landowners and church leaders in Quito, the liberal cocoa plantation owners of Guayaquil and the small farmers of Cuenca. It was under these conditions that Ecuador became a republic in 1835.

It has been said, that because of the clashes between the three regions, "in the first 95 years of independence, there were 40 presidents, dictators and military juntas" (Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997: 12). These major political events have punctuated the history

⁹ Individuals descended from pure Spanish stock or *mestizo*.

of Ecuador. Examples are the 1861 presidency of Gabriel Garcia Moreno, an ultra-conservative and devout Catholic who was soon followed by Eloy Alfaro who brought about a liberal revolution in 1912. WWI and WWII again saw many changes as the fall in commodity prices resulted in harsh economic downturns. Several times land disputes (considered wars by some) erupted with Peru over the Amazonian region, several dictators took control of the country and in the span of ten years, fourteen presidents came to power and were deposed. Again between 1963- 66, a military junta came to power and looked to a strong program of modernization and Kennedy's 'Alliance for Progress' doctrine, to aid the country in its quests for peace and prosperity.

In the 1970's, the country secured a large number of foreign loans in hopes of bringing about industrialization through a proposed diversification of manufactured exports (Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997). Unfortunately, national capital was insufficient and even borrowing heavily did not result in the development of a dynamic manufacturing industry. The end result was that poverty increased and unrest among the populace deepened. The year 1979 saw a 'back to the barracks' process of re-democratization taking place within the country.

In the 1980's the large debt obligations become burdensome and it was inevitable that the IMF be brought in to alleviate the economic problems. The main International Monetary Fund (IMF) conditionalities were a drastic cut in government spending (Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997). The strong clashes between Guayaquil's free-marketers and Quito's state-led ideologists again came to prominence, stopping any effective policies or programs from being implemented. The conditions throughout the 1980's reached crisis

proportions, with government cuts, job losses and a drastic fall in purchasing power of wages (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005).

The 1990's continued on a downward spiral with the government's main aim towards massive privatization of social services. Both Presidents Sixto Duran Ballen (1992-96) and Abdala Bucaram (1996-98) promised to work with the indigenous and poor on social programs, instead dealt with inflation and deficits by imposing swift and fierce fiscal policies of austerity and currency devaluation. Bucaram was removed from office in 1997 under protests of corruption and insanity.

The next president, Jamil Mahuad (1998-2000), was overthrown in a military coup (the region's first in a decade) due to allegations of corruption and inefficiencies during the country's worst economic crisis to date. His presidency failed to correct problems such as "the government was near bankruptcy, the currency lost 40% of its value against the dollar, the poverty rate soared to 70% and inflation reached levels of 91%" (Ecuador, nd: P5). In one week of January 2000 alone, the Sucre fell 20% in value. After Mahuad was overthrown, the vice president Gustavo Noboa took control. Under conditions of massive inflation and the virtual collapse of the banking system dollarization was implemented by Noboa in 2000. The first outcome of this process was a 360% devaluation of the Sucre. This had the immediate effect of forcing more than 200,000 people into unemployment (Herrera, 2001).

In 2003 Lucio Gutierrez was the sixth president elected in seven years. His election garnered similar hopes for the future as Lula in Brazil and Chavez in Venezuela. Gutierrez himself observed, 'The country's privileged sectors have profited enough; it is time for the poor to hope for better days, and it is to this end that I will dedicate my

efforts” (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005: 169). But with the signing of a new IMF loan for \$205 million on his agenda, along with his approval of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), hopes for this presidency also fell short. Gutierrez himself was forced from office on April 20, 2005 (Country profile, n.d).

Ecuadorian newspaper articles have proclaimed that, “The new president of Ecuador, Alfredo Palacio, has called for the country to undergo a profound soul-searching in the wake of the political crisis” (Hedgecoe, 2005: P1). With the political history of Ecuador in mind, it is easy to see why the independent watchdog group Transparency International has ranked, “Ecuador as one of the most corrupt nations in the region” (Penhaul, 2005: P12)

3.1.3 Economic performance

A quick recap of the economic history of Ecuador begins principally in the 18th century, when cocoa was a prized commodity. As cocoa’s importance on the world market fell, the banana industry was expanded. This trend towards banana production for export increased to the point that today, “Ecuador is the world’s biggest exporter of bananas and the industry provides its second largest source of export revenues” (Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997: 55). In the 1950’s Ecuador followed the agro-export model of development (Ramon & Albo, 1994). Into the 1960’s the model of industrialization was implemented. However, due to Ecuador’s precarious economic situation, since the 1970’s the country has virtually been run by the oil industry. “Notwithstanding the spectacular rise of the oil industry, more than half of Ecuador’s foreign currency earnings come from agriculture and fishing” (Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997: 52). From the 1980’s onward, in terms of development, it could be said the Ecuadorian government has

been focused on the neo-liberal model of economic growth for the country. At the present time, besides petroleum the country's main exports include bananas, shrimp, coffee, cocoa, cut flowers, and tagua¹⁰. In essence, industrialization had not been realized in Ecuador and today the country could be described as possessing an export commodity economy.

Debt repayment is at present the government's most pressing problem. The country's GDP is \$24.3 billion, with a foreign debt burden of 82% of GDP (UNDP, 2004). In terms of social service provision, in 2003 the national budget allocated 2% to agriculture but 36% to debt service (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005). Any moneys earned from the export of oil are also set aside for debt service. Essentially, "In making these payments the government not only short changed its system of social and development programs but cut back any plans for productive investment (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005:167). The main point has been that "debt constraints have made it difficult to make domestic investments that would increase human capabilities and stimulate economic growth" (UNDP, 2004: 72).

The result of these policies is essentially, "Ecuador is one of the poorer countries of the South American continent" (Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997: 30). Not only is there extreme poverty but there is an ever widening gap between the rich and the poor. The country has a Gini index of 43.7: as the richest 10% of the country's share of income is at 41.6% while the poorest 10% have only 0.9%. This is combined with the fact that only 39.1% of the population is in the formal workforce (Burgess et al., 2003). Ecuador's economic problems can be traced back to, "the crippling burden of foreign debt, persistent budgetary deficits, the price volatility of Ecuador's exports, and chronically

¹⁰ Tagua is a nut found in Ecuador, that when processed resembled polished ivory.

high levels of inflation and unemployment” (Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997: 48).

Following are some important figures.

	1980	1990	2000
Poverty (as % of population)	41	62	68.8
Unemployment rate (%) ¹¹	5.7	6.1	14.1
Real growth rate (%)	5.2	9.1	2.1
Terms of trade	100	n/a	47
Inflation rate (%)	12.7	75.6	91 ¹²
External debt (in billion \$)	4,167	12,222	13,564
Total debt service ¹³	3.8	10.1	8.6

Adapted from GATT-Fly, 1985: Inter-American, 1990: UNDP, 2003: Veltmeyer 1997: World Bank, 1982: World Bank, 1996.

3.2 Indigenous Quichua of the Ecuadorian Altiplano

To gain an understanding of Ecuadorian indigenous peoples it is useful to overview the history and reality of indigenous peoples in the Americas. This begins with a definition of indigenous peoples. The definition which has been endorsed by many organizations such as the UN has also been legitimized by most indigenous groups as well. The definition written in 1982 by UNESCO, reads as such,

Indigenous Populations are composed of the existing descendants of the peoples who inhabited the present territory of a country wholly or particularly at the time when persons of a different culture or ethnic origin arrived there from other parts of the world, overcame them and by conquest, settlement or other means, reduced them to a non-dominant or colonial situation, who today live more in conformity with their particular social, economic and cultural customs and traditions than with the institutions of the country of which they now form a part, under a state structure that incorporates mainly the national, social and cultural characteristics of other segments of the population that are predominant (As cited in Goehring, 1993: 5).

The definition established in 1996 by the Ecuadorian indigenous organization, CONAIE states that indigenous peoples are, “Aboriginal groups composed of communities or centres with cultural identities that are distinct from those of other sectors

¹¹ This does not include underemployment, which for 2000 was 47%

¹² It should be pointed out, 2000 was a bottom year because of dollarization

¹³ As % of GDP

of Ecuadorian society and their own social, economic and political structures and belonging to one of the indigenous nationalities” (Committee, 2002: 25). Likewise, indigenous nationality is defined by them as,

Ancient people or group of peoples predating the foundation of the Ecuadorian State, who define themselves as such. They have a common historical identity, a culture and a language, and they live in a specific area and maintain traditional institutions, social, economic, judicial and political structures, and forms of authority (Committee, 2002: 25).

Within Latin America and the Caribbean, it is estimated that there is a population of between 33 to 40 million indigenous persons. Five countries account for 90% of this population; in order of percentage, these countries are Peru, Mexico, Guatemala, Bolivia and Ecuador. Ecuador accounts for approximately 8% of Latin America’s indigenous peoples (Murphy, 1997).

As studies have shown, there is a lack of official figures for the number of indigenous peoples within Ecuador¹⁴. These numbers vary from the CONAIE’s figure of 45% to the UNDP’s quote of 38% (UNDP, 2004) to the World Bank statistic of 20% (Kilander, 2001). Nonetheless, it is widely accepted that at least a third of the population in Ecuador identifies as indigenous (King, 2001). This translates into the indigenous population being approximately four million people. And according to Ecuadorian census figures from 1993, there are 2,400 indigenous communities in Ecuador (Ramon & Albo, 1994).

Within Ecuador there are twelve indigenous nationalities. The largest nation, Quichua, consists of twelve ‘*pueblos*’¹⁵ in the Sierra and four ‘*pueblos*’ in the Amazonian

¹⁴ This lack of official figures is due to many elements. However, the most prominent problem is how to legally define indigenous peoples. The debate revolves around whether or not indigenous status is based on self-definition, language, community acceptance or ancestry. As well, because it is still difficult to bestow legal recognition on indigenous peoples, how they are categorized is not yet solidified and thus proper census records are not available.

¹⁵ Pueblos is literally translated as towns but here refers to peoples or groups that are based on ancestry.

region. The Quichua nation meaning those who speak the indigenous language of Quichua and relate to its culture and traditions has two million members, making Quichua the most common indigenous language in Ecuador. Provinces with Quichua speaking populations are; Chimborazo, Cotopaxi, Imbabura, Canar, Tungurahua, Bolivar, Loja, Pichincha, Azuay, Napo, Sucumbios, Pastaza and Zamora Chinchipe (CONAIE: 1990).

3.2.1 Historical development of indigenous communities within Ecuador

The indigenous peoples of Ecuador have stated that 500 years of domination has resulted in a “process of destruction, not only demographically, but also politically, socially, economically and historically” (Comunidades, n.d: P1, my translation). Coupled with oppression and exploitation, this domination has resulted in the situation that in predominantly indigenous municipalities, 74.3% of the population live in poverty as compared to 49.1% in mestizo municipalities. Municipal budgets of indigenous areas are on average 2/3 of *mestizo* budgets (Kilander, 2001). For indigenous peoples the poverty of their communities, “finds its roots in colonization, the destruction of indigenous economic and socio-political systems, continuing systemic racism and discrimination, social exclusion, and the non-recognition of indigenous peoples’ individual and collective rights” (Tauli-Corpuz, 2005: P13).

The story of the colonization of Ecuador mirrors that of most other Latin American countries. When the Spanish ‘*Conquistadors*’ first came to Ecuador in 1526, they were met with a highly evolved and ordered Indigenous population. These natives displayed simplicity, kindness, industry while wearing gold ornaments inlaid with

emeralds (Wilson, 1970). The Spanish, thinking they had found the rich 'land of the Inca' returned in 1534 to conquer the indigenous inhabitants.

These natives that Pizarro encountered in 1534 had themselves been conquerors from Peru who moved into the area in 1470. The original Ecuadorian indigenous populations, such as the Puruha, Huaorani, Ashuar and Shuar are thought to have migrated to Ecuador 10,000- 15,000 years ago from the Amazon and Central America (Wilson, 1970). In the end, these Inca conquerors were themselves conquered by the Spanish *Conquistadors* in what has been described as the completed subjection of one society by another (Moreira, 1979).

At the time of the Spanish conquest indigenous communities were centered around the structure of the family which was the main economic entity forming both a unit of production and consumption. The Spanish therefore sought to bring the populations into 'civilized' structures, such as cities. In this way the indigenous rural labour could easily be at the mercy of the elite ruling classes.

As a way of ensuring that the Spanish were supplied with their needed labour force, "all able bodied Indian males from 18-50 years of age were required to bear tribute in the form of labour services" (Cain, 1990: 45). This system, known as the *mita* or peonage system was very similar to the *hacienda* (Spanish for plantation), *encomienda* or *Husipungero* systems in that in exchange for labour the *campesinos* received usage of a small piece of land on the outskirts of the *hacienda* for their own subsistence crops. Because vast tracts of land had been confiscated from indigenous populations, "there was little else to do but to start working for landlords (Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997: 10). The cumulative result of these systems was that peasants, "cumulated a debt passed on to

their children” (Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997: 9). As a result, although a few *Chapetones*¹⁶ and *Criollos* became wealthy, the majority of the population fell into extreme poverty. It is estimated that in 1492 there were 112 million people (indigenous) living in the Americas. Due to conditions of forced labour, disease, starvation and conflict this number fell to as low as 2 million by the middle of the 16th century (Wearne, 1996).

3.2.2 Description of Ecuadorian Highland Quichua peoples

a. Economic situation of Indigenous peoples

As most indigenous peoples on the Altiplano of Ecuador still live in rural areas, land issues are at the heart of many problems, and Quichua society is basically an agrarian society highly dependent on land distribution. Because indigenous lands were relegated to Spanish and *mestizo* elites with no regard for previous ownership, by the beginning of the 19th century over 80% of indigenous peoples were working on *haciendas* (Kilander, 2001). With independence struggles were being fought by the indigenous population to regain their communal lands. This however was not successful and in reality most indigenous remained on the *haciendas* in ‘serf-like dependency’ (Cohen et al., 1979).

Ecuador has undergone many land reform processes, principally in 1959, 1963, 1971 and 1973, all having very little effect on the actual problem of unequal land distribution. As an example, in one round of land reforms in Chimborazo, “only 3% of the land was transferred to the peasants by IERAC (Ecuadorian Institute for Agrarian Reform and Colonisation)” (Kilander, 2001:71). Another example of this slow process is that between 1964 and 1984 only 1.8 million acres were divided between 95,000 families

¹⁶ Individuals of Spanish birth.

(Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997). From 1994 figures it was seen that only 1.6% of the farms in the Sierra account for 43% of land holdings (Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997). To aggravate the problem *haciendas* usually kept the most fertile lands and only sold off the highest, driest and least fertile lands meaning that indigenous farmers have been forced to move higher to higher and steeper slopes for available (if inhospitable) lands.

At the same time due to the need for more land to produce export crops, in 1994 the Agrarian Development Law was put into place to end the land reforms that were started in 1964. In December 2003 another highly contested piece of legislature, the State Modernization Law, was introduced into government. This piece of legislature eliminated price controls and also made moves to liberalize the domestic market and modernize the agricultural sector (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005). These changes mostly affect indigenous communities as they are the main rural inhabitants of the country while they themselves do not profit from the changes. This has resulted in the fact that, "In Ecuador's rural population, of which 90 percent are indigenous, almost all live in poverty" (Tauli-Corpuz, 2005: P9).

Another livelihood strategy of indigenous peoples in the Altiplano is migration, both seasonal and permanent. In the 1980's rural indigenous communities became overwhelmed by the horrible situation of *campesino* life. This prompted the migration to major cities such as Guayaquil, Cuenca or Riobamba. Before migrating "families try to subsist from tiny parcels of land that would never yield enough to support them" (Striffler, 2002: 68). As family plots are further divided up, holdings become even less sufficient to cover basic needs. The need to sell lands to cover debts is another factor that has caused migration from the highlands. As a result of these economic difficulties

within indigenous communities, a process of 'de-communalization' has been seen in the Altiplano (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005).

Considering the economic situation of the highland indigenous Quichua-speaking population it is interesting that Ecuador does in fact have an indigenous middle class. The indigenous weaving communities in Otavalo and Saraguro make-up this class and have been "the home of the people whose prosperity and ethnic pride stand-out handsomely amid the Andean spectacle of misery" (Kilander, 2001:41). Economic success has been achieved because, "within Ecuador itself the Otavaleños have a reputation as itinerant traders [who] are sensitive to trends in fashion and changing consumer tastes" (Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997: 28). What these two communities also have in common besides their sound economic abilities is the pride they possess for their indigenous background and their continued identification with the poorer indigenous peoples of Ecuador. This model of success has ultimately given other indigenous communities a model of success to follow.

b. Social / Cultural situation of indigenous peoples

Surprisingly, "Ecuador did not produce any great aboriginal culture, such as those found in Mexico or the highlands of Peru" (Wilson, 1970: 16). It is seen instead that the indigenous culture of Ecuador is "*la cultura de la resistencia* (the culture of resistance)" (Rivera & Bustos, 1993: 62). Because of the differences between the indigenous and *mestizo* people, the mixing of the two has not meant a level of respect for indigenous groups. As an example one could look to the statement, "*Al lado del Indio*, or on the Indian's back. This term denotes the way in which *mestizos* travelled down from the Andes to the Orient" (Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997: 30). In many ways, little has

changed over the years. This disdain for the indigenous communities is also evident in the expression from a local Ecuadorian government officer who noted, “The reason Ecuador is so poor is because it has so many Indians” (Van Cott, 1995:143).

Within Ecuador, there is a distinct hierarchical structure: *Criollos* on top, followed by those of mixed race and blacks, with indigenous peoples on the bottom (Kilander, 2001). Indigenous organizations from Ecuador attest that indigenous peoples within the national viewpoint have gone from the position of the ‘inferior culture’ to that of the ‘inferior man’ (FOCIFCH, 1997). From speaking with indigenous leaders in Chimborazo it was ascertained that very little has changed since the 1970’s when ‘Indians’ were seen as very superstitious and conservative, alcoholics, unable to communicate effectively in Spanish and they, gained “security from resisting process and change” (Wilson, 1970: 132).

In terms of culture, the indigenous identity in Ecuador is comprised of three factors: language, the social and cultural characteristics of the peasantry, and the subordinate status to white landowners and mestizos in the village” (Kilander, 2001:76). Some would say that acceptance has been sought for indigenous peoples within the general citizenry of Ecuador yet, “the bottom line seems to be a set of ideas which are colonial in origin: ‘the belief that the best comes from developed countries, that Indians and blacks are inferior to whites and that the road to progress demands the adoption of the cultural universe of Western Societies” (Kilander, 2001: 50). These colonial ideas are apparent everyday as even the traditional dress of indigenous groups is not their own. In fact,

The colourful diversity in the Sierra is a remnant from the colonial era when the Spanish hacienda owners forced the Indians on their land to wear a specific costume in order to tell the Indians from neighbouring haciendas apart (Roos & Van Rentenghem, 1997: 28).

With regard to language it is said that the indigenous languages are but a 'dialect'. Many evangelical missions have infiltrated the countryside with the aim of teaching Spanish to indigenous groups while prophesizing. As a consequence, Ecuador has had much experience with both The New Tribes Mission and The Summer Institute of Linguistics (Aga Khan & bin Talal, 1987). The first sign of any public recognition of Ecuador's indigenous languages did not come until 1980 when President Roldus used Quichua within his inauguration speech (Kilander, 2001). In fact, because Ecuador is the only Andean country where Quichua is spoken solely by indigenous peoples its acceptance is that much more illusive

In terms of religion, Catholicism is the national religion and is practiced by 95% of the country. However, Catholicism is decreasing in favour of Evangelical sects such as the 7th Day Adventists. Roos & Van Renterghem observe that, "The influence of these groups has spread considerably since the 1960's, particularly in rural districts, where they work to win the allegiance of Indian communities or villages by means of small-scale development projects" (1997: 41).

Kilander (2001) suggests that socially and culturally indigenous groups may be differentiated from the rest of the population in terms of language, dress, tradition and the rural way of life, but most importantly, "is the fact that the indigenous peoples tend to see themselves as different from whites and mestizos" (p.35). In Ecuador, cultural diversity has not been a positive force but seen instead as the task of, "The integration and assimilation of indigenous peoples into the market economy and the dominant society" (Tauli-Corpuz, 2005: P7). Over the years governments have tried to assimilate the indigenous populations into the mainstream *mestizo* world in many different ways. For

example, in 1937 the *Ley de Comunas* was instigated which was, “designed to integrate the indigenous population into Ecuadorian society and its political-legal and economic structures” (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005: 176). As well, in 1945 the *Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana*, which guides Ecuadorian cultural legislation, was started by the government. This cultural policy legislation however made very little mention of indigenous peoples. When it did mention indigenous matters it did so to state that the legislation,

Makes its first objective to inquire into the deteriorating situation of the original cultural identity, [and] the projection of the future should ensure the fusion of indigenous cultural values, restored and enhanced, with the creation of modern cultural forms (Moreira, 1979:86).

As a result of policies such as those mentioned above, ‘cultural diversity’ within Ecuador can be seen through the country’s idea of how to achieve an effective nation. At the time of independence, it was felt that there was need for a unifying national ideology. This feeling was heightened during the modernization processes of the 20th century which favoured the homogenisation of the citizenry through *mestizaje*, or the creation of a common national identity. Essentially, “Under prevailing ideologies of nationalist integration and state-led economic development, indigenous peoples were expected to adopt identities as citizens of the nation” (Perreault, 2003: 66). This sentiment is highlighted by the comments of General Guilleremos Rodriguez Lara who in 1972 exclaimed, “There is no more Indian problem; we all become white men when we accept the goals of the national culture” (Perreault, 2003: 67). Historically, Ecuadorian nation-building ideologies ignored indigenous people’s cultures and identities in their drive for unifying policies.

In light of these facts about cultural diversity and multiculturalism in Ecuador, it is surprising to see that in fact, “In Ecuador social and economic integration processes have been accompanied by a reaffirmation of highland indigenous identities” (Kilander, 2001: 56). Assimilation tactics have been pursued yet the indigenous peoples have navigating through these processes while still managing to maintain a strong sense of their cultural identity.

To help clarify the definition of culture from an Indigenous Ecuadorian perspective a member of an indigenous organization in Chimborazo has said,

Culture denotes a historically transmitted scheme of meanings represented in symbols. A system of conceptions inherited and expressed in symbolic forms by means which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge and attitudes about life. (Campana, 2001: 18, my translation).

For all intents and purposes, this interculturalism from an indigenous viewpoint is “*unidad en la diversidad*” (Unity in diversity) (CODENPE et al., 2001: 36). With respect to identity, indigenous inhabitants North of Quito have stated that, “We want to reawaken our history and our traditions so that we shall come to know who we were” (Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997: 43). It is positive to mention that indeed the country has shown some signs of moving forward. In an interview in a fully *mestizo* urban school in Riobamba, it was overhead stated by one student that, “Ecuador is a multi-ethnic and pluri-cultural country” (Classroom observation, July 19, 2004).

c. Political situation of indigenous peoples

Ecuador is often used as a case study because it is often cited as a ‘typical’ Latin American country mirroring the circumstances of the area in general. However, due to the political situation of indigenous peoples in Ecuador today one could easily challenge that statement. In fact due to the actions and successes of its indigenous federations

Ecuador is far from the 'typical' Latin American country and "We do not find any other parallel with other Latin American situations" (Chiodi, 1990: 335, my translation).

Today, the CONAIE is the strongest and most effective indigenous movement in Latin America (Kilander, 2001). This however has not always been the case.

In terms of politics in Ecuador, "All too often government bodies initiate programs and policies which are totally opposed to the needs and wishes of indigenous and *campesino* communities" (Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997: 44). The political situation in Ecuador has been defined as exclusionary, and "this exclusion clearly has an ethnic dimension" (Kilander, 2001:1). At the same time, the lack of political rights has perpetuated this inferior position for indigenous peoples in Ecuador. Indigenous organizations are not blind to these occurrences and surmise that,

When speaking about democracy from Aristotle's time and logic, that was of value in the French Revolution, this same concept of democracy is brought to our territories and we ask, what does this mean for us, is it or not of value for the situation of our communities? (Macas, n.d: P8, my translation).

As noted in general, the political domain of Ecuador has known long years of repressive governments, punctuated by a few honourable presidents who have attempted to bring about social change for the citizenry. In relation to indigenous peoples some examples would be presidents Rocafuerte (1835), Eloy Alfaro (1895), and Jose Velasco Ibarra (1944) who are still known as great figures of 19th Century Ecuador. These men attempted to bring about changes in the areas of land reforms, education, indigenous rights and social reforms. It has also been noted that the military Junta of 1960-63 worked to support "reforms designed to improve the lot of the poor" (Wilson, 1970: 8).

Despite the efforts of various governments because acculturation did not happen indigenous peoples were still excluded from political power. Essentially, because,

“citizenship is based on this idea of a homogenous *mestizo* nation” (Perreault ,2003: 66), up until the 1990’s there was little participation of indigenous peoples in government. For example, in the 1960’s voter population was on average 17.4% (Kilander, 2001). This lack of political participation can be traced back the fact that until 1974 illiterates could not vote and most indigenous peoples of that time were illiterate. The 1997-98 constitutional reforms have extended some collective political rights to indigenous peoples (Perreault, 2003) which is helping to change this exclusive political situation. For example, in 2004 in Chimborazo a province with a population of indigenous people that ranges from 55-67%, only 2% of the provincial political representatives were indigenous (Kilander, 2001).

3.2.3 Social Exclusion of Indigenous peoples

In relation to the situation of indigenous peoples in Ecuador, the World Bank acknowledges that,

As social indicators of indigenous peoples fall significantly below the national average in terms of infant mortality, female illiteracy, child malnutrition, access to basic sanitation services and access to productive infrastructure, they could be classified as the most disadvantaged group among the poor (Kilander, 2001: 39).

As highlighted by the overview above, indigenous groups are living in a precarious situation. This groups are effectively discriminated against, negatively stereotyped and on the margins of law. As a result of government policies this exclusion can be seen to be directed specifically at indigenous communities. In short, “The situation concerning discrimination in Ecuador has been improved a little since the 1960’s and 1970’s when indigenous peoples were completely excluded, but indigenous people’s access to education, jobs, politics is still restricted” (Kilander, 2001: 48).

At the same time, Perreault (2003) clearly states that the lack of indigenous Ecuadorians in the political, social and cultural spheres of the nation has not allowed them to improve their situation. It is true that, “Government policy has changed with each administration in a gradual shift from exclusion to attempted inclusion in the political system” (Van Cott, 1995: 131), yet the processes are slow. For these indigenous communities the policies and programs of the Ecuadorian government are a constraint on indigenous communities and have they have resulted in a situation of social exclusion.

3.2.4 Ecuadorian Indigenous Response to Social Exclusion: The CONAIE

One of the ways in which Ecuadorian indigenous peoples have attempted to alleviate their present social exclusionary state is through the growth and strengthening of indigenous organizations. Within Ecuador there are a variety of interconnected Indigenous movements. The CONAIE is the largest of these groups, bringing together different indigenous nations from all over Ecuador (Maybury-Lewis, 2002). Although it is stated that, “the interests of indigenous communities in different regions vary widely” (Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997: 42), the groups have been working extensively for indigenous rights collectively. This was not always the case, “For a long time the idea of a national Indian organization seemed utopian, and not until 1986 was the *Confederacion de Nacionalidades Indigenas del Ecuador* (CONAIE) established, to which 26 regional organization are affiliated and which, according to its own statements, represents Ecuador’s approximately 4 million Indians” (Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997: 41).

The main demands of the CONAIE have been: i) for the returns of indigenous community lands, ii) basic infrastructure in indigenous communities, iii) funding for intercultural, bilingual education and iv) amendments to the constitution to proclaim

Ecuador a multi-national state. Most importantly this includes the demand for, “recognition and participation in political decision-making as indigenous peoples” (Kilander, 2001: 4). Ironically, the indigenous organizations in Ecuador are so vibrant today because of a law instigated by the State itself. “Under Ecuador’s corporatist model, indigenous communities were granted access to state benefits so long as they were organized within state-sanctioned, class-based peasant or labour organizations” (Perreault, 2003: 65). Since the 1960’s, in an attempt to receive land in the agrarian reforms, peasant and indigenous communities have been joining federations. This stimulated the creation of community organizations and production cooperative.

The history of the indigenous movement in Ecuador began with the Federation of Ecuadorian Indians (FEI), formed in 1944 by the Ecuadorian Communist Party. At that time the organization was concerned with working towards, “social justice, ancestral collective rights to land, access to means of production and the productive resources needed to sustain their livelihoods and communities, territorial control- and freedom from diverse forms of exploitation and oppression” (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005: 160).

Although not led by indigenous themselves, the FEI did have some success, namely the 1961 mobilization in which 10,000 -15,000 peasants demonstrated in Quito to demand for agrarian reforms and an end to the *huasipungo* system. This was seen as a turning point in terms of indigenous organizations due to it being a massive organizational event. This also led to the loosening of the hacienda owners’ power and saw the creation of hundreds of *comunas*¹⁷. As an example, in the province of Chimborazo, over 100 communities were organized. As lack of fair land distribution continued, social unrest began to increase and resulted in the formation of such groups as

¹⁷ Community organizations that had its own local governments.

the National Federation of Farmers Organizations (FENOC). It was also at this time that many provincial peasant formations were being created in the Amazon and led by the Federation of Shuar Centers. In an effort to unite these diverse peoples, the Catholic Church organized a meeting with all the indigenous groups, leading to the creation of the ECUARUNARI (Ecuador *Runacunpac Riccharimiu*).¹⁸

In 1979 these regional and community-based organizations banded together and formed the (CONFENIAE). This was followed in 1986 by the banding together of the ECUARUNARI and the *Confederación de Nacinoalidades Indigenas del Ecuador* (CONFENIAE) to form the CONAIE. According to the CONAIE, “We know that the unity of all the indigenous peoples is indispensable for our movement to have the necessary strength to pursue our economic, social, cultural and political objectives” (Kilander, 2001:91).

Ensuring that all organizations are highly connected allows for effective mobilization and knowledge transfer between associations. The system has two national federations, four regional federations, seventeen third grade organizations and 140 *Organizaciones de Segundo Grado* (Second level organizations) (OSG) (Ramon & Albo, 1994). In the province of Chimborazo, there are 4 OSG’s with 96 base communities. This has shown to be effective, as it is often highlighted that “organizations and informal networks are the building blocks of social movements, as mobilization requires resources such as leadership, organisation skills and networks between people with common interests (Kilander, 2001: 78).

Many factors have combined to bring about the success and force of these indigenous federations. As has been stated, “With the supportive coordinated actions by

¹⁸ Translated from Quichua as ‘Awakening of the Ecuadorean Indigenous People’ (Kilander, 2001: 80).

diverse groups and organizations in the urban sector, especially the church-based communities in popular barrios, the mobilization by CONAIE was transformed into an uprising of historic significance (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005: 163). One of the strongest aspects has been the movement's collaboration with the progressive Catholic Church. Inspired by liberation theology, the clergy helped found many of the early organizations. Once such example is Leonidas Proano, the Bishop of Riobamba from 1954-1984 who helped form indigenous organizations and pushed for bilingual education. In trying to advance indigenous issues and mobilization he is known to have stated, "I side with the Indians, with all its consequences" (Rivera & Bustos, 1993: 63, my translation). According to Sanchez (1996) without this support from the Church, "the emergence of the indigenous movement in Ecuador would be difficult to explain" (101).

One of the most important issues to do with the organization's success has been the federations unwavering emphasis on cultural identity. The federations and organizations have kept a strong focus on indigenous issues throughout. Again the indigenous middle class in Otovalo and Saraguro has been imperative to these federations' success. As well, because of these communities' strong cultural pride combined with their educational backgrounds, "This young, educated elite seems to have played a particularly important role in the growth of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement" (Kilander, 2001:41). Essentially, they know and understand the workings of the political system and are able to navigate within this system. As an example, the past president of the CONAIE, Luis Macas was from Saraguro. This highlights the idea that, "it is when indigenous people acquire more resources that indigenous mobilisation becomes more likely" (Kilander, 2001: 51).

It has been noted that with groups like the CONAIE leading the way,

Andean indigenous peoples have organized politically over the past three decades from the grassroots up, building local associations, regional federations and, from the mid-1980's, national confederations. The indigenous social movements of Andean Latin America represent one of the most systematic and large scale movements for rights for in the region (Radcliffe et. al., 2003: 4).

3.3 Education in Ecuador

3.3.1 State educational program and policies in Ecuador

The Spanish conquest which began in 1534 brought with it the introduction of education with a European perspective into Ecuador. This Spanish presence carried on with “deep-seated traditions and values [being] transmitted and reinforced by education” (Wilson, 1970: 5). In the late 18th century the Ecuadorian Roman Catholic Church (which is cited as one of the strongest and most influential in Latin America, specifically in the highlands) took over the role of education within the country. The education the missionaries instigated was mostly religious but also taught reading, writing and artisan skills.

In that the Jesuit missionaries learned the local indigenous languages they were able to setup up primary schools for the indigenous populations. It was also at this time that the Spanish ruling class made the decision to allow only the upper class to be educated as a way to, “start reinforcing the existing social and political order” (Wilson, 1970: 32). As a result, in 1767 the Jesuits were expelled from the country to halt their educational activities. In the early 1800's, after the country gained independence from Spain, the Jesuits were allowed back into the country and again began formulating an educational sector. In 1821 a law was passed to make primary education (6 years)

compulsory, yet lack of funds made it almost impossible for most rural communities, especially indigenous ones to carry out this schooling.

Throughout the early 19th Century, the educational programs and policies that were instigated highlighted Ecuador's enlightened view of education. In 1835, President Rocafuerte embraced educational endeavours for the furthering of the "intellectual development of the nation as well as training people for positions in industry" (Wilson, 1970: 36). In 1869 President Moreno instigated indigenous schools as well as special schools to train indigenous grade school teachers. This was done with the aim of making schools more "palatable for the Indians [and] to improve their destitute economic condition." (Wilson, 1970: 44). The education of girls was also encouraged. Schools were again made both compulsory *and* free and the educational system within Ecuador exploded. As a result of these new policies and programs in 1875 there were 32,000 students enrolled in school, up from 14,731 in 1871 (Wilson, 1970). In 1895 President Alfaro began a systematic secularization of public education, at the same time setting up night schools to educate the working class.

In 1912 President Alfaro created the Ministry of Education in Quito. This ministry was responsible for all educational supervision. In the mid-1940's, as government spending increased amid alarming economic depression, educational programs began to be downsized or cut altogether. This trend would continue for years with many detrimental effects on the quality of education.

Between the 1940's and 1970's educational services provision continued on a similar trajectory. The state pronounced the importance of quality education, yet failed to subsidize the programs. It was noted by Wilson (1970) that, "The objectives of

Ecuadorian primary education are lofty and idealistic. Until recent years few positive measures were taken to make them attainable” (Wilson, 1970: 120). The magnitude of the educational problem within Ecuador became evident as it was noticed that, “the national average of years of schooling completed was 3.5 years” (Wilson, 1970: 131).

In the early 1970’s, with Ecuador under the control of a Military Junta, educational programs were instigated concentrating to a great degree on the rural areas as that was where the majority of the population lived. In an attempt to improve the country’s failing educational sector the Junta worked to,

Revitalize the rural school; eliminate the ingrained addiction of Ecuador’s rural teachers to an academic, formalistic education, and convince rural inhabitants that a better life awaits them through an education that makes them participating and contributing members of the nation’s’ culture and economy (Wilson, 1970: 143).

Unfortunately, again due to budgetary restraints these programs were unsustainable. Although educational coverage was increasing, “the training of teachers did not keep pace” (Roos & Van Renterghem, 1997: 40) and quality suffered. As a result, this sub par education was doing little to “encourage Ecuadorian children to become productive members of society” (Wilson, 1970: 115). In 1974 as a response to this problem, the ‘nuclearisation’ projects were instigated in the rural areas of Ecuador. Financed by USAID and the Ecuadorian Educational Ministry, this project promoted community development through the concentration of educational resources in several ‘target areas’ as a way to increase efficiency. This led to a division in provision of services, with most areas being bypassed (Brock & Lawlor, 1985).

The years 1980-2000 saw educational funding and quality of schooling decreasing while the number of schools continued to rise. Essentially it amounted to the situation of, “Great and grave qualitative deficiencies... In order to take care of expansion quality has

been sacrificed” (Republica del Ecuador, 1992: 281, my translation). As an added problem, “The dysfunction and rigidity of the system’s curricular structure has aggravated the problem” (Republica del Ecuador, 1992: 282, my translation).

The Ecuadorian school curriculum today is based on a model from the 1950’s, which revolved around such subjects as; national language, social and civic life, natural science, math, artistic and manual activities, and domestic sciences (Filho, 1950: 12). The main aims of primary education were to; a) strengthen the consciousness of Ecuadorian nationality and patriotic spirit, b) cultivate ethical, social and civic responsibility, c) provide knowledge and develop fundamental abilities, aptitudes and skills, d) to protect and improve health and enable recreation, v) improve home life and develop good relations e) to contribute to economic welfare (Filho, 1950: 25). At the time this model was written it was felt that the curriculum needed to include, “among the general aims of education the training of individuals to ‘contribute towards economic welfare, by cultivating the dignity of manual work” (Filho, 1950: 33).

In the 1970’s the curriculum also added elements such as the need to, a) strengthen the Ecuadorian consciousness and to develop a spirit of patriotism, b) cultivate ethical, social and civic responsibility, c) strengthen domestic life and to iv) contribute to the individual’s future economic welfare (Wilson, 1970: 120). The government looked to the problem of illiteracy and realized there was, “the need for a special, highly developed system of adult education to assimilate the growing number of illiterate and semi-illiterate *mestizos* and Indians into the national culture” (Wilson, 1970: 131).

When analyzing the state’s objects in relation to educational programs, article 38, in the year 2002, the state’s codes on the rights of children and adolescents, it is written that

the state, in providing education aims to, “Develop the personality, the aptitudes and the mental and physical capacity of the girl, boy and adolescent to their full potential, in an effective surrounding” (Barriga, 2004: 38, my translation). This includes; a) strengthening peace, human rights, fundamental liberties, tolerance, diversity, participation, dialogue and cooperation, b) defending the rights of children and adolescents, c) preparing responsible citizens, d) teaching about family values, e) strengthening respect for teachers and f) developing critical, creative and autonomous thought, g) teaching respect for the environment and h) instilling in children the skills to gain productive work (Barriga, 2004: 38).

Despite these goals it has nonetheless been noted that, “As the decades have passed, it has been observed that Ecuadorian education has not had the effect of creating favourable conditions for the development of the country” (Republica del Ecuador, 1992: 281, my translation). The following figures provide a clear picture of the actual situation.

Average years of schooling ¹⁹	6.4	
Pupils reaching grade 5 (%)	77.8	
Literacy (%) ²⁰	92.5	
	Primary	Secondary
Enrolment rate (%)	99.31	48.06
Repetition rate (%)	2.2	16.8
Pupil teacher ratio	23.1	16.8
Private school enrolment (%)	22.7	25.6
Expenditure per student (%) ²¹	4.3	8.9

Adapted from Nationmaster.com, n.d: figures section. The data reflects the year 2001

Although stated that, “It is clear that the low quality of education is related to factors involving school campuses, the teaching staff, the family, and in general, to the

¹⁹ The average years of schooling for Latin America as whole in 2001 was 7.12.

²⁰ Literacy is defined as those of 15 years and older who can read and write.

²¹ Public expenditure per student is the total reported current spending by the government on education, divided by the total number of pupils in this educational level, expressed as a percentage of the per capita GDP.

socioeconomic conditions surrounding the students” (Rojas, 2003: 275). Looking at the results from the Academic Achievement Tests (APRENDO), the main indicator of deficiencies in Ecuador’s education has rested with poor quality of teaching. It is said that the most important factor for a better educational sector is the quality of education needs to be increased. The main causes of low quality of education at present are: i) poor teacher training (especially in rural areas); ii) low investments due to the recent economic crisis; and iii) absenteeism of children to allow for proper teaching streams (Rojas, 2003).

Another problem is that nationally about one-third of schools (or roughly 6000 schools) have only one teacher per school (Rojas, 2003). To help ease these problems the ministry of education and educational experts haven gotten together to work on the ‘*Agenda Andina de Educacion*’ with the aim of improving quality of education (Agenda Andina, 2004: A2). To help with this Ecuador has borrowed more than \$150 million from the World Bank and International Development Bank to fund educational endeavours such as systemic reforms and new pedagogical institutions (Plan, 2004: A6).

It was ascertained from an educational survey that, “the educational system in Ecuador [was considered] to be one of the most deficient educational system in the Americas” (Rojas, 2003: 275). As an example in the year 1991, it was noted that, in the country as a whole,

Thirty-seven percent of the active economic population finds itself in a situation of illiteracy and has not surpassed the third grade of primary school. In this sense, illiteracy constitutes a factor that prevents the development of the country by its impact on personal development and in the labour qualification of many Ecuadorians (Republica del Ecuador, 1992: 281, my translation).

3.3.2 State financing of education

Today, the Ministry of Education and Culture is responsible for educational provision within Ecuador. This involves the policy formation, administration and

management of the national education system as well as certain cultural and sports affairs. The system is split into four levels; central, regional, provincial and local. Central administration is responsible for overall planning. The National Directorate on Intercultural, Bilingual Education is a decentralised entity of the central administration. The regional and provincial levels oversee the 22 provincial Directorates. As there are 19 provinces with high indigenous populations which require bilingual education, these provinces are run by the subsystem of the Intercultural, Bilingual Education Provincial Directorates. At the local level there are both formal and non-formal education programs, both Spanish and bilingual which are all overseen by the ministry.

Ecuador has signed on to meet the eight Millennium Development Goals, which in terms of education translates into the desire of the state to provide complete elementary education, free of charge, to every boy and girl. In theory, this is the government's acknowledgment of the entitlement of each child to nine years of compulsory schooling. At the same time the World Bank has written that upon evaluation it has been found that, "the principle challenges facing education in Ecuador are extending the coverage of quality education, so that all boys and girls can receive 10 years of basic schooling" (Rojas, 2002: 265).

For the purposes of this research some of the most important elements of the education legislation are Article 66: "Public education shall be secular in all levels; obligatory until the basic level and free of charge until high school" (Barriga, 2004). As well, Chapter two of the *Ley Organica de Educacion* (Educational Law) is concerned with the free and obligatory nature of education in Ecuador. Article 77; "The state shall guarantee equal opportunity to access higher education. No person may be deprived of

access to it due to economic reasons; to that effect, the entities of higher education shall establish loan and scholarship programs” (Barriga, 2004).

Irrespective of this legislation, underinvestment in Basic Social Services such as education is a problem. It is seen that as spending towards debt servicing increases, spending on education decreases especially at the primary level. Because of various structural adjustment programs instigated by the IMF in Ecuador, the years between 1985- 1995 saw many unfavourable developments in the educational sector.

Spending on education has fluctuated greatly over the past decades. For example, in the 1970’s spending on education was at around 4.4% of GDP, in the 1980’s it was as high as 5.8% then dropped as low as 2.7% in 2004 (Rojas, 2003, UNDP, 2004). As a bare minimum the World Bank has said that, “spending on education must be raised to at least 5% of the GDP” (Rojas, 2003: 265). At the same time, the constitution of 1989 “provides for allocating 30% of government income to education, that percentage is never reached” (Roos & Van Renteghen, 1997: 40). In reality, because of Ecuador’s heavy debt burden, only 1% of the country’s GDP is spent on education which translates to 8% of total government expenditure (UNDP, 2004: 157). Due to such occurrences it has been said that, “Unless education in education is restored to levels of the past decade, it will be difficult for Ecuador to meet the goal of universal elementary education by the year 2015” (Rojas, 2003: 266). In fact the reverse is being seen as educational spending over the past decade has been cut in half (Rojas, 2003).

In a budget proposal sent to the IMF in 2003 the government of Ecuador “assigns 35.7 % to debt service versus 19.5% for social programs in the areas of health, education, housing and welfare. The share of education in this budget would be 11.2% (versus

12.5% in 2002)” (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005: 191). As a result teacher training spending, “is woefully inadequate (amounting in 1993 to an average of only 60 cents or 40p per teacher in the primary school sector)” (Roos & Van Rentenghen, 1997: 40).

At present the state is responsible only for paying teacher salaries. All other supplies; uniforms, textbooks and pencils; are the responsibility of the student’s family. It is averaged that it is \$150 per year for a child to attend pre-university school (A. Inga, Personal communication, Aug. 14, 2004). In rural communities even the school infrastructure is the responsibility of the community. And although there are some scholarships for teacher training, there is very little money for students and virtually none for indigenous students.

Due to the state’s insufficient financing another concern is that many children cannot attend secondary school because of the cost of travel, registration, uniforms and reading materials. According to the Ecuadorian census of 2001, 10% of the school age kids (6-11 years old) were not in school, meaning more than 160,000 children were not studying due to lack of funds. At the same time over 850,000 students aged 12-17 years old have dropped out to find work because school was too heavy a financial burden (La problema, 2004: D1). This translates into the situation that Ecuador has the highest incidences of child labour anywhere in the Americas. It is estimated that over 390,000 children are working having not found the funds to finish even primary school (Educacion este ano, 2004: A5). On a positive note, in the province of Tungurahua, the Ministry of Education is working with street youth on the idea of night school to allow them to both work and go to school (Agenda Andina, 2004; D1).

This failure to continue with education was highlighted in an Ecuadorian Living Conditions Survey from 1995. It showed that as the age-group of students increased, attendance rates decreased. For instance, “91% of youth who are 12 years of age were attending school, while in the same year only 76% of 13 year olds, 68% of 14-year-olds, 62% of 15-year-olds, 58% of 16-year-olds, and 55 percent of 17-year-olds were attending school” (Rojas, 2003: 273). To help with this problem the Inter-American Development Bank approved a loan for \$45 million to support rural education in Ecuador, whereby they hope that, “organizing school systems with greater autonomy and parental participation” (IDB, 2004: P1) will allow the most disadvantaged to partake in educational services by easing their economic burden.

In terms of educational financing, a rather contentious measure instigated in Ecuador is decentralization²². Under pressure from the World Bank and other international organizations, decentralization measures were implemented in two of the country’s most important sectors, health and education. These measures were, “designed to address the government’s fiscal crisis (by transferring certain responsibilities [...] to lower level governments” (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005: 166). In theory this should allow the provision of services to be more equitable and participatory. When decentralization was instigated in 1999, the then minister of education Vladimiro Alvarez Grau, described the process as the attainment of, “An improved quality of teaching, equality and efficiency, strengthened community participation and the establishment of an accounting system for all those who participate” (Escuelas, 1999: C1, my translation). In this same

²²It should be noted that decentralization does not mean the abdication of responsibility for education at the national level. National governments must still have a very clear set of standards, tests, and required program outcomes and so on, but local governments are given the authority to run the schools and aid in evaluating the new directions of schools (Franko, 2003).

article the minister goes on to say that in fact the state is not abdicating its responsibility for education, but in essence “The intention of the government is not privatization. Decentralization is nothing more than putting the running of schools into the hands of the communities” (Escuelas, 1999: C1, my translation).

In the process of decentralization the *Programa de Mejoramiento de la Calidad de la Educacion Basica* (PROMECEB) (Program for Improved Quality of Basic Education) was also started. This program was created to allow for long-term solutions to the education problems and looks to implement decentralization, parent participation and better quality education. Through organization, facilitation and improved networking, this program hopes to ensure these goals (Rojas, 2003). As predicted this program has hit similar problems: bad administration and lack of continuity, mixed with misuse of money and lack of monitoring and evaluation. Administration and lack of long-term solutions is one of the greatest challenges. This lack of continuity and good administration is common in Ecuador. In fact, “In the 118 years of existence, the Ministry of Education and Culture has had 113 ministers” (Rojas, 2003: 279).

Speaking with an education ministry member from Chimborazo about decentralization it was said, “this process is a lie and the death of education in the country (Interview, July 21, 2004). Essentially, this decentralization was the first step towards privatization as moneys never reached the provincial or municipal levels and those who had money were beginning to pay for education. In some rural communities, due to decentralization, I was told some teachers have not been paid for 5-6 months (Interview, July 21, 2004). When communities were asked about decentralization and what the government was planning it was generally felt that the state, ‘Does not want the poor

people to be prepared” (Interview, July 21, 2004). The ministry member informed me that communities held the sentiment that the government felt that the poor populations were ‘too stupid to understand’ what effects decentralization would produce. She continued to state that this move towards decentralization, ‘Will cut off all the roads in terms of quality educational provision in Ecuador’ (Interview, July 21, 2004).

3.3.3 Indigenous groups and education

In terms of education for indigenous communities programs were initially introduced to sway ‘restlessness’ and to fully allow for Spanish conquest of the rural areas. In the 1920’s and 30’s the value of rural education was seen to be imperative for development through national integration of indigenous groups. At the same time because, “There is not any intention of contemplating linguistic diversity or the culture of the indigenous peoples” (Chiodi, 1990: 339, my translation), this education was not geared towards indigenous students’ interests. In a progressive move, in 1944 Ecuador’s Constitution, “Recognized for the first time the importance of using indigenous languages in education” (Chiodi, 1990: 342, my translation). Unfortunately these progressive ideas were not carried through and essentially, “*Mestizaje*, understood as cultural ‘whitening’ [was] clearly reflected in the Ecuadorian school system from the 1950’s throughout the 1970’s” (Kilander, 2001: 64). Combined with this is the fact that in the late 1960’s, the Ministry of Education’s effectiveness was being eroded due to their “excessive preoccupation with details of policies and programs” (Wilson, 1970: 99), as opposed to how these programs would be received by indigenous communities.

In the 1970's and 80's education for indigenous communities was mainly concerned with literacy campaigns. Along with modernization came the need for an extended educational system in Ecuador because it was felt that,

The lack of formal schooling for the marginalized groups was seen as a major impediment to the creation of national identity in Ecuador and the logical consequence was to extend and improve the school system; The assumption was that Indians (who had overwhelming levels of illiteracy) would automatically become real Ecuadorians and identify themselves with the national culture if they were educated. Indeed by definition, Indians were seen as ignorant, because it was assumed that Indians who were educated would automatically become mestizos (Kilander, 2001: 63).

As brought forward by Masaquiza-Jerez (2003), education that was presented to indigenous groups was, "traditionally oriented towards their indiscriminate assimilation, thus limiting their social, cultural and economic development" (Masaquiza-Jerez, 2003: 103). The sentiment voiced by indigenous groups in Ecuador remains that, "The interest of the national government is to make education an effective means to reevaluate, preserve and develop the national identity" (CONAIE, 1990b: 198, my translation). Schools were not being used for the development of the indigenous students but for the development of the national economy.

Indigenous education before the introduction of ICBE was said to have been about completing the ministry's orders and involved the heavy use of memorization and repetition. According to a minister from DIPEIB, for a time in the early 1970's, education for indigenous youth focused on agriculture and domestic studies only, as it was felt indigenous students could not understand anything else (Interview, July 21, 2004).

A large problem is that there are inequalities apparent in service provision when comparing income quintiles of urban versus rural or indigenous populations resulting in

skewed educational outcomes (Rojas, 2003). For instance the poorest quintile²³ of the population has 4 years of schooling as opposed to 12 years for the wealthiest, and 2.4 years for indigenous rural students as opposed to 5 years for rural non-indigenous (Rojas, 2003). As well, the net middle school enrolment rate in 1999 for the poorest quintile was 19% as compared to 80% for the wealthiest, while only 7.3% of the poorest quintile has access to early childhood educational services (Rojas, 2003).

Within the poorest quintile in Ecuador some researchers state that illiteracy is approximately 14%, with this number being twice as high in provinces with high indigenous concentrations such as Chimborazo, Cotopaxi, Bolivar and Canon (Roos & Van Rentenghen, 1997). Masaquiza-Jerez (2003) puts the national illiteracy rate at 20.4% and as high as 41.9% in the rural Altiplano. Until 1995 it was estimated that 41% of those in rural households who spoke indigenous languages could not read or write in neither Spanish nor their own language (Masaquiza-Jerez, 2003).

For the province of Chimborazo, the numbers are as follows,

Type of Schools	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Teachers
Sept to July (Sierra)	310	17263	867
May to Feb (Coast)	7	230	10
Special schools	17	2754	234
<i>Colegio</i>	16	1649	199
Institutes	7	1373	150
Totals	357	23269	1460

Adapted from DIPEIB printouts.

²³ It is understood that the poorest quintile is comprised mainly of indigenous peoples.

A survey was conducted in 2004 which recorded illiteracy rates in Chimborazo;

Age	Illiteracy (%)	Illiteracy (No.)
5	14	56,029
6-12	18	35,822
13-18	13	53,919
19+	55	222,182
total		403,632

Adapted from Educacion, 2004: A6

To help with this situation a national literacy campaign, the ‘*Campana Nacional de Alfabetizacion Monsenor Leonidas Proano*’ was instigated from 1980-84 and again between 1988-1992 (Masaquiza-Jerez. 2003). Again in 2004 a new literacy campaign, ‘*Minga por la Esperanza*’, was initiated to help the 794, 314 people in the country that are believed to be illiterate (Educacion, 2004: A5).

In relation to Ecuadorian indigenous students today, it is seen that, “Pupil drop-out rates and teacher transfer rates are both high” (Brock and Lawlor, 1985: 96). Another major concern with education is that grade repetition is 13% during the first two years of schooling in rural areas, as opposed to only 6% in urban areas (Rojas, 2003). This is combined with the situation of delayed enrolment. Reasons for rural students (between the ages of 11 and 15) not attending classes showed that 34% said the reason was cost, 19% were not attending because of lack of interest, 16% because they had to work, 10% lacked access, 4% claimed sickness, and 3% had chores to do at home (Rojas, 2003). And finally, rural schools account for only 14% of attendance because of the fact that, “Access to middle and high school is limited for poor and indigenous peoples” (Rojas, 2003: 273).

Evidently, there are many problems with the national education system as expressed by the indigenous organizations and their constituents. The main problems are

seen as: i) teachers come from the outside and, “Many teachers believe that indigenous languages are ‘dialects’ and the indigenous cultures are less civilized” (CONAIE, 1990: 43, my translation); ii) The classes are in Spanish, “There are teachers that hit the students who speak their maternal language at school” (CONAIE, 1990: 43 my translation); iii) Rural livelihoods are not valued within the national curriculum; iv) There are often uniforms or dress codes, “There are still schools where the students are obliged to change out of their traditional cloths everyday before they enter classes” (CONAIE, 1990: 43, my translation); and lastly, iv) the community and the parents are only involved in the school to organize school festivities. Essentially, “The community is marginalized in the educational process. The school functions as an independent institution, apart form the life of the community. The children are objects as opposed to subjects of the educational process” (CONAIE, 1990: 43, my translation).

The shortcomings are summed up as,

The Western educational system has always pushed the wishes and thinking of the powerful to enforce and continue its wishes. In this way, education has been converted into a force of penetration and strengthens the ideas of the bourgeoisie, capitalists and imperialists as a way to exploit and gain more returns (Inga, n.d: Introduction Section, my translation).

A teacher from San Pablo explained that the thinking of the old Spanish school system was archaic, very negative and in no way helpful towards indigenous students. Basically this system “Holds a western perspective; if only you have money can you realize an objective” (Interview, Aug. 10, 2004). Within the community it was said that the social, cultural and historical presence of indigenous peoples in Ecuador was ignored to be replaced by the Spanish history of Christopher Colon (Interview, Aug. 1, 2004). From a mother in San Pablo this educational system was described as perpetuating an atmosphere whereby indigenous peoples were made to “Study without knowing”

(Interview, Aug. 15, 2004). As expressed by the Principle in San Pablo, the Spanish school teachers were so far removed from the indigenous students that he remembers not being able to communicate with the teacher for the first few years of his schooling. At the same time, nothing taught in schools reflected the indigenous students' realities or the interest of their communities (Interview, Aug. 10, 2004).

Despite the many inequalities and shortcomings there has been some work done at the state level in terms of educational services for indigenous populations. The Ecuadorian government, along with educational experts from the World Bank, have come up with seven central pillars if education is to be improved. These pillars are: i) universal access to basic education, ii) improved quality of education, iii) better conditions for teachers, iv) decentralization, v) changes in financial and budgetary administration, vi) monitoring and evaluation and vii) strengthening of intercultural, bilingual education (Rojas, 2003: 270).

3.3.4 National Directorate of Bilingual, Intercultural Education

In response to these problems, Luis Macas a past president of the CONAIE stated, "We have to develop a different type of school in which the community participates actively, a form of pedagogy our ancestors used to practice. The central focus of any social process must be based on our traditional *ayllus* (family and community)" (Macas, 2000: P12). To bring about these changes, in 1988 the CONAIE fought for and succeeded in signing an agreement with the Ministry of Education and Culture to instigate the *Direccion Nacional de Educacion Bilingue* (DINEIB). Essentially, the indigenous organizations asked, "What is the educational model that our Intercultural Bilingual society needs?" (CODENPE et al., 2001: I, my translation). According to

DIPEIB ministry workers, although there has been education for indigenous people for a long time, this education system was the result of indigenous groups asking for an education system, ‘about indigenous peoples, for indigenous peoples and belonging to indigenous peoples’ (Interview, July 15, 2004). Thus this new ministry staffed by CONAIE members has the main objectives of: a) strengthening interculturalism in Ecuador; b) strengthening the identity and thereby the organizations of indigenous peoples and; c) improving the quality of life of indigenous communities (Inga, n.d: Section 2.1).

The 1998 Ecuadorian constitution, article 84 proclaims, “the state recognizes and guarantees to the indigenous peoples the following collective rights (...); the right to receive a quality education and to have a system of bilingual intercultural education” (Ecuador: UN, n.d: see Article 84). Similarly it is stated in Chapter IV; Article 67, “The state recognizes the rights of parents to choose an education in agreement with their principles and guarantees an intercultural and bilingual educational system in which the principle language of the respective culture is used” (Ecuador: UN, n.d: see Article 67).

The history of this intercultural, bilingual program began in the 1960’s in Riobamba, Chimborazo. It was in this city that the progressive Catholic Church set-up the first ‘Radio phonic Schools’ that taught classes in both Spanish and Quichua. These programs focused not only on literacy, but transmitted local news, agricultural advice and other practical issues (Kilander, 2001). It was also at this time that Monsenor Proano began working in Riobamba with the *Instituto Ecunemico al Servicio del Desarrollo de los Pueblos* (INODEP). Using Paulo Freire’s theories of popular organization,

consientization and Catholic base communities, indigenous education was beginning to flourish.

In 1979 the ECUARANI Confederación de los Pueblos de Nacionalidad Kichua del Ecuador (Confederation of Quichua Pueblos of Ecuador), “declared that the indigenous problem has a double dimension of class and ethnicity” (Kilander, 2001: 68) and voiced their demands for bilingual education as well as greater respect for indigenous cultures. In the 1980’s formal bilingual education programs were started by the Center for the Investigation of Indigenous Education of the Catholic University in Quito. The program developed new material for use in bilingual educational institutions as well as training literate indigenous peoples to become teachers. From this program 1000 teachers went on to teach in 300 rural bilingual schools between 1980-84. This had the net effect of lowering indigenous illiteracy rates in the program areas from 25.7% in 1979 to 12.6% in 1984 (Kilander, 2001).

Currently, the schools that are set-up by DINEIB are bilingual, using the national language of Spanish as well as the local indigenous language of the area. Through ICBE, students are projected to be prepared in both languages by the use of a 50-50 use of each language along with appropriate learning material. The ministry espouses the idea that ICBE is, “A process of learning the maternal and second language (Spanish), as a way of strengthening both (Inga, n.d: Section 2, P3).

The program is intercultural in that the pedagogical techniques incorporate all aspects of the indigenous way of life. Fundamentally, this interculturalism is seen in the process of, “Returning to nurture and respond to the real interests of the community” (CONAIE, 1990: 41, my translation). In this same way, the curriculum of the

Intercultural, bilingual program is designed to contribute to “Translation: The respect for human rights, better conditions of life, an education more in line with the interests and necessities of the population and a school immersed in the life of the community” (CONAIE, 1990: 48, my translation).

The general objectives of DINEIB are: a) the development of an educational system in line with the reality of indigenous peoples’ social, cultural, linguistic and economic situation; b) integrate the program into communities; c) facilitate the relations between all cultural groups within the nation; d) strengthen the use of indigenous languages; and e) reorganize organizational structures of indigenous ‘pueblos’ (CONAIE, 1990). The specific objectives are to: a) maintain cohesion between education levels; b) incorporate each nationality’s knowledge and characteristics into the curriculum; c) facilitate the learning of Spanish; d) develop the use of indigenous languages; e) develop the psychological and social rebirth of indigenous nationalities; and f) integrate indigenous community members into the activities and processes of education.

The main advantages of the ICBE schools are the contribution of strong indigenous identities as well as allowing for a changing perception of Quichua and its people (Van Cott, 1995). This education engages the entire community in the schooling process, as expressed in the statement,

This education is about much more than just speaking the two languages; this is engaged within a fuller social-cultural context, education is not only given in the educational centers where our intellectual capacities are developed but also in the family, the community, where we learn about our identity and culture.
(Pedro Leon as cited in CODENPE et al., 2001: 41, my translation).

In this structure the state still has an important part to play in the implementation of this ministry. Essentially, the state continues to accept responsibility to guarantee the provision of intercultural, bilingual education at all levels (pre-primary, primary,

secondary, and adult education) for all indigenous nations irrespective of numbers as well as to officiate the education. In conjunction with the indigenous organizations, the state assumes the management of all programs and strives to: a) to recognize and use the indigenous languages in all programs; b) to establish a ethno-appropriate curriculum; c) provide funds and legal structures to carry out the education; and d) to guarantee the participation of the indigenous organizations in all activities and decisions (CONAIE, 1990). The state's general strategy continues to be: a) the reformation of the Education and Culture laws to harmonize with Article 27 of the republic's constitution; b) strengthen the programs; c) expand and redirect education; d) regulate the costs; e) strengthen the administration; and f) correct the content – all with specific emphasis on rural areas (Republica del Ecuador, 1992).

Although there is one set curriculum for all of Ecuador, each province is responsible for their own curricular management. This applies to the ICBE ministry as well. For example, within the province of Chimborazo, the indigenous organization UOCIC is responsible for most of the curricular content of their schools. Fundamentally, “Bilingual education requires planning, execution and evaluation of the educational process” ([http: redindigna](http://redindigna), my translation) from a combined effort of many partners.

From interviews that were carried out in Riobamba, it was ascertained that DIPEIB ministers believe this school system is superior to the other systems mainly due to its participatory nature. Both parents and the community are involved in the educational process. Similarly, the interests of the indigenous community are paramount. One ministry worker stated that this is also important because the life of indigenous children is already so much harder than life for urban children that community

involvement is important to help ease this burden. As was said, “The life of a dog is better than ours” (Interview, July 15, 2004) and accordingly these programs aim to bring about an improved quality of life for the entire family.

It is estimated that under the Bilingual Intercultural Education program, indigenous men and women are running 2,800 schools throughout Ecuador. The ministry asserts that good teachers are very important to the program’s success. To become an ICBE teacher first and foremost the teacher must be bilingual. At the present time the ministry has only 400 real ICBE teachers (meaning those who are fully bilingual). The ministry is working to prepare more indigenous peoples for this position through institutes and universities. This is essentially the ministry’s main goal at the present time. Surprisingly there are even some Spanish who are trying to learn indigenous languages to become teachers in this program. In the year 2000, the program had approximately 85,000 students, which corresponds to 4.4% of total enrolment (Rojas, 2003). This percentage is relatively small considering that Ecuador is one-third indigenous.

This educational achievement has been furthered by the realization of the Intercultural University of the Indigenous People and Nations of Ecuador, which opened its doors on Columbus Day, October 12, 2000. It is named ‘*Amauta Wasi*’ or ‘the house of higher learning’ and is described as, “the dream of the indigenous peoples” (Laurie et. al., 2003: 463). As described by one indigenous leader, thanks to such endeavours as this University, “now people are reclaiming their indigenous heritage, they are ‘becoming indigenous again’” (Laurie et. al., 2003: 463). Most importantly, the university is seen as so important because of the urgent need for a new generation of indigenous professionals.

3.4 **Fieldwork**

3.4.1 **Chimborazo and its indigenous peoples**

The aforementioned data on ICBE in Ecuador was mainly obtained from Ecuadorian policy papers and interviews with the provincial ministry of Intercultural, Bilingual Education in Riobamba. The field research was carried out in two rural communities and the research's main aim was to evaluate the model of ICBE in practice. The main areas of inquiry involved questions to do with if the model was being implemented correctly, the successes and failures as well as the outcomes for these areas.

The province of Chimborazo where this research was based is named for Mount Chimborazo, the highest mountain in the country, which stands at 6300 Metres (21,000 feet). The provincial capital city is Riobamba is the geographical heart of Ecuador and is known as the city of migration seeing 27% of the country's inter-provincial migration (Murphy et al., 1997). With 52% of the province being indigenous, Chimborazo is one of the four provinces with the highest concentration of indigenous peoples in the country (FOCIFCH, 1997: 6). There are 552 indigenous communities with 67% of this population belonging to the Quichua nation and *Puruha pueblo*. The indigenous language of Quichua is spoken in Chimborazo.

There are several indicators that highlight the indigenous reality within Chimborazo today. Firstly, 63% of the province's population lives in rural areas and it is said that, "poverty afflicts more than 91% of the rural population, with nearly 60% of those living in extreme poverty" (Ecuador Statistics, n.d: P3). Rates of illiteracy in this part of the country are as high as 66.4% (FOCIFCH, 1997). In 1990, a provincial study was carried out within the indigenous communities and it was found that 92% of the

indigenous population did not meet their basic needs, 78% did not have hygienic services, 36% did not have water and 37% lived in bad conditions with a poor quality of life (FOCIFCH, 1997). Although the province of Chimborazo has the lowest indicators in all of Ecuador, it is nonetheless positive if one remembers that,

Different from the national, white-mestizo context, where the indigenous Quichuas make up the minority group, in the provincial context of Chimborazo, the indigenous Quichua make up the majority of the population, and in these new generations exist the new model of intercultural relations for Ecuador (FOCIFCH, 1997: 4, my translation).

Development work in the area began in the 1950's with the work of Bishop Proano. The Monsignor: started the push for land reforms in the area; helped the early formation of indigenous organizations; instigated development projects; and brought about bilingual education for the rural indigenous communities. Today there are many local, provincial, national and international organizations working in Chimborazo not only because of the large number of indigenous peoples, but because of the environmentally precious Chimborazo Natural Reserve. The assistance of outside organizations has become so important not only because of the deteriorating socio-economic conditions in the area and the radical reduction in alternative employment for the rural sectors (Gallo & Cevallos, 1992) but also for environmental reasons.

In terms of indigenous development in the area it has been stated that, "Wealth is not our goal. What is important is the spiritual element, and economic, cultural and political independence" (Anamaria Guacho; Movimiento de Chimborazo) (as quote in Verhelst, 1990: 1).

3.4.2 Research sites: Pulingui San Pablo and La Delicia

a. Pulingui San Pablo

The first community for analysis is Pulingui San Pablo. This community belongs to the Quichua nation and is part of the *Puruha pueblo*. The community is situated 36km from Riobamba in the parroquia of San Juan. The community is situated in a valley on the slopes of the very impressive mount Chimborazo. At 3830 metres this village is the highest Paramo²⁴ community in the country. Due to its altitude and proximity to the mountain the climate is cold and windy, and the land is dry and inhospitable. With respect to the Paramo, “The diversity of life is markedly reduced at 3200 meters” (Murphy et al., 1997: 30). At this altitude plant growth is considerably stunted, yet the area is covered with abundant grasses. Wildlife in the area include a variety of birds; hummingbirds, Andean teals, and condors, as well as animals such as; alpaca, llama and vicuna

The community of San Pablo is on a major road connecting Riobamba to Guranda, two of the major cities in the province. At the center of town is a school, a hikers cabin and the tourist ‘*refugio*’. In the early 1970’s this whole area was occupied by haciendas. It was around this time that the government and Catholic Church started land reforms. The history of the community began in 1975 with nineteen families getting together to buy 3500 hectares of land from the hacienda, starting the community of Pulingui San Pablo. In 1984 the ‘*Asociacion de Trabajadores de Pulingui San Pablo*’ (Association of Pulingui San Pablo workers) was formed. Today there are 57 families within the community, consisting of 213 people. This includes the community members who live lower down the mountain. For those who do not live in the village itself, but

²⁴ The Paramo is any area above 3000 metres.

live further down the mountain, they must come up every day in order to bring their sheep to pasture, tend their fields and to participate in *mingas*²⁵.

Community members are 100% indigenous peasants, speaking the indigenous language of Quichua. Fifty percent of the population is under seventeen years of age. 56% of the homes have 1-4 children, 40% have 5-8 and 4% have 8+ children (FOCIFCH, 1998) In the community, 18% are unable to read or write (42% over 26 are illiterate). 80% of the population are catholic, the remainder belonging to evangelical sects (Inga, 2004).

There are only eleven houses in the community of Pulingui San Pablo proper, the rest being spread out over the mountain side and valley. The vast majority of the houses are made of mud with reed roofs, three houses are made out of cement and two are made of wood. 27% of the houses have cement floor the rest are dirt. Houses are one or two room huts with cooking being done over an open fire. Out of a total of 57 houses, 42 of the houses have water access, 25 have electricity, and 35 have latrines. There is drinking water in the community²⁶, and one main paved road²⁷.

The entire female population (of adolescent age) is engaged in agricultural activities. Children participate in the various farm activities in the morning and evening of every day. Migration is carried out by 40% of the male heads of households to work at construction in such cities as Quito, Riobamba and Guayaquil. The number one economic activity of the area is animal rearing.

Agriculture is considered a secondary activity with the sowing of potatoes, barley and broad beans for subsistence. Agriculture is not more pronounced because: only 20%

²⁵ *Mingas* are communal work projects.

²⁶ Water was tapped by a volunteer group from Barrie, Ontario, Canada.

²⁷ The road was built by the cement factory in the area.

of the cultivable land has access to water for irrigation; the land for agriculture is very dry and; the available land is mostly situated on the slopes of the mountains. It has been heard said of the area that, 'it seems amazing that the natives intend to grow on slopes that, under other circumstances, would have been double black diamond ski hills.' The average annual per capita income of indigenous peasants in the Altiplano region is approximately \$800 (Personal Communication, July 29, 2004). Over the years the communities in the area have been working on many programs and projects to alleviate the migration of the people. By involving themselves in '*mingas*' the communities is also attempting to achieve a higher lever of economic success.

Because of the fragility of the ecosystem at this altitude, soil erosion has become a problem. Agricultural practices have traditionally been sustainable: trees are planted, animal dung is used for fertilizer, crops are rotated, and there is the use of angled water catchments on steep slopes to conserve water. Yet due to the effects of increased planting to ensure higher yields and the effects of soil erosion due to lose of trees, the already fragile environment is suffering. Because overgrazing is a problem the community has imported *vicunas* from Peru and Chile and has begun raising more alpaca as oppose to cattle and sheep. Due to the higher price of alpaca wool and the fact that these animals eat only the top of plants as opposed to the roots of the plant as cow and sheep do, the outcome of their introduction has been very positive. Because almost 68% of their earnings come from precarious farming and sheparding activities, they are looking for economic alternatives.

In 1987 some 58, 560 hectares in which Pulingui San Pablo is situated became known as the '*Reserva Faunistica Chimborazo*' (Chimborazo Wildlife Reserve)

(Personal Communication, July 27, 2004). Because of this, in 1995 a conflict arose between the communities of the area and the *Instituto Ecuatoriano Forestal de Areas Naturales y Vida Silvestre* (Institute for Forestry, Natural Areas and Wildlife)) (INEFAN). What transpired was that upon completion of an ecological study, a Swiss engineer deemed the communities in the area a threat to the Reserve and recommended their removal. This actually was the catalyst for the communities to begin mobilizing along with the newly created *Federacion de Organizaciones Campesinas e Indigenas de las Faldas del Chimborazo* (Federation of Campesino and Indigenous Organizations of Chimborazo) (FOCIFCH). The result was that after a year and a half the communities came to an agreement with the INEFAN. The signed convention took into account the need for ecological protection of the area as well as the needs of the indigenous communities living there.

The principle result of this mobilization was the creation of a women's organization as well as strengthened community organizations. The community has also begun working with outside agencies: internationally with organizations such as CIDA, the European Union, Scarboro Foreign Missions and Save the Children; nationally with groups such as KinderNotHilfe-Ecuador, and; regionally with groups such as FOCIFCH , UOCIC and *Movimiento Indígena de Chimborazo* (Indigenous Movement of Chimborazo) (MICH).

In terms of the cultural situation in San Pablo, things have changed drastically in the last thirty years. As expressed by the community, in years gone by their cultural heritage was learned from parents and grandparents. When most of these parents were young the indigenous populations of Ecuador were considered to have no culture.

Essentially, as expressed by a former community member, “We were dirty, drunk, stupid Indians to them” (Interview, Aug. 10, 2004). He continued by saying that, as not only their culture, but they themselves were considered to be of no value, indigenous exploitation was rampant. Today the government has moved forward in some areas with respect to multiculturalism and it was articulated by the principle of the school that indeed, “The government does respect that we have various languages and many cultures here in Ecuador” (Interview, Aug. 10, 2004).

b. La Delicia

The community of La Delicia is farther down the mountain and consequently is surrounded by lush green fields making it an ideal place for animal rearing and agricultural activities. As a result the communities in this area are much more prosperous than those at higher elevations such as San Pablo. The community is situated a 45 minute walk off the main road at the junction of one of the last Haciendas still running in the area. Houses in the community are made of brick or cement and the village gives the impression of being a ‘modernized’ community. There are approximately 77 families in the community, all of them from the Quichua nation, though from different *pueblos*.

There is a community association in the area and they are linked to FOCIFCH, UOCIC and MICH. Economically, the community is engaged in animal rearing, agriculture and there is a fair amount of migration to Riobamba, Quito and Esmeralda to work. The children help with the family agricultural endeavours before and after school. In terms of the community’s cultural situation, there is a fair amount of Spanish language usage present in the community among the younger generations. Although all the older

generation of women still wear the traditional clothes, the majority of the younger people do not.

3.4.3 The Model of ICBE and Pulingui San Pablo

The educational situation in San Pablo before the introduction of ICBE was quite dismal. From a group interview with 35 parents it was discovered that only eight of the parents had been to school, most only going to 1st or 2nd grade. Within this ‘educated’ group of eight, there were two parents who could not even sign their own names. One of the main problems with education for these rural parents was that there was no school in the area for them to attend. A teacher from San Pablo described how when he was young the nearest school for him to attend was a 12 km walk down the mountain, thus he had to live with family members outside the community to get an education. Things changed very little over the years and until recently students were forced to go far distances for an education.

Within these Spanish schools the situation was not constructive for the indigenous youth. Teachers were Spanish-speaking only and as a result could not understand the Quichua speaking students, nor would they permit Quichua’s use in the classroom. The parents speak about the fact that neither their language nor culture was valued and they remember times where they were mistreated by teachers for the way they spoke. The end result was that they were neither learning Spanish nor using Quichua properly. Many parents felt they were essentially taught to speak two languages improperly. Nonetheless, these parents still wish they could have stayed in school longer and espouse the importance of education. For this reason, the idea of creating a school here in their own community was brought forward (Interview, Aug. 15, 2004).

The following is a look at the most current data from San Pablo,

	(out of 213)
In primary	71
In secondary	29
In university	1
Can't read or write	78
Can read and write	134

School level	Aged 16-25	Aged 26+
None	1	34
Primary incomplete	4	10
Primary complete	28	18
Secondary incomplete	12	3
Secondary complete	2	1
Superior	1	2

Adapted from my field notes.

The school, *El Centro de Educacion Alaternativa Pulingui San Pablo*, was opened September 30, 1997. Its mission statement is, "The community education center's mission is to supply quality education for a integral formation of the students, family, as well it has the obligation to give the necessary attention to those students most in need" (Inga, 2004: 11, my translation). As well its vision is said to be, "An educational institution of great prestige, with a quality education, excellent teachers, for the integral formation of the boys and girls with alternative programs" (Inga, 2004: 12, my translation).

A Canadian NGO 'Save-the-Children' and 'Oprah's Angel Network' built the first school. There are currently three classrooms, each being used by two grades. The classrooms have wood floors, plaster wall and straw roofs. The hard wood floors are cleaned with turpentine every couple of weeks, which leaves a pungent, eye watering smell, making it necessary to hold classes outside on those days. There is also one small

supply closet and one small dirt-floor kitchen. There is no heat in the school and for most of the year, one can see one's breath inside the building. Electricity is not reliable and there can be no computer classes. Supplies for the classrooms are very basic, no paper, hardly any books, pencils and workbooks given to the students with care. At present there is a new school being built with money from the European Union.

There are many extras included with this alternative thanks to donations from international agencies. Doctors visit the school every couple of months to look at the students and their families. Students are supplied with donated clothes and school supplies are free to them. This school is also part of a school feeding program. At recess and lunch the students receive warm drinks and food. It is for this reason that many parents admit that being part of the school is not only a matter of academics but logistics as well as they themselves could never supply their children with these goods.

Classes are from 800 until 1600, Monday to Friday, September 15th until August 15th. There are three teachers, therefore three class groups. There are 38 students in the school, all to them indigenous. Group one consists of grades one and two, with 12 students: five girls and seven boys, aged 5-9. The class is taught by an indigenous Quichua teacher originally from San Pablo. The classroom has small desks paired up and facing the teacher in two semi-circles. Groups two consists of grades three and four with 14 students: 12 girls and 2 boys, aged 8-11. This class is taught by an indigenous Quichua teacher as well. The classroom has large desks paired up haphazardly within the room. Group three consists of grades five and six, and has 12 students: 6 boys and 6 girls, aged 9-13. The teacher of this group is a native Spanish speaker from Riobamba, brought in to make sure the children were being taught the proper usage of Spanish.

Desks are arranged two by two in two columns. All three teachers went to public schools and have primary teacher certificates.

All the girls and most of the boys wear the traditional dress. In actual fact, the students are allowed to wear whatever clothes they have, which makes for a comfortable learning environment. The students are principally from communities Quatro Esquinas, San Pablo, Chorrero Mirador, Jatari, Chinihua and Pulingui Centro, all communities around Mount Chimborazo. There is a communal bus that goes down the mountain each morning to pick up the kids and returns them home at the end of the day. On days that the bus is broken down or being used for tourist activities most students are unable to come to school.

There was one glaring omission when counting the number of students attending school. As noted there are 38 children attending school; however there are 71 students enrolled in the school. Some of these students were present only once or twice over the course of the entire summer. In reality, only about 50% of the students are at school consistently. On one particular day, when the secretary from the Ministry of Education from Riobamba visited school, there were 66 students in class. It was evident that some of these students had never been to school. According to the principle, these new students usually went to school closer to their own homes and only participated in the alternative school when able. As noted by all the teachers, when students do not attend school on a continuous basis it is very difficult for the teacher to teach effectively and impossible for the student to understand the lesson. However these students were from far communities and did most of there studying there, only coming to San Pablo for the other logistical aspects of this alternative school such as the doctor visits.

The school uses both languages with Spanish being the most dominant within the teaching, yet the students speak Quichua continuously throughout the day. As well, anytime a student does not understand something in Spanish and needs to converse in Quichua, he/she is able to because the teacher understands and they can communicate effectively. According to the Group One teacher, the children have many more ideas in Quichua and since their Spanish is not complete this helps them formulate question, ideas and answers. The Spanish speaking teacher is even interested in taking Quichua classes to be able to better socialize and understand his students.

The curriculum incorporates elements of both *Modelo sistematico de Educacion Intercultural Bilingue* (MOSEIB) and *Yachaykunata Sumakyachishka (Plan Curricular Comunitario)* which were designed by DIPEIB, with help from the UOCIC. The classes involve basic study with extras such as agricultural and livestock projects, Quichua language and culture. Because this is an alternative school with funding from the EU, they are also involved in helping ensure the school incorporates intercultural elements such as music and computers. An example from a school lesson is as follows: a) knowing the history of my continent, b) Ecuador before and after, c) why it is important to be Quichua and, d) strengthening cultural identity.

The textbooks which the teachers use include sections on the history of all cultures within Ecuador. For example, the main curricular book, *El Libro Del Escolar Ecuatoriano* (Ecuadorian Schooling Book) (2000) has such cultural topics as indigenous nationalities and history of Ecuadorian nations. The students themselves do not actually have textbooks but take notes from writings on the blackboards. There are some books and a dictionary in the classrooms, but for the most part the teaching materials are oral.

Teaching techniques involves student participation involving repetition, questioning and exercise times. Time is not very strict and classes begin and end at different times each day. Students are enthusiastic during class and are not afraid of the school environment nor the teachers. When mistakes are made on the blackboard the students are not disgraced or humiliated. As children are at the school for such an extended period, and have chores outside of the school, there is often little or no homework. As most students can be seen working the cows early in the morning and late at night, homework becomes an unrealistic expectation. The teachers are very involved in running the school and take care to arrange the needed school supplies and the logistics of the school.

In terms of parent participation, this is an alternative school and all parents voluntarily send their children with the knowledge that families must partake in school activities. Although participation of the parents is heralded as one of the main components of ICBE, the actual participation of the parents in curricular formation is not evident. The parents do however have a role to play: both the old and the new school were built by the parents in the communities; mothers also take turns cooking the children's lunches; and the families help take part in *mingas* to help community work.

3.4.4 The Model of ICBE and La Delicia

There has been a school in the community of La Delicia for many years, but now it is a part of the ICBE school system. When the community was initially asked if they were interested in being part of the ICBE program they agreed. There are two teachers, thus two groups of kids. Group one is comprised of grades one through three and consists of 16 students; 6 girls and 10 boys. The teacher is a Spanish speaking *mestizo*.

Group two is comprised of grades four through six and consists of 19 students; 9 girls and 10 boys. The teacher is an indigenous Quichua. There is also a preschool associated with the school with one teacher and ten students.

Classes are from 730 until 1230, Monday to Friday. The school building is a large two story building but because of lack of upkeep only the bottom level is usable. There are hardwood floors, old blackboard and no electricity in the schoolhouse. There are very few window panes left in the windows and as a result the school house is cold most of the year. Out front is a concrete basketball court and a perpetually muddy soccer field.

Thanks to a state-sponsored feeding program the school provides lunches to the students, cooked by one or two different mothers each day. Besides this cooking there is virtually no community participation in the school. The parents are not very interested in Quichua being taught in schools, they feel they will teach that to the children at home. The parents do however espouse the value of having culture diversity in the country. No parents in the community has gone to school, yet in a group interview they did mention their parents taught them about farming and animal rearing; all that was deemed necessary knowledge at that time. They also did mention it is a hardship not to have their children at home during the day. And sometimes they mention it is hard to supply the necessary supplies for their children to go to school.

After observing the school for one week, it was still not obvious why this school was part of the ICBE system. There is one Quichua speaking teacher, but very little Quichua spoken at school and no sign of any cultural classes. The lessons are very western in style: students are expected to show up everyday, there are timed classes, a lot

of homework and strict class rules and discipline. There was even a dress-code as only one or two of the children wear traditional clothes. There was a feeling that this could be termed a bilingual transitional program at best. Near the end of the second week of research in La Delicia it was heard in Group Two, 'For the last half hour what do you want to study?' 'Quichua!' This was repeated once more that week. The Quichua speaking teacher mentioned that Quichua was allowed in class and definitely helped the students with their ideas but the environment was undoubtedly mostly Spanish.

3.4.5 Outcomes of ICBE in Pulingui San Pablo and La Delicia

In terms of the two communities there are conflicting outcomes. We will look at the outcomes of San Pablo. When people from the community of Pulingi San Pablo were asked what was occurring in the community between the 1970s and 1990s, very little is said. In reality, it was said that the switch from hacienda life was hard. Development within the community was slow to start but has been on the increase in recent years. For example, projects began in 1988 with vicuna and alpaca rearing programs. However real programs only started in the late 1990's as goals of the community became solidified. The attainment of a school in the community was only one goal that was set out by the community.

In 1996 the women's association began a second Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)-funded rearing project, this one involved the raising of *cuye*²⁸. In 1997 the community began working on projects with Thomas Walsh a CECI co-operant. In May of that same year Casa Condor (a hostel for tourist) as well as a women's weaving center was built, again with funds from CIDA. In 1998, a complete baseline study was carried out in the area by FOCIFCH, which documented every aspect

²⁸ *Cuye* are guinea pigs which are one of the main meat supplies for Andean indigenous groups

of the village in order to help with future development planning. These programs are indicative of the goal of improving the community of which the introduction of the school was a central element. Actual outcomes of the school can be stated as projects such as the ongoing training of guides to bring climbers up Mount Chimborazo, health classes, reforestation projects, trout farms, environmental protection classes and school reconstruction projects.

As to the issue of cultural strengthening because of the ICBE school in the community, the residents still acknowledges that they are looked down upon by the rest of society, as built-in racial and cultural prejudices are hard to break. They are also aware of the fact that the government recognizes their diversity only during election times when promises are given. However, this situation no longer affects their dignity. This indigenous community expressed that they know who they are and stated to me that “our country is rich inside” (Interview, Aug.15, 2004). As noted by Tom Walsh, ‘these people are now proud of their culture’ (Interview, July 23, 2004).

Today, the community expresses many goals for the future. The goals were explained as; obtaining more alpacas and vicunas, gaining more work, more tourists and more projects. At the same time, the community also stated that to them, the concept of development includes elements of more cohesion within the community and more education. As noted by a resident in San Pablo, the schools, international aid projects and strengthened organizations in the community have brought about many changes. It was also noted that, “It is interesting that when the indigenous peoples own government does not want to do anything, another government does it” (Simpson, 2001: 15, my translation). Finally in terms of development it was noted from the community that

education is at the core of any successes. From one mother it was said, “Sons and daughters learn and work and come back to teach us as well, so that it can go on” (Interview, Aug. 1, 2004). From a group interview the sentiment was clear that by working together the community could bring about their goals.

In Pulingui San Pablo, by observing daily activities it is seen that the school is now the center of the community. From the viewpoint of the children the school and its Quichua content is great. Having spoken with over forty-five parents, not one negative thing was said about the education being provided here. It was also ascertained that the school is a positive element for the community’s strengthening, which most community members stated was needed. The sentiment felt and heard from most parents was chiefly that they are very proud of their school. They are aware that it is not possible to, “Know anything without studying” (Interview, Aug. 1, 2004). From the point of view of one of the teachers at the school, “Studying is the most important thing in life” (Interview, Aug, 4, 2004). When interviewed all there teachers expressed sentiments of hope with the success of the school and talked about projects they are working on with the students such as; micro-finance projects, trout frames, agricultural projects. As stated by one teacher, “Here we work with the community, with the parents and kids and they all know what is our goal. In other schools they teach outside the interest of the community” (Interview, Aug. 10, 2004).

Academically, it is also a positive experience as 75-80% of the students now complete primary education. As an example, all six graduates from the 2003-2004 year will be continuing on to high school thanks to international scholarships obtained by the Principal. With low repetition rates the students educational experiences are much better

as well. This year the first student to graduate from San Pablo, J. Pacheco, will be finishing middle school and continuing on with school in the hopes of becoming a lawyer or a politician in order to return to his home in San Pablo and help the community (Personal Communication, Aug. 23, 2004).

Hope for the future of the students is something that is quite new for these indigenous Ecuadorians. When asked about the future, aspirations from the children were said to be: becoming an engineer, lawyer, teacher or doctor. The parents in the community also have a very positive outlook and expressed hope for their children as, they hope their children will: be able to continue on with school, gain more economic advantages, no longer have to rely on others, be better trained, and be able to avoid migration pressures. It was also often stated to me by the parents that they are also pleased that what their children learn inevitably will be brought home and shared with the whole family. When interviewed, the teachers expressed the outcome of this model of ICBE as a way to for the students to: continue on to high school; express themselves with more confidence; not fear education; give importance to the indigenous way of life; give value to their community life; diversify the country; keep traditions alive; strengthen their culture; begin micro-projects; decrease migration; and strengthen their families. And most importantly as expressed by the school Principal,

I believe that when there good education, the community will grow and when the community grows, the family as well will grow as well. Education and the economy will grow. Therefore, we have seen, little by little the people have changed (Interview, Aug. 10, 2004).

Not only does the community have an advantage being within the ecological reserve, leading to economic activities such as tourism but as expressed in a group interview, the community feels their main strengths are the capacity to negotiate, to

remain united, to look for resources and to use the good leadership within the community for the good of everyone (Interview, Aug. 1, 2004 and Interview, Aug 15, 2004).

The second community of La Delicia has not been witness to many, if any, changes to the introduction of the ICBE model. For the most part it was reported that the community is not that fervent about keeping the cultural identity of the community alive. When interviewed the parents expressed their interest in the cultural continuity of their children, yet the teachers expressed they were told otherwise from the community members. Many community members expressed that they felt the government is doing a good job of enhancing the cultural diversity of Ecuador and as heard, “the educational system basically need not concern itself with these issues because we do this at home” (Interview, Aug. 8, 2004). In terms of development objectives of the community, very little was said in interviews beyond the need for new and better jobs for their children and better yields in the farms and fields. In short, it was not possible for me to see any changes in the community due to the introduction of the ICBE program into the community nor was I told of any.

The parents in the community are very interested in educating their children but more for economic reasons. Their interest is evident in the fact that even though the financial burden is theirs, six out of the seven graduating students are going on to middle school²⁹. Four students will be going to San Juan for agricultural studies and two will be going to Riobamba for standard high school. Within the community there is already ten students in high school, one of them is even in music school.

²⁹ The seventh student's parents passed on and he lives with his grandparents who don't have the means to send him to school past primary school.

When talking with students it was seen that they are very positive about school and have dreams of becoming part of the military, policemen, musicians, teachers, lawyers and engineers. As well, when interviewed, both teachers stated they felt this program, although not perfect, was providing the students with quality education. This sentiment was backed up by the evidence of almost all children coming to school and completing primary given them a near zero drop out rate. At the same time it was said by both parents and teachers that most students do continue on to more educational endeavours. From one teacher's point of view it was said that "This school will help them prepare for outside the community" (Interview, Aug. 9, 2004). From the other teacher it was said, "Agricultural life is hard, this can get them other jobs" (Interview, Aug. 9, 2004).

3.5 Effect of ICBE on Social Exclusion in Ecuador

3.5.1 The effect of Cultural Rights in Ecuador

Cultural identity in Ecuador has provided a rallying point for indigenous peoples. As mentioned previously, with regards to the goals of CONAIE, it is said,

The central struggle has centered around issues not of land or land reform but those of ethnic identity, democracy and autonomy, viz. liberation from relations of oppression, respect for indigenous cultures and forms of organisation- and, in some contexts, the struggle for a multiethnic or plurinational state (Veltmeyer, 2003: 15).

The struggle for cultural rights has also been instrumental in the movement's success. The two main cultural rights they have gained have been; the creation of a system of intercultural bilingual education as well as the recognition of Ecuador as a plurinational state. To achieve this end, in 1997, the CONAIE succeeded changing the

constitution to reflect the fact that Ecuador is indeed plurinational and multicultural. This is seen in the new constitution, article 1;

We are pluricultural, pluriethnic, and plurilingual country; and this must be reflected in the form of government of the country and changes are due to activate participation in the civil society (CODENPE et al., 2001: 7, my translation).

As highlighted by Selverston-Scher (2001), “Ecuadorian governments proved to be much more receptive to relatively unthreatening calls for a bilingual education system in indigenous areas than they had been to demands for land redistribution” (87). In terms of cultural rights, one of the ultimate aims of the CONAIE has been to bring about a new Ecuador. One that reflects,

A plurinational, democratic, participatory and intercultural state in which the indigenous peoples and nationalities are accorded full access to the productive resources to which they are entitled, as well as social justice and human dignity, equity, dignity, respect for indigenous culture and traditions (CONAIE, 2003 as cited in Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005: 176).

The indigenous organizations have worked to move these cultural rights into the public sphere. In essence the organizations proclaim that, “It is also important that at the Constitutional level the use of indigenous languages is officially recognized as well as the existence of other cultures” (CONAIE, 1990: 50, my translation). This inter-culturalism can be said to encompass many things. According to Lius Macas, a past president of the CONAIE,

For us, interculturalism has a great profoundness, in the sense that this planning provides the same essence as the dominant powers and the economic system. The fundamental premise of interculturalism is the recognition of the diversity of peoples, cultures, historic processes, distinct identities in each of the national states (Instituto Científico, 2000: P11, my translation).

Along with a greater respect for indigenous cultures, cultural recognition and ICBE have allowed indigenous peoples, “to reclaim their cultural heritage, to live sustainably form the land and to stand up for their rights” (Laurie et al., 2003: 463). This

is seen as so important to the CONAIE because of the fact that, “Indigenous peoples who live in complete misery, have no education and have never participated politically, are not likely to be able to participate in an indigenous movement” (Kilander, 2001: 35).

3.5.2 Spaces of participation in Ecuador

As is seen, “Throughout Latin America, indigenous peoples’ political and cultural organizations have in recent years played a central role in mediating processes of resource use and access, rural development and democratization” (Perreault, 2003:86). Over the years, the indigenous groups within Ecuador have been working extensively for cultural rights such as ICBE and have done so while vying for state power (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005). For Ecuadorian indigenous groups, the 1970’s were characterized by the fight for land rights, the 1980’s were geared towards ethnic issues as well, which morphed in the 1990’s towards aims of gaining economic reforms as a third combined objective.

In terms of participating in new ways the movement’s success can be seen in the *Levantamiento Indigena* or the *Inti Raymi* indigenous uprising of 1990. This event saw indigenous farmers fill the streets of all major cities in the highlands to protest unrelenting social and economic exclusion. This protest originally orchestrated by the Huaorani, whose territory was to be part of the concessionary regions for new oil exploration, was eventually backed and included indigenous groups and NGO’s for all over the country. In Chimborazo it is estimate that between 150,000 and 200,000 people took part in the protests (Kilander, 2001). These protests do not stand alone as they are only one part of the indigenous movement’s goals. As observed, “When Indians are not

in the streets they are engaged in 'reinventing' indigenous identity through bilingual education and through organizing in indigenous communities" (Van Cott, 1995: 132).

According too Mario Cabrera, the provincial director of CONAIE in the province of Azuay, the uprisings have been instrumental in allowing the voices of indigenous peoples to be heard. It is said of another uprising in 2000, "We have told president Mahuad directly that we don't want war, we don't want confrontations, we want a conversation" (Kilander, 2001: 96). The feeling has been expressed that there is a need for action to be carried out outside of the structured political system. These many protests, marches, occupations and other forms of direct mass action go about doing this. As a result it was seen that, "In the indigenous uprisings of 1990, 1992, and 1994, the Ecuadorian government was forced to enter direct negotiations with the CONAIE" (Kilander, 2001: 4).

A second example of new spaces for participation for indigenous peoples has been the formation in 1995 of the Pachakutik Plurinational Unity Party, or Pachakutik, an indigenous political party. "The ultimate aim of CONAIE (and Pachakutik) was to '*derribalres del poder del estado*' (remove the 'oligarchs', the 'enemy of the people' who have caused 'the poverty and misery of millions of Ecuadorians' from state power)" (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005: 162). The party is open to all sectors of society and looks to allow all citizenry of Ecuador a chance to participate in politics fully. Effectively, "The Pachakutik movement is a space that is open to all Ecuadorians who are fighting against regionalism and against all forms of discrimination" (Movimiento, n.d: P9, my translation). Previously the only way to participate in the system was through the already existing political party of the left. From the party's manifesto, the stated objective is,

We are forming a process of resistance and opposition to the model of neo-liberalism, in the fight to be a real alternative for the country, this implies the creation of a new form of economic, political, social and cultural development, built from the people, centered on the objective of what it is to be human and in the defense of life (Movimiento, n.d: P1, my translation).

As an illustration, before the second round of voting in 2003, “the Pachakutik alliance set up a process of ‘dialogue and national unity’- a series of policy forums, from November 8 to January 25, that was designed, in theory, to promote ‘a new participatory form of politics (policy formulation and decision making)’” (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005: 173).

These new spaces for participation have been important because it has been seen that within Ecuador available spaces for indigenous participation have been co-opted by outside agents. Classic examples are the organization *Development Project of Ecuador’s Indigenous Peoples and Blacks (PRODEPINE)* or likewise the public institutions such as the *Secretaria de Asuntos Indigenas* (Secretariat of indigenous Affairs) or the *Consejo de Desarrollo de los Pueblos y Nacionalidades* (Development Council of Peoples and Nationalities) which have all been set-up by the state to essentially, “provide an alternative to the organization (CONAIE) that the government could not control” (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005: 182).

Quite rightly it has been understood that within Ecuador, “Indigenous movements have created political space by making cultural demands on the political system” (Van Cott, 1995: 131). The example of the creation of the DINEIB ministry for ICBE shows essentially that, “Interculturalism implies that we need to generate spaces for debate about the themes of rejuvenation, recuperation and strengthening of our identity” (Macas, n.d: P3, my translation). At the same time the education has had the circular effect of strengthening culture, allowing for more indigenous peoples to enter indigenous

organizations, these organizations then continue fighting for ICBE, and this ICBE continues to form new strengthened identities. As stated,

From a new space, we indigenous have a different thinking, that from generation to generation requires a construction and dispersing of a new perspective from our language to our clothes, in search of an equal society.
(Dolores Cacuango as quoted in CODENPE et al., 2001: 53, my translation).

Chapter Four:

Major Research Findings and Discussion

4.1 Major Research Findings

The main objective of this thesis was to assess and evaluate the model of ICBE and see how this model of indigenous education has fared in practice in Ecuador. Both the literature review and the major research findings revealed that there are several pertinent issues for discussion vis-à-vis indigenous education. Within each of these issues there are major questions which the case study of indigenous communities in Ecuador has attempted to analyse and answer. These issues and questions can be outlined as follows:

1. **Development:** Are indigenous communities in Ecuador pursuing theoretically defined indicators of indigenous development?
2. **Indigenous Education:** Was a new model of education really needed in Ecuador?
3. **The model of Intercultural Bilingual Education:** Has the model of ICBE in Ecuador conformed to the model of ICBE schools?
4. **Cultural Rights:** What, if any, cultural rights are being pursued by indigenous peoples in Ecuador?
5. **Spaces for participation:** What, if any, spaces for participation are being created and entered within Ecuador?
6. **Social Exclusion:** What is the situation regarding indigenous social exclusion in Ecuador?

4.1.1 Development

The major research findings in the area of development have shown that in only one site, Pulingui San Pablo, is the community striving for objectives that are within an indigenous paradigm of development. The community has in fact achieved some level of

movement or success in all of Partridge et. al's (1996), ten indicators of development. These indicators again are the presence of a) land rights, b) food security, c) income-producing activities, d) improved health, e) strong social organizations, f) respect for evolving cultures, g) support for intercultural, bilingual education, h) indigenous political 'voice', i) interaction with the national society and j) promotion of indigenous peoples in natural resource conservation. The second more prosperous community La Delica, offered a different perspective on development: their focus was decidedly based on economic factors, and as of yet they have not shown to be succeeding in, nor pursuing indigenous development.

The significance of these findings are similar to those highlighted by Kilander (2001), that the more disadvantaged a group, the more incentive there is to mobilize for social change. Of utmost importance is the notion that the community organization leaders in San Pablo are much more important as they have an effect on the general outlook and success of development efforts in the community.

4.1.2 Indigenous Education

In relation to the topic of education, there are many issues for discussion. To begin, it is necessary to determine if, as according to the literature, a new model of education was really needed for Ecuador's indigenous populations. As stated by Rohrbach (1993), education under the liberal model is inefficient, ineffective and irrelevant for indigenous communities. When looking at Ecuador, one could say that having a population with an adult literacy rate (in 2001) of 91.8% is a sign of a healthy, productive educational system with no need for reforms. This is furthered by the UNDP data that in Ecuador in

2000, only 3% of children were illiterate, with a 7-10% rate of adult literacy (UNDP, 2004).

Research findings show that beneath that figure is a wealth of contradictory statistics for indigenous peoples. For instance, data from studies carried out by Masaquiza-Jerez (2003) and Los Andes (2004) places the illiteracy rate for indigenous peoples in Ecuador at between 30 and 40%. Within the communities of study, it was seen that San Pablo had 78 of 213 inhabitants as illiterates and La Delicia had about half the parents as illiterates. Similarly, when looking at overall school attendance for the country, there is a 99% participation rate at the primary level, but this drops to 48% by the secondary level (Nationmaster, 2005). This dropout rate is one of the most important figures to look at because it indicates that students in Ecuador are not obtaining full educational coverage. And according to statistics on education the indigenous populations are not among the stratum of those continuing on to higher levels of education.

In this same way both research communities were populated with indigenous parents who stated that their liberal schooling did not lend to a positive educational experience. As a result of their lack of Spanish language skills or cultural capital to navigate the school environment, most parents did not have more than two or three years of school. And even if the parents did complete primary school, not one was able to advance to high-school. This small amount of education made it very hard for the parents to pass on the cultural capital to their children that liberal schools required for success.

The significance of these findings are important because they highlight the fact that compared to other indigenous intercultural programs (see Garcia, 2004) Ecuador was not using the model of ICBE to bring about cultural or linguistic revival. For indigenous

Ecuadorians the model of ICBE is being implemented to provide a better quality of education as well as a strengthening of cultural identities that were present but being ignored. These findings are augmented when it is highlighted that the conditions in Latin America are somewhat different from many other LDC regions. In all of the Americas today there is a large number of highly educated *mestizos*. In Ecuador specifically, this population of university educated peoples means that indigenous students with primary education alone cannot advance in society.

4.1.3 The Model of Intercultural, Bilingual Education

The second issue for discussion in the realm of education is the question of whether or not the ICBE system in Ecuador adheres to the theoretically defined make-up of intercultural education as highlighted in the literature review. In terms of objectives, the two are very similar. Essentially, the first three goals are the same, these being a) the strengthening of indigenous cultures, b) the strengthening of indigenous organizations and c) a higher quality of education. The model of ICBE in Ecuador adds the specific dimension of an improved quality of life as well.

In practice, how the model works in Ecuador is interestingly portrayed by the two communities of San Pablo and La Delicia. The main reason being that both experiences are so vastly different. The major findings support the statement that San Pablo is an ideal ICBE school, while La Delicia fails to meet almost all of the major requirements. For this reason, the major findings of San Pablo will be discussed first.

The model of ICBE as displayed in San Pablo has many interesting components for discussion. To begin, the model has dealt with most issues that were brought forward in the literature review in the area of critiques of liberal education. For example, in line

with Willis, Freire, Illich and Carnoy's concerns, thanks to effective and dedicated teachers and specially created textbooks the meanings that are being taught at the school are seen as: pride in themselves, a confidence in what they can do, a confidence in what their parents and community are doing and the importance of their own language usage. Because of this, it was seen that all the indigenous children had positive outlooks about their future. Another finding was that many students expressed wishes to become teachers themselves, which is important as the ICBE ministry does not have enough teachers at present. Some students did disqualify themselves from future opportunities by not coming to school, but for the most part the tactics within the school were not the cause of this.

In line with Friedenberg, Marx, Apple and Weis, the intercultural aspects of this school's curriculum validated and acknowledged indigenous cultures. This has allowed the children the opportunity to avoid feeling like 'second-class' citizens in the classroom. As community concerns were also integrated into the curriculum, the community was made an integral part of the school. In this way the issues associated with the hidden curriculum were circumvented. This is important as this school environment gave confidence to the students and was helping them to start secondary school on an equal level with the rest of the population.

In terms of bilingualism it was found that indeed a maintenance method of bilingualism was in effect, that being the use of both languages used throughout the course of schooling (UNDP, 2004). As highlighted in the literature from Bourdieu and Keddie, the findings show that the bilingual programs in the school allowed the students the opportunity to advance academically without having to experience failure at the

inception of their schooling. At the same time, the dual language usage in the school gave the students a chance to become competent in Spanish, a skill needed for their later inclusion into the larger Ecuadorian society.

The final issue of concern that was seen in both schools was financing of this program. As privatization of services and decentralization has taken hold in Ecuador, the funds needed to properly run any educational facility have become difficult to find. One way the community of San Pablo has overcome this problem has been to look outside the state as the main educational financer. As La Delicia does not have an active indigenous organization they have not been able to mobilize themselves to acquire this outside assistance. However, due to their position as a far more prosperous agricultural zone, families are able to contribute more to their children's education.

In short, the findings show that the introduction of the ICBE school in San Pablo has brought about many positive changes within the community. Most important has been the fact that indigenous culture has been strengthened, thus solidifying local indigenous organizations. As the ICBE school in La Delicia did little else besides have one bilingual teacher and some ICBE ministry textbooks, the results have not been as positive. The elements that were shown to be missing were the strengthening of indigenous cultures and indigenous organizations. The students were being educated and were continuing on to high-school, but as the literature on the model of ICBE highlighted there are other important aspects of this model that were not coming to fruition in La Delicia.

The significance of these findings is that teachers and community members are seen to be the most important aspect of the model of ICBE. Curriculum, textbooks and

bilingualism make the model viable, but if the model is to be successful not only is participation needed, but genuinely hardworking individuals who believe in the cause. One reason this is a concern at present is because of the lack of educated Quichua speakers. However, if students can continue to receive quality education, these indigenous students can eventually become teachers themselves. In the same way these students will become parents and begin the process of passing on cultural capital to their children to continue on in a similarly successful educational path, thus continuing the cycle of success.

Therefore the main significance of these findings is that the model of ICBE is shown to be a viable alternative to standard liberal education within Ecuador for indigenous peoples. As the government of Ecuador has not taken many steps to improve the educational situation of indigenous peoples, it is significant that the indigenous organizations have taken up this endeavour as it is said that, “In a broad sense, educational planning or educational policy expresses what a given society wants to be in the future” (Cummings, 1973: 244). At the same time there are many constraints on indigenous life in Ecuadorian and the reality at present is that this education cannot be expected to be sole affecter of change, thus work must be affected in more than the educational domain.

4.1.4 Cultural Rights

Research findings begin by highlighting that indigenous groups in Ecuador have been working towards a situation of ‘unity with diversity’ as opposed to the often espoused notion of ‘equality with difference’. As well, research findings in terms of cultural rights show that the indigenous organizations in Ecuador have been successful in

acquiring the three most important rights that the literature brought forward: ICBE, pluri-cultural recognition in the constitution and language rights (Garcia, 2003, Parekh, 2000, Robbins & Stamatopoulou, 2004). Essentially as highlighted by Selverston-Scher (2001), it was seen that these rights did not prove to be threatening to the Ecuadorian state and thus were attainable.

Looking at Ecuador's education system and the governments' policies vis-à-vis the indigenous populations, it can be said that the cultural right to ICBE was paramount at this time. As pointed out by Petras & Veltmeyer (2005), the process of integration and assimilation of indigenous peoples in Ecuador was, "predicated on a fundamental disrespect for indigenous culture and society" (176). Research highlighted the need for not only quality education but fundamentally less hegemonic cultural ideas within the nation.

The significance of these findings is that the situation of ingenious people in Ecuador is evolving, though one is reluctant to say improving since the country as a whole is in the midst of a crisis. Of importance is that the indigenous population in Ecuador can begin to transform not only themselves and their reality, but the attitudes and perceptions of the larger Ecuadorian society. Essentially indigenous organizations in Ecuador have, "moved to alter non-indigenous perceptions of indigenous peoples as being somehow 'separate' from the national society" (Macdonald, 2002: 183). In this same way indigenous peoples in Ecuador have avoided the need to express the sentiment from Peru that, "If Quechua were privileged the situation might be different, and we might even *want* our children to read and write in our language. But until that happens,

our tactics for the improvement of our children's education are still determined by our reality" (Garcia, 2003: 80).

4.1.5 Spaces for Participation

Major research findings have shown that the model of ICBE has indeed opened up spaces for participation within Ecuador. As stated in the literature (Perreault, 2003), and seen in Ecuador, by building educational agencies and staffing them with indigenous members, the presence of indigenous peoples has been augmented within the state. The CONAIE is an outstanding example because of its work in bringing about these changes. The results as seen in San Pablo are that the introduction of ICBE has opened up spaces for participation. Having a school of this type in the community has given the community a forum for debate as well as a presence within the ministry of education, a branch of government. This school has also opened up political spaces for participation by giving the residents an understanding of the importance of being a part of their local indigenous organizations. At the same time the results of this education have allowed spaces for participation with outside agents in economic activities such as tourism.

The significance of these findings is that, as the case of the model of ICBE shows, it is indeed possible for indigenous groups to find neutral areas and to work within these areas for development. In this way indigenous peoples are able to use education for their own ends as opposed to bringing about state objectives. As indigenous communities need an area in which to interact with the government, schools have shown to be one such area for purposeful interaction, helping to bring indigenous issues forward. Of importance is the fact that this has changed the nature of both the state and indigenous organizations thus changing the way the two interact. As expressed by Perreault (2003),

“organizations play a crucial role in empowering indigenous peoples and increasing their presence and participation in the broader society at the local, regional and national scales” (83). The base of ICBE’s success as a means to open up spaces for participation therefore rests in the presence of effective indigenous organizations, such as the CONAIE.

4.1.6 Social Exclusion

As the literature review implied (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2005, Veltmeyer, 2003) major research findings in Ecuador do indeed show that at present the indigenous population is subject to social exclusion. The definition used in this thesis to describe the state of social exclusion pointed to the causes as exclusion with regards to social, economic and political institutions, with the main consequence being the lack of participation of indigenous peoples in national development. In Ecuador it is seen that government policies in terms of land distribution, political practices, economic opportunities, cultural recognition and educational programs have indeed been exclusionary and have ensured a state of social exclusion remains.

From research in these two communities and by looking at the Ecuadorian governments policies toward education spending specifically it has been seen that the chasm between sectors in society are continuing to grow. Without the introduction of ICBE in San Pablo specifically, most children would be unable to attend primary school and would definitely not be able to attend high-school, thus continuing the cycle of social exclusion.

At the same time the work that the CONAIE has been doing in Ecuador has slowly been changing this situation for all indigenous groups in the country, even those

without access to ICBE. The simple significance of these findings is that socially exclusive situations, although caused by government policies, need not wait for the state for solutions to the problem. As the literature surmised that participation is key in alleviating social exclusion, and the COANIE have struggled to allow participation of indigenous groups to begin to occur in social, cultural, economic and political situations.

4.2 Discussion

In conclusion we return our central research problematic: Has intercultural, bilingual education in the highlands of Ecuador alleviated the social exclusion which indigenous Quichua peasants experience?

The Quichua peasant reality is a very complex reality, and so the answer to such a question is not straightforward. As opposed to saying that ICBE has brought about the alleviation of social exclusion, we will say instead that due to the presence of ICBE schools in indigenous communities in Ecuador, the *conditions* are now present for the alleviation of social exclusion.

From interviews, observations in the communities and other empirically identifiable outcomes of ICBE it is seen that in Pulingui San Pablo, ICBE has allowed for the presence of what I will term '*decisive collective organization*'. And it is this factor that has allowed for the beginning of conditions within the community that will bring about the alleviation of social exclusion. Having worked towards and succeeded in securing an ICBE school in the community, has had the effect of bringing the community together thus conveying a sense of consciousness among the community members. The running of this school in the community has had the added effect of increasing this

organizational character as I witnessed by my time there. The presence of this decisive collective organization is seen as a crucial element in San Pablo's success in not only educational endeavours but with all their development goals be they social, cultural, economic or political. It was seen that this same ingredient was completely lacking in La Delicia which can explain why the outcomes of the two communities have been so vastly different.

The presence of this decisive collective organization has some very important outcomes for San Pablo. The identifiable outcomes have been economic projects, political awareness and a generally improved quality of life for community members. Still the most important outcome of this organization is that the community is organized for action. It is this element that has very important implication for CONAIE. Having highly organized indigenous communities throughout Ecuador will provide for the foundation of all other policies and programs that are aimed towards alleviating social exclusion for indigenous peoples. The potential for all other achievements for indigenous peoples stems from here. Essentially, it has been seen that the CONAIE successes, from rallies, to blockades, to bringing about ICBE schools, to gaining entrance into the national political scene requires a strong foundation. The potential when this foundation is in place will allow for all other actions to follow. And as established from interviews, discussion and observation in San Pablo, education specifically intercultural, bilingual education has been paramount in allowing the community to gain this level of decisive collective organization.

Another important outcome is that ICBE has reawakened indigenous culture and all indigenous organizations can benefit from educated Quichua youth. At the same time,

with an increase in cultural pride indigenous people have become more political and have begun more involved in their organizations. In the future, indigenous organizations that have been working to supply ICBE within Ecuador will profit from having educated, trained and knowledgeable leaders. Essentially, the CONAIE cannot survive without building up and maintaining a strong foundation for its own existence. The ICBE schools provide this strong foundation through an emphasis on indigenous identity and quality education. The schools are also teaching indigenous youth how to move into ever diverse economic fields as well as training future indigenous leaders.

As not all indigenous communities have been afforded an opportunity to have ICBE schools in their communities and as demonstrated by La Delicia, not all schools are effective, ICBE has nonetheless had an important effect on the state of social exclusion which all indigenous peoples in Ecuador experience in a very interesting way. In Ecuador the introduction of ICBE has resulted in the situation where, “what it means to be indigenous in Ecuador has changed” (Selverston, 1995: 131). Fighting for cultural rights such as bilingual education has helped indigenous peoples define themselves. In doing so, they have moved away from old ideas of cultural diversity or multiculturalism and have begun valuing their diversity and culture as tools for development, not simply as a definition. ICBE education puts emphasis on a strengthened cultural pride, allowing indigenous people to identify with cultural rights and holds them responsible for advocating for an increase in these rights.

Therefore, it can be stated that the conditions have been created in Ecuador by ICBE to allow for the possibility for the alleviation of social exclusion. This was seen to be beginning at the micro level within San Pablo with projects and programs that have

increased the community's participation in national development initiatives. Once these conditions are present in communities across the country, it would most likely be seen that these conditions would allow for changes to begin occurring at the more macro level as well.

At one time in Guatemala, Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru, observed Aga Khan & bin Talal, "Indians [were being] denied any real participation in political affairs since power has been concentrated, by and large, in the hands of well-off Latinos" (1987: 37). This situation is now beginning to see a reversal. By using cultural rights such as ICBE as a forum for discussion, spaces for participation have been created allowing indigenous peoples a level of decision-making powers, thus given them a chance to partake in political processes, thus allowing indigenous peoples to obtain, "a political space for themselves in Ecuadorian society" (Selverston, 1995: 150). It has been stated that by engaging within a politics of culture and "through their attempts to find a voice in a context of exclusion, the indigenous population has become one of the most important social movements in Ecuador" (Selverston, 1995: 131).

Chapter Five:

Conclusion

5.1 Lessons learned from the Model of ICBE in Ecuador

There are essentially three lessons to be learned from this research on the model of ICBE and its ability to alleviate social exclusion in Ecuador. Because one of the ICBE schools researched was successful and one was not, it became an easy exercise to pinpoint where strengths and weaknesses lay within the model as it was seen in two diverse contexts on the ground. These lessons are; good financing, quality teachers and first-rate community leaders are all crucial.

The first lesson from the experience of Ecuador is that financing is essential. As can be agreed with, “A man who cannot feed his family sees his children’s education as something quite irrelevant or as an obstacle to earning a livelihood” (UNESCO, 1974: 75). Not only should this ICBE not be a burden if it is to be successful but it is often useful to add projects such as sponsored school feeding programs as an added incentive to bring children to school. As highlighted by the example of Pulingui San Pablo the school provided education, school supplies along with the daytime meals and clothes, making it very attractive to the indigenous parents.

In terms of general financing of the school, this too is important. The main constraint on this model of education in Ecuador is the government’s low level of financial assistance. Although the Ecuadorian constitution says that a 30% of government income is supposed to be earmarked for educational purposes, because of debt obligations this figure is far from being reached. Therefore alternative sources of funding such as those found by the Principle in San Pablo are imperative. This eased the burden

of educational provision off of those who are least able to afford it, the indigenous rural cohorts.

The second and third lessons are that sufficient quality teachers are crucial as are excellent indigenous leaders. Due to San Pablo having a first-rate Principle who worked tirelessly and believed in the cause, the school was a success. In terms of ways to ensure this goal, there is nothing to be done but having more quality schools, institutions and universities to train indigenous students to become teachers. In terms of having a sufficient supply, this can only be done by waiting until people pass through the system and can begin to teach.

In terms of having good indigenous leaders, a successful method that CONAIE has followed is to ensure that indigenous peoples are educated through the ICBE system which teaches them to be good leaders. As indigenous peoples can rally around the issue of culture, the organization maintains a strong focus on cultural identity to retain cohesion within the movement and allow for its growth within indigenous communities. As seen in San Pablo, great local organization leaders were present due to the cultural pride, cohesiveness and strength of the community.

As was seen in La Delicia, there were neither exceptional teachers nor vibrant indigenous leaders to the detriment of the schools and communities. The ICBE model when implemented correctly aims to overcome this gap. At the same time, outside organizations also have a part to play in helping. A good example was the UN's decade of indigenous peoples which was from 1995-2005, which helped to highlight and bring indigenous issues to the world stage. The best lesson to take from this experience is that

it is essential to learn how to identify successful members of the communities so as to be able to profit from their indispensable skills that may be present.

5.2 Questions for future research

In looking back at the lessons learned from Ecuador, the first area for future research rests in the area of indigenous teacher training. As indigenous educational ministries in Ecuador are now at a loss to supply sufficient teachers quickly, training is falling short which risks hampering ICBE's quality. A useful area of research would be to analyse indigenous teacher training programs as they are now, with the direct aim of creating a policy framework in which teacher training programs would be implemented to allow for the best use of human and capital resources to ensure the supply of much needed qualified indigenous teachers is met in the future.

The second question for future research similarly deals with one of the main problems with ICBE as it is now, low financing. Therefore, a useful question for research would be; Is it possible for an LDC to both meet external demands for debt repayments and implement meaningful educational programs generally and models of ICBE specifically. As most indigenous peoples live in LDC's, it is of use to gain an understanding of the economic situations of these developing nations. In this way it could be possible to formulate economic as well as educational policies with which cash-strapped governments would be able to satisfy all of their social service provision obligations. Essentially, what effect would the elimination of school fees have on the success of Ecuador's school system, both Spanish and Bilingual.

Tú... te vas...

Tú... te vas...
pero quedan
los árboles que sembraste,
como quedan
los árboles
que antes ya sembraron otros.

Los árboles
darán fruto
y darán también semillas.
Las semillas
cultivadas
convertiránse en árboles.

Tú... te vas...
pero quedan
los árboles que sembraste:
más árboles
y más frutos
y más fecundas semillas.

Riobamba, marzo 4 de 1984
Monseñor Leonidas Proaño
(El Obispo de los indios)
(Proano, 2001:1)

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Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Human Subjects

This is to certify that the Research Ethics Board has examined the research proposal or other type of study submitted by:

Principal Investigator: Linda Jane Liutkus

**Name of Research Project: Multi-cultural, Bilingual Education as a Tool For
Development Case Study: The Altiplano of Ecuador**

REB File Number: 04-055

and concludes that in all respects the proposed project meets appropriate standards of ethical acceptability and is in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement on the Conduct of Research Involving Humans.

Please note that for "ongoing research", approval is only effective for one year from the date approved. If your research project takes longer than one year to complete, submit Form #3 (Annual Report) to the REB at the end of the year and request an extension. You are also required to submit Form #5 (Completion of Research) upon completion of your research.

Date:

July 16, 2004

Signature of REB Chair:

**Dr. Steven Smith
Vice-Chair, Research Ethics Board**

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