

INDIGENOUS DROPOUT STUDENTS

DROPPING OUT ASPECTS OF INDIGENOUS UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN COLOMBIA

A literature review submitted as a requirement to obtain the degree of professional in modern languages.

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Abstract

Despite Colombian law and human rights state basic rights must be guaranteed to all citizens (no matter their racial condition is), it is shown that population like indigenous minorities still have difficulties to access higher education and in the same way, the ones that reach university, also face circumstances which force them to drop out.

On the other hand, it is important not to ignore the fact that Colombian government's institutions in charge of watch over citizens' education and guarantee indigenous populations' rights are partially involved in this process. Real testimonies of these people reveal that even when university quotas are recently given to these communities, students' guidance is missing so they can achieve not only get to university but, finish studies successfully.

This paper intends to analyze the current situation of indigenous people accessing higher education and at the same time, to evaluate the Colombian government's role when the must offer education guarantees and development to indigenous minorities without affect their culture identity.

Key Words: dropout students, ethnic education, ethnic minority, higher education, indigenous population, indigenous reservations, intercultural education, interculturality, pluriculturalism.

Resumen

A pesar que en la ley colombiana y en los derechos humanos está expreso garantizar derechos fundamentales como la educación a todos los ciudadanos (sin importar su condición racial), se evidencia que comunidades como las minorías indígenas aún presentan dificultad para acceder a la educación superior y así mismo, aquellos estudiantes indígenas que logran entrar a una universidad también enfrentan situaciones que en la mayoría de los casos les obligan a desertar. Por otra parte, no es de ignorar el hecho que las entidades del gobierno Colombiano encargadas de velar por la educación de los ciudadanos y por garantizar los derechos de las poblaciones indígenas, estén involucradas parcialmente en este proceso. Testimonios reales de estas personas revelan que aunque recientemente se otorgan cupos universitarios a estas comunidades, hace falta acompañamiento a los estudiantes con el fin que estos puedan alcanzar no solo ingresar a la universidad, sino culminar sus estudios satisfactoriamente.

Este documento pretende analizar la situación actual de acceso a educación superior por parte de los indígenas y al mismo tiempo, evaluar el papel del gobierno Colombiano cuando se trata de ofrecer garantías educativas y de desarrollo a las minorías indígenas sin afectar su identidad cultural.

Palabras Clave: deserción universitaria, educación superior, educación intercultural, estudiantes desertores, etnoeducación, interculturalidad, minorías étnicas, pluriculturalidad, poblaciones indígenas, resguardos indígenas.

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is to conceive how indigenous university students are doing in Colombia and, for this purpose, it is necessary to take a look at the rest of the countries with similar cultural features; in this manner, an idea can be built regarding opportunities Colombian government is providing to ethnic minority population and allows comparison making, in such a way it is possible to set up potential approaches to improve their current situation.

The paper's topics are developed as follows: first, the review of indigenous higher education in Latin America which refers to some general characteristics of indigenous students among countries of the region and how they are linked to Colombian current situation; next, the outlook of indigenous graduated and dropout students in Colombia, in which actual facts are presented of how indigenous students are doing in this country and, at the same time, this topic introduces the following sub-topics: culture-shock influence, how students deal with interculturality issues and, economic support, and basic school quality; third, agreements about indigenous higher education are mentioned, and therefore, it is possible to know if such agreements suit indigenous students' needs; and finally, here it is shown what Colombian government is doing in order to enhance indigenous students' education.

Statement of the Problem

“The University has to paint itself of “Colombia” and how a consequence we have an intercultural university.”

Edison Norman Benavides B.

The 1991 Colombian National Constitution outlines that education is a right and therefore, it must not be understood as a service nor merchandise. Besides, it states the principle of ethnic and cultural diversity; the right of ethnic groups to education which respects and develops their cultural identity.

Even so, indigenous students face multiple situations not only to have access to education but, to remain studying and to achieve graduation. Some of the difficulties are: first, low quality of basic education, which does not allow students accomplish the academic program successfully; then, economic issues, taking into account that most of them come from families that do not have economic income, and in that way, they cannot afford studies expenses like maintenance or materials; third, cultural shock, indigenous students deal with a totally different world and new social relationships with people from other cultures; and last but not least, social discrimination due to the lack of intercultural education for the rest of students and the stereotypes they have grown up with.

Despite Colombian government response to the continuing demands from indigenous students in order to make education in universities a safer and a more equal environment, it is clear such efforts are not enough. Along with the recently implemented “special admission programs” measure, issues such as the inability of paying additional costs as well as the squalid elementary and high school education emerge and, it seems that they do not catch the attention from the corresponding authorities. As Colombian constitution claims the acceptance and protection of cultural diversity and, seeks to ensure basic rights to all citizens, Colombian government must provide appropriate conditions of education for all people, but especially to indigenous students which have greater needs than the rest of population.

That is why the main intention of this document is to analyze the influence of the culture-shock in indigenous students from Colombian universities and at the same time, to evaluate the measures the Colombian government is taking to control this situation in order to determine which aspects have impact on the dropping out of indigenous university students and what the Colombian government is doing to avoid it.

Literature Review on Dropping Out of Indigenous University Students in Colombia

After The National Constitution of 1991, great achievements have been done regarding to ethnic recognition in Colombia, and therefore, in education. However, the adoption of public policies and regulations, seems to be only on paper, and on the contrary, have highlighted serious problems of inequality, exclusion and discrimination, being university the least flexible of all the state entities in terms of multiculturalism concerns, as Caicedo y Castillo (2008) have stated.

For the academy, modernization is synonymous to occidentalization of the citizens of a country, thus, to civilize them. The tribal knowledge is not accepted at university because it has nothing of scientific knowledge, then, multiculturalism face a long term of knowledge tradition of universities, so that they have not modified their academic programs to take into account those student's needs, as IESALC-UNESCO (2004) describes:

There are no universities that provide study according to the requirements and expectations of indigenous people which support both, development and consolidation of their projects and life plans. What exists so far are policies to access university under agreements or resolutions to make easier the admission through special quotas for indigenous students or lowering or flexibilization of some requirements and tuition costs? (Researchers' translation)

With this in mind, to access higher education is not the problem nowadays but remain and getting a degree, as Caicedo (2008) stated "while the matter of higher education right continue being minimized to the access, it will be less than probably to assume entirely the idea of pertinence between offer and continuity guarantee" (p.74).

Dropping out in indigenous higher education is not only a Colombian matter, most of countries around the world suffer from this issue, and culture is not always the main cause. But it is fair to say that in the Colombian case, and some other countries with similar culture features, minorities are in disadvantage because of the lack of policies which should guaranteed their rights, in comparison with countries with more organized government structures. Such Colombian situation previously mentioned is one of the categories that are highlighted by Texas Guaranteed Student Loan Corporation (TGSLC, 1999):

Being from a low-income family, having lower score, having lower degree aspirations, belong to minority/ethnic group such as graduation from an inadequately funded or low-performing high school, inadequate resources to pay for college, or inadequate encouragement and support from family and friends. (Researchers' translation)

For our specific interest aspect, belonging to ethnic groups, Cortes (2007) has said regarding to their academic mortality:

Indigenous students, in turn, face several challenges: adaptation to the city, that can be more difficult and with more precarious conditions than for any other province student, likewise the adaptation to the University, the academic challenge, which lead to high rates of dropping out and academic mortality for indigenous who come from low quality school process and, some of them, with bilingualism issues.” (p.118) (Researchers’ translation) According to Pinto et al (2007), “indigenous students enrolled have only 49% of probabilities to get a degree” (p.136). Therefore, we are going to describe below the most important aspects which influence the dropping out of Colombian indigenous students.

Preview of indigenous higher education in Latin America

It is important to point out that despite indigenous communities in Latin America present specific needs especially in education, it is difficult to find information about the performance of indigenous population in education, mainly those related to graduate students.

The characteristics of indigenous populations from Latin America’s main countries is uneven in the sense that some countries show a significant difference in their demographic rates. Consequently, even when such countries share culture similarities, education standards are not the same.

For example and according to Mato (2012):

In Guatemala, indigenous population represent 39% approximately of the national rate and there are few higher education initiatives addressed for those people. However, in Colombia, even when indigenous population have an estimated of 3.6% approximately from the rest of the country, there is a higher number and diversity of initiatives addressed to indigenous populations, including some promoted by indigenous organizations and other public and confessional private. (p.29) (Researchers’ translation)

In comparison with other Latin American countries like Guatemala, and no matter if indigenous students have to face many situations to get university or even finish, it seems indigenous populations in Colombia are more advantaged in the way that some universities and the leaders of their communities have started to defend and make public their rights.

Outlook of graduated and dropped indigenous students in Colombia

Basic school quality

When an indigenous student gets to university, he/she faces the fact that he/she has to accomplish the same requirements than his classmates, and here it is the first trouble because the quality of previous education is not the same. They are disadvantaged academically speaking, and they make a double effort to understand concepts compared to their pairs, as an interviewed student express in Rojas and Galvis (2014):

At the beginning I did not believe that I was at a disadvantage, because there I was always among the people who had the best grades, best places, but when one get here, the change is too dramatic. There are people who can get easily 4.5 in a partial and us, who study the whole time twice and three times... the same readings, and we get barely 3.3, or in best of cases, 3.5. (p. 70) (Researchers' translation)

As The Ministry of Education has stated, 60% of students who had low scores at SABER11 exams (state law examination as requirement to access higher education) drop out their higher studies, and these statistics talk about the whole university students, not only with ethnic ones (2013). As they say, it happens because indigenous are not prepared to deal with occidentalized education institutes. They are educated according to *etnoeducación*, which has been ruled and defined by Decree 804/1994:

“Etnoeducación is the ongoing social process of reflection and collective construction, by which indigenous and afro-descendant people reinforce their autonomy within interculturality frame, allowing embracement and production of values, knowledge and, abilities and skills development according to their cultural reality, shown in their overall project of life” (Researchers' translation)

The problem is not their basic education but, the low flexibility of the universities, because *Etnoeducación* only is taken into account in Basic School. Indigenous have to adapt to the occidental way to teach and learn because there are no governmental measures that encourage universities to modify their curriculums in order to prepare them for the needs of ethnic groups. Moreover, most of indigenous people finish their basic school through validation programs which do not provide them with tools and knowledge required to face occidental higher education. Also, low scores influence in their career choice because sometimes they cannot study what they have dreamt with, but the one they have the minimum score for.

Having said that, the major choice affects the performance of the students, and in most of cases, this choice is up to the community elders: they take into account the indigenous reservations structure and its needs, not the student personal interests. Their commitment to the community determines to keep going at university despite the circumstances, but sometimes, the

feeling of frustration leads to academic program migrations, school failure and finally, dropping out.

Culture-shock influence

New relationships with people from different cultures, linguistic differences, homesick and enormous concrete jungles in which everything goes faster and faster, break the will of indigenous students who had been brought from calmed territories and must fit in a total new world and life for them. As Rojas and Galvis (2014) have picked up, they point the city as “a cold, noisy, big place with transportation issues, with people always in a rush who do not greet and neither, have time to share experiences”. (p.91).

Despite the Constitution profess pluriculturalism, more efforts are needed to avoid discrimination and exclusion from academic pairs and even teachers regarding to indigenous students. It is discouraging to hear some teachers speaking among themselves in a sarcastic way, saying things like, anyway they are going to fail, why we go on with this. Another student from Pasto said: “There you cannot have a mistake because they call you ignorant or Hillbilly (pejorative way to refer to countryside people) due to the incapability to add or cancel a subject, or to use computers or internet in the right way.” (Ortiz, 2012, p 76). That student got bored, dropped his studies, and ashamed as he was with his Elders, he stayed in Cali and began to work.

This situation happens because of the lack of intercultural education which does not allow most of Colombian people to accept and respect indigenous traditions, and that in a certain way, they have different habits, beliefs and ways to see the world. In relation with, Sierra (2005- p 189) has stated:

On the contrary, the absence of intercultural formative processes improves situations of prejudice and discrimination produced by inflexible ethnocentrism. Indigenous students face a majority student and professorial population (...) without an intercultural education that allow them to recognize inherited stereotypes towards other cultures, being capable to see the world from other viewpoints and develop sensitivity and sympathy to groups that historically has been invisibilized and still are in situation of vulnerability by means of cultural, economic and social oppression. (Researchers' translation)

We think academy and common people need to adapt to indigenous students, and understand that things that are so logic and basic for us, are new for them, like technological devices, conversations about TV shows and dressing codes. We have to embrace interculturality, and to that we agree with the statement about it by Mato (2007):

It is mandatory to understand the different ideas of interculturality from different stakeholders, which differences and convergences they have, what do they mean in their own contexts, how can they be communicated to others and how can they be taken up for other stakeholders, what do they implies for university, society and its members. (p.64)

On the other hand, there are situations that are new for indigenous students, when they have the freedom they did not have at their indigenous reservations, it takes them to licentious behavior, including alcohol, drugs and sexual relationships which result in early dropping out. One of the Misak indigenous former students said in Ortiz (2012) work:

The freedom you have as student at university is wide, you begin to meet lots of people and lots of weird things that you have never seen before, but whatever it is, you try. But sometimes you do not weigh the consequences of what you do, and one of those things was living with a boy in the same house... we became couple and as a result I got pregnant, I told my parents and as they were giving to me economic support, they withdrew it, and although I was doing good at university, I had to drop out. (p. 37) (Researchers' translation)

So, academy needs to involve in each particular case, together with State-Entities to educate the indigenous population not only in the classroom but at all levels to cover their new created needs and the new realities they face, without losing their identities.

Economic support

Galvis and Rojas (2014) referred to economic support as one of the main aspects involved in the education of Colombian indigenous people:

One of the most important things in Colombian university lifestyle is the capacity each student must have to afford tuition, support, residence, transportation, and the rest of expenses required in higher education. Nonetheless, transportation of indigenous to Bogotá involve additional expenses which in most of cases, their families, reservations or themselves cannot afford. (p.83) (Researchers' translation)

Moreover, difficult economic situation of most of indigenous students leads them to look for a job, and in many cases, they cannot easily find one because of their lack of experience. For that reason, the first option for them is to apply to public universities but as we know, it is more difficult to access those universities than to access private ones because of their academic demands and, as we saw in the previous section, basic school quality is poor for most of indigenous communities.

This issue draws our attention in the way that we have experienced some of such difficulties throughout our major studies but in the same way, we are more advantaged that

minorities due to we have more access to economic resources, transportation, academic supplies, and most important, we are already adapted to society.

Also, we are aware that government's institutions and sometimes universities, do not put effort to follow up students' performance so they can graduate and finish their studies successfully, they do not offer enough support like additional benefits for transportation, nor for academic supplies. They ignore and are absent in the guidance throughout their major process and that can result in they feeling abandoned and finally, in their decision of dropping out.

How students deal with interculturality issues

Prior to talk about this topic, it is necessary to know what indigenous authorities understand by interculturalism, and Rappaport (2005) picks up their feeling about it:

Far from suggesting a dynamic dialogue with the dominant society, interculturalism is operationalized by reservation-based cultural workers as a horizontal cross-cultural dialogue between different indigenous groups, in which the appropriation of ideas from the dominant national society goes entirely unremarked. From their perspective, interculturalism means the sharing of "their own" with neighboring native people... Moreover, reservation activists live in localities in which indigenous people frequently are the majority (or the plurality), thus redirecting the meaning of "inter" in "intercultural" to center on the native population, its ethnic neighbors and perhaps the Afro-Colombians and peasants who share their territory, as opposed to the more abstract dominant culture of the state, of the regional education system, and the educated elite. (p. 142).

Roberto Chepe, an indigenous school teacher also defines interculturalism, as cited in Rappaport 2005, (p 145):

It means consolidating what is ours and appropriating what is alien, but strengthening what is ours. An education that is in accord with and for all the peoples. Not only for indigenous peoples, but something that is useful for peasants, for blacks and so on.

But, what are doing university students to deal with interculturalism? They have two options, adaptation or dropping out. As the indigenous students feel they do not fit with the occidental people, they make support networks with other indigenous students of other programs or advanced semesters. These students become leaders and assume the role of tutors, due to the lack of support provided by the University because one of the most important gaps is the language. One student said that he had no one to talk with, he did not understood the monitories sessions, so he got bored and returned to Tierra Adentro, "no one pay attention to you there, they are too serious. Ah! I better get back, here I have people to talk with (Ortiz 2.012, p.42)" Another student from Pasto, said:

It is too hard to go there to the university, you are seen like an odd bug, more than once they molested me because of my accent, and once in Politics Constitution class they asked me what I was doing there at Universidad del Valle, that we just came here to take them their places. The teacher did not say anything and lead them to talk about that, I felt too bad and I did not get back that class, it took three more semesters and I quit. (p.76)
(Researchers' translation)

This situations affect the confidence of the indigenous students and most of them, finally drop out the University; those ones who continue due to their commitment with their communities spent between 7 and 13 years to finish and get a degree, and there, the decision is other, get back or mix with the occidental people in poorly paid jobs due to the discrimination they suffer as a consequence of their origin. Then the main question is to determine if the idea of a higher education is to take them off their communities when they get graduated, and mix them with the rest of the population, or educate them with the only purpose they serve their home community.

Regarding to that, and counting on the urgent needs to educate their population, Bolaños et al (2009) picked up the feeling of one of their leaders:

Some Cabildos (indigenous groups) even regret having supported and sent their young people outside to the Universities, because when they come back they ask for higher payments because they are doctors (graduated), they are now studied people, and want to impose their ideas, it seems like if they want to be in charge at the community. That is why they are demotivated and look for them to study inside. (Researchers' translation)

Faced with the few support that Government give to indigenous students, and the very few guarantees to remain and finish a degree due to several aspects which affect the performance of indigenous students, they decided to take actions in respect, and one of the leading solutions was the creation of UAII acronym in Spanish for Indigenous Intercultural Autonomous University "as a result of more than 30 years of activity looking for alternative education to the vision and needs of local communities" (UAIIN WEBPAGE).

Bolaños et al (2008) reviewed that UAIIN began in 1998, offers four degrees, covers nine indigenous reservations in Cauca and other zones and has approximately 1000 students (p. 157). Despite the University began in 1998, and has graduated more than 400 students, just until October on 2014, National Government signed the Decree 1953 which allow indigenous reservations to create their own institutions of higher education. Moreover, the University is not registered yet at The Ministry of Education because of the huge amount of requirements for it.

We could think that creating an own university seems to be a great solution to deal with intercultural issues, because indigenous are educated according to their needs and traditions but, it really evidence the inability of Government and Universities to deal with the interculturalism, as it is stated by the National Colombian Constitution. Because, as good as it is they keep their identity, they also need to know what happen in the outside and the rest of the country, learn occidental things and subjects that will enhance their knowledge; and this will be achieved by giving them the opportunity to study and succeed in private or public universities in which the interculturality becomes a two-way process: ours and theirs.

Agreements about indigenous higher education

Didou-Aupetit mentioned the main institutions concerned about indigenous rights, including education:

Organizations such as UN (United Nations), OIT (known in Spanish as Organización Internacional Del Trabajo), OAS (Organization of American States) and UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) have been working on resolutions for the member countries on behalf of the respect of human rights (in broad terms) of indigenous populations. However, CEPAL (known in Spanish as Comisión Económica para América Latina), UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), the WB (World Bank) or BID (known in Spanish as Banco Interamericano para el Desarrollo) which agreed fight racial exclusion under racial reasons (Buvinic 2003), continue to show low rates of development in those population groups.

Four our common concern, UNESCO has implemented organizations as IESALC (known in Spanish as Instituto Internacional para la Educación Superior en América Latina y El Caribe) which contributes not only with philanthropy but, with culture diplomacy and development cooperation in indigenous higher education.

What is Colombian government doing?

Some Colombian government institutions like The Ministry of Education are in charge of studying education's current situation. For example, The National Agreement to Decrease Dropping Out in Higher Education (2012) shows the high rate of dropout students (per 100 students which achieve university) in Colombia, 45.3%, this in comparison with countries like Mexico, 42%; Argentina, 43%; Venezuela, 52%; Chile, 54%; and Costa Rica, 62% (p.2).

However, few studies have been done regarding to indigenous higher education, and from those rates, we do not know exactly which percentage fits to them. The Agreement against dropping out outlines some governmental strategies to lessen this phenomena but the strategies

are described in a general way. Even SPADIES (Sistema para la Prevención de la Deserción de la Educación Superior) which is a system of the Ministry of Education to track and prevent the Higher Education Dropping out, do not consider items to establish causes and risks on ethnic groups.

As well as the government has put the regulatory frame, it is up to the universities to open their horizons, as CRES (2008) declares, (as cited in Benavides 2012, p.228):

The challenge is not only including indigenous, afro descendants and other people culturally different in institutions the way they are nowadays, but turn those to be more appropriate toward cultural diversity. It is mandatory to involve dialogue of knowledge and recognition of values and ways to learn diversity like central elements of policies, plans and programs in the area. (Researchers' translation)

Just in 2014, government has issued the Decree 1953 that allows “indigenous reservations to create higher education indigenous institutes framed on the SEIP, known as Indigenous Own Education System” with the main purpose of an integral education and research in the frame of SEIP and granted them university autonomy.

Some Universities have done changes in their curriculum and support programs to benefit the indigenous students. The Universidad de Antioquia has opened two new programs especially designed for indigenous population: *Licenciatura en Pedagogía de la madre tierra* and *Licenciatura en Gestión Comunitaria o Derecho Mayor*. Likewise, the Univalle has implemented some subjects such as *Nasa Yuwe I and II, etnoconocimiento* and *Territorio, conocimiento y Jurisdicción Especial Indígena*. The Universidad Externado de Colombia has created the program *Interacciones Multiculturales en Educación Superior*, which point to “identify the changes that universities should do to be really pluri-ethnic and multi-cultural spaces that assume the challenge of dialogue among logics, life styles, values and different knowledges (Muyuy, 2014).”

The Universidad Nacional is pioneer in supporting area, by creating the PAES (known in Spanish as Programa de Admisión Especial), a special admission program which brings integral support and monitoring, besides an induction process to prepare students for living in big cities. The Universidad Javeriana has created two scholarships per year for ethnic minorities (afro and indigenous) which cover 100% of tuition costs. Some other private universities which have embraced indigenous students are listed by Cortés (2007) Universidad Distrital, Pedagógica Nacional, Andes, Externado, Cooperativa, Santo Tomás, La Salle, ESAP, Gran Colombia y

Militar: “Some of them offer places, tuition costs lowering and students counseling, Nacional, Pedagógica and Distrital bring food vouchers” (p.118).

Regarding to scholarships and accessing credits, ICETEX (2013) points that National Government created in 1990 the Fund Álvaro Ulcué Chocué, which is forgivable for academic merit and social assistance in indigenous reservations. It goes to tuition costs, maintenance, and additional resources for diploma thesis (p.44). In the other hand, ACCES credit by ICETEX offers financing the higher education and bring the opportunity to exempt the 50% of the credit, which added to 50% of scholarship that some Universities provide, allows the student to obtain 100% of financing.

Conclusions

Before the beginning of this research, it seems unfair to us that indigenous students, who could be enrolled under favorable conditions in those Universities with which most of University Students have dreamt, do not take advantage of this situation, dropping out without any degree. But after this research, we have realized that the reality is other: they do not drop out on a mere whim. Even though the government has enacted the right to education of minorities in Colombia, very little has been done to guarantee their access to higher education, and the very few who reaches the privileged places do not have real guarantees to remain and get a degree, due to aspects such as academic, economic and cultural which finally, lead them to drop out.

Government's attention is so unconventional in relation with indigenous higher education that, no research is performed, nor real data that allows the implementation of policies to stop university dropping out phenomena at ethnic level. Not even SPADIES, which is the tool government uses to measure dropping out in higher education, has a variable that allows establishing the number of indigenous students which access, dropout or graduate from universities. It seems to us that National Government, incapable as it is to handle the indigenous higher education topic, has issued the decree to authorize them the creation of their own institutions so, they can shirk the problem and let the education matter to the traditional authorities.

Apart from the foregoing, universities fall short regarding the implementation of subjects and the guidance that allow indigenous students' withholding and to educate them in knowledge areas required to get back to their communities and be useful there. Due to as we have seen throughout this paper, indigenous do not study just to move forward on their own but, they have also a rooted community sense and their goal and their elders' and leaders', is them to return to their place of origin and apply there the knowledge acquired on behalf of their community.

An intercultural education should allow both, indigenous students as well as the rest benefit from each other's knowledge, be respectful of their beliefs and personalities, without affecting the origin culture from ancient people and, become rich with additional knowledge instead. The abrupt changes carried are not taken into account, like leaving their families, their communities, their culture to adapt to "the concrete jungle" and its academic demands in which they lose their identities when they are treated as one of the rest.

Interculturality must go beyond availability, access and quality, and look for the recognition of different knowledge mainly addressed to indigenous people but also, to confirm national identity, as pluricultural as it is.

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Appendices

