EDUCATION AND REVITALISATION

The role of bilingual education in processes of ethnic revitalisation in the Ecuadorian highlands

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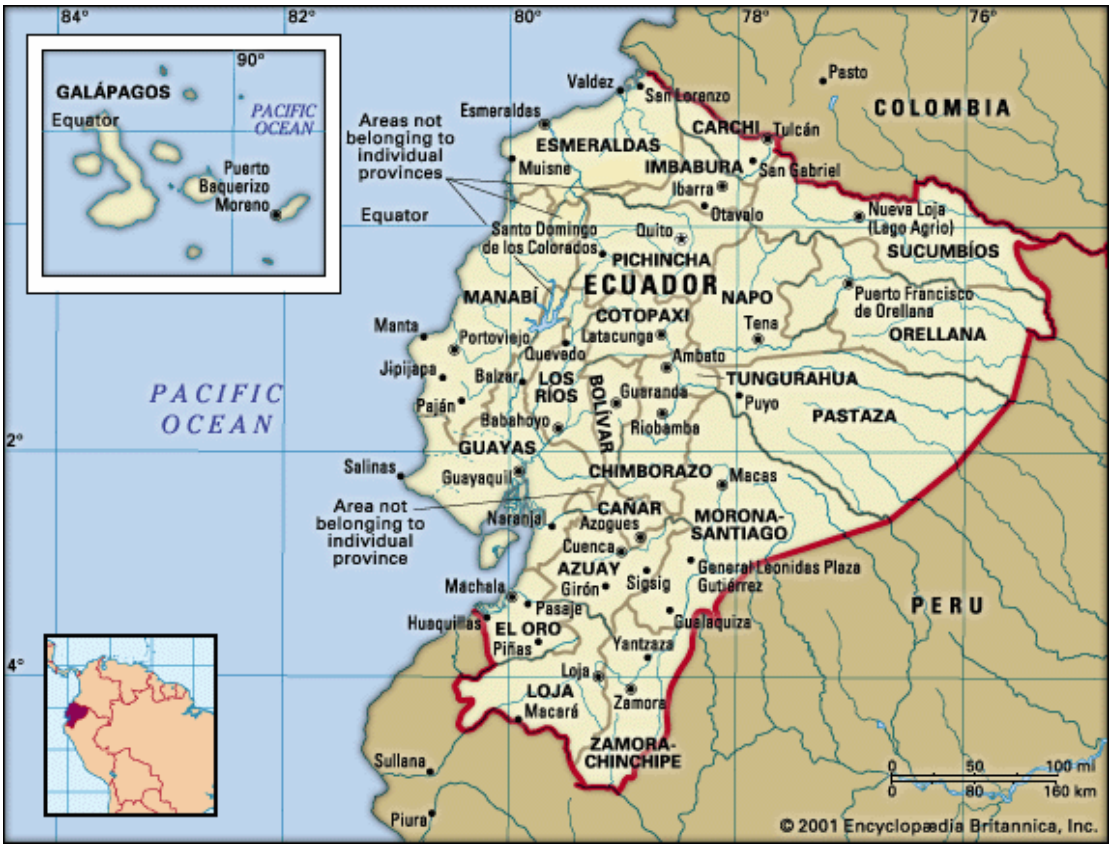
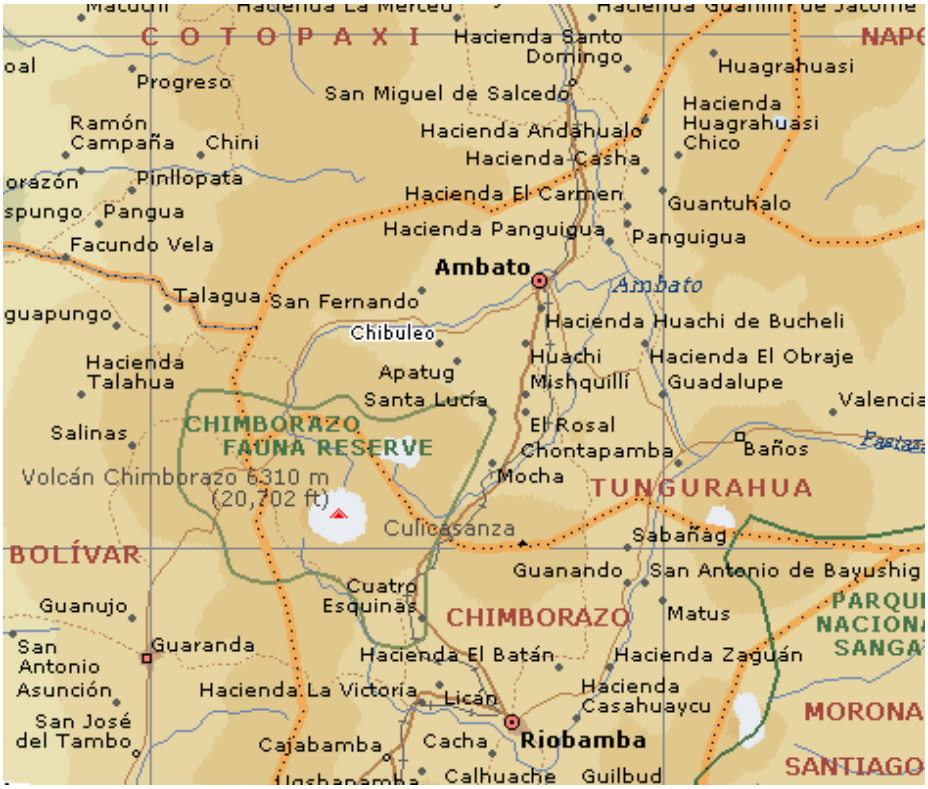
ABBREVIATIONS

CIEI	*Centro de Investigaciones de la Educación Indígena*
CODENPE	*Consejo de Desarrollo de las Nacionalidades y Pueblos del Ecuador*
CONAIE	*Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador*
DGEEMI	*Dirección General de Educación Extraescolar en el Medio Indígena*
DINEIB	*Dirección Nacional de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe*
DIPEIB-T	*Dirección Provincial de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe-Tungurahua*
ECUARUNARI	**Ecuador Runacunapac Riccharimu**
	Confederación de los Pueblos de Nacionalidad Kichua del Ecuador
ILO	International Labour Convention
INEC	*Instituto Nacional de Estadistica y Censos*
MECIT	*Movimiento de Estudiantes Campesions Indigenas de Tungurahua*
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
PDA	*Proyecto de Desarrollo por Area*
P.EBI	*Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural*
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
TLC	*Tratado de Libre Comercio*
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UEIBCH	*Unidad Educativa Intercultural Bilingüe "Chibuleo"*
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNHDR	United Nations Human Development Report
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNPFII	United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues
URRACAN	*Universidad de las Regiones Autónomas de la Costa Caribe Nicaragüense*

MAPS



Map 1: Map of Ecuador (Encyclopædia Britannica World Atlas, 2007)



Map 2: Map of Chibuleo, Tungurahua

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO EDUCATION, ECUADOR, AND EDUCATION IN ECUADOR

Education

The importance of education in multiethnic contexts

Nelson Mandela once stated that education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world. With this view in mind I aim to discover how bilingual education influences the world of the bilingual indigenous population in Ecuador, more specifically the Spanish- and Quichua-speaking indigenous population. My main concern will be to examine bilingual education's role in processes of indigenous revitalisation in Ecuador. To do this I will build my analysis around observations from a bilingual community school in the Ecuadorian highlands. My fieldwork in Ecuador was conducted from January to July 2006, the main bulk of which was spent at the school *Unidad Educativa Intercultural Bilingüe "Chibuleo"* (UEIBCH),[1] in the community of Chibuleo San Francisco.[2] Observations made here, conversations and interviews with teachers, staff, students and other members of the community, and insight into the politics of education and indigenous affairs both on a regional and a national level through communications with politicians and researchers, will serve as the foundation of analysis and investigation in this thesis.

Education is not only an opportunity for people to grow, to expand their horizons, to appropriate new knowledge and tools necessary to make changes in their lives; it is also a powerful method of control. Differentiated access to education will contribute to a widening of the gap between different classes in society. Education in developing countries can hinder development and, as a result, contribute to strengthening social inequality. On the other hand, with a good system of education a country can hope to involve inhabitants in creating and expanding national and local initiatives. If education is inadequate however, it will not empower the poor but leave them unable to influence their surroundings by making changes on a family,

[1] Spanish text will be presented in *italics*, and Quichua text will be presented in **bold**.

[2] The director and the vice-principal at the school in Chibuleo have consented to their and the school's being presented by name. The researchers Matthias Abram and Ruth Moya, the director of a bilingual school in Quito, Julio Agualongo, and the politician Vicente Pujùpat, have also consented to this, and, together with director Alberto Guapizaca and the vice-principal Marco Bolaños, they will be presented in the thesis by virtue of their specific positions. All others have been anonymised to the best of my ability.

neighbourhood community, or national level. A good educational system which is structurally and linguistically adjusted to local conditions is arguably a precondition for socioeconomic development. Education is a vast and complex area of investigation and involves many variables. By focusing on bilingual education this study concentrates on education for a particular group of people in Ecuador, namely the indigenous population, and seeks to provide an insight into local educational adaptations and the efficacy of these.

While the usefulness of bilingual education has been much debated in different parts of the world, in the words of Adama Ouane, one cannot dispute the fact that "the world of today is pluralistic, diverse and multi-faceted" (Ouane, 2003: i). In opposition to the homogenising ideologies of traditional nation-states, many international organisations today work to preserve this diversity by empowering indigenous groups, languages and traditions. Bilingual education also aims to maintain and value this diversity through the implementation of indigenous languages in school.

Background and current debates

Bilingual education has been a hot topic for decades. Stephen May states that the "preoccupation with language and education should not surprise us, given their centrality to the formation and maintenance of modern nation-states" (May, 2001: 128). In the US, bilingual education has a long and turbulent history. As early as 1839 Ohio became the first state to adopt a bilingual education law authorising instruction in German and English. Many states passed similar laws and provided bilingual education in languages as diverse as Norwegian, Italian, Polish, Czech and Cherokee. In the aftermath of World War I, scepticism towards non-English-speakers grew, and English-only instruction laws were enacted to "Americanise" speakers of foreign languages. Students with limited proficiency in English fell behind academically and as a reaction the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 encouraged the incorporation of native-language instruction. Congress also supported the Supreme Court in requiring schools to work towards overcoming language barriers by passing the Equal Education Opportunity Act of 1974. But in spite of these initiatives many in the US feel that bilingual education creates greater differences and prevents immigrants from

integrating into the American society (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Rethinking Schools Online, 1998).

Those who favour bilingual education in the US base their arguments on research on bilingual education which shows that children who first use their mother tongue in school find it easier to learn a second language: "Literacy developed in the primary language transfers to the second language" (Krashen, 1997: 1). Several researchers have reviewed bilingual education in the US and concluded that it is more effective than all-English programs when it comes to helping children with limited proficiency of English acquire a second language and at the same time progress academically, while others have concluded that there is no advantage (but also no harm) to bilingual education (Krashen and MacField, 2005: 7).

Research on bilingual education is conducted in other parts of the world as well. Birgit Broch-Utne (2001) has investigated the connection between language of instruction in African countries and questions of poverty and power. Languages of instruction in schools are usually the former colonial languages. African educationists express concerns about the fact that lessons are given in a language which neither the learner nor the teacher can understand or master well enough. Those who wish to preserve and revive African languages fight against a current trend which aims to strengthen the dominant, former colonial languages. Even though power struggles lie at the base, the discussions circle around questions of economy. The World Bank, for example, worries about the costs of publishing in local languages in developing countries. Broch-Utne states that

> It should be remembered […] that many of the 'local' languages which are also often termed 'tribal' languages have many more speakers than many of the European languages. […] It should also be calculated what it costs to continue with a language policy where the language of instruction becomes a barrier to knowledge for millions of African children. (Broch-Utne, 2001: 117, 118)

Christina Bratt Paulston also speaks of the influence of a colonial policy when describing differences between the Swahili language-planning success in Tanzania, and failure in Kenya. In addition to colonial attitudes which "accord English all the prestige and see Swahili as a way of keeping blacks in their place" (Paulston, 1990: 41), she also describes ethnic conflict and using language as a resource for

competition along tribal boundaries as one of the main reasons for the failure to implement Swahili as a national language in Kenya.

Introducing Ecuador, a multicultural and multiethnic state

Ecuador is a nation-state with about 13 million inhabitants and many ethnic groups. The largest one consists of mestizos who originate from the mixing of whites and Indians.[3] The indigenous groups can be divided according to the three geographical regions: the Pacific coast, the Amazon basin and the Andean highlands; the highlands have by far the largest indigenous population. A small number of Afro-Ecuadorians, descendants of black slaves who arrived to work on coastal plantations in the sixteenth century (Kluck, 1989), reside mainly on the north coast and in a valley region in the northern highlands.

The CIA World Factbook (2006) states that the mestizo population makes out 65 percent of the Ecuadorian population, Amerindians 25 percent, Spanish and others 7 percent, and the black population 3 percent, while according to the Library of Congress Country Studies "in the 1980s, Indians and mestizos represented the bulk of the population, with each group accounting for roughly 40 percent of total population. Whites represented 10 to 15 percent and blacks the remaining 5 percent" (Kluck, 1989). According to Kendall King (2001), different methodological approaches and political agendas make it hard to agree upon figures concerning the different ethnic groups in Ecuador. She considers it safe to estimate that about one third of the population identifies as indigenous. Various interest groups will all report different figures, based on different sources. The state has traditionally minimised the role of ethnic groups, one example of this being the omission of questions regarding ethnicity in the census of 1990, while the *Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador* (CONAIE), the official body representing all indigenous persons in Ecuador, underlines the importance of ethnicity. There are no official numbers defining the percentage of bilinguals in Ecuador, but there are clear differences among people who identify as bilingual. Some speak Quichua with their families and in their communities, but identify more with Spanish, while others know only a few sentences

[3] I will use "Indian" to describe the indigenous peoples of South America, in spite of negative connotations with the Spanish word *Indio* in some Latin American countries. I have chosen to ignore this, and thus hopefully reject the stigmatisation associated with this simple word.

in Quichua, and perhaps some grammar learnt in school, but identify as Quichua and see themselves as bilingual. The existence of different grades of bilingualism is a challenge for Ecuador in general, but specifically for bilingual education, something I return to in Chapter three.

Models of bilingual education

There are various models of bilingual education, and Matthias Abram outlines five different ones: 1) "Bilingual education as transition" applies the mother tongue only in the first and maybe second year of school to assist in alphabetising children and help them with the transition into Spanish education. In this first model traditional cultures and languages are slowly left behind as the children enter into a new culture with a new language. 2) "Bilingual education as maintenance" starts off with the mother tongue, and the official language is introduced slowly, orally at first. From the third year the two languages are used equally; some materials are taught in both languages, others in one of the two. The goal here is to acquire a simultaneous bilingualism and maintain it throughout primary school. 3) "Bilingual intercultural education" lays emphasis on the two cultures and the languages which represent them. The mother tongue and the original culture remain just that, while the official language is studied and used as a second language. 4) "Bilingual bicultural education" is a model which aims towards the students' achieving an equal level of mastery of the two languages and the two cultural codes. And finally 5) "bilingual education with the mother tongue as a second language" places the mother tongue in a subordinate position and uses it as a tool in cases where students experience difficulties with the dominant language. This model may include language lessons in the mother tongue (Abram, 1992: 130, 131).

The project which was involved in the development of bilingual education in Chibuleo, the *Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural* (P.EBI), had as its goal to develop bilingual intercultural education with a focus on maintenance, in other words a combination of models two and three. The way I see it, some aspects have been achieved within model number three, for example the inclusion of elements of indigenous culture in education, but when it comes to maintenance of both languages on an equal scale, much is yet to be accomplished. In reality the linguistic situation in Chibuleo has more in common with model number five, in that Quichua is taught in

separate language lessons. Quichua cannot be said to have an equal status to Spanish in education, and in order to better understand why these hierarchical positions run so deep one must consider the history of Ecuador, from the time of colonisation when Spanish conquistadors first made their appearance.

Bilingual education in Ecuador

Colonial and linguistic history

When the Spaniards arrived in Ecuador in 1531, Francisco Pizarro and his men were met by an Inca empire torn by civil war. Atahualpa, who was in charge of the northern region of the newly divided empire, considered combining forces with the Spaniards to oust his brother who was responsible for the southern region, but he underestimated the military powers of the invaders. With the murder of Atahualpa in 1533 and the subsequent conquest of the Inca Empire, the Spaniards started their colonisation of the Andean highlands. The indigenous population was forced into servitude, and the first decades many died from deceases. The children of Spanish conquistadors and indigenous women constituted the start of what was to become the largest ethnic group in Ecuador, the mestizos. From 1809 the Ecuadorian middle class, consisting of whites and mestizos, began to fight for independence, and with Antonio José de Sucre's defeat of the Spanish royalists at the Battle of Pichincha in 1822, Ecuador joined the revolutionary Simón Bolívar in the independent Great Colombia. After only 8 years in this union Ecuador became a fully independent republic.

During the 70 years of Inca rule in Ecuador, Quichua was officialised. When the Spaniards arrived there was a widespread bilingualism where public communication was largely in Quichua and private communication in different ancestral languages. The implementation of yet another official language, Spanish, could have led to a paralysis of the development of Quichua, but instead the colonisers decided to make use of the widespread indigenous language by promoting it as a common language for all the indigenous groups (Abram, 1992: 19). Having to relate to only one indigenous language would ease the administrative work, and Quichua was also seen as a particularly important tool for the clergy aiming to Christianise the Indians. In 1567 studying Quichua was obligatory for new missionary priests (Iñiguez and Guerrero, 1993: 14).

During this first period of the colony, efforts were made, mainly by the Church, to educate the indigenous population. At first, music and singing for religious use was taught, and on occasions priests held lessons on different topics such as mechanics, agriculture, handicrafts and horticulture. Talented indigenous students were later used as teachers in schools where the children of *caciques*, or chieftains, indigenous nobles and poor mestizos attended. According to Abram (1992: 35, 36), the intentions behind this education, which was bilingual, were to strengthen a unified indigenous language in order to ease the organisation of the colonial administration, to quell indigenous opposition, and to integrate the conquered subjects into society by training them to be translators or missionaries in their own communities. These relatively incorporating tendencies came to a rapid halt with a "brutal persecution" (Abram, 1992: 38) in the 1570s and 1580s aiming to destroy everything still intact from before the arrival of the Spaniards, and make the colony more similar to the "homeland", Spain. The new colonial attitudes toward indigenous peoples were based on three arguments: First the existence of Indian souls was doubted, second Indians were accused of cannibalism, and third they were accused of being homosexual (Abram, 1992: 39).

In spite of these oppressive attitudes toward Quichua, the region which was originally multilingual turned into a more or less homogeneous Quichua-speaking group. One reason may be the initial use of Quichua for religious and administrative purposes, but the rapid Quichuafication of the country cannot easily be understood if the element of resistance is not considered. The indigenous people adopted Quichua as a symbol of union against the aggressors (Abram, 1992: 20).

The republic

From the time of this early oppression of all which was indigenous, education in Ecuador has been used as a tool to facilitate acculturation of the indigenous population and assimilation of the indigenous population into the dominant Hispanic society (King, 2001: 37).[4] Even those working for the indigenous people have opposed the teaching of indigenous languages. In 1911 the indigenous-friendly bishop

[4] By Hispanic I mean "of or relating to a Spanish-speaking people or culture" (*The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 2007),* more specifically mestizos and white descendants of Spaniards born in Ecuador.

of Quito, Gonzales Suarez claimed that as long as the Indians clung to their language, there was no way of Christianising them, because the language represented the pagan in them. He accredited much power to language, and insisted that the indigenous languages be destroyed. But there have been exceptions to these destructive attitudes towards language. Suarez's predecessor had also recognised the power of indigenous languages, but thought it more efficient to use them than to destroy them: Archbishop Louis López Solís wanted his clergy to learn indigenous languages in general, Quichua in particular, and threatened with severe punishments should they not accomplish this (Abram, 1992: 43, 44).

Historically, education has played a key role in establishing homogenous nation-states. From the colonial era, through the revolution and into the era of the republic, building an image of a unified people has been a central concern in Ecuadorian politics. The homogenising processes which have led up to the current political situation have included acculturation and minority-language shift. Education has been used as a tool by those in power to determine in which directions to change people in order for everyone to fit into a preconceived framework. Recently, education has been used by minority groups to fight back against the same hegemonic powers which made education powerful. One of the first known bilingual education projects in Ecuador was that of the indigenous woman Dolores Cacuango. In 1945, she and a few other indigenous women leaders, with the financial support of a number of women from Quito, started indigenous schools in the province of Cayambe. These schools were not officially recognised by the government. Teachers followed national guidelines for education, but in addition they introduced some elements from the indigenous culture. They were residents of the local communities in which the schools were situated, they used their mother tongue in lessons and they worked towards increasing the value of their culture and defending their land. Due to pressure from landowners who rejected the education of the indigenous population, and the government worrying about communist tendencies at the schools, the military banned the use of Quichua, even in these unofficial institutions of bilingual education, in 1963 (Edufuturo, 2006).

Strong indigenous organisation and ethnic revitalisation

After centuries of oppression, the indigenous population in Ecuador started organising and protesting against inequalities in society. The elders in Chibuleo often speak of their struggles and their involvement in establishing indigenous organizations and organising national protests for indigenous rights: "We were abused, our ancestors were abused. They called us animals […]. Because of this we started rising, waking up".[5] One of the factors which facilitated the organization of indigenous people across the highlands was the appearance of *La Fundación Escuelas Radiofónicas Populares del Ecuador,* a national radio-school initiated by Leonidas Proaño in 1962 (Aucancela, 1994: 205). Through this many Quichua-speakers started communicating across regions and this contact led to organisation, as stated by one of the older teachers working at the school in Chibuleo: "Through radio-schools we got to know each other, the indigenous peoples in the country, and we started organising ourselves, to defend ourselves, to stop the exploitation in the haciendas". The first case which united different indigenous groups across the country and brought about the creation of a new socio-political force in Ecuador, the indigenous political organisation, was the intensification of pressure to exploit petroleum resources in the Amazon in the 1960s. Concerned about the economic and cultural survival of groups native to the regions in question, the protests were initially based around environmental issues, but the area of interest of the indigenous organisations soon expanded. Three decades later the Ecuadorian indigenous movement was considered one of the strongest and most successful in the world (King, 2001: 37). Active persons from Chibuleo were involved in the formation of the regional organisation **Ecuador Runacunapac Riccharimu**, or *Confederación de los Pueblos de Nacionalidad Kichwa del Ecuador* (ECUARUNARI), in 1972. This is the organisation for all Quichua Indians in Ecuador, and its main aim has been to "raise consciousness within the indigenous population in order to obtain social, economic and political recovery".[6]

The fight for bilingual education and the official recognition of indigenous languages have been central topics for the indigenous organisations, and many goals have been achieved. Ecuador is now recognised as a multicultural and multiethnic state as is preordained in the first article of the Constitution of 1998, along with the

[5] While in Ecuador, I conducted all interviews in Spanish, and I have translated them into English myself.
[6] Original quotation: "*propiciar dentro de la población indígena la toma de conciencia, en orden a lograr una recuperación social, económica y política*" (ECUARUNARI, 2007).

declaration that the state supports the development of all Ecuadorian languages, including Quichua and other ancestral languages which are used officially by the different indigenous groups. A different achievement resulting from the work of indigenous organisations in Ecuador is the development of a standardised version of the many different dialects of Quichua.

Unified Quichua

Since Quichua is traditionally an oral language, many dialect varieties are found, not only in speech, but also in writing. The lack of a written structure has earlier been seen as a justification for the inferior position of Quichua within the Ecuadorian language hierarchy (Crain, 1990). In 1981, as an attempt to strengthen the position of Quichua as a language and as a symbol of identity, "representatives of speakers of the different Ecuadorian varieties of Quichua agreed upon a unified variety of the language" (King, 2001: 41). This *quichua unificado*, the standardised language, is seen as an essential tool for education and development of literature, but the national indigenous organisation, the CONAIE, which was one of the organisations in charge of the standardisation, stated that "while unified in written form, it was accepted and expected that the regional varieties would continue to vary in their spoken forms" (King, 2001: 42). K. King claims that the creation of Unified Quichua was the first of several precursors to the current state of bilingual education in Ecuador. This is supported by Abram when he speaks about a common language as an important prerequisite for bilingual education: "The school cannot survive without a normalisation of the language".[7]

The creation or reinstatement of Quichua vocabulary to replace the many Spanish words used by Quichua-speakers was the principal focus of the development of Unified Quichua. In Ecuador the indigenous population normally has a mixed language, for example of Spanish and Quichua. Sometimes both languages are used in the same sentence, and hardly anyone will have an entire conversation without mixing. Some Quichua-speakers, especially children, mix not only vocabulary, but also sentence structure; Quichua prefixes or suffixes are applied to Spanish words. The phenomenon of mixing Quichua and Spanish is known as **chapushka** (Floyd, 2003: 5) or **chaupilengua** (Abram, 1992: 22) in Quichua, *quichuañol* in Spanish, and

[7] Original quotation: "*La escuela no puede vivir sin una normalización del idioma*" (Abram, 1992: 21).

can be related to the suppression of the indigenous languages and cultures in Ecuador on behalf of Spanish and Hispanic culture. Spanish-speakers in Ecuador, particularly in the highlands, usually have a number of Quichua words in their everyday vocabulary, but interestingly these are usually simple words connected to humble areas of social life. Typically Quichua words used by a Spanish-speaker are words connected with family relations, such as "brother" or "sister", or words for different traditional dishes or ingredients.

After the establishment of Unified Quichua one can see a growing debate between those who were negative towards this new standard and claimed it was less authentic than the language they used in their everyday lives, and those who actively used Unified Quichua, both in writing and in speech, and who feel that the Unified version of Quichua was more authentic and pure because it had discarded all Spanish words. As a result of this some have expressed concerns about Unified Quichua being connected with an ideal of purism, claiming it could have a negative impact on the most common variety of Quichua, the *quichuañol*. The concerns are mainly based on the fact that instead of increasing their pride in traditions, the indigenous population thinks less of its own varieties of Quichua, and therefore also of themselves. It can be seen as a paradox that efforts to strengthen the position of the indigenous people in relation to the mestizos, such as the creation of Unified Quichua, could in fact contribute to increase devalorisation and lack of self-esteem for those who do not identify with this linguistic standard. A different aspect of this ideology of purism is the influence it has on other aspects of indigenous culture. One example is the role the schools play when encouraging students to wear traditional clothes. The school has chosen to use local traditional clothes as their uniform; even though the students often wear jackets or sweaters which cover the traditional clothes, and sweat suits on days with physical exercise, soccer matches or recitals, the entire outfit must be complete, particularly when participating in events with other schools, or on specific days.

The P.EBI

The educational project P.EBI which was responsible for the initial years of bilingual education in Chibuleo, a cooperation between the Ecuadorian Ministry of Education and the German organisation *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit,* started its initial investigations into the linguistic situation in the Ecuadorian

highlands in 1981. Abram, a German researcher who has worked many years with bilingual education, both in Ecuador and in other Latin American countries, was one of the administrators in charge of mapping the region. Based on this research, the P.EBI outlined a number of criteria for schools which wanted to participate. The main concern was to choose representatives from different types of schools in eight selected provinces: small and large schools, with one teacher or many, and from communities with different levels of bilingualism, but all with Quichua as their mother tongue. Among the Saraguros in Loja, the schools chosen were later abandoned when it was discovered that the indigenous students' mother tongue was Spanish, not Quichua. There was a great desire amongst the Saraguro Indians to revive the language they had lost, so the schools had played down the actual level of bilingualism in order to participate in the project (Abram, 1992: 104, 105).

One of the aspects which made the P.EBI different from earlier, unsuccessful attempts at bilingual education in Ecuador was mainly that the indigenous language was not to be used simply as a tool to ease the transition into the dominant Spanish-speaking society. The academic goals of the P.EBI were to develop Quichua parallel to Spanish, focusing on Quichua as the mother tongue, and to implement an intercultural curriculum which would include the historical and cultural backgrounds of the students. The bilingual intercultural model of education focuses on the two cultures present in the community and the cultural contents of both expressed through their respective languages (Abram, 1992: 102, 131). The Ecuadorian linguist Ruth Moya expressed that on a national level the model for bilingual education also aimed at using two languages equally in all subjects and on all levels of education.[8]

The DINEIB

The directorate for bilingual education, the *Dirección Nacional de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* (DINEIB), which is in charge of bilingual education in Ecuador, was established in 1988 when Executive Decree number 203 changed the general laws of education (DINEIB, 2007). While the Hispanic educational system has provincial directorates in all 22 provinces, the DINEIB has directorates in the 16

[8] Personal communication, 27th February 2006.

provinces which have an indigenous population. Intercultural Bilingual Education is divided into formal education and non-formal education.[9]

The P.EBI continued its work until 1993 when the DINEIB took over (Abram, 1992). Members of the new directorate were appointed by the indigenous organisations and there were great visions on how to improve the system through implementing intercultural, bilingual education. Reforms and changes were planned; many were sceptical perhaps because of the insecurity connected to these changes. There have, however, been few protests against the directorate, from mestizos or from the indigenous groups, and few conflicts between the original Ministry of Education and the new bilingual directory. The main reason for this is also considered by many to be the greatest failure of bilingual education in Ecuador: nothing has changed. The new ministry was organised in exactly the same way as the original ministry, and the initially idealistic and visionary persons who started working there soon adapted to the bureaucracy of the system. It seems that, at least for some, struggles for power and positions have replaced struggles for rights and good education.

The DINEIB has regional branches. In Tungurahua, the province in which Chibuleo is situated (see map on page v), the *Dirección Provincial de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe-Tungurahua* (DIPEIB-T) was earlier in charge of all the bilingual schools in the province. The schools could make few decisions on their own, concerning for example money, the curriculum or staff changes, and had to wait for an inspector to visit the school in order for decisions to be finalised. The DIPEIB-T also had the power to remove any employee from any institution and place him or her elsewhere. Many were given better jobs due to personal relationships and connections. This often had serious repercussions for the schools that could risk losing an English teacher or an accountant in the middle of the school year.

Bilingual education and ethnic identity today – thesis outline

Before I move on to analyse the relationship between language, education and ethnic revitalisation, I first want to introduce my field, Chibuleo: In Chapter two I will present ethnographic material collected during my fieldwork from January to July

[9] Formal education consists of ten years of basic education, divided into one year of preschool, six years of elementary school and three years of basic middle school, three years of specialised secondary education, technical institutes and university education. Non-formal education includes early childhood education and educational, cultural and technical instruction programs (Rojas, 2003).

2006. I will focus on presenting some dynamics of interaction in three different groups, namely among local community members, students, and teachers and staff at the school. Among the central elements in this section are family life, celebrations, community work groups, students' linguistic choices, the history of the school, teachers' roles, and the interaction between staff and students. This will provide a setting for my investigations, as well as the empirical data for my analysis.

In Chapter three, I will examine the relationship between indigenous peoples and the dominant society in Ecuador, and consider the importance of ethnic and cultural identity, and language and bilingual education in a diverse setting where boundaries and group membership are important. Different strategies, such as assimilation, code-switching and revitalisation, have been applied by the marginalised groups in order to be accepted in society. Revitalisation often comes as a result of assimilationist politics, and I will look at the importance of language and education to indigenous revitalisation processes. Other ethnic markers, and the authenticity of these, become important in such processes as well, and I will consider how bilingual schools and the indigenous organisations have influenced and fortified ethnic languages and ethnic cultural features. Ecuador's historical background, and particularly the discriminatory and excluding strategies implemented by the dominant groups in society, can help explain why the indigenous population in Ecuador today is affected by former oppressive policies.

In Chapter four, I will look at effects and influences of social and geographical inequalities between the urban and rural, and the mestizo and indigenous populations of Ecuador, and how these are connected with bilingual education and processes of ethnic revitalisation. In order to grasp the current hierarchical situation in the country, it is important to look at the historical opposition between the rural Indians and the urban mestizos, the consequences of which can be seen in today's poverty rates, levels and quality of education and other socioeconomic challenges. Bilingual education plays a central role in the process of revitalising indigenous identities, and the rural communities' challenges are closely connected with bilingual education's challenges. In the final section of Chapter four, I will look at difficulties with recruiting indigenous teachers in community schools, see how this is connected to cultural capital, and consider how the admiration of Spanish language and mestizo lifestyles affects the rural indigenous population, and rural bilingual education.

Ethnic revitalisation processes in Ecuador are part of a worldwide indigenous movement. In Chapter five I will investigate some historical aspects of the indigenous movement in order to better understand why it has gained such momentum in such a short period of time. I will move on to explore the global aspects of the indigenous movement, and see how local action is connected to global relations. By comparing the situation of the Quichua Indians with indigenous peoples in other regions of the world, similarities between indigenous struggles can be seen. If one goes deeper into such comparisons, the global nature of indigenous struggles and indigenous movements becomes clear. I will briefly outline a few of these central challenges faced by indigenous peoples around the world before I move on to focus on language and education: I will explore this in different geographical settings in order to make comparisons and illustrate the connection between indigenous struggles.

CHAPTER TWO: AN INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY IN THE ANDEAN HIGHLANDS

In this chapter, I will introduce my field, the village of Chibuleo, and some of the material collected during my fieldwork there. I will look at three different arenas of interaction, the local community, among students and among teachers, in addition to the history of the bilingual school, in order to better understand the role of this intercultural workplace in the community: Firstly, I want to present the local community and outline some dynamics such as family relations, community celebrations, the position of women or girls, and the role of traditional institutions such as organised community work in the **minga**. Secondly, I will present the school as it is experienced by students, through looking at the school day, the lessons and the dilemma of choosing bilingual or Hispanic education. The third section will deal with the history of UEIBCH, the roles and experiences of teachers in the institution, and patterns of language use in school. In the final section I will describe different school events in which teachers, students and the community at large interact, such as excursions, a sports day, the Inti Ñusta beauty pageant, a traditional food fair for teachers, and a provincial parade in Ambato.

Local community

Chibuleo San Francisco

As the bus heads out from Plaza Urbina in Ambato it is so full of people that I have to stand, but I do not mind; it gives me a nice chance to observe people on the bus. Besides, the lucky ones who get seats are those who show up early; they also have to wait the longest because the bus does not leave according to schedules, but waits until it fills up. Looking around I see red ponchos, black shawls and white hats. Practically everyone on the bus is going to Chibuleo San Francisco, the community which is home to the bilingual school where I have spent the main bulk of my fieldwork, or further up the hill to San Pedro, and because of this most of them wear similar clothing. There is a strong sense of tradition and ethnic identity among people from Chibuleo, something one can see by the number of people who dress traditionally and the language usually spoken among friends and neighbours. Those on the bus who

wear "western" clothes are young people with work clothes, children with school uniforms and a few others. A number of sacks of cloth and crates of shop supplies have been loaded onto the roof of the bus, but many still carry large bags bought at the market. There is hardly any room for the vendors who want to sell us fried potatoes, strawberries, plums or home made ice cream.

As we leave Ambato I get a clear view of the active volcano Tungurahua, after which the province is named. Its conical shape and the cloud of fumes which emanates from the top make this a very attractive sight. Because this is a clear day I can also see the snow-capped El Altar to the south, and approaching Chibuleo the ragged white peaks of Carihuairazo glimmer in the afternoon sun.[10] The community of Chibuleo San Francisco is located on the slopes of this 5020 meters high volcano, which nearly hides the giant Chimborazo, Ecuador's highest peak.

We leave the highway about 16 kilometres from Ambato, pass the roadside diner where a freshly slaughtered pig hangs from a hook, and head upwards on the brick road. Just a few years ago all the roads in these rural communities were dirt roads, and not long before that, there were no roads at all. The appearance of a network of bilingual schools has had a great impact on the local infrastructure. It has encouraged and supported the construction of roads to reach all the school buildings and all the villages where students live. Today students can come to school by bus if they live far away; there is no need to walk for hours through potato fields like the current director had to do to get to his high school in the 1980s. The bus I am on passes the plaza with the church and the badly maintained community house. A few men are working on the construction of a paved multipurpose sports field with basket ball hoops and goals for *fútbol sala*, or futsal. This is the result of players' frustration with the big holes on the soccer field.

The hills are getting steeper and the engine is roaring. We reach the top of a long hill and turn right; this means we are approaching my destination, the school. I ask the driver to let me off. In the afternoons and at nights the school's main gate is locked, but the school yard is not closed off. In order to enter, I can either climb a fence and walk through the potato field or follow the dirt road on the west side of the school which gives easy access to the soccer field and the upper part of the school

[10] One interpretation of the name Carihuairazo indicates that it is a combination of the Quichua words **cari** (man), **huay** (wind) and **razu** (ice/snow) (Schmudlach, 2001), while the name Chibuleo comes from the wild goats, *chivos*, which used to roam the mountainsides (Lligalo, 1998: 75).

grounds. It is already dark when I arrive and I decide to read in my room for a while before visiting a neighbour for a cup of tea later in the evening. My room can hardly be called cosy, but it has two bunk beds and a closet, and I have bought sheets and woollen blankets, an electric kettle, some cutlery and candles. In the hall there is a sink and a small bathroom. I have everything I need, perhaps with the exception of warm water, although many in the community react with disbelief when I tell them I have no kitchen and therefore only eat food which does not need cooking. Food for people here equals soup, rice, meat, vegetables and potatoes. Even drinks and breakfasts are usually cooked on a stove.

Chibuleo San Francisco is one of seven Chibuleo villages. Three of them border on San Francisco: San Alfonso on the other side of the highway to the north, San Luís to the east and San Pedro to the west. The remaining communities are Chacapungo, San Miguel and Pataló Alto. The total population of the communities of Chibuleo is approximately 12 000 (Chuncha, Paucar and Campaña, 2005; CODENPE, 2006). Chibuleo San Francisco consists of nine different *barrios*, or neighbourhoods. The *barrio* to which the school belongs is called San Juan Libertad and is the largest one. La Merced is a *barrio* which is populated mainly by mestizos, and most of the Hispanic students at school live here. There are about 480 heads of family in Chibuleo San Francisco, meaning there are somewhere between 2000 and 3000 inhabitants in total.[11] In everyday speech Chibuleo San Francisco is called Chibuleo, while the other Chibuleo communities go by the last part of their names.[12] In the rest of my thesis Chibuleo will therefore be synonymous with Chibuleo San Francisco.

The family

The family is no longer as united as it used to be in Chibuleo. There are stills signs of the traditionally strong sense of family responsibility, some examples being the orphaned children who are taken in by the closest relatives, the grandparent-generation often assuming responsibilities when their children start their own families, and the fact that no one in Chibuleo needs to beg for money or food; everyone works until the point where they can no longer contribute, and then it is the family's

[11] The year before I was in Chibuleo they had roughly estimated the number of heads of families, and while I was there they held the first population census. Unfortunately I left before the results of this were estimated.
[12] These names are: San Alfonso, San Luís, San Pedro, Chacapungo, San Miguél and Pataló Alto

responsibility to care for them. There are, however, many more examples of the family disintegrating. Many adults commute to other villages, towns, regions or countries to find work. It is more often than not the man in the family who goes to work far away, but it is not uncommon for both parents and even grown-up children to leave Chibuleo for days or weeks. Young adults are more likely to find the best jobs, and many leave children under the age of five with their grandparents. From the age of four or five children are, by some, expected to be able to take care of themselves, and from this age some are even left in charge of their younger siblings. The vice-principal at UEIBCH told me he had had many confrontations in his office between parents and children where the children had asked their parents why they cared so little about them, why they were never home, and when they were going to sit down and eat a warm meal together. Members of staff at school sometimes function as counsellors to both parents and students who experience difficulties at home. Before examinations, Carlos in fifth *curso*[13] told some of the teachers about his dreams and hopes for the future, and said he wanted to continue studying after high school, but it is difficult to find the money. His father has left to work on the coast, and he does not send any money. His mother has also left home to find work elsewhere, and Carlos and his sister, who is studying at the university in Ambato, need to work in order to pay for matriculation fees. Carlos is one of the mestizo students and lives in Santa Rosa, a community closer to Ambato. He said the high school in Chibuleo is similar to any other high school, besides from the fact that one must learn Quichua, something he enjoys. One difference from other high schools which he does not mention is the cost; it is more economical to study in Chibuleo. A different fifth *curso* student from a community closer to Ambato told me the reason why he enrolled at the high school in Chibuleo: "I don't have money to pay for a Hispanic institution".

Parents are not the only ones who cause disappointment. Sometimes parents come to school and express grief because of difficulties with their children. One mother said it was hard never to know where her son was. He never came home for dinner, he spent the nights at friends' houses without letting her know, and she could

[13] After school reforms and the inclusion of one year of kindergarten in primary school in the 1990s, terminology has changed in the Ecuadorian educational system. Primary school now consists of first to seventh *año de educación básica,* or year of basic education. The next three years of secondary school complete the ten years of basic education, before high school. I will use the term '*curso'* when referring to high school, and 'year' to refer to the ten years of primary and secondary school.

not manage to get him out of bed in the mornings in time for school. Mothers are often alone with the children, and as they also need to work, children are left to care for themselves, as mentioned earlier. Belén, aged 10, invited me into her family's house one afternoon after lessons. The house was a typical community house. There was one main room with two beds, a table and a TV. It is not normal to have a separate room with chairs or a sofa to entertain guests. The main room is usually the bedroom, where one also finds the TV. When visiting friends in Chibuleo I was generally invited to sit on their beds. This reflects the close relations one usually has with those who visit one's house. Apart from family and close friends, visitors are usually received in the backyard or in the kitchen if they are women. Because of this lack of a public, social room in the house, my relations with members of the community were often confined to public spheres, such as roads or yards.

When I visited her house, Belén was home alone watching *telenovelas,* Latin American soap operas. At first I didn't notice the other person in the room, but after a while I saw a young girl, about the same age as Belén, on the bed behind stacks of clothes. I only noticed her because of her occasional fits of coughing and vomiting. Belén was looking after her cousin who was very ill. Belén's father spends much time in Quito working, and her mother and older sister both work in Ambato and seldom come back before late at night. She has one brother who is married and lives in a different village, and another brother drowned himself while still in high school because a girl he was in love with had refused to marry him. Belén seldom has adults at home before or after school to talk with or to ask for help with her homework, but she enjoys studying and wants to finish high school and find a job in the city, like her older sister who works as a secretary.

Lida is another young girl from Chibuleo who dreams of a good education and a good job. She attended my occasional English tutorials, and is clearly a clever girl; even though she was younger than the other children who attended, she knew more vocabulary and showed a greater understanding for grammar than most. Together with some of the other children at UEIBCH, she spends her afternoons taking extra lessons in the nearby village of San Pedro. Lida wants to be a teacher when she grows up. She says teachers are not always good persons; they sometimes hit students who are loud or disobedient in the classroom. She wants to be a different teacher, a good teacher. None in her family has ever attended university, but she hopes to be the first.

Her father died a while back, according to Lida due to a curse one of the neighbouring wives had thrown at him. She had 12 siblings, but several of them have died including one brother whom she was very close to. Now she worries about what will happen to her if her mother also dies. She fights to keep the tears back while she tells me about family members who do not care about her or her mother. She seemed grateful to have someone to talk to. As I have mentioned before, children in Chibuleo do not always have adults they can turn to for help, comfort or advice. In some cases this may also influence language use, because the family has traditionally been the arena where Quichua skills are developed. In many communities Quichua is spoken mainly in the family, and when the families are no longer very close, communication in Quichua decreases. In Chibuleo, however, Quichua is spoken outside the family sphere as well, but depending on which *barrio*s they live in, and who their friends are at school, some children of Quichua-speaking families end up speaking very little Quichua on a regular basis.

Celebrations

Weddings are usually celebrated three whole days in Chibuleo. The day of the ceremony a party is held at the groom's parents' house, the next day the bride's family hosts the festivities, and on the final day parties continue at both locations. Hosting wedding parties is a big responsibility, and a great expense. Formal invitations are not common, and usually everyone in the community who feels they have a connection with the families involved comes to the party. Guests usually do not come empty handed; it is common to present a bottle of alcohol and a small amount of money to the person in charge of the household where the party is being held. The gifts are tokens of respect and gratitude, and do not match the hard work and money spent on the festivities.

I was invited by Cecilia, a young woman from Chibuleo, to come celebrate her sister's wedding at their parents' house. I visited them the day before and had the chance to participate in the preparations. When I arrived one of the pigs had already been slaughtered. It had hung for a while, all the blood had been extracted, and the intestines had been gathered in buckets lined up in the backyard next to containers of skinned chickens and guinea pigs. Three women and several children were busy cleaning the intestines in ice cold water and rubbing the animals with *aliño*, mixed

spices. Three men had laid out the pig on a table and were torching its skin to burn off all the bristle. Cecilia had to go to the next village, Pilahuin, to talk to a man about using his furnace to cook the pigs. I walked with her across the fields and up and down the hills, and by the time we arrived back at the house they had already slaughtered the second pig. The entire family is involved in the preparations for the wedding party, and the money and efforts are not spent on gifts for the bride and groom, but on feeding the community in order for the bride and groom, and therefore also their families, to look their best. This pattern can be seen in all types of parties. The main goal is to maintain a good reputation, and the hosts must provide good quality food and drinks. If one is served only chicken, and not guinea pig or pork, people will react with discontent.[14] Similarly, a proper, home made *chicha*, a slightly fermented drink traditionally made from corn, but recently also from different grains, is good for the reputation. Traditional food and drinks are in general of higher value and preparing these is also both expensive and time consuming. My neighbour Maria told me that she was sceptical about throwing a first communion party for her son because of the costs involved. She told me it would be impossible to limit the party to a few specially invited guests, because whenever there is a big party in the community people show up without invitations.

The day of the wedding party arrived. This was my first big party in Chibuleo, and I did not know the correct procedure. Fortunately I met a woman on the way to the house who explained it to me. I joined her in buying alcohol at the corner shop before arriving, and followed her into the kitchen in order to give the "lady of the house", Cecilia's grandmother, the recently purchased bottle together with a one dollar bill.[15] This, I was told, was the norm, but the women present in the kitchen found it highly amusing. I suppose it is not common to have foreign girls at wedding parties at all, and particularly not foreign girls who follow community procedure. Once in the kitchen I was placed with the other women and handed a plastic container filled with soup. Everyone was chatting eagerly in Quichua. The amount of food in the kitchen was impressive, and I had only just finished the soup when they gave me a

[14] The guinea pig has a very special position in indigenous Ecuadorian communities. Its function is mainly nutritional, but nevertheless it enjoys a ritual and ceremonial position. For more information about this topic see Eduardo Archetti,1997.

[15] The currency in Ecuador has since 2000 been the US dollar. Ecuador suffered a twin crisis in 1999, concerning both banking and exchange rates, which led to the dollarisation of the economy in 2000. Ecuador dollarised not by choice but as the inevitable way to deal with these crises (López-Cálix, 2003).

big plate of rice, potatoes and meat. It was lovely, but I worried about finishing it all. Again Cecilia came to my rescue and gave me a plastic bag. She told me to put the food I could not finish in it to bring home. I was grateful for her kind guidance and considered the situation to be solved, but what I didn't realise was that this was only the first round. After just an hour or two new bowls of soup and plates of food were brought around to all the guests and my new concern was the problem of storing soup. Fortunately many of the women sitting nearby had brought pots and pans, apparently accustomed to food feasts like this, and a woman offered to take the soup off my hands.

After the food, we were served sweet, fermented *chicha*, followed by many different alcoholic beverages. There is an immense drinking pressure in this community, as in many other communities in the Ecuadorian highlands. Both women and men take turns at going around and offering small cups of alcohol. Some require you finish the cup; others are less stern and simply pretend to fill up the cup if the content has not diminished noticeably. Most drink, women, men, young and old, but many spit more than they swallow. A girl told me the best trick was to feign drinking and refrain from actually swallowing. Her family was evangelical Christians, and even though they, according to their religious beliefs, are not supposed to drink, people still expect them to. Followers of the evangelical faith are not supposed to dance either, but the majority of the wedding guests were very active on the dance floor. Beside from the bride's godmother who was mestizo and from a small town closer to Ambato, all the guests at the wedding were Indians. People filled the backyard, and the "dance floor" was red, black and white from ponchos, shawls and hats. As the general mood at the party became livelier, more people also decided to address me in Quichua. Most knew that my Quichua skills were lacking, but they were clearly amused and pleased by my feeble attempts. A foreigner who lived in Chibuleo for one year a while back was often talked about warmly; he had learnt Quichua and people were impressed that he had bothered to learn a language such as Quichua, which is often considered to be a useless language.

Towards the end of the night many guests had gone home, others had fallen asleep on benches or on the ground. When the groom started telling me he wanted to marry a European girl, and steadfastly denied having a wife, I decided it was time to go home.

Women/girls

It is still considered easier for men to find better jobs than women in Chibuleo, and according to a woman working in an organisation for indigenous students, *Movimiento de Estudiantes Campesinos Indígenas de Tungurahua* (MECIT), it is not uncommon for women to start small businesses to pay for their husbands' education. In spite of this apparent subordinate position to men, Chibuleo women are active participants in the community. The women's organisation has traditionally been strong in Chibuleo. Some feel that recent developments in Ecuador have led to a greater individualisation and that in order to face current challenges the indigenous population, the women in particular, must stand together and learn to cooperate. Maria, one of the teachers at the school and a friendly neighbour of mine, has been involved in the women's organisation in Chibuleo and told me about a project they had received funding for, in which women were given some guinea pigs to breed for sales. This was a women's solidarity project, and the intention was for women to earn their own income to improve the situation of families, children and homes. But the women involved were careless, the guinea pigs were attacked by dogs or other animals, and the project failed. Women seem to be concerned with empowerment, but often the traditional lifestyles and ways of thinking limit their possibilities. Many girls told me, for example, that they had to stay home and care for their children while they were still young. When children grow older mothers or sisters can sometimes help care for the child, and the mother can continue studying. Young men usually do not need to sacrifice their education for their family.

Cecilia, the girl who invited me to the wedding party, is one of these young women from Chibuleo, who depends upon her family to help care for her daughter. She participates in a course for indigenous women at the Dolores Cacuango School of Women's Leadership, named after the indigenous woman who started bilingual community schools in the 1940s and 1950s. Women from communities all over the country gather once every three months to learn about topics such as history, traditional medicine, ecology, accountancy, and project management. The women who attend are elected by the communities, and several women from Chibuleo have participated over the years. The BBC did a story on this school and interviewed one of the veterans, a 77-year-old woman, who kept coming back even though she had finished all the courses. She first wanted to participate in order to learn to speak, read

and write better. She had been a midwife since the age of 15 and she wanted to learn more about natural medicine. She also wanted to start a school in her community, to share her knowledge with others and improve her life and the lives of others from her community (BBC, 2006).

In addition to her involvement in this school, Cecilia plans to go abroad to work. She is young and resourceful, but has little interest in staying in Chibuleo when there is no work, and she is willing to leave her child with her parents in order to fulfil her dream to work in another country. She normally dresses in track suits and trainers and spends much of her time in the city, and at first one might think her attitudes towards the indigenous traditions, culture, and Quichua are negative. This is not the case: Cecilia has strong feelings about the need for the indigenous groups to be strong, and she is very concerned with keeping the language alive. Because of this she speaks Quichua with her daughter. Mothers are often primary caregivers, something which gives them a central role in language acquisition processes. Cecilia tells me that Quichua has become more complicated after the development of Unified Quichua and the new rules for spelling. She says it is difficult for those who learnt the old rules and now have to learn the new ones as well. Considering that she is only 26, she has difficulties imagining how hard it must be for those who have spent their entire life speaking a language suddenly to be told their ways of writing, and even speaking, are no longer correct. When they implemented the new Unified Quichua at school there were conflicts. Many of the high school students argued with their teachers and were frustrated because of the confusion this sudden change caused.

The minga

The school day ends at one o'clock, and at that time most of the students and all the teachers rush off, either by minivan, bus or private cars to Ambato or to different small towns, or on foot for those who live in or close to Chibuleo. Many of the students are expected home after school to help with chores, such as cooking, looking after children or working in the fields. Several of the older students have their own children or jobs to go to. Often some of the younger children stay behind after school to play, and it is common for the older boys to gather to play soccer in the afternoons and evenings. It is interesting to listen to the way they mix Quichua and Spanish words while playing, like "**ima** *falta*?" which means "which fault?" The children who

come and play soccer together in the afternoons are usually local children who all know each other well, and because of this, it seems, they use more Quichua, or a more pure Quichua, than they normally do at school. Intimacy between speakers and a good knowledge of the others' linguistic competency seems to be an important factor in deciding the level of bilingualism among children and youths.

When strolling around in Chibuleo in the afternoons, the entire village is peaceful, except from aggressive dogs, which see it as their mission to guard "their" territories. Most adults are working in the fields, in the city or inside their houses. Only the small children are playing on the streets, and even they often have to help their parents or siblings. People come out on the streets when something specific happens, for example when the *Proyecto de Desarrollo por Área* (PDA), an evangelical non-governmental organisation (NGO), comes to register and give food to the children involved in their sponsorship program. These children have access to free vaccinations and medical aid, and representatives from the PDA come to Chibuleo occasionally to give them vitamin drinks and sandwiches. This is not sufficient to keep the children healthy, but it is said to be part of a wider goal of teaching people about nutrition, which is important considering the problems with malnutrition and low birth weight in the area (UNICEF, 2006: 102). I accompanied Lida from the school down to the plaza one afternoon the PDA was there. Children and parents were out on the roads, some rushing to get their free sandwich and others strolling contentedly back up the hill eating. Lida spoke to children and adults in Quichua on the way down. She told me she speaks Quichua with their friends and family and Spanish at school.

A different activity which livens up the village is the **minga,** a traditional concept from before the Inca ruled the region, which involves the gathering of community members to complete a task which benefits the community.[16] Each individual has an obligation to the community, and in spite of the apparent voluntariness, no community member is exempt from participating. Today **mingas** are held to repair or maintain, for example, the roads, water systems, forests or community land. They are organised in the different *barrios*, and those who benefit

[16] "A gathering of Indians at the request or invitation of another for the purpose of executing in common some piece of labor. No wage is given, but the person favored by the minga is obliged to provide food to all who take part" (London, 1952: 98). Earlier the **minga** was usually arranged by individuals in need of assistance, for example to build houses. People worked for food and drinks, and showed up mainly because of an unspoken obligation, but also to be certain others would reciprocate and come to their assistance if necessary. Today the **minga** has become more of a community affair.

from this work but choose not to, or are unable to, participate, are expected to pay a compensatory fine. On an afternoon walk down to the church I met a large group of people who, I learnt, were **minga** participants from the *barrio*. They had completed the work on a water canal system a few days back and were now out collecting compensations. Some prefer to pay money instead of working, because they lack the time or health to do manual labour. Difficulties arise, however, when those who work in the city or have bad health also lack the money to pay compensations. The group of collectors goes to all the houses in the *barrio*, and appeals for compassion are fruitless, because so many have very little. The **minga** has a very special status in Chibuleo. It is a system of cooperation which leads to development of community infrastructure. Many indigenous persons see the **minga** as a successful institution with a long history which sets them apart from the mestizos and shows a part of the well-functioning traditional indigenous system.[17]

After having collected the compensations, the group went to the community house on the plaza to register the catch of the day. One of the old ladies called me over and told me to join them, and we sat there for a while chatting. One woman in particular did most of the talking, she asked me questions and the others listened and laughed. She helped translate questions and answers on behalf of some older women who had difficulties with Spanish. After a while everyone received a piece of white bread, and bottles of soda were passed around. One of the ladies gave me her piece of bread; they were all very upset to hear that I had no kitchen at the school.

In a way the feelings connected with the **minga** can be compared to the strategy the director, Alberto Guapizaca, assumed when he first started developing the bilingual school in Chibuleo. He wanted indigenous teachers to cooperate and do the "opposite" of what the mestizos were doing: because they arrived late and went home early he wanted to be there early and work extra hours in the afternoons; because they maintained a distance between themselves and people from the community, he went to visit people at home; because they did not work to keep the family united, and they moved to the cities after they graduated, Guapizaca's aim was to do the opposite. "One important saying is that one has to be different from the masses", he told me. These efforts at differentiation are connected to processes of revitalisation. Many in

[17] The Quichua word **minga** has been adopted by Spanish-speakers in Ecuador, and is used to describe different communitarian actions, protests, movements or works. One example is "*Ecuador en* **minga** *contra el TLC*", which called Ecuadorians to demonstrations against the free trade agreement with the United States.

Chibuleo, both at the school and in the community, sometimes proudly express ways in which they are different from the mestizos. They focus on the good qualities and see the differences as their strength, as their way to develop and improve their own situations. According to Roger Keesing, colonised groups valorise elements of their own traditions "as symbols of the contrast between those traditions and Western culture" (Keesing, 1989: 28), which in the case of Ecuador would be the mestizos' culture. The idea behind bilingual education was also to create a different system in order to improve education for indigenous children. Many feel that including an indigenous worldview in education will help the indigenous children find their own positions within the system and adapt more easily to the dominant society.

The School

The school day

At 7.45 the bell rings. It is Monday and a new school week is about to start. I step out onto the patio clutching my mug of hot tea. The mountain climate is rough enough to make the Norwegian fieldworker wear a hat and scarf at all hours, and it is also to blame for the addiction to warm drinks in the mornings. Students are beginning to form rows in the patio: the high school students towards the soccer field, the secondary school students in the middle close to the central stairs, the oldest children in primary school closest to the main gate, and the kindergarten lined up on the other side of the stairs in the middle. With this structure, the oldest students can lead the younger ones when marching towards the classrooms at the end of the ceremony. This weekly ceremony is called *formación*, and in a way it resembles military academy rehearsals. The children are lined up and make 90 or 180 degree turns following instructions given by the vice-principal on a loudspeaker. Mondays are considered "strict days", in the sense that the students are expected to wear as proper clothing as possible. The school uniform consists of complete and correct traditional clothing from the region, or blue jeans and a blue sweater. Hispanic students are not expected to wear traditional indigenous clothes, and some indigenous children also wear blue on occasions, some to vary, others because they prefer it, or because they do not have proper indigenous clothes. Traditional clothes are generally expensive compared to sweaters and jeans, and many depend on hand-me-downs from older siblings. Boys wear white trousers, white shirts, black shoes and a red poncho; Girls wear black

sandals, a black skirt which is called **anaku**, a white embroidered blouse and a black shawl fastened with a **tupu**, a traditional jewelled pin, and in the hair and around the waist they wear weaved ribbons. All wear white, round hats. Because of the cold weather most wear knitted sweaters or jackets under, or instead of, their ponchos or shawls, and the traditional white hat is often traded for a warmer hat.

After the military-like exercises in the patio it is time for the national anthem. One of the indigenous teachers takes the microphone and leads the children and staff in the Quichua version of the anthem. Most of the mestizo teachers seem to know the words. The music teacher tells me that his first meeting with Quichua at UEIBCH was teaching the students the lyrics of the national anthem. Except for the anthem, *formación* is conducted mainly in Spanish. Four children from third year recite memorised paragraphs about one of the school's core values, "respect", and one student greets everyone in Quichua, but delivers the rest of his speech in Spanish. In commemoration of Atahualpa's birthday a teacher gives a speech, but even though an indigenous teacher speaks about one of the greatest indigenous leaders in Ecuador, the speech is in Spanish.

Lunch break is from 10.30 to 11.00, and in this time, all students who have remembered to pay the monthly dollar for food, are served a hot meal from the school kitchen. In addition to the one dollar they pay each month for this meal, the students are sometimes asked to bring potatoes or broad beans to supplement the school's assortment. One of the reasons this school meal only costs one dollar, in addition to state funding, is the school's own vegetable garden. The farm at the school also has guinea pigs, ducks, pigs and chickens, and the students who help manage the farm as their optional course of study help grow potatoes, corn and other vegetables. Teachers, staff and students who do not participate in the school meal project can buy food in the cafeteria. The main course, which usually costs between 60 cents and one dollar, can for example consists of a big plate of boiled potatoes with pig skin, or the traditional Ecuadorian *guatita*, a stew in which the main ingredient is a cow's stomach. Hot drinks are popular in the cold weather, and it is common for Ecuadorians to eat a piece of white bread with their coffee. The indigenous teachers often commented on this and expressed concern with the mestizo influence on indigenous eating habits. White bread with minimal nutritional benefits has replaced more traditional foods, like *máchica*, a sweetened, spiced grain blend, resembling brown flour, which is nutritional and enriches the texture and flavour of drinks. Many

say that drinking this in hot milk or coffee will give energy enough to perform hard labour for hours, while the white bread leaves you hungry again almost immediately. The main reasons why many have stopped using the *máchica* is that making it is time consuming, and buying the product on the market or in a store is expensive.

Lessons

There are four lessons before lunch and three after, before the school day ends at 13.00. I spend most of this day with the students in fourth *curso*. One lesson is spent partly on a dictation most of the students have already taken, and partly on summarising a text. In the next lesson, students work in groups. They speak mainly in Spanish in lessons, but in between lessons, and when working in small groups, many speak Quichua with each other. It seems that speaking in Quichua is more natural in smaller groups. In an entire class there are always a few students who do not speak Quichua, in addition to Quichua-speakers from different communities who seem to communicate more in Spanish. The students who also spend time together outside of school hours and have closer relationships are most likely to communicate with each other in Quichua. In a way classrooms have become arenas of Spanish language. The younger children speak more Quichua with their teachers, because most of the indigenous teachers work with the young children, but from primary school, Spanish is generally applied in lessons. Quichua is used in Quichua lessons and for informal communication, mainly between students. The attitudes of most teachers are that in order to learn properly it is important to learn in a pure Spanish. Even though important, Quichua is not considered to be a language for sciences.

Later this day I participate in a Quichua lesson with the children in sixth year. Don Julio is the teacher and he has decided to give the class a reading test. Don Julio speaks to them mainly in Quichua, with some words and sentences of Spanish mixed in, and all the students seem to understand him. During the reading he occasionally has to help them and does this both in Quichua and in Spanish, and at the end he reads out everyone's mark in Spanish; numbers are generally not translated to Quichua in everyday speech. Besides from Quichua lessons the children never practice Quichua much in the classroom, particularly not written Quichua. When one of the teachers tells me that the teacher's college follows a model where one is supposed to use 80 percent Spanish and 20 percent Quichua with the youngest children, my first reaction

is that this is not enough Quichua in the classroom. In reality, however, even less Quichua is used.

In Quichua lessons the aim is to use only 20 percent Spanish, but lessons vary in different classes depending on the level of Quichua of the students. This is particularly evident in high school level Quichua. In fifth *curso* six of the students do not speak Quichua, and lessons reflect this. They use Quichua text books, but conversation and instructions are in Spanish. In sixth *curso,* however, almost all students are Quichua-speakers and besides from vocabulary translations, lessons are in Quichua. This difference in language use between students in the different classes is also seen outside of Quichua lessons, as illustrated above. When many non-Quichua-speakers are present, conversations in the classroom are generally in Spanish. On the other hand, when the majority are Quichua-speakers, Quichua is more commonly heard. The youngest children clearly have difficulties separating the two languages and frequently use pronouns or suffixes in Quichua while speaking in Spanish, one of the most common of these mistakes being the addition of the suffix **-ka** marking the subject of the sentence, which is often added to names while speaking in Spanish. Children in kindergarten sometimes spoke to me in Quichua without realising I did not understand them.

Bilingual or Hispanic

The number of students enrolled drops exponentially with age in Chibuleo. Most finish the seven years of primary school, including one year of kindergarten. After this some of the students start secondary schools elsewhere, and a few quit school in order to start working at home or in the city. A larger number of students quit or change schools after ten years in Chibuleo. In high school one chooses a specialisation, and other schools offer different specialisations. One of the teachers from the community has a son who is about to start high school, and he wants to pursue a specialisation which is offered only in the city. His mother tells me that she worries about this, because she knows that many suffer from bad influences in the city, but she also sees the value in expanding horizons and meeting new people.

Even though some have practical reasons for leaving Chibuleo to study elsewhere, it has to be said that others who leave have no such reasons at all. It is not uncommon to hear parents, teachers, and students speak of Hispanic high schools as

better. Some students in Chibuleo give their parents an ultimatum and say they will leave school unless they can attend a high school in the city. Unfortunately this eagerness to study in the city is often more inspired by a desire to experience the world than an actual interest in a good education, and many indigenous students in the city end up dropping out. The high school in Chibuleo is more economical than others, but parents often want to provide the best education possible for their children. Teachers' portraying Hispanic education as better than rural, bilingual education thus represents a problem, and this topic was discussed at a teachers' meeting I attended. Some of the teachers worry about UEIBCH having a lower level than schools in the city. There is general agreement that some high schools in the city are better than the one in Chibuleo; this is only natural considering the differences between public and private education. But many also stress the fact that they have the responsibility to teach students as much in Chibuleo as in high schools in the city, and that the potential benefits at regular high schools in Ambato are outweighed by the social and economical difficulties. Many indigenous students who start studying in the city experience challenges common to urban youth cultures worldwide: There is alcohol, drugs, and at times, negative attitudes towards indigenous ways. Sometimes it is the parents who want their children to change schools, often because of attitudes expressed by society in general and teachers in particular. One girl who graduated from primary school was encouraged by her mother to start at a Hispanic high school in Ambato, but the girl objected. She wanted to continue studying in Chibuleo where she was happy with the teachers and the other students. Many of the students I spoke with in high school pointed out positive sides of studying in Chibuleo, as well as negative aspects of city schools: "I already speak Spanish and I want to learn Quichua", and "all they do [in the city] is make fun of indigenous persons, they only speak Spanish, and to me Quichua is important".

It is difficult to know whether the high school in Chibuleo is comparable with high schools in the city, but one thing is certain: it is important for students in Chibuleo to take pride in their institution. The director at UEIBCH encouraged all the teachers to promote positive aspects of the education offered, and focus on what students would have missed out on if they studied in a city school, more specifically the cultural aspects of bilingual education. In many ways the positive attitudes of teachers, and the great reputation the school has gained because of its efficiency and good administration, have already had an effect. Most high school students in

Chibuleo say they would not prefer to study at a Hispanic high school. Juana, for example, says that all high schools teach more or less the same subjects, that education in Chibuleo is more economical, that it is closer to home so she spends less time commuting, and she sees clear benefits with a bilingual education. Her classmates agree that when applying for jobs, bilingualism will be an asset, and some mention possibilities to go abroad. Just a few of the youths say that they would have gone to a Hispanic high school had they been less costly, or that they do not like Quichua. Before I arrived in Chibuleo, I had imagined that some of the students who do not speak Quichua would express negative attitudes because of difficulties connected to learning the language, but all the mestizos and non-bilingual indigenous students I spoke to were positive about learning Quichua. Two of the girls in sixth *curso* for example, whose grandparents spoke Quichua, but taught their children only Spanish, find it regrettable that their parents do not speak Quichua, and they want to learn the language of their ancestors. It becomes clear, however, when listening to the fourth *curso* students that positive attitudes towards the quality of the high school in Chibuleo do not always run very deep. When we speak about the possibilities to study abroad, they say it would probably be difficult for them because of the high level of education in other countries. They also say they believe education in the city is of a higher level. It is sad when Chibuleo students see themselves as inferior to students elsewhere because of the school they attend. This is connected with the indigenous tendency towards internalising the mestizos' negative attitudes toward them and developing low self-esteem.

The bilingual schools have a high number of students in each year of primary school, after that the number drops due to reasons I have already explained: students change schools, transfer to city schools, or they leave school altogether. In the school year of 2003/2004, in the entire province, 4899 children attended primary bilingual education in 63 different schools, 138 of whom were Hispanic. In comparison only 635 students attended secondary or high school level bilingual education, 27 of them Hispanic. According to a report developed by the DIPEIB-T, 31 percent of students in institutions of bilingual education continue in this system after primary school, while 61 percent transfer to Hispanic schools (Chuncha, Paucar and Campaña, 2005: 75). The reason why this significant difference between primary and secondary school attendance is not very noticeable in Chibuleo is connected to the fact that the school is the centre of a network, and students who finish the first three, seven or ten years at

different schools often come to Chibuleo to complete their education.[18] At one of the schools in the network there are only 14 students divided between all seven years of primary school. One school has 17 students, but all in the first grade.

Methods of interaction

During school hours it was easy to observe and converse with both students and staff. It was more difficult to get good interviews because there were usually lessons to go to or activities to partake in, such as workshops, seminars, teachers' meetings and dance practices. I also participated in lessons; usually I merely observed, but occasionally, when a teacher was absent, I would fill in for him or her. I was not expected to teach anything in particular, and these lessons gave me a good opportunity to talk to groups of students about different topics more at length. It was more difficult to talk to people outside of school hours. As I have already mentioned, the village goes quiet in the afternoons. There is no tradition of sitting outside on the streets or on the plaza like in many Latin American cities. When it gets dark at half past six in the evening, it also gets quite chilly and most people stay indoors. People were generally curious of me and wanted to know who I was, where I was from, why I had come there and how long I intended to stay. Men and women were friendly and enjoyed talking about Norway and the differences between our countries, and many also told me about themselves and about Chibuleo, but it was difficult to gain access to people's personal spheres. Since I was a foreigner people perceived me as different, but at the same time they had become accustomed to the many foreign guests who came to work as volunteers at the school or with a community project. Spending most of my time at the school it was easy for me to get access to what, in Reidar Grønhaug's terms, can be described as social fields, i.e. "units or systems of social interaction" (Grønhaug, 1978: 81), which were connected to the school. The groups and individuals interrelating at the school also played roles in other social fields, such as families and workplaces, but my close connections to the school and lack of such with different social fields may have made my access to other spheres of interaction more complicated. Had I been working on an agricultural project it would probably

[18] In Chibuleo there were, in the school year of 2005/2006 13 children in kindergarten, 42 in the second year, 43 in the third, 37 in the fourth, 41 in the fifth, 31 in the sixth and 36 in the seventh. In secondary school there were 46 students in eighth *año,* 45 in ninth, and 32 in tenth, and in high school there were 22 in fourth *curso*, 15 in fifth and 19 in the sixth.

have been easier to communicate and work with farmers in the fields, but seeing as people strongly associated me with the school it was harder to enter into these other fields, literally and metaphorically. As a result, I did most of my observation in contexts related to school activities and events.

Working in a bilingual institution

History

UEIBCH is a bilingual primary, secondary and high school. The school has grown a great deal since the first bilingual kindergarten, *Rumiñahui*, was founded in 1985. This was created as part of the Hispanic school José Elias Pinto, and the current director of UEIBCH, Guapizaca, was its first indigenous, bilingual teacher. When the P.EBI started its cooperation with the school in Chibuleo, the plan was to expand bilingual education with one grade each year. This goal was achieved, and in 1992 a network of schools was formed.[19] José Elias Pinto and Rumiñahui combined and became the administrative centre of the network. At this point Guapizaca became director. Out of the fifteen schools originally in the network, the eight Hispanic ones did not want to cooperate. This meant that Guapizaca was able to use the funds on developing the bilingual schools. The good investments and personal efforts made by the bilingual staff, created the foundation on which Chibuleo is built today.

I want to mention some of these efforts made by the first bilingual teachers in Chibuleo towards changing the system of education while facing the scepticism of many: According to Abram who worked with the P.EBI, many of the mestizo teachers obstructed the implementation of bilingual education in Chibuleo. Among the reasons for this were negative attitudes towards bilingual education, and fear of losing jobs, but more important than the reasons are their consequences.[20] Teachers have traditionally been highly esteemed in indigenous communities; they have been considered knowledgeable persons, with the power to educate and change the lives of underprivileged indigenous children. Many of the elders in Chibuleo remember being harassed by mestizo teachers because of their ethnic identity, but this attitude changed, particularly after the organisation of the indigenous peoples of Ecuador in

[19] The network was called *Centro Educativo Matriz de Chibuleo San Francisco,* and in 1999 this was transformed into the nation's first autonomous rural educational network, *Red Educativa Autónoma Rural Chibuleo.*
[20] Abram, personal communication, 3rd April 2006.

the 1960s and 1970s. The position of power held by teachers was often based on perfect mastery of the dominant language and behavioural codes, deemed necessary for interaction with, and acceptance from, the dominant society. Based on this traditional respect for teachers, many in the communities listened to them, and scepticism for bilingual education escalated. Some feared that children would have lessons mainly in Quichua, neglecting Spanish, and that lack of proficiency in Spanish would lead to greater stigmatisation and difficulties with integration into society.

Bilingual teachers

There are 38 members of staff at UEIBCH, including the director, three administrative employees and two porters. Some of the teachers combine administrative work with teaching positions. 18 of the employees are Indians, a number which indicates an even distribution of Indians and mestizos. The actual situation, however, is different. Of the 32 teachers 14 are Indians; six of these work with students up to year five, four are in charge of optional courses of study such as the farm, carpentry, mechanics and handicrafts, two are Quichua teachers, one teaches physical education and the last one is in charge of the computer lab and computation. On average, a mestizo teacher works almost 6 hours more each week than an indigenous teacher. In addition to the problem of unequal distribution of teaching hours, there are constant debates about whether or not it is justifiable to consistently place most of the indigenous teachers in charge of the youngest students. Indigenous teachers themselves see this as insulting because they feel these are the least prestigious positions. The director answers by mentioning the ideology behind bilingual education; the children should be able to speak Quichua in the first years of school, and because of this, it would be wrong to place Hispanic teachers in charge of the youngest students.

The mestizo vice-principal, Marco Bolaños, is concerned with Quichua language and culture, and stresses the importance of Quichua in the classroom. He tells me that one of the greatest problems facing bilingual education today is the lack of interest among indigenous students in studying to become teachers. There is no specialisation in bilingual education in Ambato because there is no interest for it among the students. They have realised that teachers' salaries are low, and because of this they pursue other occupations. Vice-principal Bolaños is interested in offering as the best education possible, and in order to do so the school needs to hire qualified

teachers. When there are no qualified indigenous teachers, mestizo teachers are hired. “In order to give the students here a good education, we think Quichua is important, but it’s not the only thing we want to keep in mind”. Only two of the indigenous teachers have university degrees, in computation and Quichua, and these are also the only two who teach in secondary school and high school.

One of the aims of bilingual education is for the teachers to have closer relationships with the local communities. The school is open to parents who want to come and speak with someone, and teachers are often approached by parents concerned with their children’s marks or practicalities connected to sporting events and various other issues. Sometimes teachers and staff function as counsellors, not only on an academic level, but on a personal level as well. I have already mentioned the confrontations between parents and children, and the laments of despaired mothers. I have also witnessed teachers reprimand parents for slapping their children, encouraging more harmonious relations. Some teachers also give economic support to orphans attending school. The school building is used on graduations and days of celebration like Mother’s Day, and on these occasions, parents take responsibilities and use the school in a way that gives the impression that they feel comfortable being there. The old gap between the authoritative teachers and the rural population seems to have decreased over the years. Having pointed out some positive sides, I also wish to underline the fact that teachers are often reluctant to sacrifice time or efforts on students or parents outside of school hours. When participating in events like the sports day or the beauty pageant, teachers are unwilling to stay after one o’clock. The director and the vice-principal saw it as necessary to instruct the teachers to stay behind and socialise with the students and their families after the graduation ceremonies at the end of the year. The presence of local, indigenous teachers has contributed to a levelling of the differences between teachers and parents, something which in one way can be positive and encourage more cooperation, interaction and eventually understanding; but it can also lead to an increasing lack of respect for, and trust in, teachers and the local school, a fact which is connected to the general low self-esteem among the indigenous population in Ecuador.

Maria, one of the indigenous teachers in Chibuleo, does not think the school is bilingual enough. In her opinion, it is sad that teachers and students stop using Quichua in lessons after the first few years of primary school. She works with the youngest children herself and uses Quichua often. She started to work as a volunteer

at the school two years before she was offered a job, and has now worked a total of eight years in Chibuleo. Maria would like to teach older students, but in addition to the need for bilingual teachers to teach the young children in school, this is difficult because she has not completed her university degree. It was complicated for her to study in the city, mainly because she had a child shortly after high school. She attended weekend courses in Quito for a while, but in order to arrive on time she had to leave Chibuleo in the middle of the night to catch a bus, and the early morning arrivals and late night departures from the terminal in Quito were not safe. After a while she opted for work in Chibuleo. Even though she never meant to work as a teacher, it is convenient to work close to home while she finishes her degree, and there is a need for qualified, local teachers in Chibuleo. The work does not pay well; teachers normally have a salary of 200 US dollars per month, and it is difficult to pay for university fees. She has, however, not given up on her dream to finish her degree and find a job in the city; she is currently taking a correspondence course for which she has to attend gatherings at a university in Quito a few times each semester. After work ends at one in the afternoon, Maria usually goes home and cooks a meal for her son before starting her chores. She is worried about the disintegration of the family in Chibuleo, and she works hard in order for her family to be close. Maria is alone with her son, but her parents and several of her siblings with their families live close by. During school vacations she works in Ambato and in the afternoons and evenings she is always busy feeding the guinea pigs, collecting food for the animals, sowing or harvesting potatoes, maintaining her vegetable garden, and helping her parents.

Language use

Maria tells me about Unified Quichua and how difficult it is to express oneself correctly all the time when normal communication is in mixed Quichua. But they strive to use and teach the language properly: “If we make an effort and emphasise proper teaching, this would be a great way to teach our own language and not leave it to be forgotten”. It is not common for children, even though they are bilingual and often speak more Quichua than Spanish, to know the words in Quichua for various everyday objects. One example is the word for car, **antawa**: Quichua-speakers in Chibuleo usually use the Spanish word *carro*, with a Quichua accent. In order for the children to learn this new vocabulary and start using it, the teachers have to present

the words in conversation as well as in actual lessons. Maria feels that many of the mestizo teachers at the school should make a greater effort to learn Quichua, being employed at a bilingual institution, and she is not alone in feeling this way. One of the indigenous teachers told everyone at a teachers' meeting that a mestizo teacher who does not even greet the indigenous staff and students in Quichua in an institution where 99 percent are indigenous, is disrespectful.

Some of the mestizo teachers know very little Quichua, they can perhaps speak and understand a little, but few make any real efforts to learn. One of the teachers told me that the first year he worked it was difficult for him to teach the national anthem in Quichua because he did not know it himself. Other teachers told me it was difficult at first because they did not understand the students, but after a while they learn more, understand more and are now better prepared to encounter the bilingual situation. The library at UEIBCH is generally a Quichua arena, because the librarian, one of the old indigenous teachers, values a correct and pure use of the language. Most of the students greet him first in Quichua, even if they are not Quichua-speakers, and some of the mestizo teachers do the same thing. The librarian will respond to mestizos in Quichua, asking them how they were, commenting on the weather and trying to converse with them in Quichua, but the limit is usually two or three replies. Perhaps because of the strong connections between the library and Quichua, the indigenous teachers regularly use this as a place to work and chat, while the mestizo teachers are more commonly found in the administrative building.[21]

On several occasions mestizo teachers presented phrases of Quichua either to show off their knowledge of the language, or more jokingly in informal settings. Carla, one of the mestizo teachers who teach primary school, had once found a collection of songs in Quichua which she recited during lunch break. She discussed the fact that they were supposed to teach more songs in Quichua to the young students with another teacher, Freddy. While Carla seemed mostly amused by it, Freddy was sceptical; he was not sure he would be able to, because of his lack of knowledge of Quichua. He had only been working at the school for a short period and still found the language very difficult. On a different occasion I discussed the national Quichua poem competition with Jessica, one of the Spanish teachers. She was trying to

[21] Teachers have no offices or desks where they can work. Some of the teachers use the library to read and mark papers, while some gather in the administrations' office, but in general teachers spend little time preparing lessons or marking grades at school.

translate the poster, but she did not understand much more than me. One afternoon in Ambato the teachers had played soccer against a team from one of the other networks of bilingual schools, and after some post-match beer, several of the mestizo teachers came up with phrases in Quichua.

Carla tells me that some of the difficulties she encounters with her bilingual students are connected with the correct use of Quichua. She does not use Quichua in her teaching, but if they see something written in Quichua, or if they are to sing a song in Quichua, the children may tell her one way is the correct way to spell a word, while the indigenous teachers will tell her something different. She finds the conflict between Unified Quichua and the Quichua spoken and written by members of the community confusing, and according to her the children are also confused. Even the indigenous teachers sometimes find Quichua difficult, especially when it comes to using Quichua in situations where one most commonly uses Spanish. One day, one of the mestizo secretaries wanted help from the indigenous teachers to translate a document with information about the *Tratado de Libre Comercio* (TLC), the free trade agreement Ecuador was negotiating with the US, from Spanish into Quichua, but they found this very difficult. Large protests were being held in the country against this agreement, and the indigenous population was actively involved. The school participated in a protest march in Ambato with banners and posters, and these were also entirely in Spanish. I was told that many find it hard to translate politics into Quichua.

The Quichua-speaking teachers in Chibuleo generally speak in Quichua amongst themselves, but in Spanish when there are mestizo teachers present. There are, however, exceptions to this. Some of the teachers who are particularly close to each other will communicate among themselves in Quichua even in the presence of mestizos, and the oldest indigenous teachers tend to speak more Quichua, regardless of their surroundings. In addition to these habitual patterns of language use I also noticed that gossip between the indigenous teachers was often in Quichua. One example of this is from a trip to Ambato in connection with the inter-school soccer tournament: We arrived by bus at the soccer field we had been told we were playing on, only to realise that it was occupied. It was decided that the match was going to be played in a field close by and we all tried to fit in the few available cars to get there on time. I was in the back of a pick-up with both indigenous and mestizo teachers, and in such situations, conversation would normally be conducted in Spanish. At this point,

however, some of the indigenous teachers were talking in Quichua and laughing in a secretive way, and to my understanding they were teasing some of the mestizo teachers.

School events

Excursions

The students are sometimes taken on school trips, and the capital and the beach are the most popular destinations. I was invited to go with the students in third *curso* and their teachers to Quito. We were all to travel in one bus, and departure time was set for 04.00. Since this was my first week in Chibuleo I had not realised that the main gate was locked during the night. At the time of departure, the night porter had not woken up, and I realised I had to climb a fence and walk through the potato fields in the dark in order to get onto the road. The first nights I was there the exterior lighting was not working, the light in my room was out of order and my flash light was broken. Chibuleo was a very dark place for a few nights, particularly since it gets dark at 6.30 p.m. Eventually I did find my way through the potato fields, and on the bus I listened to the students changing between using Spanish and Quichua; Quichua was more widely used when friends in smaller groups spoke with each other, and it seemed that students spoke Quichua in lowered voices when having private conversations close to the mestizo teachers. I also noticed that even when the students spoke mainly in Spanish a few Quichua words appeared every now and then, for example "**kai** *CD no vale*", "this CD doesn't work". Most of the students wore uniforms, meaning traditional clothes, but many of the boys wore sweaters or jackets instead of ponchos. When walking around in the capital students spoke a mix of Spanish and Quichua with each other, much like at school. They did not seem to avoid speaking Quichua in the city.

Sports day

Sports are popular in Chibuleo. Soccer is most common, but the students also do track and field events and there is a baton twirling group. In June the bilingual schools in the network gathered for a big day of sports. All the students, from kindergarten to high school, competed in different events. The day's kick-off was a parade with twirlers and marching bands. They all wore band uniforms or indigenous clothing and

one could tell that many school hours had been spent practicing. When all participants from all the schools were lined up on the large sports field, it was time for greetings. The director of the network, Guapizaca, greeted everyone in Quichua, but delivered the rest of the speech in Spanish. The next teacher who greeted the crowd gave his entire speech first in Quichua then in Spanish. After a chaotic day of relatively unorganised sports events we were fed by mothers of the students from the school nearby. They had large pots and pans and gave us fruit tea, potatoes, broad beans, corn on the cob and cheese. Afterwards the husbands came with bottles of alcohol. Later on the same day I visited a friend in Chibuleo and listened to one of the students tell his uncle about the day. I could understand what he was talking about even though they spoke mainly in Quichua. The reason for this was the use of many Spanish names of sports events and such, which are hard to translate into Quichua, entwined with Quichua words. Mixing the two languages is common for Quichua-speakers in Chibuleo, and if one knows the topic of conversation relatively well, like I did in this situation, it is possible to follow a conversation in Quichua with only a very limited knowledge of the language. On several occasions, listening to conversations on the bus or between neighbours, I found myself understanding the topics of conversation based on the Spanish words used.

Inti Ñusta

A girl from secondary school in Chibuleo was elected to represent the network of schools in the regional **Inti Ñusta** pageant in Ambato. **Inti** is the sun, and **ñusta** is the word used by the Incas to describe the young princesses who devoted their lives to the worship of the sun. She was elected *señorita deporte* at the day of sports, and unlike the winners from kindergarten and primary school who were chosen by drawing names out of a hat, she had to speak in Spanish and Quichua in front of all the students before being elected by a jury of teachers. Being bilingual is a prerequisite to participate in this pageant, and during the provincial ceremony the girls have to give their speeches in the two languages, and they have to dress in impeccable indigenous clothes. They also have to answer some questions in front of a theatre full of people. In other words this is much like a beauty pageant anywhere in the world, except with an indigenous twist. The girl from our school was fluent in both Spanish and Quichua,

but some of the other girls were not. Several had difficulties expressing themselves in Quichua, and our candidate ended up winning the pageant.

Traditional food fair

Teachers from different bilingual schools in the province were invited to sell traditional food at a plaza in Ambato. I had agreed to meet Maria at her house in the morning because we had been told to come early in order to start the preparations, but when I arrived at her house at ten to seven, she and a friend were busy cooking breakfast. On the stove there were four pots with rice, sauces, vegetables and eggs. I sat by the table while they cooked and chatted. I listened to their conversation, but I could hardly understand any of it; they used very few Spanish words. When they started talking about their children and which high schools to choose I understood more, both because of the names of the high schools, and because subjects and marks are seldom translated to Quichua. When I heard an entire sentence in Spanish I realised it was because they were quoting a Spanish-speaker. We left the house at 7.45, but we had to wait for half an hour for the bus to arrive. We did not arrive very early, but we were among the first. After a while the rest of the teachers started arriving, and in addition to the teachers cooking and selling different traditional dishes, children from different schools performed traditional songs and dances.

Parade

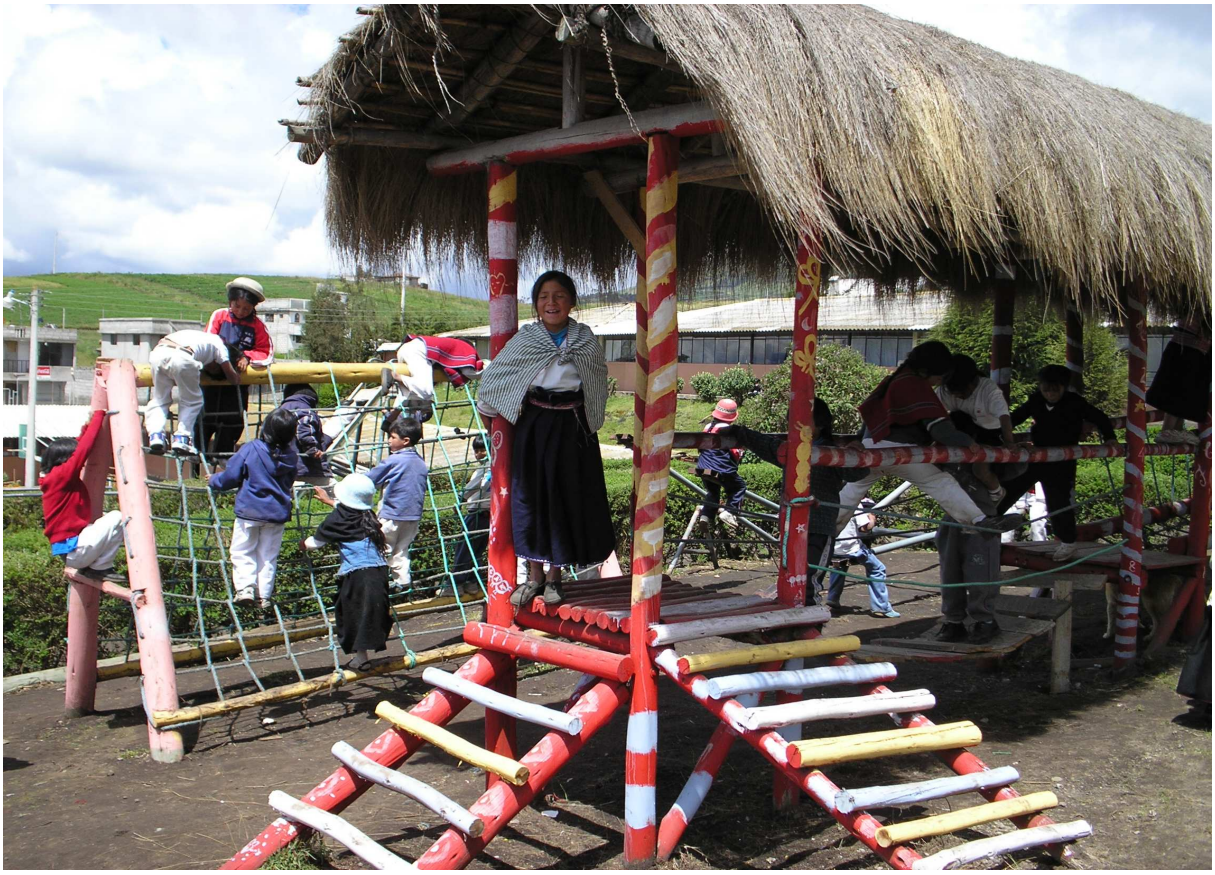
The traditional fair and dance show, together with the **Inti Ñusta** pageant and the parade the next day, were part of the **Inti Raymi** celebrations organised by the DIPEIB-T in Tungurahua. Bilingual schools from the entire province were invited to the traditional celebration of the winter solstice, which is also a liturgical feast in the Catholic Church celebrating the birth of Saint John the Baptist. This *Fiesta de San Juan* has been very popular among the indigenous population in Ecuador, and there have always been clear relations with the Inca worship of the sun through the symbolism of fire so very central to the celebrations. Recently there have been attempts to revive the Inca tradition of **Inti Raymi**. The highlight of the **Inti Raymi** celebrations in Ambato was the parade through the city. There was music and dancing, and besides from a few marching bands and twirlers in uniforms, all the

children wore some variation of traditional clothing. The students from Chibuleo were "virgins of the sun" wearing golden dresses or shorts and golden crowns, headbands, and glitter on their bodies, and they carried ceramic containers and wooden sticks. We all gathered at a teacher's house to help with the clothes and make-up before the parade started. The students performed a rehearsed dance to pre-colonial style music. On the side of the road an hour into the parade I was asked by an old mestizo woman with a sceptical look on her face whether I liked that sort of thing. Her look changed from sceptical to disbelieving when I told her I lived in Chibuleo and was accompanying the school. Many mestizos have difficulties seeing the indigenous traditions as anything else than backwards and primitive. There has been a great change the last years, however, and even though it is not only members of the older generation who express these opinions, they seem to be expressed by a continually diminishing minority.

Summary

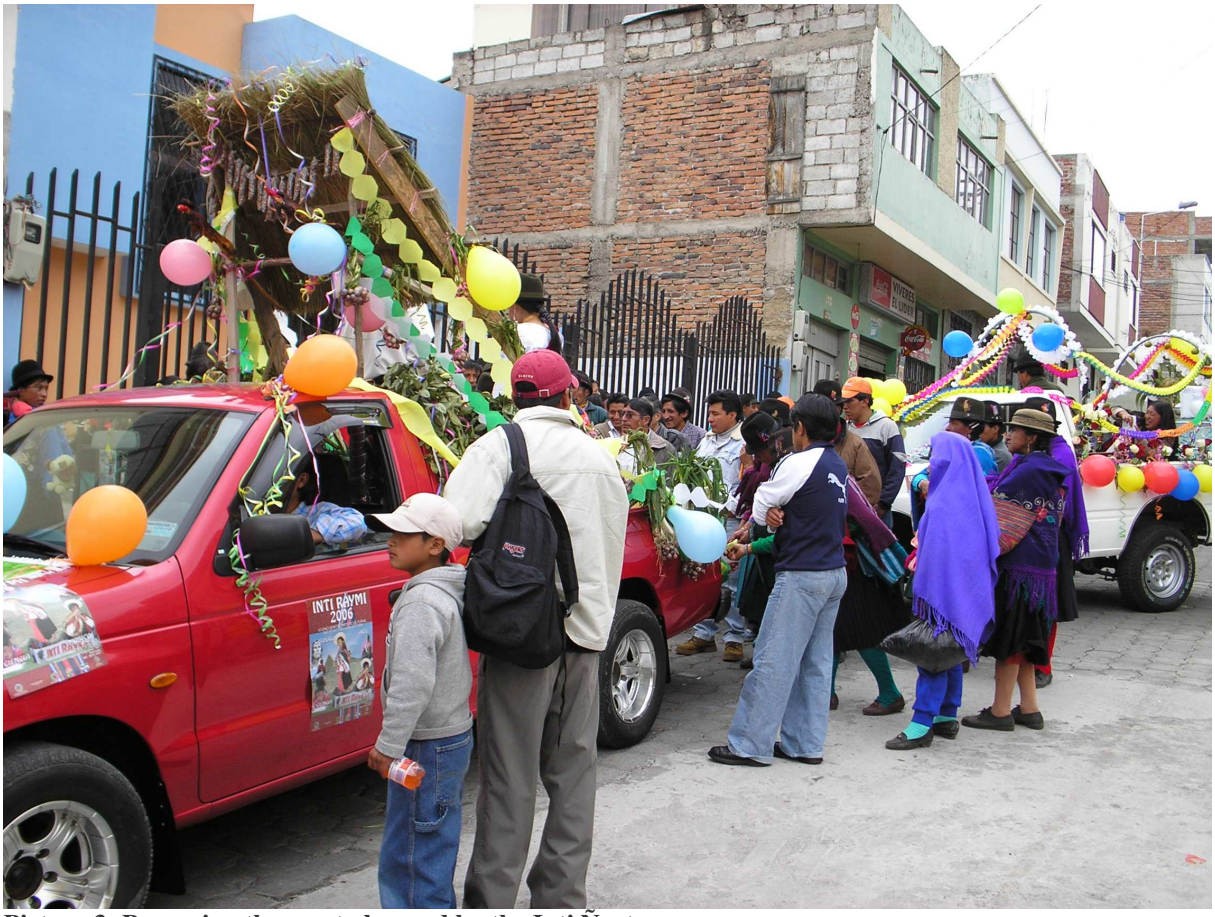
I have now introduced the field of my investigations and some topics which will be central throughout the rest of this thesis. I have described difficulties with economy and family relations, and the traditional ways to organise and celebrate in the community. I have also outlined students' and teachers' view on bilingual education and the school in Ecuador, and the paradoxical relationship between the ideologies of revitalisation and indigenous pride, and the practical preferences for the more prestigious Hispanic education and way of life. Teachers seem to be equally represented at the school, but there is discontent among indigenous teachers who work with the same low age-groups year after year. Quichua is taught to all students, and most express desires to learn, but the language is limited to separate language lessons or specific indigenous topics. By describing different school events, I have illustrated differences and relationships between schools, the positions of teachers and students, and the central role of certain traditional elements in interaction with society. In the dynamic between the community, students, and teachers, in situations of work and leisure, during scheduled activities and ceremonial events, the centrality of language and the implementation of various markers of ethnic or cultural identity is clear. This will all serve to illustrate my further analysis of the role of bilingual education, focusing on the languages Quichua and Spanish, in processes of ethnic revitalisation.

PICTURES



Picture 1: Children playing at school

Picture 2: Children lined up in front of a classroom

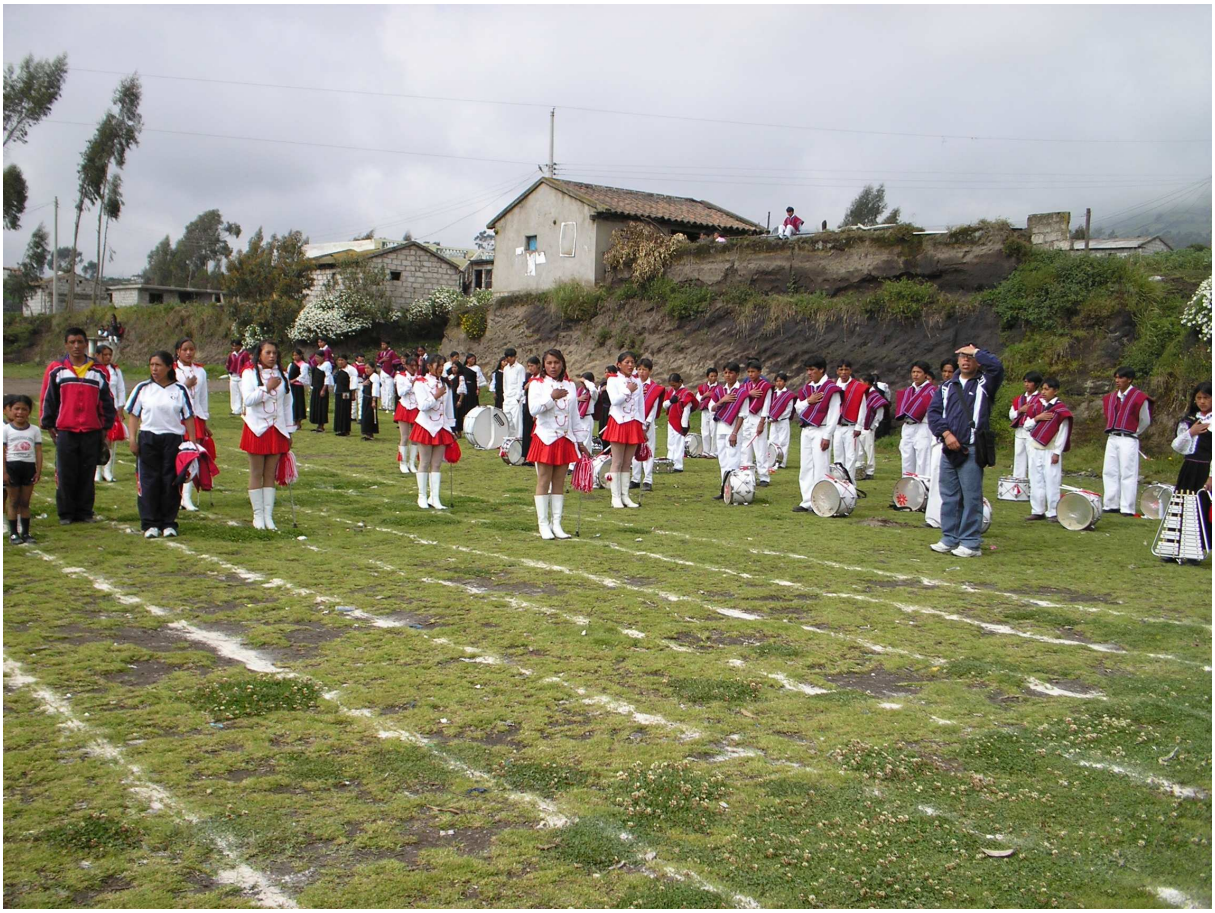


Picture 3: Preparing the van to be used by the Inti Ñusta

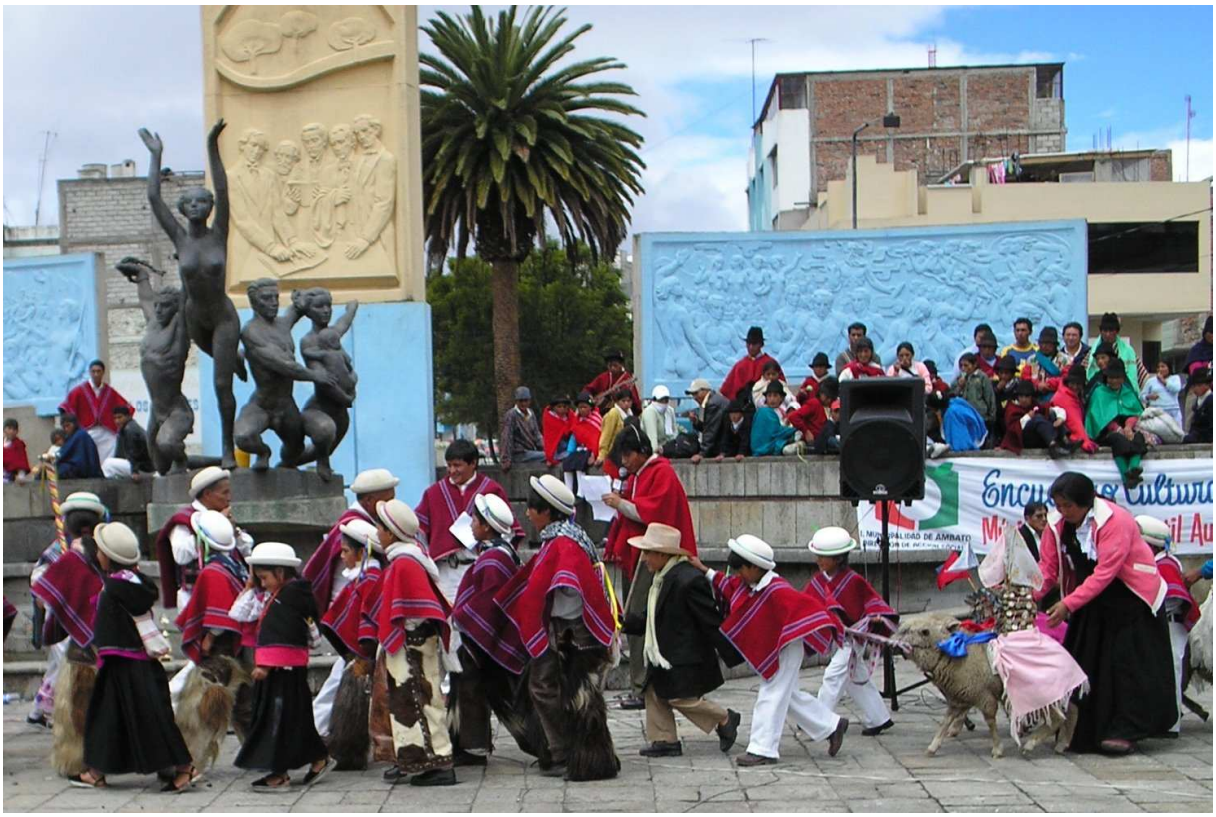
Picture 4: Inti Raymi parade in Ambato

Picture 5: Classroom outdoors

Picture 6: Electing Niña Deporte at the sports day



Picture 7: Singing the hymn at the sports day



Picture 8: Chibuleo participating in the Inti Raymi traditional dance competition

CHAPTER THREE: LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND IDENTITY

In this chapter, I will describe the diversity in a multicultural nation-state such as Ecuador,[22] and look at the importance of ethnic and cultural identity in such a setting. This diversity and the need to create clear boundaries between different groups, has led to different strategies such as assimilation and revitalisation, and I will clarify the role of language and bilingual education in these. Years of assimilationist politics has led to reactions among minority groups, and an era of revitalisation of ethnic identities in Ecuador. This revitalisation process is central to the indigenous people's position in society today. Elements which have been central in this process are indigenous languages, bilingual education, and the development of a "purified" Quichua. In connection with the revitalisation of indigenous identities, ethnic markers have been highlighted, and a discussion around the authenticity of cultures and identities has emerged. In order to increase the understanding of all this, I will describe the hegemonic relations which have been dominant in the Ecuadorian society; with a particular focus on practices of discrimination against, and stigmatisation of, Quichua-speaking communities, and the consequences these have on their self-esteem. I will also describe different methods for identity management which have been employed by the marginalised groups. These methods have damaged indigenous languages and other cultural traits, in some cases beyond repair.

Bilingual education in a culturally diverse context

A diverse context

In the 184 independent states in the world, over 600 language groups and 5000 ethnic groups are found. In very few countries do citizens share the same language, or belong to the same ethno-cultural group (Kymlicka, 1995: 4), and the UNESCO states that between 6000 and 7000 languages are spoken in the entire world (King, 2003). In other words, we live in a world where cultural diversity is the norm, not the exception, and in many areas conflicts arise from struggles over land, ethnicity and language. Over the past decades the oppression of indigenous peoples and the attempts to rectify

[22] I will not go into the political or philosophical debates around the issue of multiculturalism in this thesis; Ecuador is a multicultural state, but my focus is on the cultural diversity present in society, not the political debates around multiculturalism. For more on multiculturalism see Wieviorka, 1998, and Kymlicka, 1995.

violations of their rights have become central topics in international debates. Official recognition of indigenous rights to land and maintenance of traditions and culture have been promoted by the United Nations. Encouraging education in the mother tongue is one of the principles set out by the UNESCO, and one sign of this focus on native languages is the proclamation of the International Mother Language Day in 1999 (UNESCO, 2003). In the 1980s and 1990s multicultural citizen reforms were implemented in several Latin American countries, and specific rights were granted to the various multicultural citizens,[23] such as

> formal recognition of the multicultural nature of national societies and of specific ethnic/racial sub-groups, recognition of indigenous customary law as official public law, collective property rights (especially to land), official status for minority languages in predominantly minority regions, and guarantees of bilingual education. (J. Hooker, 2005: 285)

As mentioned in Chapter one, Ecuador is recognised as a multicultural and multiethnic state, as stated in the first article of the Constitution of 1998. Ecuador has also ratified Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization (ILO) on the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples. In Chapter five I will look further into the international indigenous movements and indigenous rights politics, but I wish to clarify here that indigenous groups, unlike immigrants, fight for recognition and self-government based on the fact that they were present in the areas before the arrival of the dominant population group. Indigenous peoples demand equal rights, but also the right to be different.

The fifth paragraph of the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity published by the UNESCO states that languages, and particularly mother tongues,[24] are regarded as integral parts of peoples' cultural identity (UNESCO, 2002). According to Linda King, a Senior Programme Specialist with UNESCO's Division for the Promotion of Quality Education, one must "respect local languages and legitimize them within the school system as well as giving pupils access to a national

[23] Juliet Hooker investigates the reasons behind the unequal allocation of rights to indigenous and Afro-Latin groups in recent rounds of multicultural citizenship reform in Latin America, and claims that the main reason why Indians have been more successful in gaining rights, is their ability to claim ethnic group identities, defined in cultural or ethnic terms, separate from the national culture (J. Hooker, 2005).

[24] The UNESCO's definition of mother tongue: "the language(s) that one has learnt first; the language(s) one identifies with or is identified as a native speaker of by others; the language(s) one knows best and the language(s) one uses most" (King, 2003: 15).

and foreign language" (UNESCO, 2003: 6). It becomes obvious that bilingual schools have a function besides teaching native languages: Legitimising languages which have lacked status, respect and recognition in a society may be just as important as the actual application of the languages in school. UEIBCH focuses on promoting indigenous values and self-esteem. In lessons and at different events such as seminars and cultural gatherings, positive aspects of the indigenous culture are usually emphasized, and Quichua is promoted as one of the main symbols of the indigenous people. At events organised by the DINEIB or the school, speakers introducing the event usually give parts of, or, less frequently, all of the speech in both Quichua and Spanish. This is done in formal settings to make a point, to underline the importance of Quichua, or to show respect towards Quichua-speakers. During internal teachers' meetings where only teachers from the school in Chibuleo are present, introductions are given only in Spanish, but when the network of schools holds joint meetings, the setting is more formal and Quichua is used. As mentioned in Chapter two, at the sports day arranged for, and by, the schools in the network, two different opening statements were held: Guapizaca, who is the director of the entire network of schools, opened with a few phrases in Quichua and then delivered the rest of his speech in Spanish. The second speaker, a teacher from one of the other schools, gave his entire speech first in Quichua then in Spanish. To my understanding, Guapizaca was more relaxed about speaking at large, cultural indigenous events – after all he used to be the director of the DIPEIB-T – and he chose to speak mainly in Spanish for practical reasons, while the other speaker was more concerned with making a good impression on his indigenous listeners and the representatives from the DINEIB.

Ethnic and cultural identity

I have already mentioned the difficulties connected with the delineation of ethnic groups in Ecuador, and this is an important factor when investigating historical and current stigmatisation of ethnic identities. "The country's ethnic groups descended from Spanish colonisers and South American Indians; indeed, the relationship between the two groups defined Ecuador's subsequent pattern of ethnicity" (Kluck, 1989). Ever since the arrival of the Spaniards the distinction between whites, Indians, and Afro-Ecuadorians has been central to the social organisation of Ecuadorian society. The original mestizos were usually children of Spanish conquistadors and

indigenous women, and from the beginning it was made clear that children of mixed race were worth less than white children. The Spaniards usually did not assume responsibilities for their children born by Indian women, and this is one of the origins of the complex social hierarchy in Ecuador. "The conquistadors accepted and lauded hierarchy and rank. Their success in subduing the Inca Empire made them lords of the land and justified holding Indians as serfs, to serve as a cheap source of labor" (Kluck, 1989).

Carlos de la Torre claims that the power whites and mestizos held over the economy, politics and the indigenous population, is reason enough to describe Ecuador before the 1970s as a racial dictatorship (de la Torre, 1999: 97).[25] According to Scott H. Beck and Kenneth J. Mijeski, "the capacity to name and define other peoples and objects represents the ultimate exercise of power" (Beck and Mijeski, 2000: 121). Throughout the years the Ecuadorian state, dominated by white functionaries, has insisted that the only relevant means of identifying indigenous peoples was external to them, and in this way the indigenous groups have been stripped of their rights to self-definition and self-identity.

Definitions of identity often reflect a duality between the definition of self and the definition of others. Identity can be said to be

> a state of distinctiveness achieved by an act of separation produced either by external pressures exercised by a group or individual upon another with the aim of isolating it or by a group, society or individual using its own 'forces propres' to conceptualize and arrive at some unique characteristics. (Brock and Tulasiewicz, 1985: 1)

In Ecuador the concept of ethnic or cultural identity has been used as a categoriser by the dominant groups in society to position themselves in opposition to the poor, indigenous population. In Chibuleo the initial objections against bilingual education was a reaction to what many saw as yet another strategy on behalf of the state to limit and exclude the Indians from Hispanic spheres of society. Indigenous persons have tried to downplay their indigenous belonging in order to be granted access to a more privileged sphere. Even if changing one's ethnic identity is not a goal in itself, it is often seen as instrumental in reaching a position of higher status and more privileges. The subordinate position of the indigenous population has, by many, been internalised

[25] Racial dictatorship is a term introduced by Omi and Winant, 1994, in their studies of racial formations in the United States.

and accepted, but some have also tried to change their position in the hierarchy. To illustrate how labels of ethnic identity are fluid among Indians in the Andes region one can look at Marisol de la Cadena's study of ethnicity and gender in a highland community in Peru:

> According to hegemonic regional ideology, "Indian" and "Mestizo" are closed, bipolar constructions, standing in diametric opposition. […] Contradicting this regional ideology […] is the fluid, protean, and contingent process by which people attach ethnic labels to themselves or others. It is not unusual, for example, for one person to be seen and see himself as Indian in one ongoing relationship, while he self-identifies as mestizo in another. (de la Cadena, 1995: 331)

Interestingly, social indicators of identity change, "masks of Indianness or non-Indianness" are put on, but this does not lessen the strength of the ethnic hierarchy and the stigmatisation of Indians.

After years of indigenous struggles to revitalise culture, traditions and languages, the tables have started turning and many now see not only the limitations but also the benefits of an indigenous identity. In recent years members of the indigenous population have reached positions of power within different sectors; although still a vast minority, one can now find indigenous doctors, professors and politicians. The teachers and staff in Chibuleo often speak of successful Indians and tell the students they should aim for the stars. The most popular role model in 2006 was probably Evo Morales, the newly elected president in Bolivia. One of the goals of the bilingual education is to make students start thinking that everything is achievable.

The revitalisation process has been led by an educated indigenous elite, and often by persons who have been through the processes of ethnic or social mobility, and have, with their families, distanced themselves from their indigenous roots. Having reached positions from which they have more power and influence than earlier, they express a desire to revitalise traditions and elements of culture which to them have been lost. The revitalisation process has led to a change of attitudes among a large part of the indigenous population in Ecuador. Instead of being placed in an ethnic category and ascribed an identity by external pressures, they now wish to claim their identities. In Chibuleo, the bilingual school and its enthusiasts can take much of the credit for the development. Education has historically been the dominant group's main tool in shaping and creating a common sense of nationhood and unity. "In heterogeneous countries, where forging a common identity is essential to nationhood,

the school is usually the State's most powerful socializing institution and therefore assumes great strategic importance" (Epstein, 1985: 220). Now that the indigenous population has taken over the education of its own children and youths they follow in the footsteps of the Ecuadorian state and make use of the power education has to influence and foster attitudes. According to Erwin Epstein, education also helps develop cultural identity (Epstein, 1985: 220). Following in the footsteps of the Hispanic educational system can be both good and bad. If the power which lies in the traditional hegemonic institutional structures is applied in proper amounts at the proper places much may be accomplished. One great danger which the DINEIB has already been confronted with, however, is that it is easy to get snarled in old patterns and structures which are often connected with misuse of power. This will lead to lack of trust and a greater distance between those who work actively with indigenous issues in politics and the actual Indians they work for. One of the reasons the indigenous organisations are not very active in Chibuleo at the moment is precisely this. Maria told me that indigenous organisations used to be very active in Chibuleo, but recently a few families involved with indigenous politics have received large sums of money, and this evidence of corruption has created a lack of trust in the work done by the organisations, the methods applied and the people behind it.[26]

The lack of change within the DINEIB can also be seen in light of Paulo Freire's theories about the oppressed people's "fear of freedom", and Albert Memmi's observations about the admiration of oppressors. According to Freire, "the oppressed, having internalized the image of the oppressor and adopted his guidelines, are fearful of freedom" (Freire, 1972 [1968]: 31). Whether or not restructuring the DINEIB can be considered freedom, the process of breaking loose from structures in which they are absorbed to enter unfamiliar territories seems to entail risks. In addition to this, Freire asserts the existence of an attraction towards the oppressor on behalf of the oppressed, a desire to imitate and resemble those most powerful in society. Freire himself illustrates this by quoting Albert Memmi and his experiences of a combination of contempt and attraction towards the colonisers; he expressed bewilderment at the contrasting emotions (Memmi, 1967). This bewilderment struck me as familiar; I felt much the same when I discovered the lack of difference between

[26] In Ecuador, one of the main reasons the indigenous organisations have been connected with power and corruption, is their close connection with the Pachakutik political initiative, which in 2002 shared responsibilities with the Patriotic Society Party in the government of President Lucio Gutiérrez (Pacari, 2003: 57).

the indigenous schools and the indigenous-run DINEIB. To a certain extent, members of the indigenous population are eager to create changes and take over responsibilities, but desire for change is often counteracted by desire to enjoy and exploit positions of power previously held by the oppressing group, the mestizos.

Language is one of the main indicators of ethnic and cultural identity, and Paul Kroskrity defines identity as

> the linguistic construction of membership in one or more social groups or categories. Though other, non-linguistic criteria may also be significant, language and communication often provide important and sometimes crucial criteria by which members both define their group and are defined by others. (Kroskrity, 2001: 106)

For Sami people in Norway, linguistic competence, in other words that the person or at least one of his parents, grandparents or great grandparents used the Sami language in the privacy of the home, is, in addition to self-identification as a Sami person, the only demand one has to fulfil in order to be on the Sami electoral roll (Østerud et al., 2003: 44). I have already mentioned the importance of language for the self-image and self-identification of the indigenous population in Ecuador. Because of this language is also one of the ethnic markers which have been most affected by rules and regulations, both in Norway and in Ecuador. "Linguistic prohibitions and mandates are biopolitical techniques which are applied in order to create identities and social communities".[27] The idea has been that if one can oppress the language one can oppress the ethnic identity and the sense of belonging that go with it. In many countries this policy has been deemed necessary to create a homogenous nation-state. The purpose of linguistic oppression is assimilation, to which I now turn my attention.

Assimilation, revitalisation and the role of language

Assimilation can be seen as a contrast to revitalisation of cultures and traditions. While revitalisation processes involve the strengthening of certain cultural traits in order to enhance the public identities of members of one group, assimilation is the social process whereby one cultural group absorbs another. This is usually achieved by repressing those cultural traits which differ substantially from traits found in the

[27] Original quotation: "Forbud og påbud i språket er biopolitiske teknikker som brukes for å skape identiteter og sosiale fellesskap" (Østerud et al., 2003: 66).

group one wants to assimilate into. The management of cultural traits and identity markers can, within the perspectives of Erving Goffman (1959), be seen as playing roles on a stage. According to his theory a person can assimilate into a group, and pass for a member, by adapting the impression or image demonstrated by members of this group. The person does not, however, have to form a permanent allegiance with the new group and distance himself from his own group, but must constantly manage his identity markers according to his surroundings. One potential problem of this approach lies in the difficulty of playing one role convincingly when one is juggling two simultaneously. In Chibuleo, those who try hard to fit in with the mestizos are often ridiculed for "trying to be white".

Assimilation has in history been forced upon many minority groups; the indigenous populations of both Norway and Ecuador have faced prohibitions connected with language use and other displays of cultural identity. Children of the Sami people were often taken from their families and sent to Norwegian-speaking boarding schools where use of the Sami language was prohibited. Teachers in the north of Norway were given a bonus from a state fund for every Sami child they "Norwegianised". A state fund called "Finnefondet" existed merely to "promote the teaching of Norwegian in the transitional districts and to ensure the enlightenment of the Sami people" (Minde, 2003: 126). Parents wanted their children to grow up to become "Norwegian", and they were forced to express themselves in Norwegian. The reward for this was acceptance in the dominant society, while the punishment for speaking their Sami-language was exclusion (Østerud et al., 2003: 66). This oppressive language policy has also been applied in Ecuador, and is one of the reasons why the number of Quichua-speakers has decreased over the years. In the population census of 2001 conducted by the National Institute for Statistics and Censuses only 6.8 percent[28] of all Ecuadorians considered themselves to be indigenous (INEC, 2006b), compared to estimates mentioned in Chapter one in which the CIA World Factbook estimated 25 percent to be Indian, the Library of Congress Country Studies roughly 40 percent, and K. King claimed it was safe to say that about one third of the population identifies as indigenous.

[28] 830 418 persons out of a total population of 12 156 608 (INEC, 2006b).

From a historical perspective it has been necessary for Indians working in markets in the cities to learn Spanish properly in order not to be taken advantage of. The Indians closest to the big cities and markets are today most commonly those who have lost their language, while in the more isolated areas, traditional language and way of life have been better maintained. Chibuleo has close relations with the city of Ambato and other cities in the country today; nevertheless, its inhabitants have managed to maintain the language spoken by their ancestors, and they are very proud of this. They know many other indigenous communities have distanced themselves from their cultural and traditional backgrounds, and can count only a few members who still speak the language, and everyone in Chibuleo expressed some sadness over this. As to these indigenous communities, some have no regrets and have either assimilated into mestizo society to such a degree that they feel no need for ethnic identity markers, or have defined themselves in terms of other identity markers connected with their ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Others, however, are regretful of the way things have developed, and many are currently trying to regain lost languages and traditions. One example of this is the case of the Saraguro schools mentioned in Chapter one, which declared their school children to be bilingual in order to join the P.EBI and develop proper bilingual schools. The inhabitants of Chibuleo consider Quichua to be their mother tongue, and they speak Quichua with friends and families. In many places in Ecuador, however, an indigenous person who considers Quichua to be his or her first language may not actually have an extensive knowledge of the language, or even be able to speak it at all. K. King has done extensive fieldwork in a school in two different Saraguro communities. Prior to and upon arrival, K. King was informed that everyone in the community was bilingual and spoke both Spanish and Quichua, but she soon learned that their knowledge of Quichua was limited to classroom knowledge at best. She observed that members of the community had a strong connection with, and took great pride in, all things Quichua and the language in particular, even though hardly any of the young spoke it properly. “Despite the fact that so few in Lagunas speak Quichua many members stated that they believed it not possible to be *indígena* without knowledge of the language” (King, 2001: 101. Italics in original). This can be compared to the attitudes portrayed by students and teachers in Chibuleo: Quichua is seen as important because it was the language of their ancestors and this again is the source of their self-identity.

People in Chibuleo worried for a while that the community would gradually assimilate into mestizo society and lose their language, lifestyle and traditional dress, but due to positive influences, and increased knowledge of tradition and culture in school and elsewhere, these trends have now changed. I believe that the large-scale assimilation processes which have taken, and still are taking place in Ecuador, serve as a motivating factor for the ongoing revitalisation processes. In Chibuleo, as frequently mentioned, all the inhabitants, except for some Hispanic families living in specific *barrios*, know and speak Quichua. At the school, however, many children and youths come from different communities and have families who no longer speak Quichua. As mentioned in Chapter two, there are six students in fifth *curso* who consider themselves monolingual. One of them, Agustín, told me that his grandparents spoke Quichua, but after a while they got used to speaking Spanish and they didn't teach their children Quichua. Agustín likes Quichua and feels that this was a great neglect on his grandparents' part. A girl says she hardly ever speaks Quichua in her community, because people there do not speak the language anymore. These results of assimilationist politics do not indicate that language is not considered important, or that the groups which have stopped using Quichua do not identify with the language: Joshua Fishman calls language an emblem of identity, and claims that it continues to be seen as essential to identity even after the group stops using it actively (King, 2001: 102).

Action and reaction

The revitalisation process

Indigenous peoples all around the world have been confronted with assimilation strategies. The dominant groups in society have often worked hard to assimilate the indigenous population, and this has also been the aim of many of the indigenous groups themselves. Since the 1970s, however, a reaction to the forces of assimilation appeared among indigenous peoples all over the world. The global dynamics of indigenous struggles spread from continent to continent and gradually gained support from organisations such as the United Nations. The indigenous population in Ecuador gathered around strong indigenous organisations and the nation has witnessed a continuing process of revitalisation of ethnic identities and culture since then. The ethnic resurgence we see in the 1970s and 1980s is the result of decades, or centuries,

of covert indigenous resistance finally culminating in the creation of the CONAIE in 1986. "The CONAIE legitimately represents four million inhabitants who are discriminated on a non-religious basis, and who belong to the following nationalities: Quichua, Awa, Tsáchila, Chachi, Siona, Secoya, Huaorani, Cofán, Shuar and Achuar".[29]

One of the most important areas of engagement for the indigenous organisations had been land reforms and conflicts with hacienda owners, but when the CONAIE started its work, it entered a new politicised area of operation ranging from the vindication of cultural rights to the redefinition of Ecuador as a multinational state. In 1988, the CONAIE came to an agreement with President Rodrigo Borja, whereby the CONAIE assumed responsibility for helping manage a program of intercultural bilingual education in all Indian areas of the country (Zamosc, 1994: 48, 49). The indigenous organisations, the CONAIE in particular, grew large and powerful, and they continued to focus on ethnic and cultural aspects of rights struggles. In 1990 they showed off their new strength in the famous *levantamiento*:

> In June of 1990, the mountains of the Ecuadorian Sierra provided the setting for a spectacular display of protest. For an entire week, tens of thousands of Indian peasants stopped delivering farm produce to the towns and blocked the main highways, picketed on the roadsides and marched en masse in regional capitals. In some places, demonstrators seized the offices of government agencies, and in others, localized skirmishes reportedly broke out where landowners and Indian communities had been embroiled in unresolved land disputes. (Zamosc, 1994: 37)

According to L. King, "every decision about languages is political" (UNESCO, 2003: 6). In the Ecuadorian setting, this can be supported by the close relations between indigenous issues, national politics and the struggle for the recognition of indigenous languages. The political aspects of the indigenous struggles for equal rights and opportunities are strongly connected with bilingual education, something I have already shown in Chapter one when I outlined the history and development of bilingual education in general and the appearance of the school in Chibuleo in particular. Bilingual education was one part of a set of rights for which the indigenous people fought, and it was the implementation of bilingual education, not the content, structure or management of it which was of interest to the activists.

[29] Original quotation: "*La CONAIE es la representación legítima de cuatro millones de inhabitantes, secularmente discriminados pertenecientes a las siguientes nacionalidades: Quichua, Awa, Tsáchila, Chachi, Siona, Secoya, Huaorani, Cofán, Shuar y Achuar*" (CONAIE, 1989: 268).

When bilingual education was officialised in Ecuador most of those who had stood tall on the barricades turned their backs on the struggle and left others in charge. In some communities they were lucky to have competent and committed individuals to continue the work, while others have suffered from a lack of qualified staff. The lack of trained personnel in the rural areas will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Ideologies of intercultural and bilingual education

Conducting fieldwork in the indigenous communities presented me with an opportunity to hear the Indians' version of the asymmetrical relationship between whites or mestizos and Indians. By and large, there was a discrepancy between people's statements on values and ideologies and their actions. One illustration of this is the school's great interest in, and focus on, values such as solidarity, equality and respect. Students regularly deliver speeches about the importance of respect for others, and great parts of some lessons are dedicated to instruction in values. At the same time both students and teachers arrive late for lessons and show little respect for persons speaking at, for example, teachers' meetings. This ambiguity is also visible in aspects which have to do with bilingualism and ethnicity. In official dialogues and debates the importance of Quichua in education, the equal opportunities of indigenous and mestizo students, the importance of maintaining ethnic identity and the excellent quality of the bilingual schools are important factors which are stressed among both indigenous teachers and students.

Teachers and staff in Chibuleo take great pride in their school being different from other schools, and offering the students good alternatives to traditional Hispanic education. As seen in Chapter two, certain cultural traditions are stressed at the school, but in reality there is little which sets the school apart from others. On the one hand, this can be explained by the desire to place themselves in opposition to mestizo schools by focusing on their uniqueness, hence Guapizaca's desire to do the opposite from the mestizos when starting the bilingual school in Chibuleo, and on the other hand it can be explained by Keesing's theories about incorporating the hegemonic structures and premises, or in other words adapt to traditional systems of education, in order to fight for valorisation on the mestizos' terms (Keesing, 1989). The main difference is that, as a bilingual school, it is supposed to teach subjects in Quichua in order for the children to develop skills in their mother tongue and their second

language at the same time. Quichua is taught as a foreign language in separate language lessons, and very little is conducted in Quichua in the classrooms outside of these lessons. The children and youths learn to read, they learn vocabulary and grammar, but they do not learn to use Quichua in actual situations, for example to write about the history of Ecuador or analyse a book or a poem. This is one area in which bilingual education still has a long way to go in order to fulfil the goals set out by the initiators. Ideologies are hindered by socioeconomic realities and social practice; Spanish is the language of power, the language of prosperity, and Quichua has not yet reached the academic level necessary to challenge Spanish as an educational language. In addition to this, teaching 50 percent of the curriculum in Chibuleo in Quichua would be difficult with the current situation: Even though only 12 out of the 422 students in 2005/2006 were classified as Hispanic, meaning they have mestizo parents, not indigenous, many indigenous students from neighbouring communities come from families in which they no longer speak Quichua.

Unified Quichua

There are great differences between the varieties of Quichua spoken by people in different regions in Ecuador. One can usually make oneself understood among speakers of the different varieties, but there are differences in both grammar and semantics. Another thing that varies greatly is the degree to which Quichua is spoken in different communities. In some indigenous communities, inhabitants have stopped speaking it completely, and in some others, people struggle to maintain and restore their native language. The most common thing is to speak a mix of Spanish and Quichua. The latter may be the main language, but depending on each community and each individual, Spanish words are used to varying degrees, often in almost every sentence. All children and adults in Chibuleo readily admit to speaking Quichua poorly, mainly because they speak in this mixed fashion. I will explain the practicalities of using two languages simultaneously in more detail towards the end of this chapter.

Spanish is the dominant language in Ecuador, and in order to attain a position of status or enjoy certain benefits one must master the language and the linguistic codes connected with it to perfection. This is one of the reasons many members of the indigenous population have expressed scepticism towards a strengthening of bilingual

education. According to Anthea Fraser Gupta, mother-tongue education could diminish underprivileged groups' access to power structures in situations where language use is linked to social class (Gupta, 1997: 496). Gupta has investigated several factors which militate against the use of the mother tongue in education, and one is the argument over the definition of a language. In Ecuador this linguistic dissension results in the labelling of the different varieties as dialects. The status connected to languages is much higher than that connected to dialects; a language has history, roots, rights and obligations towards a language community, while a dialect is small and insignificant and it does not have its own set of rights. It is the external forces in society who have the power to confer the status of language or dialect (Gal and Irvine, 1995), and this is an efficient mechanism for the mestizos in Ecuador to keep the Quichua-speakers in the peripheries. Roger Neil Rasnake says of his experiences from the Andes region that children were taught in school that "Quechua is not a language, but only a dialect" (Rasnake, 1988: 41), and that this was done in order to reduce the indigenous language to an inferior position in relation to Spanish. The creation of a standardised version of Quichua in Ecuador was meant not only to facilitate bilingual education, but also to strengthen the status of the language.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, both K. King (2001) and Abram (1992) believe that the relation between the development of Unified Quichua and bilingual education in Ecuador are linked by bonds of both mutual necessity and mutual interests. The political work that finally led to the creation of the DINEIB in 1988, started with the indigenous organisations calling together representatives of Quichua-speakers from different parts of Ecuador. With the assistance of the Research Centre for Indigenous Education (CIEI) at the private Catholic university in Quito, a unified variety of Quichua was agreed upon. This was an important prerequisite for bilingual education. Consuelo Yanez Cossio claims that the first stage of developing a common alphabet and an orthographic system for Quichua was the most complicated part of the process because it represented a break with the hegemony of religious missions over the education of the indigenous population in Ecuador. The first stage also laid down the ground for further unification processes and bilingual education programs, and through education, a strengthening of identity and culture (Yanez Cossio, 1991: 56).

According to Moya, Ecuador is the only country in Latin America where the unification of the indigenous alphabets and languages was not instigated by the

government. It is also the only country where one standardised alphabet has not been made official.[30] One of the advantages of this might be that the indigenous organisations themselves have been in charge all the way, but at the same time the lack of a central administration may be the cause of an unstructured and confusing language situation. Vicente Pujùpat, director of education in the CONAIE, told me that even in the initial stages of the process of agreeing on a unified standard for Quichua, the different Quichua-speakers fought amongst themselves over the grammar and semantics of their language, and finally asked a Shuar, with no knowledge of Quichua, to help them mediate and make the final decisions. In the end, much was decided by taking votes.[31] People in Chibuleo, teachers and students, feel that the creation of the Unified Quichua was perhaps a bit hasty. Simeon Floyd (2003) claims that there has been a lack of collective participation concerning decisions about a unified language in Ecuador. Pujùpat agrees with this, and claims that a wider participation in processes of formalisation of Unified Quichua would strengthen the language and people's connection with it. In the latter years more research into the different uses of Quichua has been done, and the language is still undergoing investigations and rectifications.

After the process of unifying the language, there were agreements to learn to write in a unified manner. Courses opened, even with just three, four or five students at times, and for many years people from the communities learned Unified Quichua. Their motivations were the unification of the language, and strengthening and taking care of it as a symbol of identity. People from Chibuleo also participated in these courses. But unfortunately, according to Moya, the unification process has to a certain extent been abandoned. The process of the development of a unified language gets lost in the DINEIB.[32]

The DINEIB is in charge of the academic development of the indigenous languages, but the academy of Quichua, which was meant to work as a research institute developing the Quichua language, has after six years of existence still not managed to overcome internal disputes in the Quichua-speaking communities. The future of bilingual education depends on the continuous growth of indigenous languages. Ibrahim Sidibe, a programme specialist with UNESCO's Division of Basic

[30] Personal communication, 27th February 2006.
[31] Personal communication, 16th June 2006.
[32] Personal communication, 27th February 2006

Education, says that "to be teaching tools, [indigenous languages] must go beyond just describing the legends of the forest and be able to handle things such as scientific plant evolution and the greenhouse effect" (UNESCO, 2003: 7).

In spite of the less than adequate work done by the DINEIB when it comes to developing Quichua and other indigenous languages, there are others who continually work to broaden the language further. Traditionally Quichua has had very little written material. It is historically an oral language, but things have been and are being done to stimulate the creation of written material. Usually texts written in or translated to Quichua deal with language and education, or they are folkloric stories and songs which were originally communicated in Quichua. A less traditional book in the library in Chibuleo which had been translated to Quichua was "The Little Prince" by Antoine de Saint Exupéry. Its name in Quichua is "**Auquicu**". This book's preface explains how words found in old grammar books and dictionaries have been reintroduced into the language, words have been borrowed from Bolivian and Peruvian Quechua,[33] words have been used which were in use in some areas but had been replaced with Spanish elsewhere, and finally new words have been created by building on already existing grammatical and semantic rules (Gallegos and León Coloma, 1989).[34]

Ideologies of purism and authenticity

After the standardisation of Quichua some goals have been reached: The power, influence and status of Quichua have increased, and Quichua can be used in education on a national level. New difficulties have appeared, however. I have already mentioned the fact that people in Chibuleo claim their language is poor because of the mixing of Quichua and Spanish. This is a reflection of an ideology of purism which has developed among Quichua-speakers. The revitalisation of Quichua has happened through the use of Unified Quichua and a valorisation of this at the expense of the different varieties of Quichua, and *quichuañol*. Many leading personalities in the revitalisation process have been indigenous persons, who no longer speak their native language, and have learnt the standardised variety of Quichua. They not only write standardised, they also speak standardised. This has led to a division in the Quichua-

[33] The language is called Quechua in Bolivia, Peru and other South American countries where it is spoken. Ecuador is the only country which calls the language Quichua.
[34] In extension of this, I want to point out the existence of a Quechua version of the international search engine Google: http://www.google.com/intl/qu/

speaking communities in Ecuador between supporters of Unified Quichua who consider this to be the proper indigenous language which all should strive to learn, and supporters of the different varieties who claim the authenticity of Quichua lies in the traditional diversity of the language.

> Within the indigenous context, while a speaker of Unified Quichua may be seen by other speakers of Unified Quichua as an educated or powerful individual for using the lexemes and structures particular to that variety, she may be seen by speakers of dialectal Quichua as a 'neotraditionalist', or as someone who is not really indigenous. (Andronis, 2004: 268)

According to Mary Antonia Andronis some communities in Ecuador have been involved in the revitalisation process as a result of the development of Unified Quichua, while others have been alienated because they feel the standardised language is very different from the language they identify with (Andronis, 2004). This has created a division, not only between those who spoke Quichua before this process started, and those who did not, but also between the larger, influential groups of Quichua-speakers which had the power to influence linguistic policies. Gupta also claims that being required to use a newly developed standard variety of one's native language can be more damaging to self-esteem than the requirement to use a completely different language (Gupta, 1997). Chibuleo is one of the communities which have adapted quite painlessly to the implementation of Unified Quichua. After nearly twenty years of bilingual education, the standardised variety of the language used at school has clearly influenced the vocabulary of the people in Chibuleo. An indigenous girl originally from Otavalo visiting me in Chibuleo noticed that signs and writings on walls were very different from what she was used to, and we agreed that this was probably because of the Unified Quichua and its new rules for spelling.[35] Most inhabitants seem to consider the linguistic changes an enrichment of their language. Abram is in agreement with this, and expressed that Quichua is generally a poor language with limited vocabulary, and if the standardisation can contribute to an expanded vocabulary then it is a good thing.[36]

What is not so good though, is the degradation of *quichuañol*, which is, after all, what most Quichua-speakers use every day. Some claim that "the more Spanish

[35] In rural parts of Ecuador it is common to find commercial ads, political slogans, names, and information in general written or painted straight onto walls of buildings.
[36] Personal communication, 3rd April 2006.

forms present in one's Quichua, the less 'authentic' one is" (Andronis, 2004: 266,267), in other words, what is being questioned is the authenticity of the whole person, not just the language. Floyd (2003) agrees that the use of *quichuañol* has been devalorised, while the pure, standardised Quichua is seen as more original and authentic, and is connected to higher education and hence a higher economic status. The threat he sees is that the purist view will be more dominant and threaten the existence of the mixed, spoken form. Today one can see the tendencies of this in the inhabitants of Chibuleo's negative valuing of their own spoken language.

At school students learn words in Quichua which are commonly replaced by Spanish words at home, and this leads to a slight difference in language skills among the young and the old. Many of the students I spoke with in Chibuleo felt that their Quichua was better than that of their parents or grandparents, because they learnt grammar and correct spelling. Some of the mestizo teachers at school have difficulties when teaching children parts of texts or songs in Quichua; they ask the children for the correct meaning or spelling of a word, but later realise that it is not correct according to Unified Quichua. It seems children are still more used to the "common" way of speaking and writing. One of the elders in Chibuleo who was involved in the creation of the ECUARUNARI and the start of the indigenous movement in Ecuador, and is currently working at the school, sees it as very important that all speak purely and write correctly, being faithful to Quichua and not using Spanish words when Quichua equivalents exist. He has been an active participant in the work for the creation of Unified Quichua, and gladly assists students and colleagues.

Hegemonic relations

Racial discrimination, social stigma and language

De la Torre has researched forms of everyday racism in Ecuador, and drawing on thirty eight in-depth interviews with middle-class Indians he illustrates racism based on ethnicity, not on class or other elements, such as poverty, education, accessibility, resources or respect. His empirical material shows that discrimination in the Ecuadorian society is very much rooted in a sense of white superiority and indigenous inferiority. Many of the Indians he interviewed expressed a sense of fear connected to leaving spheres of indigenous interaction and confronting whites and mestizos at school, at work or in the city. De la Torre reports that indigenous high school students

in Quito have been approached by mestizos in the streets who wanted to know if they would be interested in working as live-in maids (de la Torre, 1999).

Stigma is a situation where persons or groups are disapproved of by society, or majority groups in society, due to characteristics or beliefs. According to Goffman there are three different forms of stigma: abominations of the body, blemishes of individual character, and the tribal stigma of race, nation, and religion (Goffman, 1986: 14). Ethnicity can be categorised as a tribal stigma, also called ethnic stigma, meaning the "negative assessment of an ethnic identity by the dominant society" (Wells, 1975: 320). This is what Harald Eidheim (1969) explores in his study of the relations between Norwegians and Sami people in the coastal areas in the north of Norway. Eidheim clarifies that "ethnic groups are social categories which provide a basis for status ascription, and consequently that inter-ethnic relations are organized with reference to such statuses" (Eidheim, 1969: 39). The Sami people, their identity and their way of life, have generally been considered inferior and even illegitimate in Norway, and it is because of this Eidheim can say that the Sami people suffered "under the disability of a stigmatized ethnic identity" (Eidheim, 1969: 40) in Norway in the 1960s. The Sami people adapted to the situation by adjusting their actions to their surroundings, and by creating strict lines of separation between the private and the public spheres of interaction. This can be compared to the larger, national spheres of interaction in Ecuador, cities versus villages, where the villages become the private spheres where most actors are in similar situations or have similar backgrounds, while the city is the public sphere where cross-cultural interaction is inevitable. Indians who live in a village can, to a large extent, control and limit interaction with mestizos, but this is more difficult for the urban indigenous population. The level of discrimination and stigmatisation is also much higher in urban areas: contact between mestizos and Indians is more common than in rural areas, but on more unequal grounds. Quito is very different from Ambato, which is the city closest to Chibuleo. There is less ethnic discrimination in Ambato, probably because of its close proximity to many large indigenous communities. There is a large indigenous population in Quito, but many are far from their home communities, and feeling more exposed and isolated, they tend to resort more frequently to under-playing their ethnic identity – a strategy common among the Sami people Eidheim studied in the 1960s.

While in Quito, I visited an independent bilingual school for the children of indigenous market workers in a poor area of the capital. These children have migrated

to the city with their parents who were thus hoping to make a better living for themselves and their families. The children identify with the communities they come from, even if they have lived their entire lives in Quito. Unlike in Chibuleo, the students did not communicate amongst themselves in Quichua or *quichuañol*, but according to the teachers, all spoke Quichua, albeit to varying degrees. The teacher and co-founder of the small school, Julio Agualongo, told me that it was difficult for young Indians to speak Quichua in Quito today because of the high level of racial discrimination. One of the most important ethnic markers on which much of the stigma is based is precisely language:

> Dominance and subordination is reflected in the linguistic situation. In colonies and areas of linguistic minorities, the foreign language is connected with the dominant class in society. It is used in the modern, leading sectors of society, while the local language is stronger in traditional and less prestigious contexts. […] The cultural and linguistic dominance is often expressed through depreciation and ridicule. This can manifest itself in a sense of inferiority which has been called 'mental colonisation,' in which the local language can be seen as stigmatising.[37]

Choosing not to use Quichua in order to avoid social stigma can be understood as a defence mechanism. Eidheim speaks about the different techniques which the Sami people have developed in order for them to qualify themselves as equal participants in the Norwegian society and to avoid or limit sanctions, and how these are utilised in different spheres of interaction. One of his examples is the Sami people's efforts to control and limit language use depending on their surroundings; when in the presence of ethnic Norwegians, only Norwegian was spoken. Sami was spoken only among Sami people (Eidheim, 1969). This is one form of the phenomena linguists call code-switching, which will be described in more detail towards the end of this chapter. Cultural assimilation, when carried out by members of stigmatised groups themselves, can also be seen as a consequence of social stigma, or of trying to avoid it. Another consequence, and perhaps the most powerful one, at least in Ecuador today, is the negative self-image and lack of self-esteem among the Indians.

[37] Original quotation: "Dominans og underordning avspeiler seg i språksituasjonen. I kolonier og språklige minoritetsområder er fremmedspråket knyttet til den dominerende samfunnsklasse. Det brukes i de moderne, ledende sektorene i samfunnet, mens lokalspråket står sterkest i tradisjonelle og mindre prestisjefylte sammenhenger. […] Den kulturelle og språklige dominansen ytrer seg gjerne som nedvurdering og latterliggjøring. Dette kan gi utslag i en form for underlegenhetsfølelse som har vært kalt «mental kolonisering», der lokalspråket kan oppleves som stigmatiserende" (Østerrud et al., 2003: 46).

Self-esteem

One would perhaps think that accomplishments are central to self-identity and self-esteem, but according to Avishai Margalit and Joseph Raz, "it would seem that at the most fundamental level our sense of our own identity depends on criteria of belonging rather than on those of accomplishment" (Margalit and Raz, 1990: 447). In other words an indigenous person will still, even after having achieved and accomplished much in life, define himself or herself and build his or her self-esteem on values connected with the group to which he or she belongs. According to Will Kymlicka (1995), cultural membership is important not only because it shapes others' perceptions of individuals, but also because this again influences the individuals' self-identity and self-esteem. For many Indians it is difficult to build up self-esteem when their main source of identification is cultural membership in a highly stigmatised group in society. "If a culture is not generally respected, then the dignity and self-respect of its members will also be threatened" (Kymlicka, 1995: 7). The dominant group of whites and mestizos has had the power to turn Indians into objects, and this ethnic domination was institutionalised through the large haciendas and the domination expressed by the landowners who assumed power over their workers at local levels. "This local control helped the landowners consolidate as the hegemonic regional class" (Zamosc, 1994: 53). According to Charles Taylor, "the projection of an inferior or demeaning image on another can actually distort and oppress, to the extent that the image is internalized" (Taylor, 1994: 81). The hegemonic relations in the Ecuadorian society have been reaffirmed by lack of opposition against an oppressive system and repeated attempts to assimilate into the dominant society or to limit one's actions to a sphere defined by the dominant group or the state.

The white and mestizo hegemony and the asymmetrical power relations in Ecuador have affected the indigenous population's view of itself and the value it places upon its own people. The Spanish language and all that has to do with the Hispanic way of life have traditionally been considered to be of very high value. As mentioned in Chapter two, when bilingual education first was implemented in Chibuleo, people were very sceptical because they were afraid their children would learn less Spanish than in monolingual schools, and in this way, be limited with regards to possibilities of progress and mobility in the Hispanic-dominated society. UEIBCH managed to build up a good reputation, however, and the indigenous, local

teachers have gained a certain respect, but one can still sense the deeply rooted feeling of an indigenous inferiority complex towards the mestizos. According to Taylor, for people who have internalised a picture of inferiority of themselves, it can be difficult to take advantage of new possibilities, even when objective obstacles fall away (Taylor, 1994: 75). At a lecture held for teachers in bilingual institutions, an indigenous Ecuadorian researcher, Alberto Conejo, said that bilingual education had conquered the language, now it had to conquer the minds; many members of the indigenous population suffer from very low self-esteem, and this must be changed in order to achieve equal opportunities and development for the indigenous population.

Even though the UEIBCH gives a positive image of bilingual education, on the individual level there is still a lack of trust in indigenous teachers, indigenous institutions, indigenous education and even the indigenous languages, and this, not only by the mestizos, but by the Indians as well. As mentioned in Chapter two, it is a problem in Chibuleo that many children decide to leave the community after primary or secondary school in order to go to school elsewhere. To a certain degree it is only natural for youths to want to leave small communities and go out into the world; the part that is not so easy to understand is that it is often the indigenous teachers at the community schools themselves who advise the good students to go to Hispanic high schools, with the argument that they are of higher quality. In one of the teachers' meetings, the director and the vice-principal asked the teachers kindly not to encourage students to leave the community to go to Hispanic high schools. Their argument was not based along the line of "we are equally good", because there is in fact a consensus that some city schools are better, albeit far from all, but advantages were emphasised, such as the security in a community school, both in connection with drugs and alcohol, and also educational security in that the students in a small school will be followed more closely than in a large school in the city.

The teachers' preferences of Hispanic education over a bilingual do have effects on the students in Chibuleo. Even though Juana and her classmates express positive attitudes towards the benefits of being bilingual and take pride in their ethnic identity, they also express doubts about their knowledge and abilities compared to students in the city or abroad, and some students even say straight out that it would be an honour to attend a Hispanic high school in the city, but their families do not have the money to send them to these schools. Negative statements about bilingual education, such as this last one, were seldom heard in UEIBCH. In general, when

inquiring about bilingual education and the importance of learning and speaking Quichua, I often felt that the students, particularly the younger ones, repeated words and phrases learnt at school: learning Quichua would give them a better chance further on in life; it was important for them to speak and maintain the language of their ancestors; learning Quichua is important because of the cultural heritage it represents. These are core elements in bilingual education, along with the ideology of a pure Quichua which I will discuss in more detail in Chapters four and five.

Both students and parents sometimes prefer city schools, and reasons vary from juvenile adventurism to lack of faith in the intercultural bilingual education and aspirations for a better future. But on the whole one could say that UEIBCH has been successful in slowly building up indigenous pride, confidence and self-esteem. For example, a twelve year old girl refused to follow her mother's advice to change schools and study in Ambato, because she wanted to stay at UEIBCH. And more and more students decide to finish high school in Chibuleo instead of matriculating in a city high school.

Even though there is still much to do when it comes to building up self-confidence and self-esteem among indigenous groups, gradually a sense of pride and belonging has been fostered. Apart from actual statements about the importance of traditions, culture and language by the students, the staff and the population in general in Chibuleo, a clear indicator that the young population in particular feels more confident about their own ethnic identity is the fact that people openly express their ethnic belonging. More people now wear indigenous clothing in the city, they speak Quichua with each other on the streets and in shops, and there is a growing number of Indians who run offices and banks where business can be conducted in Quichua, should the customers wish to do so. Revitalising the indigenous languages is by many seen as an important step on the way to rebuilding self-esteem. Domination in society is often expressed through ridicule and disempowerment of the language. In order to move past this sense of subordination, many feel that a language such as Quichua needs to be developed to such a degree that it can easily replace Spanish in any context, including in academic circles. According to Nancy Dorian a good way to revitalise Indian languages would be to implement laws ensuring an increase in value by using them as academic languages, and further raise linguistic and cultural rights from the level of educational law to that of the Constitution in order for the revitalisation process to reach fields of administration and jurisdiction (Dorian, 1994).

Managing identities

Social mobility

De la Torre has investigated claims that there is a fluidity in the system of racial categorisation, and that "the racial and ethnic terms: *blanco* (white), *mestizo* (mixed-blood), and *indio* (Indian) are social and cultural constructs which refer to physical features and appearance, language, dress style, rural or urban origin, and Quichua or Spanish surname" (de la Torre, 1999: 93). It is, to a certain degree, difficult to differentiate between categories, which may be why differentiating oneself from others is seen as so important to individuals who claim a higher status in society than others. Even though the divisions between the different ethnic groups are deep, the precise criteria for defining each group are far from clear and involve both social and biological characteristics. The power of self-definition is in many ways important in Ecuador, but mainly for those who find themselves in a positive, non-stigmatised position. According to David Kyle (2000: 77) "ethnicity in the Andes is largely defined by dress and lifestyle, not by membership in clearly defined races", but this does not mean it is easy to achieve social mobility. Even though the fluidity of the system allows members of the indigenous population in Ecuador to adapt their appearance, way of life and language in order to assimilate into the majority group, this social climbing is everything but simple. An Indian who masters Spanish perfectly and dresses according to the cultural codes of the mestizos will still encounter racial confrontations based on his physical appearance or lack of familiarity with linguistic or cultural codes. Historically, social mobility has been frowned upon by members of the upper strata in society.

> Although individuals might change their position in the hierarchy, social mobility itself was not positively viewed. The movement of individuals up and down the social scale was regrettable – ideally, a person should be content with, and maintain, his or her assigned role in the social order. (Kluck, 1989)

Members of the dominant group will exaggerate all differences in order to create a larger distance between themselves and what they consider to be the more unfortunate and primitive population, the indigenous people. In order to achieve social mobility it is necessary to master different techniques of impression management.

Impression management and code-switching

Monica Heller defines code-switching as "the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode" (1988: 1), and she claims that the functions of code-switching are to define roles and relationships through levelling or maintaining boundaries. Taking into consideration both Heller's definition and Eidheims description of language use among the Sami people mentioned in the previous section, I believe switching of codes can be used to define roles, identities and relationships in small "communicative episodes", such as in single sentences, or a conversation, but also on more extensive arenas, such as within the family, workplace, or other social spheres of interaction. Eidheim (1969) has shown that the Sami people communicate in their native Sami language only in closed spheres with no ethnic Norwegians present. When an ethnic Norwegian approaches a group of Sami people, they immediately start communicating with each other in Norwegian, even if the new arrival has no personal interest in the topic or conversation and was not included. The paradox in this is that both Sami-speakers and non-Sami-speakers are aware of each other's background; they know who is an ethnic Norwegian and who is not. The switching of codes, or languages, is not done to convince anyone of a person's ethnic or cultural background. The motivations are more along the lines of Heller's claim of definition of roles and relationships. The Sami people are not accepted on the same terms as ethnic Norwegians; there is a strict social hierarchy where the ethnic Norwegians are on top and also have the power to define the roles of the entire society. By following a certain code of conduct, meaning adapting to and assimilating into society on the terms established by the influential and powerful, Sami people hope to be more accepted.

> The fact that the flow of interaction in the public sphere goes on does not indicate that the relations are based on mutual and real agreement about a shared identity. One may easily be misled to believe this, but one must realize that an inherent quality of the public sphere is that it gives no scope for Lapps to show behaviour which springs from their Lappish identity without great social costs. Such behaviour is reserved for closed stages. (Eidheim, 1969: 52)

In Ecuador the situation has, for a long time, been similar to the one described by Eidheim, but the divisions between indigenous and mestizo spheres of interaction have become less strict the last few years. As I have already mentioned, more people

now wear traditional clothes and speak Quichua in traditional mestizo spheres, such as in the cities. With the appearance of an indigenous middle class, "relatively prosperous merchants and agriculturalists, independent professionals, university students preparing for middle-class jobs, and small industrialists" (de la Torre, 1999: 96), relations between the two groups have changed, and Indians are claiming more public space. Even though this is happening slowly, and mainly in certain areas with a high number of prestigious Indians, changes can be seen in the expansion of Quichua use. In the community of Chibuleo, people generally communicate in Quichua, with Spanish words and sentences mixed in.

I referred to this as **chapushka**, **chaupilengua** or *quichuañol* in Chapter one. The reasons behind this practice can be a limited Quichua vocabulary, or the creation of new Quichua words which people have not yet become accustomed to, causing them to use their Spanish equivalents. Sometimes it seems to be a mere reflex created by the constant influence of Spanish. While playing soccer after school hours, the children usually speak mainly in Quichua, being all of them from the *barrios* around the school in Chibuleo, but some words are used only in Spanish. "**Ima** *falta*?" for example means "which mistake/error?" where **ima**, which, is a Quichua word and *falta*, mistake/error, is from Spanish. Other examples are students changing music on the bus, shouting "**kai** *CD no vale*", meaning this CD does not work, with **kai** from Quichua and the rest from Spanish, or a little girl helping her mother with cooking and was told to use the "**jatun** *balde*", the large bucket, "**jatun**", "large", being from Quichua and "*balde*", "bucket", from Spanish. This shows how common words which are used often, like "which" and "big", are spoken in Quichua, while more specific words which are less commonly used are in Spanish.

At UEIBCH, however, the patterns of conversation are more varied, due to Hispanic teachers and students, and indigenous students with limited knowledge of Quichua. The level of intimacy with other speakers seems to correlate with the amount of Quichua spoken by mother-tongue Quichua-speakers. As mentioned in Chapter two one is most likely to hear Quichua spoken in smaller groups of close friends. In larger groups of indigenous students from different indigenous-speaking communities, Quichua or Spanish are spoken to an equal extent, but Quichua is seldom heard in groups where monolinguals are present. When practically all in a large group are Quichua-speakers, the lack of intimacy seems to be the reason why

Spanish is spoken; borders between intimate relations and more distant ones are thus maintained through language use.

Communications with teachers and in classrooms make out a separate category. Upon arrival at the school, I had imagined that the main bulk of the communication between indigenous teachers and indigenous students would be in Quichua. This was not the case, and there are several reasons for this: Usually there is always a student or a teacher present who does not master Quichua, and in these situations Spanish is usually the preferred language. When students address indigenous teachers they often do so in Quichua, but mainly when the topic of conversation is not academically related, because a curriculum purely in Spanish has ensured that Quichua is not associated with academics. None of the subjects, besides from Quichua language lessons, are taught in Quichua, and the educational language at school is Spanish. "Spanish code" is used in lessons, while "Quichua code" is often limited to extra-curricular activities, something which creates a boundary between an academic sphere and an indigenous sphere. Another aspect of code-switching which is common in Chibuleo is the constant switching between two languages in the middle of a conversation. This is commonly heard among Quichua-speakers and can be a sign of limited vocabulary or lack of linguistic skill, mainly within Quichua. Bernard Spolsky (1988) explains that this switching between two languages in the middle of conversations can be for convenience and can also be connected to certain topics or areas that lack vocabulary in one or the other language. It is also important to remember that language use is connected to how closely the speakers identify with the topic discussed. Topics such as food and family relations are associated with an intimate sphere, something which will influence the language used to describe these. When Maria and her friends in Chibuleo speak about food or family relations, hardly one single word is heard in Spanish, but when conversations move to topics like education or sports one can almost follow the conversation without much knowledge of Quichua.

Summary

In this chapter, I have described various complications and challenges connected with ethnic diversity in post-colonial nation-states. There have been strict hierarchical relations between the different groups in Ecuador, something which has led to

widespread assimilation of minority groups into the dominant society. Today's process of revitalisation is a reaction to the stigmatisation and oppression of the indigenous population, and in this process, language and bilingual education have played vital roles. For the indigenous peoples in Ecuador, having reached today's position is quite an achievement, considering the nation's history. This has been done by pursuing different strategies of identity management, such as impression management and code-switching, and it has been motivated by discrimination, racism and social stigma. These elements have throughout the years created an extensive inferiority complex among the indigenous population, which to this day contributes to maintaining the social gap between different groups, and the social stigma connected with being indigenous. The challenges are still many, and I now wish to look into the socioeconomic circumstances for the Ecuadorian indigenous population, and the effects these have on ethnic revitalisation and the development of bilingual education.

CHAPTER FOUR: SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INEQUALITIES

In this chapter, I will describe the social and geographical inequalities between the urban and rural, and the mestizo and indigenous populations of Ecuador. The great inequalities between urban and rural areas can be better understood by looking at the nation's history, and the strong hierarchical patterns which have survived since colonisation. Whites and mestizos are associated with the urban areas, and have more power, money and prestige than Indians, who are usually associated with rural lifestyles. Rural and urban areas stand in stark opposition to each other mainly because of their inhabitants, and also because of the great differences in poverty rates and level of education. In addition to this I will look at the effects the urban-rural opposition and the socioeconomic difficulties connected with it have on the family unity, and also at the effects close family relations have on rural individuals' opportunities. My reasons for looking into the everyday challenges in rural Ecuador, is that bilingual education is connected with the actual lives of the indigenous population in Ecuador, the socioeconomic reality must be faced by schools as well as by communities. To illustrate the close connection between these two, I will look at the difficulties connected with the education of rural, bilingual teachers and the power and status connected with language use. Problems within education may not be resolved unless solutions are sought outside of the school premises.

Social hierarchies based on post-colonial structures

Whites, mestizos and Indians

The highly hierarchical and racist structures in Ecuador date back to colonial times, and the 300 years of intensive colonization before the Latin American countries formally gained their independence left their mark on the continent, as discussed in Chapter one. In contrast to many African colonies "America's demography was changed completely because of new settlement and occupation of land" (Ouane, 2003: 149). Value was placed on specific personal and cultural traits, and connected to certain groups in society, and membership in these groups was limited and controlled.

> Indian people, as well as the Afroecuadorian population, whose ancestors were brought to the country as slaves during the Spanish conquest, occupy the bottom rung of the social hierarchy.

> Thus, although Ecuador can be defined by its geographic, cultural and linguistic diversity, the dominant tone has historically been set by the Hispanic heritage and the Spanish language; however, the linguistic and cultural differences among the native groups have persisted until now. (King and Haboud, 2002: 361)

The initial focus on race or skin colour as the crucial element dividing people has not disappeared, and one sign of the survival of the strict racial hierarchy in society can be seen in the contrast between rural and urban areas. From the colonial period, money and power have been centred mainly in the capital and partly in other city centres. Development has occurred following terms and conditions of the urban centres, and people living in rural areas have had to manage on their own. The rural population has, however, not been able to develop in an autonomous manner because of the need to relate to the nationally accepted values and hierarchies. In post-colonial Ecuador, Spanish was associated with modernity and has been placed in a privileged position. The association between non-European languages and stagnation is only recently losing its hold Latin American countries, and it still carries tremendous weight in decisions about language use (Schmidt-Nieto, 2001: 7).

Historically the indigenous population has not had a voice of its own. Different elite groups in society have spoken on behalf of the Indians while excluding them from participation in the national political arena (Crain, 1990: 56). This has changed, the indigenous population has found its voice, and Quichua has recently, due to hard work by members of the indigenous population, gained value, both officially and on an individual level, although admittedly in a limited number of spheres. This language of the indigenous ancestors is seen as an important cultural heritage and an important feature of indigenous identity; it is not however valued as a political, economic or educational language. There has been a demand for the recognition of local languages as counterweight to former colonial languages in many countries around the world, and in many cases, this has led to a change of status for many indigenous languages (Ouane, 2003: 250). The establishment of the DINEIB in Ecuador officialised bilingual education for 14 nationalities.[38]

Through the process of ethnic revitalisation in Ecuador, an indigenous middle class has emerged. The ethnic hierarchy, the "colonial correlation between class and ethnicity" (de la Torre, 1999: 106), is challenged by the emergence of indigenous

[38] These nationalities are: Shuar, Achuar, Siona, Secoya, Cofán, Waorani, Sapara, Awa, Chachi, Ts´achila, Epera, Shiwiar, Andoa and Kichwa.

merchants and artists, but even though economic mobility may begin to challenge the old patterns, ethnicity is still powerful enough to maintain a symbolic hierarchy. A poor mestizo will feel superior to a successful, wealthy indigenous person. In spite of the ambiguousness of ethnic categories in Ecuador, and the possibility for Indians to be considered mestizos, race is not unimportant. In de la Torre's investigations into racism towards middle class Indians it becomes clear that racial stigma affects members of the indigenous population, whether they express aspects of their ethnicity in their self-presentation or not. Naturally, Ecuadorians with power, status and influence are not interested in losing positions by eliminating hierarchical structures, and many will try their best to maintain the power structures: "Traditional sources of power in Ecuador continue to try to assert hegemony" (Pacari, 2003: 58).

One paradox commonly pointed out by people in Chibuleo, and mentioned by de la Torre (1999), is the fact that most Ecuadorians are in fact part indigenous. In a way mestizos have built up hatred for a group they consider themselves to be opposed to, but which is in fact partly identical to themselves, and "each act of aggression against the Indian and black 'Other' is a form of denial and hatred of the *mestizo* self" (de la Torre, 1999: 93). Some suggestions from people in Chibuleo concerning the revitalisation of ethnic identities included making Quichua the main language in Ecuador and erase Spanish altogether. This was hardly said in seriousness, but the underlying point was that the mestizos, who are part indigenous, should adapt to the lifestyle of the indigenous population, which is pure and traditional. Quichua existed in Ecuador before Spanish, and should therefore be the main national language. Instead**,** all things indigenous have constantly been adapted to, or suppressed by, the Hispanic style. Even when the aim of governmental actions was to improve the situation of the indigenous population, such as the 1981 eviction of the missionary Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) which transmitted foreign cultural values, often in conflict with aspects of native belief systems, results have tended to strip the indigenous population of power.[39] In this situation, the government placed the

[39] The SIL were in Ecuador from the 1950s, and the organisation oversaw missionaries' activities, including bible translations, bilingual education, and adult literacy programmes. The values transmitted were often in conflict with native belief systems; their ideological foundation was a conviction that Indians could become civilised only through Christianity and conversation, and this explains the pedagogy of transitional bilingual education where the aim was to be able to exclude the mother tongue from the third year in school. Pro-indigenous organisations, anthropologists and sociologists lobbied for their eviction in Ecuador (Crain, 1990; Abram, 1992).

management of the educational programs in the hands of another non-indigenous institution, instead of trusting the communities with the task (Crain, 1990: 48).

The city and the countryside

The majority of the population in Ecuador today live in urban areas (UIS, 2004). The composition of urban and rural population has changed over the years: In 1950 only 29 percent lived in urban areas and 71 percent in rural areas. By 1982 the urban population had expanded to 49 percent, and in 2001 the rural population constituted only 39 percent of the population (INEC, 2005: 1). Criteria for ethnic categorisation are fluid in Ecuador, with possibilities of ethnic mobility. Ecuador is a country of hierarchies and divisions, and due to the history of colonialism, the urban-rural divide has been one of the most important signs of division in society. According to Marleen Haboud**,** geographic establishment has been much used as a criterion for defining ethnic identity. Traditionally rural areas have been associated with the indigenous population and the urban areas have been associated with mestizos (Haboud, 1998: 55). Due to large-scale migration the situation has changed, but the association between the countryside and the indigenous population has remained strong.

Many Indians have migrated permanently to the cities; many more commute between their communities and the cities. In Quito, large parts of the urban indigenous population live in poverty, something I will expand on in the next section. In the city, Indians mostly work as petty traders; they often sell either folkloric artefacts or food products in the markets. The school for the children of indigenous market workers I visited in the southern part of Quito illustrated how difficult life in the city can be for the indigenous migrants from rural areas. The school was created around a loose group of children; it consisted of the children of the Indians working at the market, and two teachers who had decided to try and improve the quality of life and future prospects for these children. The two teachers are originally from small rural communities themselves, but have had the opportunity to get a high school and university education in Quito. They felt fortunate and wanted to give something back to the less fortunate members of the urban indigenous population. The children of migrants often spend their time working for their parents, or shining shoes, selling candy or cigarettes, and do not have the opportunity to attend school. At first the teachers had thought of instructing the parents in order for them to teach their children

at home, but they soon realised the indigenous migrants were constantly occupied with the harsh necessities in life and had little time to spend with their children. In addition to a need for education, there was also a need to create a space where children and adults could interact. The two teachers started an autonomous school in the park, later they borrowed a house, and today after many years of work, they have built their own school building, employ a number of teachers, and are recognised as a bilingual school under the umbrella of the DINEIB.

As mentioned in the previous section, well-intended government initiatives have often failed because of a lack of understanding for the specific local needs and desires. Development initiatives have often materialised in urban settings with no considerations for, or inputs from, the local population. Technical expertise has been given priority at the expense of local knowledge (Uquillas and Niewkoop, 2003: 7). The director at UEIBCH was very concerned with the importance of educating local, indigenous experts, with the technical knowledge necessary to improve the infrastructure, start a clinic or run a school, as well as extensive knowledge of local needs. According to the director, rural housing has deteriorated greatly since the Hispanic style of construction was implemented. Cement will keep out neither the cold nor the heat like the traditional adobe houses used to**.** The initial aim of bilingual education was to hire local teachers in community schools, because their thorough knowledge of the situations of the children in the community was deemed to be of great assistance in planning the school year and developing curricula and teaching methods. It is also of great use to both teachers and students that teachers know whose parents commute to the city, who must take care of younger siblings or work in the afternoons, whose parents are divorced or deceased, who has financial difficulties, who has problems with disease in the family, and who lives far away from school. As Ramphele puts it, “modern societies can become or remain materially wealthy only if they are managed by a large group of individuals with the right mix of sophisticated technical and organizational expertise” (Ramphele, 2003: 4).

Socioeconomic and social problems

Economy

According to a recent study by Carlos Larrea and Fernando Montenegro Torres, 62.5 percent of the population of Ecuador was poor in 1998, and 26.9 percent was

classified as extremely poor. For the non-indigenous population the numbers were a little lower, with 61.1 percent and 25.2 percent respectively, while among the indigenous population 86.9 percent lived in poverty, and 55.6 percent in extreme poverty. In Quito 27.9 percent are poor, while in the rural highlands 95.6 percent of the indigenous population and 78.9 percent of the non-indigenous population live in poverty (Larrea and Torres, 2006: 71). These numbers illustrate clearly the two main divisions in Ecuadorian society: rural areas are poorer than urban areas, and the indigenous population is poorer than the non-indigenous population. Studies performed by the World Bank support the findings that poverty and ethnicity are correlated both in rural and urban areas. Indigenous individuals and communities are worse off than their mestizo counterparts (Uquillas and Niewkoop, 2003: 3, 4). The contrast between urban and rural areas is also evident in educational statistics. The poorest population in rural areas has on average less than four years of schooling, while the wealthiest population in urban areas has more than twelve years. The indigenous population over the age of 24 living in the rural highlands has an average of 2.4 years of schooling, compared to 5 years for the rural non-indigenous population in the same areas and 7.6 years of schooling on a national level (Rojas, 2003: 271).

Comparing rural and urban poverty may represent difficulties. Subsistence agriculture is possibly of more value to a family than a poor income in the city, but this may not be expressed in poverty surveys. Keeping this in mind, the statistical data portraying the differences between urban and rural areas still speak clearly, particularly when taking into considerations the fact that approximately 50 percent of the rural indigenous population did not have access to agricultural land in 1996, and those who did, often cultivated on poor quality land. 13 percent of all irrigated land was in the hands of indigenous farmers. In 1998 the Constitution was amended to acknowledge the “ancestral” rights of the indigenous population to the land they inhabit, but it is difficult to say whether this measure contributed in any way to improve their access to agricultural land (World Bank, 2004a: 95).

Maria has worked together with other women in Chibuleo on projects to empower women and give them the opportunity to stand on their own feet. In Chapter two, I mentioned the guinea pig-project which failed because the women did not care enough for the animals to keep them from being eaten by larger animals. The women in Chibuleo did not seem very interested in supporting other women trying to advance, or in receiving help from others. The element of competition and jealousy

between different families is strong in Chibuleo. Resources are scarce, and there is definitely competition for them. Maria told me that the current development within agriculture indicates that changes are necessary in order to increase efficiency and gain, but she was sceptical to people's abilities to cooperate and make this work. Families in Chibuleo are generally poor, but instead of working together to find their way out of the difficult economic situation, the competitiveness of inhabitants rises.

Malnutrition is a real threat to rural Ecuadorian children. If children are denied sufficient access to nutrients and exposed to diseases there is a chance of chronic malnutrition. Due to economic difficulties and other social problems, such as the absence of adults in many homes, many children's diets are insufficient. According to research from the 1990s, 26 to 27 percent of children in Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador suffered from malnutrition, and there are very large differences between malnutrition's prevalence in urban and rural areas. Malnutrition in rural areas in Peru was more than three times as common as in Lima. In all three countries the indigenous population was twice as likely to be affected (Larrea and Freire, 2002). "Child malnutrition is still widespread in Ecuador, with a national prevalence of 26 percent in 1998, and the highest rates recorded among indigenous groups (58 percent) and the rural highlands (41 percent)" (Larrea and Kawachi, 2005).

According to the UNICEF (2006), malnutrition can both weaken the child physically and impair its abilities to learn. Missing out on primary education will cause a lack of literacy and cognitive skills which again may impair the chances of having a decent income later in life. Malnutrition also contributes to the intergenerational reproduction of poverty and inequality (Larrea and Kawachi, 2005). If the parents are unable to feed their children properly, the children will experience more difficulties in school and elsewhere, something which may again have negative consequences for development.

Malnutrition can, to a certain extent, help to explain the great differences in level of education in the urban and rural areas. Even though there are poor children in cities as well, access to diverse food is much scarcer in rural communities. Children are dependent upon their parents' bringing them food from the city or from the market. Children in Chibuleo are often breastfed until they are a few years old. Breast milk is a free source of nutrients, something many members of the poor rural population is dependent upon. This becomes clear in studies which show that "breastfeeding has a positive association with stunting, due to its strong relationship

with rural residence, indigenous ethnicity and poverty" (Larrea and Kawachi, 2005). The advantages of breastfeeding depend upon the mother's diet.

Staple food in Chibuleo is dominated by carbohydrates, based on potatoes and rice. In the poorer households meat and fish are rare. It is usually easier to use home grown crops of potatoes and vegetables. During the school year students have the chance to receive a warm meal every day for a cost of one dollar per month. The first month many students had forgotten to bring money, but later on in the year most students participated in the program. The school received funding for this, and in addition they used vegetables grown on the school farm. The first month I was in Chibuleo the school lunch was not yet in operation, and for the last month of school the operation stopped**.** In this period some bought a snack in the cafeteria, like a fried egg with chips or rice, others bought candy, but most students went without any food.

The school in Chibuleo is cheaper than most other schools; this was mentioned by many as one of the reasons why they complete secondary and tertiary education in the community. There are, however, always small expenses to be paid, such as stationary, soccer shirts, sports shoes, uniforms for band members and textbooks. At the end of the school year of 2005/2006, the national Ministry of Education promised to provide all primary schools with free textbooks for the next school year. This became the topic of some argument in Chibuleo due to the fact that these textbooks would be in Spanish. The DIPEIB-T in Ambato requested that the school decline the offer because they were developing new bilingual textbooks, but these would not be offered free of charge. The school administration had to decide between sacrificing bilingual textbooks to cut the costs of the children's schooling, or committing to bilingual education and have the parents pay extra for this.

Education

According to a human development report from the UN, public expenditure on education in Ecuador in 1990 was 4.3 percent of the total GDP, or 17.2 percent of total government expenditure. In 2000-2002 this level decreased to a mere 1.03 percent of the GDP and 8.03 percent of the government expenditure (UNHDR, 2005). Even though the government has placed much importance on education in Ecuador, funding has been drastically reduced. This must be reversed if the country is to develop. Cuts in funding affects the quality of education by diminishing teacher

training programs and the development of new textbooks, and many schools in need of infrastructural improvements will continue to suffer. Coverage is also affected when funding for new schools is insufficient, and new teachers are hard to come by. "Unless investment in education is restored to the levels of the past decade, it will be difficult for Ecuador to meet the goal of universal elementary school education by the year 2015" (Rojas, 2003: 266).

Literacy rates have improved, and in 2001, 91.6 percent of the population over 10 years could read and write, but the gap between the urban and rural areas is significant in this area as well. While the literacy rate in urban areas was 94.8 percent, in the rural areas it was 86.3 percent, and among rural women only 84 percent were literate (INEC, 2005: 2). But these numbers do not isolate the indigenous population in the rural areas. According to the census of population from 2001 the literacy rate among the total indigenous population in Ecuador is at 76 percent, divided unequally between men, 83.2 percent, and women, 69.3 percent. In addition to this there are great differences between indigenous inhabitants in rural and urban areas: 85.9 percent of the urban indigenous population are literate, while in rural areas the percentage is at 73.5 (INEC, 2006a).

Primary school enrolment rates are high in Ecuador. 77 percent of children are enrolled in pre-primary school, and 98 percent of girls and 97 percent of boys are in primary school. Only 53 percent of girls and 52 percent of boys attend secondary school, however, and the survival rate to grade five is 76 percent (UIS, 2004). The average number of years of schooling among the population over 10 years in 1990 was 6.3 years, while in 2001 it had increased to 7.1 years. In the province of Pichincha, the province where the capital is located, the average number of years is 8.1, while in Tungurahua, the province where I did my fieldwork, the average was 6.6 (INEC, 2005: 3). These statistical results portray an image which is representative of the entire population in Ecuador, but not of the younger generations. Children today generally attend school for at least seven years, completing primary school, most finish secondary school, and a large number also complete high school. Educational participation has increased greatly, particularly this last decade: Education among the older generations in Chibuleo is significantly more limited. Statistics of the average number of years of schooling from only the younger generation, or only the older generation, would probably have been significantly higher and lower, respectively.

A serious problem in Ecuador is the poor level of education. Due to previously mentioned difficulties, rural indigenous education is more prone to suffer from the low quality of education.

> Results from academic achievement tests (APRENDO) indicate deficiencies in the quality of teaching at the basic level. 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 socioeconomic conditions surrounding the students. (Rojas, 2003: 275)

I have discussed the poor quality of education with both Guapizaca and Abram,[40] and both agree that it is problematic that small rural schools often have a much poorer quality of education than other schools. Often the schools which are most affected, are also bilingual, and although the rural factor seems to be decisive, it is not good for the reputation and development of the still vulnerable bilingual education. The high school in Chibuleo is relatively fortunate compared to many other rural schools. It is a large and well equipped school, but they frequently experience the arrival of new students from other schools who need to start in lower years than they are supposed to. One student who was supposed to start his sixth year was placed in second**.** Students who transfer to Chibuleo from other schools in order to complete high school, something which is only offered in a limited number of communities, frequently experience difficulties and fail examinations after their first semester.

> Despite significant reductions in grade repetition rates, these rates are still alarming, particularly in rural areas, where grade repetition rate is 13 percent during the first two grades, compared to 6 percent in urban areas. As well, the percentage of students in bilingual schools who are not promoted to the next grade has been shown to be almost double the number of students who are not promoted in "Spanish" schools. (Rojas, 2003: 273)

This seems to be a very serious problem, and if improvements are not made within rural education in general, I do not see how bilingual education can improve. Every year at least ten students fail examinations. According to vice-principal Bolaños, the lack of family unity, which again is caused by economic hardship, was the main reason behind this.

[40] Personal communication, 3rd April 2006.

Family

As I showed in Chapter two, the family is falling apart, parents move to different cities to find work, older children also begin to work in the city, and young children are left to care for themselves and for younger siblings. Everyone I spoke to in Chibuleo knew someone who lived abroad, and these people often leave families behind. Cecilia is one of many young girls who are willing to leave children behind to try their luck abroad. But not all parents have the capacity to care for their grandchildren. Maria's situation was very different from girls who leave their children to be raised by their grandparents: she stayed at her parents' house while her child was still young, but they refused to take on responsibility. She had to bring her child with her when going to lessons or meetings in Ambato or Quito. For Maria, and other girls in similar situations, this can make studying very difficult.

Youths and children often go home after school to help out at home or work in the fields. It is not, however, common to go home and sit down together with the family and eat a warm meal for example. Time together with family members is limited, and as mentioned in Chapter two, the vice-principal and the other teachers often had to deal with family confrontations. Students are upset because their parents never have time for them, and parents complain because their children never come home, and spend all their time in the city. One consequence of this lack of quality time spent together with families is an absence of conversation between adults and children. Children learn through communicating with adults, and when there are no adults to communicate with, something is missing. A representative from the MECIT confirmed that this is a problem among the indigenous groups in Ecuador. Parents have no time to communicate with their children, because they are always working or travelling to and from work. This affects not only family relations, but also communicative and linguistic skills among children and youths. As mentioned earlier, students in Chibuleo speak some Quichua at school or with friends, but mainly at home with their families. When conversation at home is limited, the development of Quichua will also be limited.

UEIBCH is concerned with maintaining a high level of contact between the institution and the local community. Every semester students and staff organise events for the parents and families of students to participate in, such as cultural performances, sports events, celebration of Mothers' Day and more official

ceremonies of graduation. Whenever an event is being organised, it is a great challenge to find a day on which as many family members as possible will be able to attend. Thursdays and Fridays are usually out of the question, due to merchants travelling to large markets nearby. The first days of the week are difficult for people commuting from distant cities. In addition to this some weeks or months are reserved for harvesting or plantation work. In general it is difficult to include parents in school activities. Few are willing to take time off from work, losing a day's worth of wages, but this does not mean that parents are indifferent to what goes on at school. People usually have strong opinions about what their children should learn, and how fast. Parents sometimes come to school during the day to make sure their children are taught how to read and write, and they voice their concerns to the teachers if the children have not learnt in a few months. As seen by the scepticism of community members when bilingual education first appeared, parents also have opinions on language use in education.

> Parents also expect schools to prepare their children for the future, either by reproducing their socioeconomic status or by improving on it (social mobility). This interest may take two specific demands on language use. First, parents seek to reproduce their group identity through their children, so they favor the use of their mother tongue, either as language of instruction or as a language course. Second, parents' own experiences with job markets and social mobility opportunities and obstacles, lead them to expect their children to learn the language or languages that will open, or maintain open, the doors to job markets and political participation spaces. (Schmidt-Nieto, 2001: 10)

Even though family coherence is withering, the role and position of the family is still strong. In Ecuador many feel great responsibilities towards their family, and young people often feel obliged to contribute to the family's economy even before finishing school, or after having moved away from home. When I spoke to students in Chibuleo about leaving the country to study abroad, some boys said it would be very difficult to concentrate on studies so far away from their families. Some girls commented on this and said they thought it might be easier to focus on their studies far away from their families. To me this illustrates the different responsibilities given to girls and boys in Chibuleo households: Boys consider the home and the family to be a source of support and assistance, while girls often associate it with work, chores and obligations distracting them from their studies.

It is not uncommon in Chibuleo for young girls to become pregnant while still in school. I spoke to several girls in fourth, fifth and sixth *curso,* who were either expecting a child or had a child at home. Most of these told me they would like to study after high school, but would not be able to because the child and the family need another income. Those who finish high school often find it difficult to find relevant work. Even though some are employed in banks or companies as secretaries and assistants, the girls themselves told me that most end up working with their parents in commerce or agriculture. Among the youths at school it was a common joke that girls wanted to finish school in order to become mothers. Even though expressed jokingly, some truth lies at the bottom of this: boys are expected to continue studying and find good jobs, preferably in the city, while girls are expected to start families, take care of their families and preferably stay in the community. As mentioned in Chapter two it is not uncommon for women to work locally, for example start small corner shops, in order to support their husbands' education.

Unequal opportunities

Not all the girls who get pregnant while in high school manage to return and finish the years or months missing. One of Cecilia's friends, whom I met during the *minga* described in Chapter two, was 20 years old, had two children and was finishing high school through a correspondence course. Her dream was to continue studying, but she had to wait until her children were older so that her mother could help her take care of them. Correspondence courses are an option for those who wish to study, but are unable to leave the community, due to social or economic reasons. According to a study by Jorge Uquillas and Martien Van Nieuwkoop for the World Bank, one of the reasons formal education programs encourage distance learning is to "increase the probability that students remain in their communities and organizations after they have completed their education" (Uquillas and Niewkoop, 2003: 23). If correspondence courses had the same level of quality as regular university courses this could have been a good option for the rural indigenous students, but unfortunately, this is not the case in Ecuador. The students spend time and money on courses which give them little benefit. Many also drop out or fail because of lack of time to study for examinations.

Higher education is crucial for the development of rural areas. "No modern country has become prosperous without a strong higher education system" (Ramphele, 2003: 1), and in the case of Ecuador it is important for inhabitants of rural areas, mainly members of the indigenous population, to gain access to higher education. Social inequalities are reinforced through the educational system, and differentiated access to higher education enlarges the gap between rural and urban areas, and between the indigenous and the non-indigenous population. In 2001, 9.9 percent of the total population in Ecuador had some level of higher education, but of these, only 3.1 percent issue from the rural population (INEC, 2005: 3). During the school year 1998/1999, 14 percent of the population between 18 and 24 years were enrolled in institutions of higher education, four percent in rural areas and 22 in urban areas, compared to 21 percent in Chile and 27 percent in Argentina. In the Ecuadorian highlands 1.1 percent of the population over 24 years of age has a university degree in the rural areas compared to 11.8 percent in the cities (Rojas, 2003: 274). Financing the education is still one of the greatest hindrances for indigenous students. Merely two percent of the population among the poorest quintile has access to higher education, as compared to 38 percent among the wealthiest quintile (Rojas, 2003: 271). Another hindrance is the lack of courses or programs adapted to the indigenous reality. The cultural, idiomatic and pedagogic design must be congruent with the proposal to recover the language and culture. Moya taught a university course for bilingual teachers in 1991, and she used Quichua in about 35 percent of the course.[41] Unfortunately the majority of university courses for indigenous students do not give special considerations to indigenous languages or cultures.

One of the central concerns of the MECIT is that indigenous students move back and contribute to their communities after they complete their higher education. The organisation works to build up a sense of belonging, pride and responsibility among the rural youths and hope that many of them decide to return after a period of city and student life. The director of education in the CONAIE, Pujùpat, told me that many of the indigenous students at universities in the city assimilated into the Hispanic way of life and put aside their visible cultural traits, such as clothing and language use. According to Pujùpat, young people will inevitably attempt to adapt to the world around them when their own culture and identity have not been cultivated

[41] Personal communication, 27th February 2006.

and stimulated from an early age.[42] By the time students reach universities it is too late to create a solid base for belonging. Director Guapizaca and a representative from the MECIT both stressed the importance of students' returning to the indigenous communities to use their skills and knowledge to contribute to the further development of the rural regions. Apart from knowledge of the local context and an understanding of the local needs, local experts will be more economical, they will demand a lower salary, and educating and employing people who is rooted in and will want to stay in the rural community is considered a good investment. Traditionally, external experts have entered the communities, done their job and left. "Expatriate experts displace indigenous experts and undermine individual, institutional, and societal capacity" (Ramphele, 2003: 10).

Maria's sister, Christina, was fortunate enough to marry into a rather wealthy family who supported her through high school and university in Ambato before she and her husband decided to move to Quito to study there. Christina received a scholarship from one of the best universities in Ecuador to study law, and in addition to this she received economic support from Hanns Seidel, an NGO working to improve the possibilities of indigenous students to study at higher level in Ecuador. Because of the support from her husband's family, the scholarships, and part time employment, Christina is now able to send her daughter to a private kindergarten in Quito while she completes her degree at the university. This is an opportunity few youths in Chibuleo imagine themselves ever to be presented with. One of the reasons Christina received much support and reached this far is probably her expressed desire to work towards improving the situation for the indigenous population.

Bilingual teachers

Qualified teachers

When bilingual education was officialised through the establishment of the DINEIB in 1988, the people who had worked for years to reach this point of educational and indigenous importance, celebrated the event as a victory. Unfortunately it seems Ecuador was not ready for the sudden expansion of bilingual education. The CIEI, which was in charge of a Quichua alphabetization attempt prior to the officialising of bilingual education, made a decision in 1982 to focus on primary school education.

[42] Personal communication, 16th June 2006.

They created more than 500 schools, and teachers were selected from different communities. Often these teachers had had no formal education at all, or they had completed 2 or 3 years of primary school. The teachers were given some credits, but they did not have official appointments, and the school's legal status was ambiguous. Due to conflicts with Hispanic schools and the inadequate qualifications of teachers, many of the schools closed down, forcing children to go back to Hispanic schools (Abram, 1992: 67). Even after the DINEIB came into existence, bilingual schools faced many problems. Even though the schools and the curricula were adapted to the new bilingual reality, few teachers were qualified to teach in bilingual schools. There was very little time and hardly any resources to ensure teachers were properly educated or trained.

I have already outlined the difficulties connected with higher education for the indigenous population, which explains why very few have completed teacher training courses, or even high school. Officially in Ecuador teachers are required to have completed high school, but in reality only 70 percent meet this requirement. In Latin America, only Argentina comes out worse when it comes to hiring qualified teachers (UIS, 2006: 4). When bilingual education was first implemented in Chibuleo, Guapizaca, the current director, was hired after having completed his university degree in Quito. He started teaching kindergarten, but his position increased with the number of bilingual students, and by the time the school was all bilingual he was offered the position of director. Other local teachers were hired, most of whom had diplomas from secondary education, but had not completed high school. Many of these teachers have later received titles after having compensated for the want of formal education by attending courses for bilingual teachers.

Abram told me about training programs for bilingual teachers instigated by the P.EBI, and expressed disappointment over the fact that the DINEIB no longer prioritised such courses. Teachers in Chibuleo were earlier obliged to attend academic and pedagogical courses three times per year, two weeks each time, and after four or five years they could sit a teachers' examination. Today, the DINEIB is in charge of teacher training courses, but according to Abram the courses have lost focus and quality, they learn superficially about AIDS one day, earthquake control the next day,

and professional ethics the day after that. There is little continuity in the courses and it is difficult to see how they contribute to professionalising the teaching staff.[43]

Teachers who attend teaching colleges in Ecuador do not learn how to use Quichua academically. As mentioned in Chapter two, students at the teachers' college in Ambato who intend to teach in bilingual schools are told to use about 20 percent Quichua with the youngest students, simply to help them when they have difficulties understanding in Spanish. In the third or fourth year students should no longer need to use Quichua in lessons. Following this logic bilingual teachers start work in bilingual institutions with the intention of rendering Quichua unnecessary. Director Guapizaca speaks highly of being bilingual and considers bilingualism an asset for the future. He also claims that the older students in primary schools have lessons which are about 50 percent bilingual, and says that in some subjects, such as environmental studies, Quichua is used, while in others, such as mathematics, it is more difficult. But Guapizaca is at the same time in agreement with the use of Spanish as the only academic language after the three or four first years in school. To my knowledge, based on observations and conversations with students, Quichua is not used as an educational language in any subjects, but simply as a tool to facilitate understanding. As mentioned in Chapter two, even when teaching Quichua, the language is not always used. Future Quichua teachers are advised to use 20 percent of Spanish in Quichua lessons to help with difficulties, but the amount of Quichua depends on the linguistic skills of the students in each year. One of the reasons Quichua is not more widely applied is that it must be developed further. In theory, I agree with his reasoning, but the problem is that lessons, even in the first three years, are nowhere near 50 percent bilingual. In subjects where Quichua could easily be applied, such as environmental studies, history or art, students are hardly ever confronted with Quichua in an academic manner.

The need to hire indigenous teachers to teach the youngest students is explained by the need to ease the transition into a Spanish dominated society and make the children learn more, faster, and in safer surroundings. The problem is that this justifies hiring local teachers without the necessary education, something which again may endanger the quality of bilingual education. Indigenous teachers are placed in lower primary school because of the importance of using Quichua with the

[43] Personal communication, 3rd April 2006.

youngest students, and many teachers feel unjustly treated because the current situation does not leave room for professional development. As mentioned in Chapter two, this was discussed in a plenary session at school. I also discussed it with vice-principal Bolaños, and he could understand the reactions of the teachers. On the one hand he saw it as regretful that practically all the indigenous teachers are relegated to the lower years in primary school. On the other hand Bolaños does not agree with the allegation that teaching the youngest children is less challenging and demands less teaching skill. Bolaños considers the first years of schooling the most important ones. He does, however, find it regrettable that not more indigenous, local teachers are employed in secondary and high school, but this is again a consequence of the lack of higher education among the indigenous population. In the words of the vice-principal, "when there are no educated, local teachers, we have to use others".

Bolaños also pointed out the alarming tendency for high school students to steer towards the well paid jobs and away from teaching. Because of low salaries most students in Chibuleo do not want to study to become teachers. One fear is that all teachers in bilingual schools around Chibuleo will have to be imported from other provinces. Lida is the only student in Chibuleo who told me explicitly she wanted to become a teacher. She has had both good and bad experiences with teachers, and she has a great desire to grow up to become a good teacher who inspires students to study hard. Even though no one in Lida's family has ever studied at university, she is convinced she will succeed. Vice-principal Bolaños told me about some former students of his in a different community school whom he inspired to become teachers. Back then teachers were still seen as authority figures, and many believed teachers had good salaries. Bolaños warned both his students and their parents that being a teacher is not lucrative, but rather rewarding in a non-materialistic way. The vice-principal met his students again a while back, and they had become teachers. The students and their families had to agree with him that the pay was not good, but they were content. The poor salary is clearly another element which jeopardises the quality of education in Ecuador. When the UNESCO Institute for Statistics investigated teacher salaries relative to GDP per capita in 2003, Ecuador came out at the bottom of the scale with teachers' salaries constituting about 0.7 percent of GDP per capita (UIS, 2006: 5). Teachers in public education only work five-hour days, and because of this the salaries are particularly low; so low in fact that many teachers have other jobs on the side. It is understandable that a teacher who has to work afternoons and

even nights, does not have the time or energy to adequately plan lessons, mark work and create didactic material.

Student and teacher absence

High absence rates among students or teachers will naturally lead to a deterioration of the quality of education. Due to social and economic reasons discussed above, students are often absent for periods of time; they move with their parents to the city, are expected to help their families with the potato harvest, or stay home due to illness. Even though primary school attendance is very high, statistics mentioned so far do not reveal the number of students who fall behind or drop out of school. "If we compute the ratio of the number of students that completed a given level of education to the ideal number of students that would have reached that level with zero repetition and desertion, we find that it is only 88 percent" (Rogers et al., 2004: 137). Students who are absent a lot may need to repeat a year of school. Those who live in Chibuleo and attend school there from first or second year seldom have to repeat school years, but this does not mean that no one fails at the school. Students from more remote schools with less resources and a high rate of teacher absence, who transfer to UEIBCH, frequently fail examinations at first. Teachers who are not controlled have greater liberties to be absent. Director Guapizaca told me that it is the responsibility of the administrative section in each network of schools to control the teachers. When the system of bilingual education was decentralised, and the network was established, Guapizaca made regular visits to the smaller schools, often early in the morning, to make sure teachers did not take advantage of their freedom from the central control of the DIPEIB-T. Before the decentralisation, schools could make no decisions on their own, and depended on central representatives to come and control every move they made. Now the schools have developed systems of self-control: Every morning and every afternoon teachers must sign a list in the administration office stating the time of arrival and departure. On one occasion it was revealed that one teacher had signed the list on behalf of a few colleagues, something which caused great reprimand.

According to a national survey by the World Bank, teachers in Ecuador are absent from their jobs nearly 14 percent of the time. This number is low compared to, for example, Kenya where teachers are absent more than 28 percent of the time, but is still high enough to impede education. Moreover these numbers do not include time

spent at work but not in class, skipping lessons or arriving late. This percentage is not available in the study from Ecuador, but in Kenya these hours lost was another 12 percent (World Bank, 2004b). In Chibuleo it is common for teachers to arrive late to lessons, or not arrive at all, without the students being told. Even when teachers are in lessons, there is sometimes a sense of absence. What I mean by this is that teachers sometimes give little or no attention to students in lessons. While attending lessons I often observed more than half of the student in the class working on the homework for the next lessons instead of paying attention to the teacher.

Language as cultural capital

Cultural capital

Cultural capital can be understood as cultural competence (Lawley, 1994). A person's cultural background will be valued according to the standards of the dominant class or group in society. The value of an individual's or a group's cultural capital is graded according to the distance from that which is considered by the dominant group to be the "correct" culture. Cultural capital is, according to Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, a set of cultural goods transmitted within the family (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 30). According to Susan Dumais, "cultural capital […] is comprised of 'linguistic and cultural competence' and a broad knowledge of culture that belongs to members of the upper classes and is found much less frequently among the lower classes" (Dumais, 2002: 44). Bourdieu measures cultural capital through educational qualifications, but his emphasis is on the ability of individuals to succeed in conventional educational settings. The concept originated "as a theoretical hypothesis which made it possible to explain the unequal scholastic achievement of children originating from the different social classes" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243). One's cultural capital includes one's language, accent, manner, and familiarity with religious rituals. It is possible to modify one's stock of cultural capital through deliberate action, but knowledge acquired in childhood severely constrains ability to acquire cultural capital. The acquisition of cultural capital and consequent access to academic rewards depend on the cultural capital passed down by the family, which, in turn, is largely dependent on social class. Cultural capital connected with ethnicity will be reproduced within family settings in the different ethnic groups.

The dominant group, in the Ecuadorian context the mestizos, will give their cultural traits the status of a model to be followed. In order to legitimise their claim of cultural competence this group must work through the educational system.

> Cultural capital can also be described as cultural competence. Like economic capital, it conveys legitimacy, and a legitimacy regulated by institutions within the society. In the case of cultural capital, that legitimacy is regulated not by the government but by educational and artistic institutions. (Lawley, 1994)

Dumais also describes the role of education in reinforcing cultural capital, and thus diminishing the opportunities of social mobility for members of the lower classes (Dumais, 2002). By deciding which languages to use in school, dominant groups reinforce their position in society by giving children of different linguistic or ethnic backgrounds disadvantages in the educational system. According to Bourdieu and Passeron the correct language in school is in opposition with stigmatised native languages deemed vulgar or common by the teacher (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 119). In Ecuador, Spanish has been considered the correct language, and Quichua, along with other native languages, has been the vulgar language. If members of a specific group do not master the dominant language in society before starting school, the chances are slim of their reaching the same level of linguistic competence as a group of peers among the dominant group. This is supported by Bourdieu and Passeron's idea that there are

> two modes of acquiring verbal mastery, the exclusive scholastic acquisition which condemns the acquirer to a "scholastic" relation to scholastic language and the mode of acquisition through insensible familiarization, which alone can fully produce the practical mastery of language and culture that authorizes cultivated allusion and cultured complicity. (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 119)

The scepticism against bilingual education among parents in Chibuleo can to a certain extent be understood in light of the central position of education in the reinforcement of cultural capital. Even though schools in Ecuador can be said to have been poorly adapted to the indigenous peoples' needs, it has after all been the most secure gateway to participation in the dominant society. It is not surprising that the creation of separate schools for the indigenous children was met with fear of further exclusion and more difficult access to social mobility. Bourdieu and Passeron's

theories on scholastic acquisition and familiarisation of the dominant language, also make it clear, however, why students from indigenous backgrounds have difficulties achieving the same level of academic competence, or the same respect for their academic work, as their Hispanic co-students. Linguistic or cultural knowledge which stems from childhood and family relations is considered to be pure and embodied, as opposed to knowledge acquired through extra-familiar education and learning. According to Bourdieu it will not be possible to achieve the highest level of cultural capital without the proper family and background.

The theories on cultural capital overlap with theories concerning habitus, the concept defined by Bourdieu as "a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways. The dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are 'regular' without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any 'rule'" (Thompson, 1994: 12). In the inculcation of these dispositions childhood experiences are said to be particularly important. After a time, certain actions and ways of behaving and responding seem natural, and it becomes difficult to localise the social origins of the dispositions. Habitus lies within people as a tool or an obstacle in the processes of understanding the world, and is itself a product of this world. The social structures within which people exist are internalised and embodied as personal, structural frameworks. The Ecuadorian Indians seems to have internalised the social hierarchy upheld by the Mestizos since the colonisation. Consequences of this can be seen in indigenous students' sense of inferiority towards Hispanic students, a lack of faith in indigenous institutions and indigenous professionals, and a lack of self-esteem among members of the indigenous population in general.

Bourdieu and Passeron claim that cultural capital can be identified by looking at the father's occupation (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 74). In the case of Ecuador, and Chibuleo in particular, I believe this is generally applicable, although not to be trusted indiscriminately. People from Chibuleo generally have similar levels of cultural capital, but the small variations one may find is often connected firstly with ethnicity, and then with the occupation of the head of the household. The mestizos who live in Chibuleo are considered equals in the community, but in Ecuador in general they are considered to have a cultural capital which corresponds with the dominant group's. In the community, two groups of people enjoy positions of higher status: those who have achieved economic success through jobs in the city, and those who have been active in the struggles for indigenous rights, ethnic revitalisation and

the development of the community. This latter group is comprised of many individuals with higher education and experiences from city life. Even though it may seem as if the concept of cultural capital in Chibuleo has been adjusted to fit the indigenous reality, valuing the traditional cultural traits and working to promote the position of the indigenous population through a process of revitalisation and revaluation, members of this group still need to be recognised as influential persons in the Hispanic world as well. Hence linguistic and educational competences according to dominant, Hispanic demands are also important criteria.

Linguistic capital

In a way linguistic capital can be said to be a specific form of cultural capital, an embodied form which can be performed by individuals. I have in Chapter three already spoken about language choice and reasons for choosing one language or another in different settings. The language a person chooses is significant beyond practicalities. According to Jean DeBernardi, "code-switching often involves the use of both the state-supported language (with associations of power and prestige) and ones used by minority groups (perhaps stigmatized)" (DeBernardi, 1994: 874).

Quichua-speakers in Ecuador seldom use Quichua in all settings and they often have an agenda when choosing Spanish or Quichua in specific settings. Choosing Spanish has traditionally been the only option for social mobility and acquisition of positions of high status. Quichua has lately achieved a more prestigious position, but only within certain spheres, often connected with folklore and culture. The way of life and the cultural traits of the indigenous population have gained respect, but paradoxically, Quichua is still highly stigmatised and enjoys a low status in the general Ecuadorian context, with extreme inequalities following ethnic lines (King, 2001). One way for an indigenous person to achieve social mobility is to assimilate into the dominant Spanish culture, and linguistic adaptation is often one of the first steps of submersion. In order to attain a position of status, or enjoy certain benefits, one needs to master the Spanish language and linguistic codes to perfection. According to de la Torre changing dress and hair style or learning to speak "proper" Spanish can transform an Indian into a mestizo (de la Torre, 1999), a change which is usually taken to present the person with greater opportunities. This is one of the reasons many Indians have expressed scepticism towards strengthening the bilingual

education. Language is connected to social class in Ecuador, and as mentioned in Chapter three, which language to apply in school, and how to define languages and dialects, are connected to power. Tony Crowley (2006) claims that social and political forces bestow the status of language or dialect, and that "the status of language rather than dialect carries with it specific cultural capital" (2006: 24). According to Paulston (1990), the mobilisation of ethnic groups in connection with the possibility to use the mother tongue, often comes as a result of systematic oppression in society, not necessarily a discontent only with the educational system and the language situation. If members of an ethnic group are confronted with stigmatisation, discrimination, economic exploitations or systematic unemployment, it is likely they use their mother tongue as a strategy to mobilise against this (Paulston, 1990: 39).

Considering the different models of bilingual education mentioned in Chapter one, bilingual education in Ecuador today aims to follow the model of equality and parallel development of several languages at the same time, but in reality the dominant model is the transitional one: The native language is applied in the first few years of school in order to aid the transition into a Spanish-dominated school system which dominates. The fact that this is the only model in operation consolidates the position of Spanish as the legitimate language of education. Linguistic aims are given less priority in school than content-based aims (Hornberger, 1998: 454). In Chibuleo, the infrastructure and the practical part of education has changed and improved dramatically, but the educational system in itself has changed little after the implementation of bilingual education. Hispanic values are still the standards by which all is measured, the mestizo teachers are placed in positions of power, and Quichua is eliminated from classroom use on the basis that it is unfit for educational purposes. Traditional indigenous activities are mainly limited to extracurricular events such as cultural parades, intra-network school gatherings and ceremonies.

Summary

European colonisation, the subsequent internal domination by the white and mestizo population, and the oppression of the indigenous population have clearly left their imprint on Ecuador and its peoples. Social and geographical hierarchies are very pronounced, and this is one of the reasons why it is difficult for the indigenous population to develop their own language and system of education, improve bilingual schools, pursue higher education, and develop local communities. These goals are

interconnected, and often the obstacles to reach them are the same. It appears that the key to change lies in prioritising and providing better funding for the rural bilingual schools, and the education of bilingual teachers. In order to create radical changes, however, extensive work must be done to alter attitudes and feelings among Indians and mestizos. The social hierarchy, for example, is embedded in the population, and this will not be amended merely as a result of change in public policy; change must occur on an individual level.

CHAPTER FIVE: BEING INDIGENOUS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

The ethnic revitalisation processes in Ecuador are part of a wider indigenous movement. Throughout the world indigenous peoples are becoming increasingly significant political actors, and indigenous movements are growing in size and strength. There is broad consensus about the fact that indigenous peoples have been unjustly treated, and that something should be done to correct some of the wrongdoings towards them. In this chapter, I will look into the concept of "indigenous", the way it is understood, experienced and used, not least by the indigenous peoples themselves in their quest for recognition at home and internationally. According to Taylor, due to the wounds and damages caused by internalising pictures of inferiority, self hatred and self-depreciation, as results of misrecognition or non-recognition, "due recognition is not just a courtesy we owe people. It is a vital human need" (Taylor, 1994: 76). Even though there are regional and local differences between indigenous groups, there seems to be general agreement upon a few universal, or near universal factors by which indigenous peoples can be recognised, and therefore also compared. Similarly one can see that the challenges faced by indigenous peoples around the world are often very similar. I will in this chapter briefly outline a few of these central challenges. Finally, in order to better illustrate this universality, I will compare the central topics of my thesis, language and education, in different geographical settings and show the connection between indigenous struggles worldwide.

Debates on indigenous rights

International conventions

In 1957, the General Conference of the ILO adopted the Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention, C107. This was a legal tool for dealing with indigenous and tribal populations; it called for protection and integration of these groups (World Bank, 2005). Integration is one of several strategies implemented by nation-states in relation to indigenous groups and other minorities. As opposed to segregation, where one attempts to separate groups in order for them to have as little contact as possible, and assimilation, where the aim is for the indigenous or minority population to adopt the cultural traits of the dominant group in society, integration aims at maintaining

group identity whilst participating in common institutions in society. Integration is often presented as a solution after other strategies have failed, but this has not always been successful, and after the indigenous movements started expanding in the 1970s and 1980s, the aim of integration was suppressed on behalf of new aims. The ILO revised the Convention in 1989, and the result is the more famous Convention 169, concerning indigenous and tribal peoples in independent countries.[44]

According to ILO Convention 169, a group must be inhabitants of a region prior to conquest or colonisation, and must retain certain social, economic, cultural and political institutions in order to be classified as indigenous people. According to Ronald Niezen, the issue of defining the term "indigenous" is delicate and complex, and is a key aspect of the global indigenous movement: Indigenous delegates at international meetings often claim that "a precise, legal definition of the term 'indigenous' would impose standards or conditions for participation in human rights processes that would be prejudicial to their interests" (Niezen, 2002: 18). Defining "indigenous" may make it easier to grant rights and permissions based on criteria connected to the term, but it may also exclude persons who consider themselves to be members of an indigenous group on grounds other than those explicitly enunciated in the formal definition. I will discuss this further when dealing with the issues of reification of culture and the quest for authenticity in indigenous movements.

Around the world, the issue of defining "indigenous" is confronted differently, and, again quoting Niezen, "the ambiguity of the term is perhaps its most significant feature" (Niezen, 2002: 19). Even though many of the social, cultural, economic, and historical aspects of indigenous groups around the world share certain traits, something I will come back to in the comparative section at the end of this chapter, it is difficult to make between 300 and 500 million people[45] fit into one category. Indigenous peoples themselves often say that the only just way to categorise indigenous peoples is through self-definition: those who see themselves as indigenous

[44] ILO 169 as outlined by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights: This Convention applies to: (a) Tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations; (b) Peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present State boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions. (UNHCHR, 2002)

[45] "The Centre for World Indigenous Studies (CWIS) point out that there is no reliable aggregate number for indigenous people worldwide, hence it is safer to use the spread of 300 to 500 million" (Hughes, 2003: 28).

should also be classified by others as indigenous. Article 1.2 of the ILO Convention 169 states that "self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of this Convention apply" (ILO, 1989). This could lead to difficulties with confrontations between nation-states and indigenous peoples, however, when it comes to the allocations of rights to land and resources; proof of membership may be demanded before rights are granted. The process of proposing new legislation for state land in Finnmark in Norway lasted for years. The first proposed Finnmark Act of 2003 was rejected by the Sami people who claimed that prior promises had been left out, and that the proposed Act did not meet the requirements of ILO Convention 169. Revisions were made to the Act; among the important changes are the increased role and equal participation of the Sami Parliament in decisions concerning land, and the application of customary law in allocation of land (Berge, 2005).

According to the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, which was established in 1968, "there is no universal and unambiguous definition of the concept of 'indigenous peoples', but there are a number of criteria by which indigenous peoples globally can be identified and from which each group can be characterised" (IWGIA, 2007). Self-identification is a difficult tool in analytical work, and many researchers decide upon certain definitions when speaking about indigenous peoples; keywords are usually non-dominant people, belonging to a specific territory, and with a claim of being original inhabitants of this territory, hence the terms also used to refer to indigenous peoples: First Peoples or First Nations. It is important to note, however, that "original" does not necessarily equate with the first to arrive and settle down in a specific area. Some prefer to specify original peoples as those who had arrived in a territory before single nation-states were formed. With this clarification, instead of excluding people, too many may be included, even some who do not identify as indigenous peoples (Hughes, 2003: 12).

Multilateral and international organisations

Organisations working with indigenous issues also need to follow certain guidelines or definitions concerning who is and who is not indigenous. The World Bank has its own definitions of indigenous peoples, in order to ensure that this group actually benefits from World Bank development projects in indigenous territories and communities. In 1982, the World Bank became the first multilateral financial

institution to establish a safeguard policy for Indigenous Peoples, a policy which has been revised on several occasions, the latest edition being the Operational Policy and Bank Procedure on Indigenous Peoples of May 2005. The World Bank recognises, through this policy, the fact that there are distinct populations connected to specific lands and resources which are linked to their identities and cultures (World Bank, 2007). Many feel that the norm for development programmes is to exploit the indigenous peoples and the resources on their lands. In 1994, Robert Hitchcock stated that more and more organisations were carrying out programs which were destructive for rural populations in developing countries. A Zimbabwean villager he interviewed told him that "governments want to control us, missionaries want our souls, and environmental organizations want our resources and our support" (Hitchcock, 1994: 15). According to Shelton Davis, one of the major challenges facing international organisations today is the development of indicators of social development which will take into consideration the cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity in Latin America, something which is still threatened by models of economic development (Davis, 2002: 245).

The United Nations established the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) in 2000,[46] and adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2006, but it has not published one official definition of indigenous peoples. The three most commonly applied definitions within the UN system are one found in the ILO 169, and two separate definitions by Dr. José R. Martinez Cobo (Sanders, 1999: 6) and the chairperson of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Issues, Mme. Erica-Irene Daes (Sanders, 1999: 8). All of these include some mention of an indigenous population a) being a non-dominant part of an independent nation-state, b) dating back to pre-colonial, or pre-state times in the specific territory, c) claiming descent from ancestors who resided in the specific territory, and d) having a specific and separate set of social, economic, cultural and/or political institutions dating back to these ancestors. Smaller NGOs working with indigenous issues also need to clarify what they understand by indigenous issues, and clarify in which way they work towards strengthening the position of indigenous peoples. In Norway there is a debate going on at the moment based on the lack of accordance between the alleged amount

[46] "The UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues is an advisory body to the Economic and Social Council, with a mandate to discuss indigenous issues related to economic and social development, culture, the environment, education, health and human rights" (UNPFII 2007).

and the actual amount of aid granted indigenous peoples. A report was recently produced by The Norwegian Institute of International Affairs concerning Norwegian NGOs' aid to indigenous peoples. Norway was the first country to ratify the Convention on indigenous rights, the ILO Convention 169, and indigenous peoples constitute an important target group in Norwegian relief work. However, the report shows that 81 percent of the funds for projects said to be aimed at this group of people are either lacking proper documentation, miscategorised or simply not aimed at indigenous people (Haslie and Øverland, 2006). One can wonder whether the category of indigenous peoples is knowingly manipulated by NGOs and minority groups due to its strong international position.

Global connections

When the students and teachers at the school in Chibuleo participated in a protest against entering into a free-trade agreement with the US, the TLC, I was told I could not participate. The reason was the arrest of three Spanish volunteers in international NGOs who attended an indigenous manifestation in the Amazon a few weeks earlier. The foreigners were forced to leave the country. The reason behind the arrest was a concern on behalf of the government that these foreigners represented NGOs which supported the indigenous uprisings financially. "It was announced that several foreign non-governmental organisations had financed the indigenous protests".[47] The apparent over-reaction can be explained by the great power previously demonstrated by the indigenous population to mobilise people and demand political change, as illustrated by the *levantamiento* described in Chapter three. In Ecuador there is a fear that with international funding, indigenous groups can cause national strikes and paralyse traffic, commerce and political negotiations. Eventually the government had to publicly apologise for the arrest of the foreigners. This illustrates the internationalisation of indigenous struggles. International NGOs and the UN on the one hand, and indigenous peoples on the other, influence and are influenced by each other, and this can be said to have strengthened international solidarity and support between indigenous peoples who now see that they face many of the same challenges.

A great paradox is seen in the global aspects of the indigenous movements. Anthropologists today usually see culture as processual and dynamic, always

[47] Original quotation: "*denunciaron que varias organizaciones no gubernamentales (ONG) extranjeras habían financiado las protestas indígenas"* (El Comercio, 2006).

transforming, changing and adapting. Culture is not seen to be a thing in itself, it is constructed upon elements of the past and the present, but there is always more to culture than the pieces it consists of. According to this logic there can be no label on culture, and there can be no firm boundaries around cultural content. Recent developments connected with globalisation have, however, contributed to a different attitude toward cultures outside anthropological circles:

> An outcome of cultural overlapping and contestation – one that is not as frequently recognized as the impermanence that goes with it – is a process of sharpening boundaries, drawing identities more firmly, making unequivocal the division between those who belong and those who do not. Paradoxically, the solidifying of cultural boundaries is predicated upon the malleability of cultures – on the ability, especially by those with power, to reshape cultural properties and attachments, sometimes to make them fit more comfortably with political interests. (Niezen, 2002: 6)

Sharpening of boundaries and confirmation of indigenous identity have become important processes partly because of the protection and rights offered by indigenous communities. Earlier, being a member of the indigenous population did not have positive consequences, but with the recognition of international rights for indigenous peoples there is a level of security involved in maintaining one's identity. The move towards a more essentialised view of culture and identity, which I will discuss further below, has partly developed due to globalisation and increased contact between groups at home and groups abroad. While in Chibuleo, I spoke to the director about his travels to the US, Europe and other Latin American countries; he was very concerned with the importance of international support and the fact that one can learn from others' experiences. The Norwegian Sami news broadcast, Oddasat, had a story about a delegation of Ecuadorians, members of the indigenous organisation *Movimiento Indigena y Campesina de Cotopaxi* visiting the Sami people in Sweden. Rodrigo Tucumbi told the reporter they were there to learn from the Sami people's experiences with autonomy, and he stressed the importance of getting to know other indigenous groups around the world (Oddasat, 2007).

Universal issues in indigenous movements

Assimilation and cultural homogenisation

National and international politics have, until recently, often focused on assimilating different groups into a dominant, mainstream society. Indigenous peoples have, in the past, also considered this to be the best way to escape discrimination in society. After centuries of segregationist politics and neglect of indigenous populations, the rise of the nation-state brought about an ideology of homogeneity. In Ecuador all conditions were set by the Mestizos, while Indians and Afro-Ecuadorians were expected to achieve a greater sense of "whiteness" by adopting Christianity, and becoming urban and civilised (Kilander, 2000). "To be a participant, or a citizen, it was understood for decades that one had to sacrifice indigenous identity and acculturate, that is, adopt the dominant mestizo culture" (Selverston-Scher, 2001: 3), and this need to sacrifice indigenous identity in order to participate in society is part of the common history of indigenous peoples worldwide.

In the 1980s and 1990s indigenous politics in Latin America experienced a shift of focus from assimilation to integration (Jackson and Warren, 2005: 551). Governments started focusing on reaching out to all citizens with medical aid and education, and to include and instruct all individuals in the national project. In other words, attempts were made at integrating indigenous populations into social institutions whilst allowing them to maintain their indigenous identity. Such national strategies are known by various names, such as Norwegianisation in Norway and Castilianisation in Ecuador and other Latin American countries. In many instances integration is promoted on the basis of national unity and development, but the correlation between ideas and practice is not always clear. According to Leon Zamosc, Indians in Ecuador have protested the idea of integration, but not necessarily because of reluctance to interact with the majority population. "It is evident that what the Indians are rejecting is not the proposal of integration per se but the plans for cultural homogenization embedded in it" (Zamosc, 1994: 59). While nation-states work towards a homogenous national identity, indigenous groups already have an established, collective identity "anchored in consanguinity, language, customs and traditions" (Zamosc, 1994: 59). Indigenous peoples around the world have, however, been forced to distance themselves from these collective indigenous identities. In some areas the national project has been so extensive that by the time the situation

started to change it was too late to recover indigenous identities. As mentioned in Chapter three, both Sami and Quichua parents often stopped speaking their native language with their children because of a great desire for them to grow up managing the cultural and linguistic codes of the dominant group. According to Michael Shapiro, indigenous peoples of the Atlantic Coast region in Nicaragua were also concerned with their children learning Spanish, the dominant language in the country (Shapiro, 1987: 77). Changes in the 1960s and 1970s led to more interaction between indigenous groups worldwide. Several of the older teachers at UEIBCH told me about journeys they had made in those days to other South American countries, Europe and North America, often to participate in conferences. Due to this increased contact, indigenous communities experienced a sense of self-recognition and self-categorisation based on bonds with indigenous peoples worldwide (Zamosc, 1994: 57). Indigenous peoples became aware of the power in numbers.

With the indigenous struggles we see a new stage of rights politics. A common goal in general human rights struggles has been equal rights for all. Indigenous rights activists go further and demand not equal and universal rights, but special rights for indigenous peoples. According to Taylor, this is a shift from a "politics of equal rights" to a "politics of difference", and the latter recognises the unique identity or distinctness of individuals or groups, and often implies differential treatment (Taylor, 1994). Similarly, according to Jean Jackson and Kay Warren, "scholars argue that differential treatment for historically discriminated and marginalized groups is necessary for them to attain equal citizenship" (Jackson and Warren, 2005: 562). Special rights to land, education and participation may help eradicate some of the differences created by centuries of racial discrimination and oppression. In order to be given access to the benefits of these rights, a person must be able to prove his or her affiliation with the indigenous group in question, something which often leads to the creation of a set of standards considered to be criteria for indigenous authenticity. I have already outlined the difficulties with the debate around the definition of "indigenous"; I will now consider the issue of authentic identity.

Authenticity and rights to land

In order to achieve a certain position in the social hierarchy, and obtain specific rights based on indigenous identity, many see it as necessary to promote certain common cultural traits, and to prove their authenticity. Self-ascription is not always sufficient;

others must also see you as an indigenous person. Nation-states and non-indigenous groups in society may claim that persons or communities are no longer indigenous if they lead modern, "non-traditional" lives (Jackson and Warren, 2005: 559). In contrast to earlier times, indigenousness is today something a majority of indigenous persons want to express. This has to do with several factors, one of them being a change in the ideological climate, something which becomes clear when students in Chibuleo express negative feelings towards those who still choose to distance themselves from their indigenous background and adopt the Hispanic lifestyle of the mestizos. An illustration of this is the use of school uniforms: A minority of indigenous students choose to wear blue jeans and a blue sweater to school, even though this is an approved Hispanic school uniform. Students often wear jackets or sweaters instead of the white shirt and poncho or shawl which is the correct indigenous uniform, but nonetheless indigenous clothes are worn. A different reason why members of the indigenous population wish to express their indigenousness is the globalised and trans-national way of life, and the need to stress differences between one's own group and other groups in society. This becomes particularly important when considering a third factor, indigenous rights politics, where membership in a specific group guarantees certain rights and privileges. The most important of these rights is the right to land.

Indigenous peoples have a very particular relation to the land they live on. In all attempts at definitions of indigenous peoples, one of the central aspects is always the special connection with the land on which their ancestors lived. In Nicaragua the indigenous Miskitos living around the Wangki River on the Atlantic Coast were forcefully moved from their land by the Sandinista government due to military threats from the counter-revolutionary forces. "They were provided, in the resettlement area, with better housing, better schools and health facilities, than they had in their communities" (R. Hooker, 2005: 15), but the Miskitos were not happy, and most chose to return to their lands as soon as this was allowed. The close connection with ancestral land can also be seen among young indigenous persons in Ecuador. The children I spoke to at Agualongo's school in Quito all told me about their local communities when I asked where they were from, even though the children had lived for many years, some their entire lives, in the city. The community does not only stand for fertility and survival through subsistence agriculture, it is also where their families are, their grandparents, siblings, cousins, aunts and uncles. It is closely

connected with their sense of self. "Rather than simply the land itself, territory is seen to be a crucial foundation for self-determination" (Jackson and Warren, 2005: 553).

In a way the relationship between the identity of the indigenous population and their land is one of duality. The land is a source of self-identification at the same time as one must assert an indigenous identity in order to be granted rights to land. In order to assert the "correct" indigenous identity, and thereby be considered an authentic member of an indigenous community, many go through processes of adopting certain cultural traits considered correct and necessary. These processes have on a wider scale led to essentialist and reified views on indigenous culture.

Reification of culture

As a reply to criticism concerning changes in the lifestyles of members of the indigenous population and accusations of inauthenticity, many communities have chosen to focus on portraying an essentialised image of their culture. Anthropologists speak of "essentialism" when explaining the process whereby a cultural identity is frozen and reified. Most new students of anthropology are warned against the dangers of reifying culture. According to Keesing, "western representations of Otherness […] have been essentialist, in seeking to characterize the fundamental character – the 'essence' – of the Other" (Keesing, 1989: 33). Indigenous "self-essentialising", however, is by many seen as a political tactic used by indigenous movements to achieve greater autonomy and self-government (Jackson and Warren, 2005: 559). Kay Warren experienced differences in opinion on this topic among US scholars and Maya activists in Guatemala: The approach towards culture and ethnicity in her home country were based on avoiding an essentialised definition of Quechua, Quichua, Maya or any other indigenous group. Culture and ethnic identity should reflect whatever the population was doing, and allow for an "ever-changing self-authorship, which sometimes reweaves, and sometimes rejects the past" (Warren, 1998: 74). At a conference in Guatemala, Maya intellectuals argued that anthropologists from the US should assist the people of Guatemala in identifying "the timeless characteristics that make Mayas Maya" (Warren, 1998: 74). Warren saw irony in the fact that while North American anthropologists were exploring constructionist approaches to ethnicity, Maya activists were articulating a nationalist essentialism.

When culture becomes politics, dichotomies are created to show clearly who is to be included and excluded from different ethnic or cultural groups. The attitude

portrayed by the Maya intellectuals in this text can be recognised in indigenous movements around the world, also in Ecuador. As explained by Fredrik Barth, a group's cultural and ethnic identity acquires meaning in contact with other groups: "If a group maintains its identity when members interact with others, this entails criteria for determining membership and ways of signalling membership and exclusion" (Barth, 1994 [1969]: 15). Building on this, Paulston underlines the importance of the organisation behind it all and says that "while ethnicity stresses the content of the culture, ethnic movements are concerned with boundary maintenance, in Barth's terms, with us against them" (Paulston, 1990: 45). Combined with Niezen's statement about a process of "sharpening boundaries, drawing identities more firmly, making unequivocal the division between those who belong and those who do not" (Niezen, 2002: 6), this explains why in recent years, after increased value has been placed on the indigenous identity, contact across borders and continents is more common, and the widespread attempts at assimilating into the dominant society have failed, the indigenous population has started focusing on criteria of membership through the strengthening and revitalisation of certain cultural aspects.

According to Barth, the most productive strategy in pursuit of participation on more equal grounds in wider social systems is to "emphasize ethnic identity, using it to develop new positions and patterns to organize activities in those sectors formerly not found in their society, or inadequately developed for the new purposes" (Barth 1994 [1969]: 33). In other words, assimilation into the dominant group or downplaying cultural traits in interactions with members of this in society will not strengthen the position of an indigenous community. One thing that will though, is the fortification of group identity, often across minor boundaries between groups with some cultural differences, which previously had little contact. After the Second World War, during a period of increased contact between the Sami people and the Norwegian government, there was a growing tendency among the Sami population to see themselves as a people, in spite of their internal cultural variety (Bjørklund, Brantenberg, Eidheim, Kalstad and Storm, 2000). According to Keesing, "units for which common cultural identity is claimed […] have been given existence and importance through the process of colonial domination" (Keesing, 1989: 26). Nation-states have often contributed to reifying indigenous cultures by associating indigenous peoples with a glorious past and at the same time robbing them of an active role in the present. Indigenousness has in many countries been allocated to museums and

folkloric events (Jackson and Warren, 2005: 551; Bjørklund et al. 2000). In recent times indigenous peoples have adopted the same strategy to strengthen their position.

Language, linguistic homogenisation and education

Language is by many seen as the most important indicator of identity. Knowledge of the indigenous language is important, but in many cases members of indigenous groups who work to promote revitalisation of culture and tradition are among those who no longer speak their mother tongue and need to re-learn it. "Early culturalist activists often […] had to relearn their community's indigenous languages as they advocated for official language recognition" (Jackson and Warren, 2005: 557). This has been the case in Ecuador, as argued in Chapter three, as well as in other areas, such as Chiapas and Norway. All around the world, language revitalisation has a greater meaning; in Ireland "the language revival was at one and the same time a way of expressing their Irish identity, their concern with civil rights, and their political antagonism to British rule" (Crowley, 2006: 29).

In many indigenous communities, members do not speak their native language; some of these have had, and still have, problems with achieving government recognition and support. "In the past, some states required a person who had moved out of a community to speak its language still or be classified as 'used to be indigenous'" (Jackson and Warren, 2005: 558). Because language is such an important aspect of a person's identity, one of the most important struggles in indigenous movements is the struggle for bilingual education. Through bilingual education new generations can learn the language of their ancestors, as well as different aspects of their history and culture. Most programs for bilingual education throughout the world involve a certain amount of education in culture, values, history and current situation of the different indigenous peoples. The extent to which education in culture and traditions is implemented varies greatly, however, from school to school and country to country. In the autonomous regions of Nicaragua and Mexico it seems to be given an important role in lessons; in Ecuador it is usually limited to extracurricular activities and regionally organised events, such as the dance contest, beauty pageant and food fair described in Chapter two. According to Erika Satta, a student in the Indigenous Studies Master Programme at the University of Tromsø and employee at the Sámi University College in Kautokeino, some teachers in Sami language nests, which can be compared to kindergartens, do not find it

necessary to emphasise culture in their teaching because they feel that culture comes automatically with the language, that "language contains their culture" (Satta, 2005).

Education in culture, values and history is not the only thing which is implemented to varying degrees in bilingual schools around the world. Indigenous languages, said to be the corner stones of bilingual education, are often not used in normal lessons. As shown in previous chapters, besides from a few separate language lessons each week, Quichua is used in the classroom only with the very young children in Chibuleo. In spite of the ideologies portrayed by the school in Chibuleo and indigenous bilingual schools elsewhere, indigenous languages are often used simply as transitional languages with the youngest children in order to make sure they learn the dominant language perfectly. This reflects concerns among many minority populations that learning the indigenous languages in school would lead to further exclusion from society, as seen in several indigenous communities, including the Ecuadorian and the Norwegian ones (Bjørklund et al. 2000; Gupta, 1997; Schmidt-Nieto, 2001; Abram, 1992).

The limited use of Quichua in school in Chibuleo was explained by the need to focus on maintaining a certain academic level. Rural schools have difficulties when competing with urban schools, and being able to study at university level is not a given for students from Chibuleo. Only rarely do students manage to complete entrance examinations and obtain scholarships. At university there is no focus on the indigenous population and its characteristics. Even though it is easier for indigenous students today to display their ethnic belonging, the need to adapt to urban university life often creates a distance between the students and their local communities. This is one of the aspects the indigenous university in Nicaragua, which I will come back to in the next section, tries to combat, by focusing both on indigenous languages and all other aspects important to the indigenous population in the curriculum and in school profile and guidelines. One of the most important reasons why higher education is vital to indigenous communities and their processes of revitalisation is the need to train qualified indigenous teachers. Lack of teachers was a problem when schools first started up, and instead of improving after a period of time which would have allowed for the training of teachers, the situation has remained the same in many regions. Some reasons for this are funding, and also a lack of interest on the part of indigenous students in bilingual institutions. The vice-principal in Chibuleo told me on several occasions that it was difficult to find qualified indigenous teachers to teach at high

school level. In Tromsø, the university has had difficulties keeping the Sami language course open due to a lack of qualified teachers (Fagertun, 2005).

Linguistic homogenisation is connected with cultural homogenisation, authenticity and reification of culture. Indigenous languages are often marginalised and suppressed in multiethnic states. At the initial stage of segregation, indigenous languages are usually threatened mainly by personal choices made by members of the subordinate groups to alienate themselves from their language and assimilate into society in order to achieve certain benefits or avoid stigmatisation. As long as the dominant groups in society have no interests in the indigenous groups, active attempts to eradicate the indigenous languages are not common. When the nation-state starts the processes of homogenisation, however, schools are actively used in order to bring about a linguistic change. The schools are the practical tools of this process, while the advantages connected to speaking the language of the dominant group, and the negative connotations with the indigenous languages are imparted through channels of communication in society.

In Ecuador, Spanish has been recognised as the national, educational and commercial language, only recently challenged by Quichua. When Quichua started gaining strength and was able to challenge Spanish in certain spheres of society, a process of homogenisation occurred within Quichua as well: the development of Unified Quichua. As mentioned previously, most say that establishing a unified Quichua is not only positive, but it is necessary if Quichua is to have a future as an academic language, and as a language to unite around. But some feel that by creating a privileged variant of Quichua, those who do not learn this, through educational institutions for example, will be excluded and placed in an inferior position. The pattern can be compared to the linguistic situation during the colonial times when only the privileged among the indigenous peoples learnt Spanish at school and gained positions higher up in the social hierarchy. Floyd is one of those concerned about this development, saying that difficult access to education in indigenous communities can lead to the educated minority's taking advantage of a "pure" Quichua to negate the authenticity of the mixed Quichua spoken by the majority (Floyd, 2003). Correct language and authentic identities have been discussed earlier, and in the next section the role of language and education will be illustrated by empirical examples from different regions.

Challenges in different geographical settings – a comparative perspective

One of the greatest strengths of the indigenous movements has been the ability to draw on the experiences of others in similar situations, or who have faced similar challenges, in different parts of the world, as illustrated by the delegation of Ecuadorian Indians who visited the Sami people in Sweden. The UN has contributed to the increased contact between indigenous groups worldwide, particularly through the establishment of the UNPFII. According to Ole Henrik Magga, a Norwegian Sami who became the first president of the Sami Parliament in 1989 and the first chairman of the UNPFII in 2002, active participation in this Forum is important because of the possibilities for indigenous organisations to build networks and establish contacts, and because of the experiences one gains from the Forum which can be used in informational work and training (SAIH, 2004). Magga has travelled to South and Central America in order to exchange experiences with indigenous peoples there. In 2003 he visited Peru and Bolivia, and in 2005 he was part of a Norwegian delegation which visited Nicaragua and the autonomous, bilingual university *Universidad de las Regiones Autónomas de la Costa Caribe Nicaragüense* (URACCAN). While visiting URACCAN, Magga said that

> in many indigenous communities there is a lot of scepticism towards education. This can be explained historically, because unfortunately there are many painful examples of how education has been used against indigenous peoples […] Therefore it is a pleasure to see that more and more educational institutions are led by indigenous peoples themselves. (SAIH, 2005)

I will speak more about URACCAN later, but first I wish to dwell on Magga's comment about the painful history of the indigenous peoples.

Indigenous peoples' history

Common for practically all indigenous populations is that their histories, since the European colonisation, have been characterised by domination, oppression and forced cultural assimilation. The history of the Atlantic Coast Region of Nicaragua illustrates the sub-development of an entire region due to the ethnicity of its population. Numbers from the 1987 National Assembly show that members of minority groups amount to nine percent of the population in Nicaragua. The Atlantic Coast region constitutes 50 percent of Nicaragua's territory, but has only about 700 000 inhabitants,

among them many different indigenous groups.[48] As early as in 1560 British buccaneers arrived to the area and started trading with the indigenous population there. From 1690 to 1893 the Atlantic Coast region was run from Britain, through Miskito kings. Towards the end of this period the US became actively involved in the region with multinational corporations exploiting lumber reserves and setting up banana and mining operations. In 1890 as much as 90 percent of the region's commerce was controlled by US firms. After the British formally left the coast in 1787, the Creoles stayed behind and became the dominant ethnic group, eventually displacing the Miskitos in the socioeconomic hierarchy of the Caribbean Coast. This brief history of the region helps explains both the chaotic linguistic situation, and the poor relations between the Atlantic Coast region and the rest of the country.[49]

In 1894 the two halves of Nicaragua were united in one country, and the era of assimilation started. The Spaniards never asserted their hegemony over this part of Nicaragua, however, and because of this the region has been isolated. Today this can be said to have had a positive effect on the processes of autonomy, but it is also the reason why infrastructure and state run institutions are poorly developed. When the Sandinistas came to power in 1979, awareness of the history of animosity between the Atlantic Coast region and Managua, a concern that the population on the Atlantic Coast would support the counter-revolutionary forces, and knowledge of the failed attempts at linguistic homogenisation, were contributing factors to the development of bilingual education. In 1980 the "Law on Education in Indigenous Languages on the Atlantic Coast" was implemented, and the first projects were put into life a few years later, at a time of great conflict between the Miskitos and the Sandinistas. Miskitos had been relocated by force due to increased activity by the contra-revolutionary army, and they were not pleased. "The Indians were upset at having their way of life disrupted. Around 12,000 Miskitos fled to Honduras, some to enlist with the Contra" (Docherty, 1988: 197). A few years later, in 1987, the "*costeños*"[50] and the Atlantic Coast region received their autonomy through a new law, in which the National

[48] These are the indigenous groups, Miskito, Rama, Sumo and Mayanga, plus other ethnic minority groups, like the Afro-Caribbean Creole and Garífuna descended from black slaves who were brought to the country by the British, to whom the Spanish eventually lost control over the area, from the late 17th and early 18th centuries.

[49] For more about the history and development of the Atlantic Coast region in Nicaragua, see: Docherty, 1988; Shapiro, 1987; Sollis, 1989; Alta Hooker, 2005; and Jentoft, 2004.

[50] "Coastal people", a term used for the inhabitants of the Atlantic coast region.

Assembly recognises the autonomous rights of all the minority groups living in the region (Docherty, 1988).

In Norway, after the German evacuation and torching of the northern parts of the country, home to the Sami people, the area was rebuilt. During this reconstruction era many ethnic markers such as personal belongings, art, buildings and the foundation for various livelihoods were lost for the Sami population**.** In addition to this, necessity forced rapid assimilation into the Norwegian society.

> When you had no boat, barn or home, your ability to use the Norwegian language and bureaucracy determined your standard of living and your future to a large degree. Forms had to be filled in, regulations had to be read, and budgets drawn up. You had to write letters to the Norwegian State Housing Bank and you would be visited by assessors and inspectors. (Bjørklund et al. 2000)

Together with the reconstruction, which was based completely on Norwegian standards, the emergence of the welfare state, with its idea of equality for all, contributed to the homogenisation of the population. In other words, the ongoing process of Norwegianisation of the Sami people continued. National standards of what was nice, correct and healthy influenced the personal lives of the Sami people. A nationally financed theatre even toured every last corner of the country in order to display "proper" cultural expressions and unite the country culturally.

The historical role of language and education

Education has been an important tool in homogenising processes at the hands of nation-states worldwide. In most Latin American countries, indigenous peoples, and their cultures and languages have been suppressed ever since the conquistadors reached the continent. In many areas indigenous populations have united and started fighting a common battle against the oppressors. This indigenous struggle is manifested through the revitalisation of certain cultural traits. Languages are considered among the most important markers of ethnic or cultural identity, and language loss is often named as one of the motivating factors for people who start a process of revitalising ethnic or cultural traits. Among the indigenous people in Chiapas, autonomous schools, with an adapted curriculum including elements of the indigenous cultural traits, languages, traditions, way of life, and history, were established, and one of the reasons was the realisation that their language was

disappearing: "We realised that we are forgetting how to count and add numbers in our own language".[51] Among the Sami people in Norway, the "correct" language and curriculum have been implemented, and the equality of all citizens in Norway promoted, through education. Teachers came from the south, had no knowledge of the Sami language, and the children did not always understand Norwegian. In a report from 1970 by Tor Edvin Dahl, a teacher from Oslo reportedly said that the teachers had to make sure the children did not speak their native language, Sami or Finnish, not even in recesses or before or after school hours (Dahl, 1970: 150).

In the 1960s, bilingual education became a topic in Mexico due to failed attempts at including the indigenous population in the national system of education. In 1971 *Dirección General de Educación Extraescolar en el Medio Indígena* (DGEEMI) was created, a department in charge of offering bilingual, bicultural education to the indigenous population in Mexico. According to Robert McCaa and Heather Mills, in 1981, the Secretary of Public Education expressed that bilingual education should teach both active and passive skills of reading and writing in Spanish as well as the indigenous languages. In addition, cultural aspects should be included in both content and methods (McCaa and Mills, 1999). In spite of all this, many have pointed at deficiencies with bilingual education in Mexico. Reportedly, even in programs where the goal is the use of the mother tongue, indigenous languages are hardly ever applied in Mexican education (McCaa and Mills, 1999). This can be compared to the limited application of Quichua in ordinary lessons in Ecuador. Another aspect of nationally controlled bilingual education is the lack of indigenous representation in the decision-making phase. Policy-makers represent the dominant culture, and the cultural, social, or geographic content of the curriculum is not altered to accommodate the indigenous groups (Rippberger, 1993: 52). Hilary Klein has interviewed members of the regional commission of education in Chiapas to find out more about the autonomous system of education. In addition to the above mentioned factors, they listed high absence rates among teachers, violence against the children, curricula focused on matters concerning the central regions of Mexico, rather than Chiapas, and a general lack of respect and understanding of indigenous peoples and cultures by the teachers (Klein, 2001). These are elements one can recognise from stories about the traditional Hispanic schools as told by members of the older generations in Chibuleo.

[51] Original quotation: "*Nos dimos cuenta que (nos) estamos olvidando contar y hacer cuentas en nuestro propio idioma*" (Klein, 2001).

In Nicaragua, President José Santos Zelaya tried to use the educational system to the nation-state's advantage in his assimilationist politics: "By decree of 1894, Spanish became the sole medium of instruction in state schools" (Docherty, 1988: 194). This attempt at Castilianising the ethnic minorities on the Atlantic Coast by eradicating English and indigenous languages failed, mainly due to low attendance rates at schools. Up until the Sandinista Revolution, the average years of schooling among the Atlantic Coast population was 2.1 years, an average much lower than on the Pacific Coast. This can be compared to the current day difference between the average number of years of schooling in rural and urban areas in Ecuador mentioned in Chapter four: The average is less than four years in rural areas as opposed to more than twelve years in urban areas. There were also few existing secondary schools in the region, they had very low enrolment rates, and there were no institutions of higher education (Koskinen, 2005: 27). Another futile attempt at "civilising" and assimilating the Atlantic Coast region was made by the dictator Anastasio Somoza García in the 1950s: "The 'Rio Coco Pilot Project of Basic Education' was run under the auspices of UNESCO and reached 15,000 Indians. The aim was to castilianise them, no attempt being made to foster the indigenous culture" (Docherty, 1988: 194).

Self-esteem and family conflicts

In many countries, such as in Mexico, language and curricula have traditionally had a clear bias towards European standards and Hispanic values. Teachers have convinced children that the indigenous peoples and their values and way of life are inferior to the dominant groups' (McCaa and Mills, 1999). In many countries parents of indigenous children have expressed scepticism towards bilingual education in countries where the dominant cultural codes are connected to the traditional educational language. As mentioned in Chapter two, people in Chibuleo were sceptical because they feared their children would not learn Spanish properly, and thus not be able to compete on equal terms with mestizos. Similarly, Sami people felt that Norwegian language and culture skills were essential, and because of this they often distanced themselves from their traditions and cultural traits. The process of Norwegianisation led to the Sami people's internalising the negative view on Sami language and culture, creating a wound that for many has still not healed. The Sami language and Saminess in general were by most, Sami people included, considered to be inferior to all things Norwegian. One example of this is the diminishing number of people considering

themselves to be Sami: In 1930, 61 per cent of the population in Kvænangen, a municipality in northern Norway, defined themselves as "not Norwegian", but Sami or Kven. In 1950 this percentage was zero (Bjørklund et al. 2000). Internalising negative attitudes expressed by a dominant group in society is common in post-colonial societies, and it is a trait shared by indigenous groups worldwide.

Young Sami people who in recent times have wished to revitalise their traditions and cultural traits, such as the Sami language, have often found this to be very difficult. Their parents abandoned the language and still maintain the sense of Sami inferiority; some are disappointed that their children are not taking advantage of the possibilities open to them by not being stigmatised. Many worked hard at under-communicating their ethnic identity to the degree that they abandoned all cultural traits and refused to speak Sami with their children. As explained earlier, the habitus of the dominant group was considered to be the only one of value, and suppressing a habitus which was conceived as an obstacle to understanding and participation in society at large, seemed to them the only way to avoid stigmatisation. A new educational law of 1959 stated that the Sami language could be used in school, but only a few years earlier, the school board in Karasjok, consisting of Sami and non-Sami persons, supported a priest's proposal that strengthening of the Sami elements in education should be considered unnecessary, and even harmful (Sapmi, 2007). But the ideological climate has changed, and in bilingual municipalities, children are now exposed to Sami language and culture in kindergartens and schools. According to Norwegian law all students in elementary or secondary education in the Sami districts are entitled to Sami language lessons and lessons taught in Sami (Lovdata, 1998).[52] Due to this, it is common for young people to be able to communicate with their grandparents in Sami without the parents' understanding (Isaksen and Ytreberg, 2001). This can be compared to the students in Chibuleo whose parents no longer speak Quichua. Some youths choose to go to a bilingual school because they wish to revitalise their ancestral language and culture.

Bilingual schools today

One of the reasons why processes of revitalisation among indigenous peoples is difficult and time consuming, is the fact that the indigenous peoples need not only

[52] The Sami districts are defined in Sameloven: LOV 1987-06-12 nr 56: Lov om Sametinget og andre samiske rettsforhold (Lovdata 1987).

change the attitudes of members of the dominant society, they also need to change the attitudes of members of their own communities, and reverse the negative image many indigenous persons have of themselves. Ray Hooker, a teacher at URACCAN, was right on target when claiming that "it is relatively easy to legally abolish slavery. What is much harder to do is to extinguish the slave mentality" (R. Hooker, 2005: 17). Bilingual education often plays a vital role in this process, by building up a sense of belonging, identity, and pride in being part of an indigenous group. In the words of Taylor,

> dominant groups tend to entrench their hegemony by inculcating an image of inferiority in the subjugated. The struggle for freedom and equality must therefore pass through a revision of these images. Multicultural curricula are meant to help in this process of revision. (Taylor, 1994: 97)

In Chiapas, the solution to the repressive educational system mentioned above has been to create autonomous schools based on indigenous values. Members of the local communities volunteer to work as educational promoters,[53] and the only pay they receive are gifts from grateful parents. Civil society sponsors seminars and courses for the local educational promoters, with some support from international organisations. The autonomous education has grown steadily, and after a regional agreement, official teachers were banned from Chiapas in 1999 and 2000. The key elements which are always included in this autonomous indigenous education are: the native language in addition to Spanish, the earth they live on and how to use it, culture and traditions, including the indigenous history of the region and of the way the ancestors lived, equal rights to education for girls and women, and the family as a source of learning and support (Klein, 2000).

The aims and ideologies of bilingual education in Ecuador are much the same as these expressed by the indigenous people of Chiapas. In Ecuador, however, the indigenous population has continued to work within the national system by making the DINEIB, which is the Ecuadorian equivalent of the DGEEMI, as autonomous as possible. As mentioned before, it has been difficult for the indigenous employees in the DINEIB not to fall into the inefficiency of the Hispanic system of education, and the DINEIB has in some regions taken on the role of a bureaucratic and less than

53 "*Promotores de educación*" (Klein, 2001).

cooperative institution. Some schools try hard to offer their students all they expect bilingual, intercultural education to offer; they try, for example, to include an indigenous perspective on history and nature in some of the subjects, but neither the native language, nor culture and traditions, are given as large a space as was initially intended in bilingual education. One of the main challenges is recruiting qualified teachers. This is also a central concern in schools in Sami districts in Norway. Education in the Sami language has expanded significantly, from two small classes in 1967 to hundreds of students today. In addition to this, many Sami children, whose mother tongue is Norwegian, are taught the Sami language as a second language. These are great results, but the main challenge today is the lack of teaching material and trained teachers, and this in spite of the establishment of the Sami teachers' college in Kautokeino in 1989 (Sapmi, 2007).

On the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua the inhabitants have realised that in order to maintain their autonomy and their rights, a good system of education is necessary:

> Without a real good educational system designed by us and managed by us, that includes and integrates a strong system of values and preserves the practice of our ancestors and the sacredness of all forms of life, the vitality of all our communities in harmony with our surroundings combined with a solid scientific base and humanities, without a system of this nature and with a strong process of consensus and participation, and proper support, we do not have any possibility to construct a better way that will assure the success and development of autonomous regions. (A. Hooker, 2005: 21)

Nowhere has progresses in indigenous higher education been clearer than in Nicaragua. Working together towards achieving common goals and interests has led to the establishment of the autonomous university of URACCAN, which was founded in the early 1990s, and received official recognition from the Nicaraguan National Council of Universities in 1995 (Dennis and Herlihy, 2003). This institution has contributed greatly to the processes of autonomy and a general strengthening of the region. The Atlantic Coast region was granted constitutional autonomy, and the establishment of the local university was an important element in developing and maintaining this. "URACCAN's concept of autonomy does not imply separatism. Rather, it emphasizes improving the quality of life for all *costeños* through education" (Dennis and Herlihy, 2003). Through inter-cultural higher education, the university aspires to build a better Atlantic Coast and a better Nicaragua. One aim has been to

fortify the autonomy process through the training and professionalising of human resources, and another has been to erase the educational divide between the Atlantic Coast region and the rest of the country. The first students to graduate from URACCAN were 102 teachers who have now started working in their local communities in order to further the development of the region. The university was created by and for the local communities, and current teachers at URACCAN are also students at the university; some have completed their degrees, and some continue to study while they teach.

When URACCAN first started up, it had 751 registered students in three campuses. In 2005, the university had four campuses, four extensions, seven research institutes and 4326 students (A. Hooker, 2005). The reason why URACCAN is divided into four campuses has to do with the poor infrastructure in the area, and the wish to interact closely with the local communities. The coastal region has throughout the years been excluded and marginalised in Nicaragua, and URACCAN is concerned with creating an educational institution for and of the different groups in the region. Courses and research at URACCAN are closely connected with local practices and traditions. By maintaining close connections between curricula, school activities and actual problems at hand in the region, the university hopes to empower the marginalised population, prevent brain drain and create a new generation of leaders of the autonomous region. One of the aims at URACCAN is to give the local people access to, and possibilities to act in, those spheres where decisions are made. Through cooperation with other universities which work with indigenous issues, in South America, the Middle East, and Europe, students from the region are given the opportunity to widen their horizons, receive input from people working with the same issues they work with in Nicaragua, and go abroad to learn from new experiences. According to Angie Martínez Peralta who works at a women's research centre at URACCAN, *Centro de Estudios de Información de la Mujer Multiétnica,* those who go abroad always return to help further the development of their region and of their people (Viseth, 2005). This is one of the aims of indigenous organisations in Ecuador as well: The MECIT works towards youths in order to raise awareness of the great need for educated Indians to develop their local communities. According to Pujùpat, leaving one's community to go study in the city often calls for changes in order to

adapt to a different lifestyle.[54] Due to these changes, it can be difficult or less appealing, for many, to return to their communities after graduation.

When it comes to recognition and status there is a problem of compatibility in Nicaragua's Atlantic coast region, and in other regions where indigenous populations are strongly represented. Indigenous knowledge is usually not seen as compatible with formal education, while an official degree means little in a traditional community. URACCAN has worked hard to combine these two spheres and create a locally grounded system of education. Courses are offered in areas such as fishery, sociology, administration, sustainable development, and health. Areas of study are connected to the research institutes at the university within fields connected to, or based on, indigenous knowledge. In addition to educating teachers, URACCAN has, through its research, played a central role in developing the Intercultural Bilingual Education Program on the coast, and textbooks have been developed in Spanish and Miskito. Indigenous knowledge is often experienced as rooted in indigenous languages, which is one of the explanations for the focus on these at URACCAN. Unfortunately not all groups in the region can receive education in their native language, but after the development of bilingual education and the establishment of URACCAN, the educational situation has improved on the Atlantic Coast.

Summary

Indigenous struggles in Ecuador are not isolated, but strongly connected with international events and resolutions. Even though the local or national history, economy and social relations are vital to the development of indigenous organisations and the strengthening of the indigenous movement, local challenges and success must always be seen in a wider, international perspective. Issues such as assimilation and cultural homogenisation, authenticity and rights to land, reification of culture, and language, linguistic homogenisation and education, are debated wherever there are indigenous peoples, and both the challenges faced, and the solutions sought by different indigenous peoples have striking similarities.

[54] Personal communication, 16th June 2006.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

According to Nelson Mandela, education is a weapon which can cause change. In this thesis I have tried to show bilingual education's vital role in the processes of revitalisation among the indigenous peoples of Ecuador. The history of bilingual education in Ecuador is closely connected with the history of the indigenous organisations and the indigenous movements in the country. Centuries of oppression and discrimination of minorities have not eradicated the indigenous peoples of Ecuador; they have, on the contrary, been contributing factors to current day activism. Indigenous peoples were marginalised and stripped of rights to self-definition, but in the 1960s and 1970s, indigenous groups worldwide started fighting for the right to claim their own identities, the right to own the land of their ancestors, and the right to educate their children in bilingual schools. This was seen as a protest against the homogenising nation-state. Solidarity between indigenous peoples around the world has formed, and today the indigenous struggles are based on a sense of legitimacy and recognition.

It is clear that international organisations, such as the UN, and indigenous organisations, have influenced each other mutually. Whether the first initiatives originated within indigenous organisations or international organisations is not as important as the results of the interaction between these: The rights politics has established the legitimacy of indigenous peoples through conventions and declarations, flows of information between marginalised groups have been established, and networks and contacts have been developed. The area I have studied, education, has traditionally been used to oppress minority groups in society, but due to international legislation and focus on the benefits of mother tongue education, education has today been claimed by many oppressed groups, and is used in attempts at reversing social stigmatisation brought about by racial discrimination, hierarchical structures which serve to exclude the indigenous populations, and general inequalities.

The indigenous organisations in Ecuador have drawn on the experiences of, and gained support from, others in their struggles, they have demonstrated their strength and ability to mobilise the indigenous population, and many goals have been reached. New problems have also arisen, however: With increased focus on the value of indigenous identities, borders have been strengthened and criteria of membership in

indigenous groups have become more important. This has resulted in reified identities and cultures, demands of authenticity, and internal hierarchies of indigenousness based on ethnic markers, such as language. In addition to self-identification, linguistic competence is the most common indicator of, or criteria for, identity and belonging. Language, or rather lack of linguistic skills in the dominant language, has been sufficient grounds for discrimination, and many strategies for social mobility and acceptance in society are based on language use. Language is one of the central components of assimilation strategies, and code-switching is used as a specific linguistic strategy to manage two different languages and two different worlds. The vital role of language helps explain why bilingual education was one of the first issues for which the indigenous population in Ecuador struggled.

An important, though problematic prerequisite for creating a nationalised bilingual education in Ecuador was the creation of standard forms of the indigenous languages to be used in education. Quichua is the largest language, next to Spanish, and due to the oral nature of the language, dialect varieties are numerous. Prior to the establishment of bilingual education, Quichua Indians agreed upon a Unified Quichua, and the majority felt that this would strengthen the language, and therefore also the people speaking it. The standardisation has led to divisions within the group of Quichua Indians, however: Divisions between the educated and the uneducated, the influential and the marginalised, the assimilated and the "traditional", and between followers and opponents of Unified Quichua. It has also led to arguments over "correct" forms of the language, and over the authenticity of Quichua-speakers. Up until now the language has not shown itself to be strong enough to compete with Spanish, and many Quichua-speakers still suffer from the lack of faith in the usefulness of their language, and abandon it in settings where there is particular need for Quichua to be applied and developed, such as within education.

Bilingual schools are meant to be arenas for maintenance and development of indigenous languages, for exploring and learning more about indigenous people's ancestral heritage, for developing a sense of pride and belonging among the generation of young Indians, and for restructuring and improving the traditional system of education. This is the ideological base of bilingual education in Ecuador, the implementation of which members of indigenous organisations have struggled for. Today it seems that the ideology of bilingual education is less important, both in the organisations and in the schools. Even though bilingual schools still try to focus on

creating an awareness and a sense of belonging and pride in their students, changes in the educational system have been few, and socioeconomic circumstances create obstacles for the improvement of rural, bilingual education. Enthusiasts of bilingual education fight a combination of economic and ideological obstacles in rural Ecuador. On the one hand, rural poverty and structural challenges make it difficult for indigenous students to dedicate themselves completely to their studies and go on to higher education, and this makes it difficult to educate sufficient bilingual teachers. On the other hand, resources will not suffice for indigenous students to be able to compete on equal terms with mestizos in Ecuador; centuries of oppression have left mental scars which will take much time to heal. The indigenous population has, as a group, internalised the structures and attitudes in society, and their embodied knowledge tells them they are inferior to whites and mestizos. Even if bilingual schools in Ecuador today do not teach 50 percent of all subjects in an indigenous language, and do not replace Hispanic-dominated curricula, the one task they absolutely need to fulfil is that of reversing the "colonisation of indigenous minds".

If processes of ethnic revitalisation and bilingual education are to develop and create real changes in the lives of the indigenous population in Ecuador, it is important that they do not stagnate in the old structures. The factors which strike me as vital to the future of bilingual education are the ability to raise the level of education for indigenous youths, level out the unequal access to higher education between mestizos and Indians, and thereby also educate teachers with higher qualifications and specialisations for bilingual schools. One aspect which would be very interesting to research further is the development of local, rural communities now that more youths take an education. Will the bilingual schools succeed in the efforts to create a sense of belonging and pride connected to the students' communities so that after graduation students will return? And how are local communities affected either by students leaving the community, or by educated youths returning? It will also be interesting to see if more rural indigenous youths will enter universities, and whether a university specifically adopted to accommodate all indigenous groups in the country will be established in Ecuador.

In spite of the many challenges faced by the indigenous population in Ecuador, and by developers, teachers and students in bilingual education, I want to conclude on an optimistic note by quoting director Guapizaca on his views of the development of bilingual education: "Hispanic education has existed for over 500 years; we have only

been around for 20 – it cannot be compared. […] I don't see reasons to worry, because in 10 years we can improve a lot".

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