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'He too has the Right to be Educated': Inclusion and Identity in Ecuador's Indigenous Movement, 1927-2009'

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'He too has the Right to be Educated': Inclusion and Identity in Ecuador's Indigenous Movement, 1927-2009'

Abstract

In Ecuador, a nation with a large Indigenous population, the question of education is at once political and revolutionary. In the 1930s, Indigenous activists learned tactics from communist and socialist unions and set up many schools in regional groups. A generation of activists, led by Dolores Cacuengo made tremendous strides. In 1988, the Ministry of Education officially assumed responsibility for Indigenous education under coalition pressure, but it has since failed to capture the nuances of the nation's Indigenous communities and their expectations for education. Meanwhile, the Indigenous groups have mobilized into a political party that hopes to redefine Ecuadorian nationality against centuries of structural oppression. They are waging vital fights for resources and respect.

Disciplines

Latin American History

Comments

This paper was part of the 2014-2015 Penn Humanities Forum on Color. Find out more at <http://www.phf.upenn.edu/annual-topics/color>.

**‘He too has the right to be educated’: Inclusion and Identity in
Ecuador’s Indigenous Movement, 1927-2009’**

Abigail Koffler

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Abigail Koffler

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AFE: *Alianza Femenina Ecuatoriana*, the Ecuadorian Women's Alliance
CAAP: *Centro Andino de Acción Popular*, Andean Center for Popular Action
CEDOC: *Central Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones Clasistas*. Ecuadorian Center of Class Organizations
CONFENIAE: *Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Amazonía Ecuatoriana*, Confederation of Indigenous Nations of the Ecuadorian Amazon
CONAIE, the *Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador*, Confederations of Indigenous Nations of Ecuador
CTE: *Partido Comunista y de la Confederación Ecuatoriana de Obreros*, Communist Party of the Ecuadorian Confederation of Workers
ECUARUNARI, in kichwa, *Ecuador Runakunapak Rikcharimuy*, Movement of the indigenous people of Ecuador/Confederation of Peoples of Kichwa Nationality
FEDOC: *Federación Ecuatoriana de organizaciones campesinas*, Ecuadorian Federation of Peasant Organizations
FEI: *Federación Ecuatoriana de Indios*, the Ecuadorian Federation of Indians
ILV: *Instituto Lingüístico de Verano*, Summer Linguistic Institute
PSE: *Partido Socialista Ecuatoriano*, Ecuadorian Socialist Party
PSRE: *Partido Socialista Revolucionario del Ecuador*, Revolutionary Ecuadorian Socialist Party
SAIIC: South and Meso American Indian Rights Center.
UNICEF: United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
URME: *Unión Revolucionaria de Mujeres del Ecuador*, Revolutionary Union of Ecuadorian Women

Introduction:

Education, for the Indigenous people of Ecuador is more than a book in a classroom; it is a concept directly tied to national priorities that have shifted over time. Crucially, accessing and administering education is a political process, one that different types of social movements and institutional alliances have advocated for across the last



eighty years. In the 1940s, the influence of communists and socialists helped Indigenous groups organize with other rural laborers to advance a framework of education based on dignity and economic integration. In the 1980s and 90s, the organizational tactics more directly interfaced with the state, from large confederations to a political party. Then the proposed framework of education was studied and implemented, with many

challenges. As Ecuador in the 21st century faces irreversible decisions about resources, both human and natural, it must define itself as a (pluri)nation, and can only do so by recognizing Indigenous people as central to the nation, rather than marginal. Indigenous peoples have struggled, using a range of sophisticated tactics to assert themselves thusly for centuries, with education as a powerful instrument. Education is one of the demands

of Indigenous groups, alongside economic rights and political representation. Many groups tackle these interconnected issues together, though others specialize.

In a large concrete building on Avenida Amazonas sits the Ecuadorian Ministry of Education. It looks modern, with a glass lobby and the requisite grumpy government employees checking IDs and watching the elevators. In the lobby, next to publications advertising the first day of school, sit cases of colorful indigenous art, sculptures and carvings, pictured on the previous page. Throughout the building, citizens from all parts of the country arrive, often after long trips on overnight buses, to get their questions answered and their needs met. Paperwork seems to be complicated and the library with the ministry's entire archive is under construction, making it inaccessible to the general public. Parents approach bureaucrats with puzzled looks, explaining how they traveled all night to ask a question about a form. On the 11th floor of this building is the *Subsecretaria de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe*, the subsecretary of intercultural bilingual education, half of a floor tasked with educating, according to a complicated methodology, Ecuador's long oppressed indigenous population, a group difficult to quantify.

The incorporation of indigenous education into state functioning in 1988, discussed in chapter two, represented a shift in how the state handled not only the logistics of schooling a long-suffering sector of its population but also a victory of both political and ideological sorts for the indigenous movement of Ecuador. The passage of bilingual education into the government sphere predates the creation of *Pachakutik*, the indigenous political party, by almost ten years. Tellingly, the activities of the subsecretary of bilingual education do not make the detailed chronology provided by

historian Marc Becker in his book, *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*, suggesting their arguably secondary role in the broader concerns of the indigenous movement.

While Indigenous movements exist around the world, Ecuador's geography and demographics explain some of the movement's crucial distinctions. Ecuador's indigenous population is so diverse in part because of the country's geography, which makes creating and administering services a complex undertaking. Despite its relatively small size (Ecuador is the size of the state of Nevada), Ecuador has distinct topographic and climate zones: the Sierra highlands, the western Pacific coast, the eastern jungle often referred to as the Amazon and the Galapagos Islands, famed for their role in Darwin's research on evolution. The capital city of Quito is in the highlands, in the state of Pichincha, named for the Pichincha volcano visible from the city. The city is a UNESCO World Heritage site and beloved for its colonial "old city," that recalls Spain with its cobblestones and cathedrals (pictured below). UNESCO, in assessing its value, cites the monasteries, government buildings and churches created in the 'Baroque school of Quito,' a fusion of Spanish, Italian, Moorish, Flemish and indigenous art.¹

In addition to its architecture, the city has been recognized for its cultural offerings. In 2013, the city won a world travel award as Latin America's leading destination.² Guayaquil, the largest city in the country, sits on the Pacific Coast and has a long-term cultural rivalry with the inland capital, shown on the map below.

¹ "City of Quito." UNESCO World Heritage Convention. Accessed December 19, 2014. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/2>.

² "South America's Leading Destination 2013." World Travel Awards. Accessed December 19, 2014. <http://www.worldtravelawards.com/award-south-americas-leading-destination-2013>.



Figure 1: Physical map of Ecuador³

Economically, Ecuador is largely dependent on oil but tourism represents a growing industry. The largest exports have not changed in decades: petroleum and bananas, though other agricultural products, including cacao and coffee, are also exported. Foreign debt and economic intervention has created a longstanding dependency problem, currently the biggest foreign investor is China and a series of world class malls recently opened in Quito, all funded by the Chinese, featuring international chains such as Dunkin' Donuts and Zara. These malls are nearly identical to their North American counterparts. The role of foreign investment, particularly when connected to resource

³"Physical Map of Ecuador." Accessed December 19, 2014.
<http://www.ezilon.com/maps/images/southamerica/Ecuador-physical-map.gif>.

extraction, has an enormous impact on indigenous lands and rights, which will be discussed in the epilogue.



Figure 2 and 3: The Cathedral in Plaza Grande and The Governor's Palace, in the center of Historic Quito is now a peaceful tourist site, but was the site of major protests during the coup of 2000.⁴

⁴ Author's photo, August 3, 2014, Government Palace terrace, Quito, Ecuador.



Figure 3: Plaza Mayor, Quito, Ecuador. The statue at the center memorializes independence from the Spanish and is modeled after the US Statue of Liberty.⁵

Ecuador's Indigenous people are distributed across the geographic regions but often have similar issues in terms of access to services and economic opportunities, and may share linguistic roots and histories. The differences between these groups, though sometimes subtle, are crucial, especially when considering organization and strategy. Depending on their location, Indigenous groups may have centuries of experiences laboring on land they do not own or may have very minimal contact with the outside world. Either scenario would inform both organizational and content goals for education.

⁵ Plaza Mayor, Quito, Ecuador, August 3, 2014, Author's Photo.

Furthermore, within the context of Latin America, Ecuador does not have the highest proportion of Indigenous people: that distinction goes to Bolivia, with 62% according to a UNDP estimate from 2006⁶. Ecuador does have one of the largest proportions of mestizo people, 71.9% in a 2010 census⁷, who identify as of mixed heritage, which as Becker points out, is “a highly contested and fluid category.”⁸ This particularity has major implications, especially when compared to neighboring countries Bolivia and Peru, where bilingualism with a Quechua language is common, at least in rural mestizo areas.⁹ This links a larger percentage of the nation to indigenous culture by proxy of language. It also helps explain one of the contentions raised by indigenous protests such as those of 1990 and 2000: indigenous issues are not in any way secondary; rather they are the very essence of the nation. While this is demographically and historically true, the availability and supremacy of the mestizo identity obstructs this view from catching hold, adding great weight to the issue of education as a means of rethinking national identity.

Scholars note that the number of Indigenous people in Ecuador is impossible to quantify, due in part to the tremendous swing effect if all mestizo people were to identify as Indigenous, or the reverse, which has varied throughout the 20th century, with many Indigenous people adopted the mestizo moniker when moving to urban areas. As Becker explains, “The percentage of Ecuador’s fourteen million people who identify themselves as Indigenous is hotly debated and depends largely on the criteria that one might use to

⁶ "Bolivia." International Labour Organization. Accessed December 19, 2014.

<http://www.ilo.org/indigenous/Activitiesbyregion/LatinAmerica/Bolivia/lang--en/index.htm>.

⁷ "Ecuador." The World Factbook. June 22, 2014. Accessed December 19, 2014.

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ec.html>.

⁸ Becker, Marc. *¡Pachakutik! Indigenous Movements and Electoral Politics in Ecuador*. Updated ed. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011.3.

⁹ Sánchez-Parga, José. *El Movimiento Indígena Ecuatoriano: La Larga Ruta De La Comunidad Al Partido*. Quito: Abya Yala | Universidad Politécnica Salesiana, 2010. 17.

define such categories. Figures range from a low of less than 7 percent in a 2001 census to a high of 40 percent that CONAIE, the *Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador*, commonly presents.”¹⁰ Some Indigenous activists cite this figure to explain why the Ecuadorian Indigenous movement has differed from other efforts in Bolivia and Peru, most notably in that it looks more like a traditional social movement than an “Indian” movement and it is one that has moved from a community focus to a national stage, with globalization playing a major role in its politicization. The Andean Center for Popular Action (CAAP, *Centro Andino de Acción Popular*), explains this difference on three levels: the state, organizational and class aspects of the Ecuadorian movement and frames the transition in the book’s subtitle: *The long road from the community to the party*. This narrative framing, which views the electoral involvement of the past two decades as the end point of a process that began in rural communities is an argument as much of the success of a movement could be gauged by consulting the varied needs of communities. But, it offers an interesting framework through which to view Ecuadorian indigenous movements, particularly as they evolved with pressing national and international concerns and a way to interpret the shifting tactics and causes that the indigenous movement incorporated.

Linguistically, these Indigenous people have many divisions, with most in the Sierra and Oriente speaking languages in Quichua family with the exception of the Shuar, Achuar and Shiwiar, who speak variations of Jivaroan. The Quichua people are the largest Indigenous peoples in the Americas, with people in Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador. Quichua ethnicities may identify as Kichwa, Qquichua, Quechua or Kechua and I’ve tried

¹⁰ Becker, Marc. *¡Pachakutik! Indigenous Movements and Electoral Politics in Ecuador*. Updated ed. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011.3.

to match my usage here to the original sources.¹¹ The importance of these variations is discussed in greater detail in chapter two and three. Bilingualism among indigenous people, as in speaking more than one indigenous language, is fairly common.¹²

Also significant to the history and politics of Ecuador is the population of Afroecuadorians, who arrived as a result of the slave trade and are concentrated mainly along the Northwestern coast and in the northern highlands, in the provinces of Esmeraldas and Imbabura, respectively.¹³ Afroecuadorian history and the incredible discrimination they face was historically understudied, as is the history of African Latin Americans, though recent scholarship on their history and realities is impressive and growing in prominence.¹⁴ I chose not to address Afroecuadorians in this work, due to the time and space constraints of my project, given the differences between their particular challenges and those of indigenous groups, which vary in terms of number, discrimination and economic roles. Future research could compare their movements and struggles for identity and representation with the indigenous stories.

In terms of political influence and official power, Ecuador has never had an indigenous president but has indigenous men and women in government, more than ever

¹¹ Waddington, R. The Quichua People. The Peoples of the World Foundation. Retrieved December 19, 2014, from The Peoples of the World Foundation. <http://www.peoplesoftheworld.org/text?people=Quichua>. 2003.

¹² Whitten Jr., Norman E, ed. *Millennial Ecuador: Critical Essays on Cultural Transformation & Social Dynamics*. University of Iowa Press, 2003. 10-12.

¹³ Becker, Marc. *¡Pachakutik! Indigenous Movements and Electoral Politics in Ecuador*. Updated ed. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011. 3.

¹⁴ Educational centers in Ecuador publish on Afro Ecuadorian Issues as well, with publications dating back to at least 1992, when a volume from the third year of an annual conference on social and genealogical history took place in the western city of Esmeraldas, where there is a large Afroecuadorian population. Savoia, Rafael, ed. *El Negro En La Historia: Raíces Africanas En La Nacionalidad Ecuatoriana*. Esmeraldas: Centro Cultural Afroecuadoriano, 1992.

Regional discussions of Afro-Latino issues are a growing literature, with Dzidzienyo, Anani, and Suzanne Oboler, eds. *Neither Enemies nor Friends: Latinos, Blacks, Afro-Latinos*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, playing a large role. The work tackled issues of contemporary identity, historical contributions and silences as well as the role Afro-Latinos have in the US today.

before in the past decade.¹⁵ Former CONAIE president and Indigenous leader Luis Macas ran for President in 2006 as the candidate of the indigenous Pachakutik party and won approximately 2% of the vote. Since major constitutional reforms ratified in 2009, Ecuador has been a plurinational republic, a distinction also adopted by Bolivia in 2009, which is legally “The Plurinational Republic of Bolivia.”¹⁶ This change at the highest level explicitly acknowledges the many national identities that make up the nation of Ecuador. President Correa presented the change, “‘Plurinationalism’ means admitting that several different nationalities coexist within the larger Ecuadorean state, which is obvious in this country and need not scare anyone. Everyone should have the same opportunities.”¹⁷ Other countries use labels to designate diverse populations, such as pluricultural but the word plurinational is limited in use to Ecuador and Bolivia, though Bolivia is the only one to use it in all references to the country regardless of setting, including at the UN.

The indigenous scholarship used in this thesis represents a commitment on the part of various publishers, particularly the indigenous Abya Yala, named after the Panamanian indigenous term for the land of the Americas, based in Quito, and pioneering academics to share and sometimes translate indigenous perspectives, as well as the bravery of indigenous people themselves in living and recording their experiences. Abya Yala’s role is discussed more extensively in chapter three. Founded in 1975, Abya Yala,

¹⁵ The world’s first indigenous president, Evo Morales, elected in 2006, governs neighboring Bolivia through the MAS (*Movimiento al Socialismo*, Movement towards Socialism) party and has played a major role in international politics since his election, particularly with regards to drug regulation and the role of the UN.

¹⁶ Making Bolivia a plurinational state was part of Morales’ campaign and he called for a constitutional assembly shortly after his election. The changes proposed were not ratified in 2009, but they predate Ecuador’s move.

¹⁷ <http://www.ipsnews.net/2008/05/ecuador-new-constitution-addresses-demand-for-plurinational-state/> Kintto Lucas, May 5, 2008

has published research papers and books by Ecuadorian authors, mostly in the social sciences. The influence that this indigenous publishing house has on the materials coming out of Ecuador is enormous and their political views, especially in policy-based topics are potentially disseminated through the publishing house. The press publishes only in Spanish and Indigenous languages, contributing to the tremendous lack of English scholarship on this topic, a lack this project hopes to address.

The concentration of sources from the last two decades is the result of many factors, from the minute: the buying patterns of my university's Latin American library collections (which apparently increased when a new Latin American Studies librarian was hired), to the recent increase in English language sources, or the global political visibility of indigenous peoples in the last decade. Current president Rafael Correa has placed indigenous issues more centrally than his predecessors. Such a political movement inevitably influences scholarship and could be seen as a crucial moment in the history of indigenous focused literature, as recognition as part of the body politic has long evaded the indigenous population, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3. Finally, the 1990 protests sparked what Becker called "an academic 'Generation of 1990' with numerous articles, books, and doctoral dissertations on the subject of Indigenous Politics," and I was fortunate enough to access many of those on my research trip to Ecuador.¹⁸

Indigenous peoples have always been part of the image of Ecuador, in mainly symbolic ways. As Christa J. Olson writes in *Constitutive Visions: Indigeneity and Commonplaces of National Identity in Republican Ecuador*, early reports in the 1950s of

¹⁸ Becker, Marc, *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

the indigenous populations of Ecuador emphasized, above all else their malleability.¹⁹ These descriptive images created by The Walt Disney Company with the Department of Inter-American Affairs to show Americans what was going on in the rest of the hemisphere, portrayed teachers bringing literacy to people of the jungle, heavily calling upon colonial images and rhetoric, which Olsen explores, as well as a Cold War interest in maintaining American interests in seemingly unrelated countries. As a banana republic with an export-centered economy, Ecuador was yes, an exotic place. Colorful pamphlets emphasizing rich traditions communicated that, with a few Spanish lessons, the population would march on to progress.²⁰ Olson wisely urges scholars and readers to see articles like these not as outdated propaganda but “as barometers for the power relations that infuse every interpretive project and haunt every effort to present a history.”²¹ The framework of intervention dominates how Ecuadorians and Americans discuss histories and national identities.

To give voice to different national identities, I cite indigenous accounts of history and policy whenever possible, aiming to infuse their views in this work by a white American university student who enjoys different privileges and experiences society differently. The shortcomings of this source base are numerous, from the lack of written records kept by many organizations, including the Subsecretary for Intercultural

¹⁹ Olson, Christa J.. *Constitutive Visions: Indigeneity and Commonplaces of National Identity in Republican Ecuador*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014.

Olson’s work is an incredible resource, which is the product of consultation and collaboration among scholars from Ecuador and the US and part of the Rhetoric and Democratic Deliberation series. Its recent publication makes it difficult to see as an exception or part of a new trend in scholarship, but I hope to continue in her vein of thought.

²⁰ One article, “Alphabet in the Andes” written in English by Ecuadorian Miguel Albornoz, published in 1945 in the US began, “How Ecuadorean journalists are teaching the Indians to read and write and like it,” implying an innate indigenous aversion to education. Olson, Christa J.. *Constitutive Visions: Indigeneity and Commonplaces of National Identity in Republican Ecuador*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014.xi.

²¹ Olson, Christa J.. *Constitutive Visions: Indigeneity and Commonplaces of National Identity in Republican Ecuador*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014. xiii

Bilingual Education, a shortage they attribute to the oral nature of indigenous languages. There is also a lack of digitalized documents from Ecuador and silences I know exist as well as others I have likely not considered. The largest indigenous groups are the most active and those who are educated and politically engaged enough to be published, especially in an academic context, exert some privilege in their communities and over other Indigenous communities.

In keeping with the practice of scholars, including Marc Becker, I capitalize the I in indigenous when referring to people and groups, per the recommendation of the board of directors of the South and Meso American Indian Rights Center (SAIIC). This, as they explain, affirms ethnic identity by treating it as one would a more recognized nationality.²² When quoting sources, I spelled names of languages and places according to the original usages, though with some translated works, the translator may have used the quechua spelling because of its common usage and I am unable to make that distinction. Another concept used repeatedly is the concept of plurinationalism, a term used mostly in Latin America to acknowledge the peoplehood of various Indigenous groups within a national umbrella. Indigenous groups often refer to themselves as “*naciones*,” meaning nations or “*pueblos*,” meaning people. There is no commonly used Spanish word that translates to ethnicity and therefore the word, especially when translated to English seems contradictory: a nation of many nations. It is better understood as a nation made up of many peoples and many histories. When Ecuador’s 2009 constitution denoted the nation as plurinational, Correa defined this change to his people, “‘Plurinationalism’ means admitting that several different nationalities coexist

²²Becker, Marc. *¡Pachakutik! Indigenous Movements and Electoral Politics in Ecuador*. Updated ed. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011

within the larger Ecuadorean state, which is obvious in this country and need not scare anyone. Everyone should have the same opportunities.”²³ As Francisco Rhon Dávila, the Executive Director of The Andean Center for Popular Action (CAAP, *Centro Andino de Acción Popular*), a thirty year old organization dedicated to indigenous movements and mobilizations explains, they have always considered the concept called “the indigenous question” as above all, “a national question.”²⁴ Arguing for indigenous centrality in the Ecuadorian nation is an important part of the indigenous movement and its longevity.

Finally, there is a great deal of translation in this thesis and it is my hope that writing in English will open this conversation to a broader audience, as the questions raised are relevant in many corners of the globe where large Indigenous populations struggle to be integrated. Translations are subjective and people may disagree with choices I have made. I’ve included the original Spanish in footnotes whenever I had access to it and hope that bilingual readers will benefit from the original source material. Writing in English represents a tradeoff as the work will be unusable by the people working in indigenous education in Ecuador itself, a concern raised to me by employees at the Subsecretary of Intercultural Bilingual Education itself and one that applies to much of US scholarship on indigenous issues, whether political, educational, environmental or linguistic.

The first chapter examines the organizational tactics and goals of activists in the 1930s and 40s, with a special focus on collaboration with communist and socialist

²³ Lucas, Kintto. "Ecuador: New Constitution Addresses Demand for "Plurinational State"" *Inter Press Service*, May 5, 2008. Accessed November 26, 2014. <http://www.ipsnews.net/2008/05/ecuador-new-constitution-addresses-demand-for-plurinational-state/>.

²⁴ “También propositiva a la llamada “cuestión indígena,” que siempre hemos considerado sobre todo una “cuestión nacional.” Sánchez-Parga, José. *El Movimiento Indígena Ecuatoriano: La Larga Ruta De La Comunidad Al Partido*. Quito: Abya Yala | Universidad Politécnica Salesiana, 2010. 7.

organizations and the value of urban and rural partnerships. In chapter two, the narrative jumps to the 1980s where organization shifts including the formation of confederations push the state to assume the mantle of educating Indigenous citizens. These confederations and the burgeoning relationships with the state set the stage for further structural evolution: the creation of an indigenous political party and several highly visible campaigns. In addition, Chapter two begins to examine the model of intercultural bilingual education and how various actors developed and advanced it. Chapter three includes a case study of the Achuar people and the complexities of education in that context and examines the academic movements and discourse around the intercultural bilingual education with a focus on the intentions of educators regarding the indigenous role in society. An epilogue surveys the two most pressing issues facing Ecuadorian Indigenous peoples today, one pragmatic and political and the other conceptual: oil and national identity. Petroleum resources and land control and rights are of the utmost urgency as is defining what it means to be Ecuadorian. Plurinationalism comes with many promises.

Chapter 1:

Communism and the City: Indigenous Tools for Change in the 1940s

I do not remember how many times, but every time I went to Quito, my task was also to go to the Ministry of Education, to the province office for Pichincha, to the national union of journalists and also where people could help me with this work. I always would bring requests with signatures of the workers from the area where I lived so that my petition would be stronger. They never gave me a response but I kept insisting so that one day they would understand that the Indian child, too, has the right to be educated.²⁵ –Dolores Cacuango²⁶

The first wave of Ecuador's indigenous movement organized around education, among other issues, in the 1940s, as activist Dolores Cacuango's remarks about her routine visits to Quito suggest. With tactics and partnerships formed in the 20s and 30s, prominent activists emerged with agendas around land, labor and family. At the time most Indigenous people worked on large estates doing unskilled labor. Education aimed to increase literacy and promote self-landownership and identity formation. The organization and goals of the indigenous education movement in the 1940s were economic and ideological: hoping for dignity in conditions of harsh labor and setting the stage for more consolidated organizing in the 1980s, which built on the institutions established at this time.

A social movement can only succeed under certain conditions. Definitions of success evolve and vary, depending on the point of view, regime or strategy. Social

²⁵ Original Spanish, translations by the author: "No recuerdo el número de veces, pero cada vez que llegaba a Quito mi tarea era también ir al Ministerio de Educación, a la dirección provincial de Pichincha, a la unión nacional de periodistas y también donde las personas que me podían ayudar a esta tarea. Siempre traía solicitud con firmas de los moradores de la zona donde vivía para que tenga más fuerza la petición. Nunca me daban contestación pero yo seguía insistiendo por si algún día entiendan que también el niño indio tiene derecho a educarse (23)." Rodas, Raquel. *Crónica De Un Sueño: Las Escuelas Indígenas De Dolores Cacuango : Una Experiencia De Educación Bilingüe En Cayambe*. 2nd ed. Quito: Proyecto EBI-GTZ, 1998.

²⁶ It is due to my own inexperience and error as a researcher that I do not have a date for this quote, which I found in a book at a library in Quito. Raquel Rodas, the author, interviewed Cacuango many times and I have contacted the library to verify but they have not responded.

movements, as defined and operationalized by sociologist Doug McAdam's political process model "are rational attempts by excluded groups to mobilize sufficient political leverage to advance collective interests through noninstitutionalized means."²⁷ While aspects of his research are specific to the US, he describes an elite model of political power, in which a small minority makes decisions for the people, his conclusions also apply in Ecuador. In Ecuador, the indigenous movement is neither unified nor wholly successful in part because it is not static, but rather has evolved in its goals and structures in the last 60 years.

Since the 1930s, shifting priorities, alliances and strategies have enabled the peoples of the small but diverse nation to make strides that are significant and in certain moments, revolutionary. Much of my research concerns education, specifically bilingual and intercultural bilingual education, but the indigenous movement's goals have never been so narrow and therefore neither is my work. It is important to address bilingual education as one of many platforms in the indigenous movement, as there is not a movement only concerned with bilingual education as a panacea, nor an indigenous movement that neglects the issue of education.

Chief in indigenous concerns is the issue of land, which dominates many conversations and speaks to the economic hardships indicative of centuries of oppression. Major land reform legislation in 1937, "*La Ley de Organización y Régimen de Comunas*" under the progressive government of General Enríquez Gallo offered a chance to change land politics and relationships by recognizing the communal indigenous model of land ownership, even if many Indigenous people did not own land when it was implemented.

²⁷ McAdam, Doug. "The Political Process Model." In *Political Process and the Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*, 36-59. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.37.

These comunas, communally managed agricultural plots, differed from the exploitative hacienda structures and had deep roots in Andean traditions, while still being compatible with communist ideas regarding land ownership.²⁸ While the legal recognition did not lead to dramatic restructuring of property, it was extremely significant in terms of a national legal recognition of an indigenous institution and a cultural foundation of Andean tradition. Sánchez-Paga argues that the law led to an ideological linkage between urban and rural populations, as the rural Indigenous people saw their structures recognized, as part of a slow tilt towards citizenship.²⁹ The activist linkages between urban and rural people of the lower class were also important but it is interesting to note multiple points of unity.

Many Indigenous groups developed in towns and on *haciendas*, the large estates where Indigenous peasants performed manual labor, or in conjunction with leftist socialist or communist organizations that aimed to organize country workers in the 1930s and 40s and may have had narrower agendas and frameworks for change. Indigenous people, for much of the late 19th and 20th centuries labored on haciendas as *huasipingueros*, in a pattern of chronic debt similar to sharecropping in which they neither owned land nor generated substantial income for their work. Not all rural laborers were Indigenous so sometimes the term “*campesinos*,” which translates to peasants or country workers, is used to describe a group that included Indigenous workers, though the term *campesinos* is not necessarily ethnically specific. However, Indigenous leader Luis Macas saw layers of identity and power in the term, noting that leftists ignored the

²⁸ Sánchez-Paga, José. *El Movimiento Indígena Ecuatoriano: La Larga Ruta De La Comunidad Al Partido*. Quito: Abya Yala | Universidad Politécnica Salesiana, 2010. 21.

²⁹ Sánchez-Paga, José. *El Movimiento Indígena Ecuatoriano: La Larga Ruta De La Comunidad Al Partido*. Quito: Abya Yala | Universidad Politécnica Salesiana, 2010. 23.

fact that “the indigenous could leave the peasant status without ceasing to be indigenous,” a persistent concern as assimilation and transitioning to higher status work, particularly in a city, usually went hand in hand.³⁰ This has included programs such as strikes for better working conditions or shorter hours, campaigns that link them to laborers and rural workers around the world.

More so, the brutality with which the Ecuadorian government responded to many of the indigenous demands provided striking images, especially when the use of force appeared excessive, such as in the case of a 1926 land dispute in Changalá, a hacienda on land which Indians had historic claims.³¹ Seventy soldiers arrived to squash the occupation, which had explicit socialist and communist ties. Changalá owner Gabriel García Alcázar, feared, according to local newspaper articles, the Bolshevik attacks and protestors shouted, “Long live socialism” during confrontations with the police, though the strike was locally organized in collaboration with Ecuador’s own communist and socialist parties.³² The image of soldiers bearing machine guns confronting unarmed Indigenous peoples proved a salient one. The Changalá campaign was one of the first by the Juan Montavalo union, which had approximately one thousand members and a platform based on broad social issues. The union, officially named *Sindicato de Trabajadores Campesinos de Juan Montavalo*, used the broader, global peasantry or proletariat as its unifier, reflecting the ideology of the times and weapons of strikes and unions, a predecessor of unions that worked in a rural context. The ideology of

³⁰ “El indígena pueda descampesinizarse sin desindigenarse.” Sánchez-Parga, José. *El Movimiento Indígena Ecuatoriano: La Larga Ruta De La Comunidad Al Partido*. Quito: Abya Yala | Universidad Politécnica Salesiana, 2010. 23.

³¹ Becker uses the term Indians in his description of the land struggle, which is why I’ve used it here. This reflects the sources he had, including historical newspapers, which likely failed to distinguish between different indigenous groups.

³² Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. 22-23.

communism and socialism and its emphasis on the workingman and the dignity of such work affirmed Indigenous humanity in a way dominant society did not. The union received direct support from Communist and Socialist parties, especially in planning mass communication, showing the importance of a rural–urban partnership in organizing. The importance of the media, also cited by Cacuangó on her list of tasks for a trip to Quito, was evident here as well, “The Communist Party newspaper *Frente Obrero* [the Worker’s Front] printed the classic Marxist slogan, “Workers of the world unite!” in both Spanish and Kichwa on its masthead.³³” The use of indigenous languages in communist media speaks to the crucial alliance and the effort to engage on multiple levels, even if most newspaper readers were likely urban and Spanish speaking. A sense of mutual struggle, even if mostly rhetorical, incorporates indigenous concerns into a broader movement in a way that would be difficult to do in the final decades of the 20th century.

Further support came from Ricardo Paredes, a doctor from the southern city of Loja, who founded Ecuador’s communist and socialist parties. The PSE, *Partido Socialista Ecuatoriano*, was founded in 1925 as part of Communist International and was a small group that focused on social welfare legislation. In 1928, the *Partido Comunista Ecuatoriano* (PCE): was founded, with an agenda more closely linked to Moscow, where Paredes traveled to attend conferences. In 1962, the events of the Cuban Revolution inspired the creation of *the Partido Socialista Revolucionario del Ecuador* (PSRE).³⁴ Paredes published a newspaper, *La Antorcha*, which denounced and reported on abuses of Indigenous people. Indigenous activists described him as “the first and best comrade, ”

³³ Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. 30.

³⁴ Hanratty, Dennis M. *Ecuador: A Country Study*. 3rd ed. Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division: Library of Congress, 1991.182.

a telling compliment that shows the solidarity between the movements.³⁵ The linkage of socialism and indigenous activism was important to both parties “given that one of the fundamental demands of Ecuadorian socialism is the redemption of the Indian.”³⁶ The specificities of this redemption are left vague but the oppression and necessary overthrow of the ruling class that indigenous land ownership would entail aligns with communist ideology. Urban mestizo workers experienced this oppression on a conceptual rather than personal level, an important distinction when building a movement. Paredes realized that Indigenous people occupied a difference space, “racial oppression (prejudice for being an ‘inferior race’) and economic oppression.” He saw this consciousness of their oppression as a potentially revolutionary factor.³⁷

The vision of indigenous redemption in a communist framework is more empowering and humanizing than alternate perspectives of Indigenous humanity, but it brought certain challenges since it was so explicitly tied to a controversial political agenda, especially as the perceptions of communism and socialism, globally and in Latin America, evolved throughout the 20th century. In the 1960s, President Kennedy’s Alliance for Progress promoted agrarian reform in eleven Latin American countries but neglected the power shifting aims of reform in favor of a more capitalist modernization.³⁸ To illustrate, an article, “Alphabet in the Andes” published in the US in 1945 and in Ecuador in 1949 cited an Indigenous student who, though western education, no longer

³⁵ Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. 21.

³⁶ Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. 32.

³⁷ Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. 33.

³⁸ Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. 137.

felt unwashed and finally felt like a man, claiming hygiene improvements as a goal of educational programs.³⁹

Movements on the ground continued. One critical strike began in 1930 in the hacienda of Pesillo launched by the local union founded in 1927. CONAIE, in its organizational history, begins with the Pesillo union⁴⁰. Other important points in its history include the founding of the first confederation style group: FEI, *Federación Ecuatoriana de Indios*, (the Ecuadorian Federation of Indians) in 1944, which was founded with the help of the country's communist and workers parties (*Partido Comunista y de la Confederación Ecuatoriana de Obreros* (CTE). (CHECK CONAIE website)FEI was weakened by abuse from landowners and government persecution but set an important precedent in organizational structure and the platform of issues it prioritized.

In response to the strikes in Pesillo, the government sent 150 soldiers to quell the uprising (50 each for the three revolting haciendas), armed with bloodhounds. They decided to, among other actions, destroy the homes of the leaders, sending a message that such forms of protest would be met with hostility and aggression, rather than negotiation or compromise.⁴¹ The strike was also evidence of early political centralization, as the political leader of Cayambe, a later site of indigenous activism and early bilingual schools, telegraphed the government ministry in Quito to report the revolt, a necessary step because the strike majorly disrupted work. The response was centralized, rather than

³⁹ Olson, Christa J.. *Constitutive Visions: Indigeneity and Commonplaces of National Identity in Republican Ecuador*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014. xiii.

⁴⁰ "Historia." Confederación De Nacionalidades Indígenas Del Ecuador. Accessed December 17, 2014. <http://www.conaie.org/index.php/en/conaie/presets>.

⁴¹ Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. 51.

local, and suggests some standardization of official responses to indigenous uprisings and revolts of a similar nature that continued in the following decades.

With Cacuangó, unions in Pesillo also established schools. One of the first teachers, Neptalí Ulcuango, reflected on his experience, emphasizing the need for authentic education of the indigenous community of Ecuador, which includes Indigenous faculty and materials, “When I refer to indigenous education in Pesillo, I mean the creation of the four schools by Dolores Cacuangó with the support of her partner Luisa Gómez de la Torre, Nela Martínez and Ricardo Paredes.”⁴² They worked on the FEI to set up schools with explicit goals and a replicable model, hoping graduates would, “teach their brothers the path to liberation.” FEI saw themselves as far from inferior, “Our spirit has not died and our race is the most productive in the country. We are men and we want conditions of life for men.”⁴³ The use of the word men in this circumstance is not as gendered as it seems, likely the more universal *hombres*, which is commonly used in collective mixed gender spaces, but the gender dynamics in the work are nonetheless important. But the concept of productivity gets at a central problem in Ecuadorian citizenship: the indigenous labor made the nation’s growth possible yet they are marginalized at all levels of said nation. At their second congress in 1946, FEI defended their federation model because “in one bloc they [all Indigenous inhabitants of Ecuador] can more effectively defend their rights.”⁴⁴ This issue of mass organization or

⁴² “Diciendo esto, yo me refiero a la educación indígena de Pesillo a la creación de las cuatro escuelitas regentadas por Dolores Cacuangó con el apoyo de la compañera Luisa Gómez de la Torre, Nela Martínez y Ricardo Paredes.” Rodas, Raquel. *Crónica De Un Sueño: Las Escuelas Indígenas De Dolores Cacuangó : Una Experiencia De Educación Bilingüe En Cayambe*. 2nd ed. Quito: Proyecto EBI-GTZ, 1998. 65.

⁴³ Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. 96.

⁴⁴ Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. 98.

individuation according to the more specific needs of Indigenous peoples remained contentious in the next wave of organizing.

The collaborators Ulcuango references are important and show Cacuango's wide network of influence. Luisa Gómez de la Torre, was a trailblazing female educator, teaching both male and female students, though in gender segregated classrooms and helped found the socialist party. Paredes described her as a "representative of the great social victim: the woman" who "remains enslaved by political and civic limitations and social prejudices that leave her defenseless in the arms of exploiters."⁴⁵ Her central involvement and the presence of women in all levels of party demonstrates the leftists social liberalism. Nela Martínez, who was not Indigenous, was a communist party leader and writer who eventually served as the first female congresswoman in 1945 under President Ibarro Velasco. In 1962, she founded the *Unión Revolucionaria de Mujeres del Ecuador* (URME, Revolutionary Union of Ecuadorian Women). The same year, a massacre of thirteen Salasaca Indigenous people protesting for water rights in traditional attire received major media coverage, even from conservative newspapers.⁴⁶ She died in Cuba in 2004 at age 90.⁴⁷ She and Gómez de la Torre worked with Cacuango for decades, and admired her greatly. Their work included helping to found the *Alianza Femenina Ecuatoriana* (AFE), the Ecuadorian Women's Alliance, in 1938.⁴⁸ Practically every Latin American country set up feminist alliances during this time, with missions mostly directed towards suffrage activity, once again showing the intersectionality of the

⁴⁵ Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. 137.

⁴⁶ Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. 135.

⁴⁷ Agencia, EFE. "Nela Martínez, Escritora Y Primera Diputada De Ecuador." EL PAÍS. August 2, 2004. Accessed December 17, 2014.

⁴⁸ Valdés, Teresa. *De Lo Social a Lo Político: La Acción De Las Mujeres Latinoamericanas*. 1.st ed. Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2000. 31.

Cacuango's work. The goals of the AFE, as published in *El Comercio*, a daily newspaper, were to

“defends women's rights and social and political victories, but within a harmonious plan, very distant from any belligerence that could cause disunity and jealousy. Because it aspires to create a society without privileges and to dignify the humble, the Ecuadorian woman is present in this hour of national reconstruction, with the intention of cooperating, from a position of struggle and spirit, in the arduous and hard labor of uplifting the Ecuadorian home from national ruins... We will fight untiringly for national unity and we will have our hands open in solidarity [so that] women of all the country, without distinction of class, race, or political party, [can] come together to form ranks in the crusade that we are initiating today for the wellbeing and benefit of the country.”⁴⁹

The content of this statement emphasizes the unity of the female agenda with larger goals tied to unity and privilege. Its values align with communism and with both indigenous and urban protests, though indigeneity is not explicitly mentioned, aside from the word race. In tying the betterment of women to the betterment of the entire country, the activists promote the education of women and the role of women in their own victory. They're participating fully. Paredes, the communist and socialist leader, also lent crucial support and spread the word. The variety and commitment of people from different sectors of Ecuadorian society is a testament to Cacuango's vast involvement and network and to the integration of bilingual education with aligned goals. Communists and teachers alike saw a national project at stake for dignity and class changes and Cacuango could direct their influence to causes that intimately affected her community.

Cacuango's work defined indigenous education for Ulcuango, it was a type of beginning. He explained that in 1945, as the FEI worked to create schools, there were no teachers certified to do this work, a persistent pipeline problem that plagued many communities, especially smaller and more isolated peoples. They recruited him, and a

⁴⁹ O'Connor, Erin. *Mothers Making Latin America: Gender, Households, and Politics Since 1825*. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2014. 122-123.

small group of others, including Cacuangó's son who "patriotically collaborated in the creation and work of national bilingual schools."⁵⁰ Referring to the schools as nationally bilingual speaks to a deep desire for inclusion and integration into the concept of nationhood, despite the hostility. Ulcuango and his colleagues had to fight to keep the schools open as the government repeatedly tried to shut them down.⁵¹ Cacuangó's unwillingness to let the challenges of establishing indigenous schools stop her was notable, as was her social capital and her ability to mobilize people to get things done. She imparted in the next generation the importance of education.

The strikers had 17 demands, including "higher salaries, a forty-hour work week, return of huasipungo plots,⁵² an end to the Church's abusive practice of charging diezmos and primicias, compensation for women's labor, and an end to the huasicama practice of demanding personal service in a haciendado's house," something that aversely affected women in particular. Huasipungo plots continued to be used until the late 1960s, when unionization that began during this period finally pressured landowners to change conditions.⁵³ These demands are strong, but they are not structural, a reflection of indigenous organizing at the time. They are demands that would have been considered realistic or possible, anthropologist Mercedes Prieto called them "ambiguous."⁵⁴ This classification seeks to explain the demands as both within the system and critical of the

⁵⁰ "para que patrióticamente colaboráramos con la creación y trabajo de las escuelas bilingües nacionales." Rodas, Raquel. *Crónica De Un Sueño: Las Escuelas Indígenas De Dolores Cacuangó : Una Experiencia De Educación Bilingüe En Cayambe*. 2nd ed. Quito: Proyecto EBI-GTZ, 1998.65.

⁵¹ Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. 98.

⁵² These were plots of land on the haciendas that indigenous workers could cultivate for personal use, though most of their time had to be devoted to the landowners.

⁵³ Hanratty, Dennis M. *Ecuador: A Country Study*. 3rd ed. Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division: Library of Congress, 1991.74.

⁵⁴ Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.52.

system, since they do not propose an alternative indigenous labor pattern or the downfall of the hacienda system and more focus on reforms to improve conditions.

In the first half of the 20th century, the union structure used by leftist labor organizers offered a toolbox for change and a combination of political protest and labor tactics as a way to deal with hacienda owners. The relationships between Indigenous peoples and leftists in the 1940s were vital in organizing the Indigenous peoples and developing new tactics to attract public notice and create change, focusing on the issue of land ownership, a still unresolved issue. This mobilization was not confined to Ecuador. Mexico was the site of major movements such as the *indigenista* artistic movement that worked with muralists in urban areas and rooted many of the nation's social problems in an indigenous context.⁵⁵ There were major consequences for these protests including several massacres by the military on some of the nation's largest haciendas. In Ecuador in particular, the dramatic loss of territory to Peru in 1942 in a war that left a deep impact on the national psyche, prompted associations of indigeneity and land, since the longevity of indigenous civilization offered something of a national birthright, as contradictory as that seems. The war also led to growth of the military, which in peacetime intervened with indigenous conflicts. Preserving indigenous roots became a proxy to talk about preserving land, with language urging a cultivation at a cost, if the problem wasn't addressed, the *Journal of Social Welfare* feared, it would "degenerate such that [Ecuador] would have to sustain within itself a living corpse."⁵⁶ The physical metaphor used here is

⁵⁵ Dawson, Alexander S. *Indian and Nation in Revolutionary Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004.

⁵⁶ Olson, Christa J.. *Constitutive Visions: Indigeneity and Commonplaces of National Identity in Republican Ecuador*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014. 81.

powerful, because it imagines the nation as one body, with indigenous identity as an integral component.

The same centralized communication that brought bloodhounds and soldiers to Cayembe to suppress the strike allowed it to happen in first place. Indigenous protesters worked with urban activists, many with socialist and communist affiliations, with many forging meaningful alliances. Cayembe and other cities, such as Milagro, a center of organizing on the Pacific near Guayaquil, were only a day's journey from their respective urban centers. Indigenous leaders were constantly in touch with the socialist urban workers, helping to create a sense of a national peasantry, though this classification may have minimized the differences in Indigenous workers experiences, which varied by region and by landowner. International communist organizations during the 1930s and 40s played a huge role in organizing. Even in 1928, the General Assembly of Peasants, based in Milagro, sent a list of demands to the National Assembly, that concluded with a statement that, "The problems of the peasant proletariat are many and deep, on the coast as well as in the highlands."⁵⁷ The language here, from terms like proletariat and strike, which supplemented previously used terms like *levantamiento*, which means uprising, previously used to describe protest activity, all links indigenous organizing to a broader ideological and strategic approach. The protests of the later twentieth century were again called *levantamientos* though socialism still has a role in the Ecuadorian political landscape⁵⁸. It is ironic that another European worldview inspired indigenous organizing when European systems and colonization necessitated radical changes. Though

⁵⁷ Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.42-43.

⁵⁸ Becker, Marc. *¡Pachakutik! Indigenous Movements and Electoral Politics in Ecuador*. Updated ed. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011

communism was from outside indigenous culture, it nonetheless offered meaningful tools and the ideology did not continue to frame indigenous discourse for many decades after the 40s, likely due to American influence and Cold War investment in keeping Latin America capitalist rather than communist and Soviet influenced.

Ecuador's tremendous biodiversity allows a multitude of crops to thrive there and the agriculture industry is perpetually booming. The image of Ecuador as a banana republic looms large in global and particularly American visions of the country, which as a result minimizes the Indigenous peoples, and other subsistence farmers, who make this export industry possible. Today, bananas and flowers are two of Ecuador's largest agricultural exports. Rose plantations, surrounded by high fences that hide the poor working conditions and dangerous chemicals in use dot the green hills surrounding Quito, especially near Cayembe. Research by the "International Labor Organization published in 1999 and the Catholic University issued here last year showed that women in the industry had more miscarriages than average and that more than 60 percent of all workers suffered headaches, nausea, blurred vision or fatigue."⁵⁹ Further research suggests major health risks for workers in the floral industry.⁶⁰ Ecuador's percentage in the US rose market has steadily grown and represents another challenge that Indigenous protestors and international workers rights organizations will have to confront, as few consumers know the conditions behind their purchases.

⁵⁹ Thompson, Ginger. "Behind Rose's Beauty, Poor and Ill Workers," *New York Times*, February 13, 2003. Accessed December 7, 2014. <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/02/13/us/behind-roses-beauty-poor-and-ill-workers.html?src=pm&pagewanted=2&pagewanted=all>.

⁶⁰ Another investigation, from 2003 by Mother Jones has accounts of indigenous workers with elementary school educations giving birth to disfigured children and having no access to healthcare. Wehner, Ross. "Deflowering Ecaudor." *Mother Jones*, January 1, 2003.

The question of national images, particularly as it pertained to US involvement in Ecuador, which in terms of education included teaching English, is explored by Christa Olson from a rhetorical standpoint in *Constitutive Visions: Indigeneity and Commonplaces of National Identity in Republican Ecuador*, which observes, “the idea of the Ecuadorian nation has often relied on images of Indigenous people, but Indigenous people themselves have equally often been excluded from active participation in the nation.”⁶¹ This owes partially to a constitutional conception of sovereignty within a national context as “a passive matter of membership in a national body that carried more responsibilities than rights.”⁶² While landownership was no longer a formal requirement for citizenship, literacy tests persisted, though contested, until 1979, excluding most Indigenous people from formal means of political participation.⁶³ This exclusion combined with international currents made more hands on protest attractive and a far more viable strategy and makes the existence of Pachakutik all the more significant.

Many activists from the 1940s used multiple channels for the activism and one of the most heroic and influential of these activists was Dolores Cacuango, who set up a network of bilingual schools in her hometown of Cayembe, about two hours north of Quito, though she never attended school. As discussed, Cayembe’s location is crucial and its history of organizing dates back to the 1920s so Cacuango’s involvement comes from a context of exposure to different forms of protest and many different campaigns. She was also a daring and articulate activist, leading protests at military bases and helping to found the Ecuadorian Federation of Indians (FEI) in 1944.

⁶¹ Olson, Christa J.. *Constitutive Visions: Indigeneity and Commonplaces of National Identity in Republican Ecuador*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014. 5-6.

⁶²Ibid. 32.

⁶³Ibid. 34.

Her life story and work, which is cited by academics and activists alike, as a source of inspiration, shows how intertwined the fight for education was with other more violent and radical protests. In 1989, as the subsecretary of bilingual education was set up, national coordinator Luis de la Torre reflected on the forty years since her schools' opening. Given the unfortunate lack of progress for Indigenous students, Cacuengo's pioneering work was a benchmark: "More than forty years have passed and still very few Indigenous children have the privilege of studying in their mother tongue. Now, the National Director for Intercultural Bilingual Education has been created, a new branch of the ministry of Education directed exclusively for Indigenous people. In the coming months and years, we will have more schools and more bilingual education."⁶⁴ Citing her accomplishments in a speech appealed to Indigenous audiences and acknowledged that the issue required more resources. The progress and creation of the subsecretary of intercultural bilingual education will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

A belief in education as crucial to indigenous rights guided all of Cacuengo's work, as evident in descriptions of her many trips to Quito (also cited at the start of this chapter), which included stops at province offices, visits with the press and petitions presented to the Ministry of Education. The trips, and there were many, made from Cayembe, hours to the north, brought not only her voice and physical presence but also the voices of the members of her community. Though they couldn't travel to Quito, they

⁶⁴ "Han pasado más de cuarenta años y todavía muy pocos niños indígenas tienen el privilegio de poder estudiar en su idioma materno. En estos días se ha creado la Dirección Nacional de Educación Indígena Bilingüe Intercultural, nueva dependencia del ministerio de Educación dirigida exclusivamente a los indígenas. En los próximos meses y años tendremos más escuelas y más educación bilingüe." Rodas, Raquel. *Crónica De Un Sueño: Las Escuelas Indígenas De Dolores Cacuengo : Una Experiencia De Educación Bilingüe En Cayambe*. 2nd ed. Quito: Proyecto EBI-GTZ, 1998.

signed requests for education that Cacuangó presented, always without success, making her solo travel nonetheless an example of collective action.⁶⁵

As she lists the Ministry of Education as one of many stops on a tour to raise consciousness, Cacuangó notes its importance as a national issue when citing the universal “indian boy,” an image used in Ecuador and abroad. She uses the framework of rights, which was also used in rhetoric surrounding land ownership and more economic issues. Though the rights were universal, she used the stories and voices of individuals for maximum impact, as shown by her petitions, which amplified her message. Connections to the media were also important, reinforcing the question of audience. Cacuangó presented similar demands to as many offices, media outlets and people in power as she could. Keeping this consistent ritual, frustrating though it must have been to balance with other business that brought her to Quito, allowed her to present a different vision for the country, one Cacuangó believed an educated and proud indigenous generation could bring about. Though she passed away in 1971, the goals and accomplishments of the educational advocacy agenda in the 1980s suggest that she was a pioneer.

The gender implications of Cacuangó’s work and the campaigns of her colleagues matters. There were prominent female leaders in indigenous activism and some scholars have explained their rise as possible due to their work. By doing less manual labor on haciendas and having more domestic work, they were less dominated by mainstream

⁶⁵ Original Spanish: No recuerdo el número de veces, pero cada vez que llegaba a Quito mi tarea era también ir al Ministerio de Educación, a la dirección provincial de Pichincha, a la unión nacional de periodistas y también donde las personas que me podían ayudar a esta tarea. Siempre traía solicitud con firmas de los moradores de la zona donde vivía para que tenga más fuerza la petición. Nunca me daban contestación pero yo seguía insistiendo por si algún día entiendan que también el niño indio tiene derecho a educarse (23).” Rodas, Raquel. *Crónica De Un Sueño: Las Escuelas Indígenas De Dolores Cacuangó : Una Experiencia De Educación Bilingüe En Cayambe*. 2nd ed. Quito: Proyecto EBI-GTZ, 1998.

society, which could have contributed. However, many Indigenous women did manual labor so this explanation is not wholly satisfying. These Indigenous women worked with other Ecuadorian women, as shown in the case of the AFE discussed above. Andean societies still include patriarchy, often visible in rituals and inheritance. Indigenous feminism is an important and growing movement, recently exposed in greater detail in oral histories of Indigenous women, such as Mapuche Rosa Isolde Reuque Pallaief and Florencia Mallon's collaborative testimony, *When a Flower is Reborn*.⁶⁶ Indigenous education can sometimes reproduce gender imbalances that are traditional to indigenous religion and ritual, which is concerning. Schools founded by Cacungo also educated girls, and her prominence as a role model was hugely empowering, especially for women often excluded from this conversation. The FEI, which she founded, also had agenda items to train Indigenous women as nurses and midwives, showing an incorporation of women's issues at multiple levels, while still keeping employment gendered.⁶⁷ The outsized role of women in education in general is connected to ideas about maternalism and women as naturally nurturing. Teaching is considered a female profession and it is unsurprising that women had a larger role in this sphere of activism than in fights about oil, land ownership and environmental policy.

In the last century of so, overlapping political movements, notably the rest in leftism in the 1940s and the regional rise of indigenous politics provided windows of opportunities for indigenous activism. The principal agenda items are land, oil and education, intertwined causes that have different types of urgency. Along with the

⁶⁶ Paillalef, Rosa Isolde, and Florencia E. Mallon. *When a Flower Is Reborn: The Life and times of a Mapuche Feminist*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2002.

⁶⁷ Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008. 98.

economic issues that directly address the inequalities of life in Ecuador, there is the fight for culture and nationhood. Education, both as an acknowledgment of indigenous culture and language and as an economic equalizer, has a tremendous role to play in this struggle but remains complicated and expensive to administer well. The mainstream politics of Ecuador, which have vacillated from liberal to conservative, with a period of military government in the 1970s, also determine which agenda items are most likely to see progress, influencing strategy and resource allocation.

The strategies and structures that allowed for dramatic institutional progress in the 1980s relied greatly on confederations, which spoke for multiple Indigenous groups in arenas of power. The earliest such confederation was founded in 1938, CEDOC (*Central Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones Clasistas*). This confederation was not of solely Indigenous groups, it also had artisan, urban and industrial workers, but it established an organizational precedent. The largest Indigenous groups were part of the *Federación Ecuatoriana de organizaciones campesinas* (FEDOC). In addition, the sheer growth of unions set a solid institutional framework and created a corps of politically active citizens, “Between 1938 and 1949, some 550 labor organizations were formed. A total of 3,093 unions were established between 1950 and 1973.”⁶⁸ The rise in unions was in part due to the migration of Indians and mestizos to urban centers during this time, with many rejecting the identity of Indigenous in the process, a process that speaks to the fluidity of Indigenous identity in certain contexts. The roots of Ecuador’s large and somewhat self-determined anomaly: the mestizo majority, came from this period. While organizing around unions and industry increased during this period, it came at a cost of assimilation

⁶⁸ Hanratty, Dennis M. *Ecuador: A Country Study*. 3rd ed. Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division: Library of Congress, 1991.193.

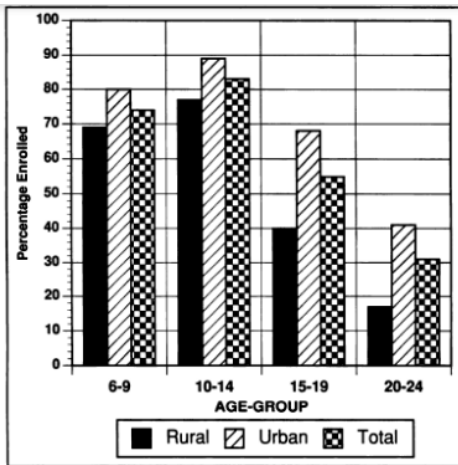
of Indigenous identity. The partial migration back to communities in the 1980s after formative experiences in urban or otherwise industrial spaces was influential and galvanizing for indigenous communities. It helped reframe their struggle around education in more ideological and preservationist terms, and gave them an institutional avenue through which to advance this ambitious agenda.

Activism in the 1940s through 60s was critical in linking educational possibilities with broader rights and establishing organizations that would persist, in modified forms, to enact these goals. The next major progress came in the 1980s, when Indigenous groups negotiated directly with the state, pressing the entity that previously attacked them to provide critical educational services. From an ideological perspective, the goal of education evolved to the framework of intercultural bilingual education, an academic and grassroots concept with widespread implications. Indigenous groups, by the end of the 1960s were roughly organized on regional levels, rather than only by landowner or hacienda, widening the potential for national mobilization. In this next era, too, the scope of the institutions engaged around education was far from myopic, particularly as the confederations took a final step into state integration and formed a political party.

Chapter 2: From Union to Confederation to Political Party: The 1980s and Indigenous Organizing

“By the early 1980s, changes in Indian ethnic consciousness could be identified in some communities. An increasing number of educated Indians returned to work in their native communities instead of assuming a mestizo identity and moving away. They remained Indian in their loyalty and their ethnic allegiance. The numbers of Indian primary school teachers of Quichua increased, and literacy programs expanded; both trends reinforced Indian identity.⁶⁹” -Ecuador: A Country Study, 1991

In 1988, the Ecuadorian State, through the Ministry of Education, officially accepted the responsibility of educating its Indigenous population with the creation of the



Source: Based on information from Ecuador, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, *IV Censo Nacional de Población y III de Vivienda, 1982—Resumen Nacional: Breve Análisis de los Resultados Definitivos*, Quito, 1985, 49.

Figure 10. Percentage of School-Aged Population Enrolled in School, Divided by Urban-Rural Residence, 1982

1982⁷⁰

One of the reasons that the Ministry of Education could take on this charge was financial. The first effort to address Intercultural Bilingual Education at a state level came in 1982 with an agreement from the ministry to officially administer bicultural bilingual education in areas with medium and large Indigenous populations. The lack of

Subsecretary for Intercultural Bilingual education. The concepts and ideology behind intercultural bilingual education will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter but the institutional nature of this change and its influence are also important.

Figure 4 The rural –urban divide in Ecuador,

⁶⁹ Hanratty, Dennis M. *Ecuador: A Country Study*. 3rd ed. Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division: Library of Congress, 1991.88.

⁷⁰ Hanratty, Dennis M. *Ecuador: A Country Study*. 3rd ed. Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division: Library of Congress, 1991.98.

government infrastructure and political will meant that this declaration had little effect.⁷¹ However, “the 1960s and 1970s saw a major expansion in educational opportunities at every level. Spending increased until by 1980 education represented one-third of total government outlays.”⁷² Literacy rates, too, incentivized action on indigenous education. The organization needed to make an impact, though, was still lacking until an executive decree from social democrat President Rodrigo Borja in 1988 set up the department, which was approved by law in April of 1989. This change came as part of broader reforms to the Ministry of Education, including the addition of 15 provincial offices and other changes to the Hispanic department, which handled the remainder of Ecuador’s schools, all of which were important to make intercultural bilingual education a viable option.⁷³

The concept of bilingual education implies a duality, a classroom featuring more than one language of instruction. In Ecuador, this means Spanish alongside an indigenous language, creating an interculturalism that remains politically urgent. Current President, Rafael Correa, elected in 2006, based part of his campaign on the concept of “*sumac kawsay*,” which translates to living well, as opposed to the political standard of simply living better.⁷⁴ Services, and publicity campaigns around indigenous issues have been a major part of his administration, from large billboards to radio ads about bilingual education. This effort, when placed in the context of intercultural relationships in

⁷¹ Walsh, Catherine. "Desarrollo Sociopolítico De La Educación Intercultural Bilingüe En El Ecuador." *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, no. 31-32 (1994): 99-164.

⁷² Hanratty, Dennis M. *Ecuador: A Country Study*. 3rd ed. Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division: Library of Congress, 1991.96.

⁷³ Walsh, Catherine. "Desarrollo Sociopolítico De La Educación Intercultural Bilingüe En El Ecuador." *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, no. 31-32 (1994): 99-164.

⁷⁴ Becker, Marc. *¡Pachakutik! Indigenous Movements and Electoral Politics in Ecuador*. Updated ed. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011

Ecuador becomes more meaningful.⁷⁵ Correa's rhetorical embrace of education does not imply an unequivocal adoption of indigenous policies and protests in all spheres, as his treatments of protesters prompts leaders of CONAIE and Ecuarrunari to note, "a form of political persecution of the leaders of the Indigenous movement for the simple act of disagreeing with government policies."⁷⁶

When, after decades of indigenous activism, Ecuador's Ministry of Education created the Department of Intercultural Bilingual Education in 1988, it was an incomplete triumph. However, making intercultural bilingual education a part of national education was a and pacesetting step for the indigenous movements, the nation and the Andean region, whose goals, as explained in the previous chapter, were far more encompassing. There was, as described previously, bilingual education before the state took it over, run by incredibly hard-working activists, Indigenous groups, and international organizations. The current model of intercultural bilingual education is a descendant of one developed and tested by the education collective MACAC that was initially dismissed as too complicated for the government to implement⁷⁷. In this way, there were many coalitions advancing bilingual education, locally based, so the language of instruction reflected the Indigenous population of that area. This localized development meant that certain areas were far more advanced with regards to curricular development, infrastructure and teaching training, continuing inequality among Indigenous peoples.

⁷⁵ Simons, Walter. "Ecuador's First Quechuan Language Television Station Aims to Keep Ancient Traditions Alive." Cuenca High Life via Reuters. December 7, 2009. Accessed December 10, 2014. <http://www.cuencahighlife.com/post/2009/12/07/Ecuadors-first-Quechuan-television-aims-to-keep-ancient-language-and-traditions-alive.aspx>. This article, shared by a Cuenca site, describes the 2009 launch of a Quecha tv station, showing an attempt to link modern technology and cultural preservation, though there are limits to television access.

⁷⁶ Becker, Marc. *¡Pachakutik! Indigenous Movements and Electoral Politics in Ecuador*. Updated ed. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011.218.

⁷⁷ Cossío, Consuelo. *Educación bilingüe intercultural: una experiencia educativa*. Quito: Corporación Educativa Macac, Editorial ABYA YALA, 1989. 6-8.

When the department took on this task, at the urging of a confederation that came armed with the MACAC scheme, it was harder than anticipated and also, like many government agencies, underfunded given the enormity of its mission. The state assumption of responsibility gave some international organizations involved in indigenous education, like the *Instituto Lingüístico de Verano* (ILV) and UNICEF (United Nations Children's Emergency Fund) tacit permission to scale back their operations, though many stayed to conduct linguistic research and help with administration and transition, especially in the cases of many Catholic researchers and some German scholars. The adoption of bilingual education on a national level represents a victory of this concept over previous attempts at educating Indigenous peoples with Spanish only literacy programs, geared at civilizing people rather than incorporating values of their culture.

The contemporary law dictating intercultural education, *La Ley Orgánica de Educación Intercultural*, passed in 2011 and represents an update to previous versions. It is available in pamphlet form from the Ministry of Education with a small graphic in the left hand corner, “*¡La Revolución Ciudadana Avanza!*” or “The Citizen's Revolution Continues!” The citizen's revolution advocated by a state sponsored pamphlet likely differs significantly from an indigenous version of the same concept, but the rhetorical inclusion matters.

The law cites the constitutional recognition (the constitution was last updated in 2009) of education as “a right that people exercise throughout the lifetime and an inexcusable and ineludible task of the state.”⁷⁸

The law continues:

“Article 27 of the constitution established that education should be centered around the human being to guarantee holistic development, as shown with respect to: human rights, a sustainable environment and democracy, it will be participative, obligatory, intercultural, democratic, inclusive and diverse, of quality and quantity, it will inspire gender equality, justice, peace and solidarity, it will stimulate critical thinking, art and physical culture, individual and community initiative and the development of skills and abilities to create and work.”⁷⁹”

The objectives outlined above are defined later in the law with vague but rosy explanations that are hard to qualify. For example, the explanation of education for democracy reads:

Educational establishments are democratic spaces for the exercise of human rights and promotion of peace, for transformers of reality, transmitters and creators of knowledge, and promoters of interculturality, inclusion, equity, democracy, citizenship, social conviviality, participation, and social, national, Andean, Latin American and global integration.”⁸⁰

⁷⁸ “a la educación como un derecho que las personas lo ejercen a larga de su vida y un deber ineludible e inexcusable del Estado.” Correa Delgado, Rafael. *Ley Orgánica De Educacion Intercultural*. Quito: Ministerio De Educación Ecuador, 2011.13.

⁷⁹ “el Art. 27 de la Constitución de la República establece que la educación debe estar centrada en el ser humano y garantizará su desarrollo holístico, en el marco del respeto a los derechos humanos, al medio ambiente sustentable y a la democracia; será participativa, obligatoria, intercultural, democrática, incluyente y diversa, de calidad y calidez; impulsará la equidad de género, la justicia, la solidaridad y la paz; estimulará el sentido crítico, el arte y la cultura física, la iniciativa individual y comunitaria, y el desarrollo de competencias y capacidades para crear y trabajar.” Correa Delgado, Rafael. *Ley Orgánica De Educacion Intercultural*. Quito: Ministerio De Educación Ecuador, 2011.13.

⁸⁰ “Los establecimientos educativos son espacios democráticos de ejercicio de los derechos humanos y promotores de la cultura de paz, transformadores de la realidad, transmisores y creadores de conocimiento, promotores de la interculturalidad, la equidad, la inclusión, la democracia, la ciudadanía, la convivencia social, la participación, la integración social, nacional, andina, latinoamericana y mundial.” Correa Delgado, Rafael. *Ley Orgánica De Educacion Intercultural*. Quito: Ministerio De Educación Ecuador, 2011.33.

This sets up no standards and is full of buzzwords rather than policies. It reads as a statement to be hung on the wall rather than one to guide practice in schools. Teachers and administrators need something tangible to implement in their schools. On the subject of evaluation, the law explained, “We establish comprehensive evaluation as a permanent and participative process of the national education system.”⁸¹

The law defines intercultural, plurinational, and plurilinguistic spaces, which are guaranteed by the constitution to Indigenous peoples, communities and nationalities.

These spaces serve to:

Develop, strengthen, and empower the system of intercultural bilingual education, with quality standards, from the earliest stimulation to higher education, to conform with cultural diversity for the care and preservation of identities in accordance with their methods of teaching and learning. A dignified career for teachers will be guaranteed. The administration of this system will be collective and participatory, with season and special alterations, based in communal wisdom and storytelling. May the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations be reflected in public education.⁸²

While much of this is undeniably political rhetoric, seeing it in such an official setting represents a realization of decades of work. MACAC, an education cooperative with some Indigenous members, assembled a report in 1989 evaluating the state of affairs of indigenous education and proposing changes. Of the many issues they raise, the one of language is critical. Since 1978, a new proposal for indigenous education had been

⁸¹ “Se establece la evaluación integral como un proceso permanente y participativo del Sistema Educativo Nacional” Correa Delgado, Rafael. *Ley Orgánica De Educacion Intercultural*. Quito: Ministerio De Educación Ecuador, 2011.35.

⁸² Desarrollar, fortalecer y potenciar el sistema de educación intercultural bilingüe, con criterios de calidad, desde la estimulación temprana hasta el nivel superior, conforme a la diversidad cultural, para el cuidado y preservación de las identidades en consonancia con sus metodologías de enseñanza y aprendizaje. Se garantizará una carrera docente digna. La administración de este sistema será colectiva y participativa, con alternancia temporal y espacial, basada en veeduría comunitaria y rendición de cuentas. Y (Correa Delgado, Rafael. *Ley Orgánica De Educacion Intercultural*. Quito: Ministerio De Educación Ecuador, 2011.21.–) Que la dignidad y diversidad de sus culturas, tradiciones, historias y aspiraciones se reflejen en la educación pública (...)”Correa Delgado, Rafael. *Ley Orgánica De Educacion Intercultural*. Quito: Ministerio De Educación Ecuador, 2011.17.

circulating, to replace Spanish with the respective indigenous languages as the language of instruction (iii).⁸³ Various groups undertook the semantic research necessary to teach in languages generally part of oral cultures and adapt them for a more formal educational setting. As they explained, “the linguistic focus utilized allows for the recognition of concepts, semantics of the country and forms of thinking distinct from those of the Spanish language, which leads to trying to identify the existing systems of knowledge in the other culture (iii).”⁸⁴ Examples of these include a system of math using a base 5 and 10 that can be done without writing. Their work is part of the modern day law in many ways, notably in the state’s obligation to “Include in the curricula, in a progressive way, the teaching of at least one ancestral language, the systematic study of non-official realities and national histories, for example local wisdom.”⁸⁵ The mandatory inclusion of non-official histories and realities acknowledges the inequality of the indigenous experience in Ecuador, admitting, in an official and ceremonial context, that the dominant experience should not be the only one represented.

While the execution of this program is flawed and the amount of transformative change that occurred is unclear, it represents major progress to see the ideas of a once fringe cooperative enshrined in national law and administration, all within a span of less than forty years. In fact, the four principal stipulations or demands of the MACAC

⁸³ Cossio, Consuelo. *Educación bilingüe intercultural: una experiencia educativa*. Quito: Corporación Educativa Macac ,Editorial ABYA YALA, 1989.

⁸⁴ “El enfoque lingüístico utilizado posibilita el reconocimiento de conceptos, campos semánticos y formas de pensamiento distintos a los existentes en la lengua hispana, lo que conduce a tratar de identificar los sistemas de conocimiento existentes en la otra cultura.” In Cossio, Consuelo. *Educación bilingüe intercultural: una experiencia educativa*. Quito: Corporación Educativa Macac,Editorial ABYA YALA, 1989. Iii.

⁸⁵ “Incluir en los currículos de estudio, de manera progresiva, la enseñanza de, al menos, un idioma ancestral; el estudio sistemático de las realidades y las historias nacionales no oficiales, así como los saberes locales.” Correa Delgado, Rafael. *Ley Orgánica De Educacion Intercultural*. Quito: Ministerio De Educación Ecuador, 2011.45.

model, finalized in 1980: the use of the vernacular language, the revaluation of traditional psychology, culture and technology, direct participation of the population and the teaching of dominant language and culture as a way of improving intercultural relations, are legally incorporated, a major feat⁸⁶. In MACAC's report it also investigated the impact that these programs and this model on communities that had implemented it experimentally. The following year an agreement was signed to fund and encourage research on indigenous languages, particularly on how to convert them for a classroom and written setting.⁸⁷ MACAC grew out of a proposal by the government to improve kichwa literacy and grew enormously, partially because it had data and success stories behind it. The track record of MACAC mitigated some of the risk of incorporating intercultural bilingual education into the national education ministry. In addition, the focus on literacy, also embraced by international organizations, is a more neutral goal of education, a positive good for development that can somewhat detach from the more challenging schematic goals of intercultural bilingual education that will be discussed in chapter three.

MACAC's mixed composition of Indigenous and Hispanic members, common in other time periods too, as past communist relationships demonstrate, mimics the intercultural bilingual education department's composition today. The current Quito office of the subsecretary for intercultural bilingual education employs a mix of less Indigenous looking people in casual office wear and Indigenous men and women in traditional dress, including the characteristic hats of Indigenous people, all sitting at desks

⁸⁶ Cossío, Consuelo. *Educación bilingüe intercultural: una experiencia educativa*. Quito: Corporación Educativa Macac ,Editorial ABYA YALA, 1989. Iv.

⁸⁷ Espinosa Andrade, Augusto. *MOSEIB: Modelo Del Sistema De Educación Intercultural Bilingüe*. Quito, 2013.14-25.

typing away on computers just blocks away from one of the largest malls in the country. Though they have a professional government job, the Indigenous workers wear the same dress as other Indigenous people selling, for example, oranges at red lights, an interesting expression of the many iterations of modern indigenous life in the nation's capital.

The work of MACAC and other groups is cited in a free and colorful 2013 Ministry of Education Publication of the Model of The Intercultural Bilingual Education System.⁸⁸ The many organizations cited by the state provide the antecedents for state sponsored bilingual education in Ecuador. Notable in the explanation provided by the state here is the time span and diversity of groups, a spread from different regions that were able to build a cause and design a tested model that could be implemented. They tell of the indigenous schools of Cayambe, run by Dolores Cacuango, the work of the American organization ILV, the Misión Andina, the radio school programs of Chimborazo y Tabacundo, the Shuar radio schools described later in this chapter, the Indigenous schools of Simiatug a western highlands town, a system of indigenous schools in Cotopaxi, the work of the *Federación de Comunas Unión de Nativos de la Amazonia Ecuatoriana* (Federation of Communities Native to the Ecuadorian Amazon, FCUNAE), a kichwa program of literacy run in conjunction with the Catholic University (this program created the MACAC model), a MACAC secondary school, the Program of Intercultural Bilingual Education, a project of CONFENIAE in different provinces (Napó y Pastaza), all culminating in the 1988 the agreement between CONAIE and the government to administer bilingual education. Cacuango, described in the previous chapter, considered identity crucial to her work and as Ecuadorian author Raquel Rodas

⁸⁸ Espinosa Andrade, Augusto. *MOSEIB: Modelo Del Sistema De Educación Intercultural Bilingüe*. Quito, 2013.

described her was, “a brilliant and passionate speaker. Her fiery words electrified the crowds that gathered around her. She expressed the voice of the Indigenous people after so many centuries of oppression and humiliation at the hands the masters that owned the land of their ancestors.”⁸⁹

Many of these programs were extremely innovative and designed and implemented in collaborations among Indigenous groups and foreign scholars, organizations or churches, all of whom had different motivations and beliefs about the issues facing indigenous education. The use of radio schools, in particular, marked a major innovation as the medium brought education, in the form of cheap and communal radios to some of Ecuador’s more isolated communities, many located in the Amazon jungles in the eastern part of the country. Examined as a whole, they show the tremendous agility of the indigenous movement to respond to the conditions of the time and risks of cooption and losing control in collaboration.

The ILV, for instance, founded in Mexico in 1934 by missionary William Townsend, was an American organization that first worked in Ecuador in 1953. Its mission centered on the research and development of languages and literacy in lesser-known communities and it works in dozens of countries, using a Christian framework a curriculum that includes bible translations. Ecuador was the fourth country that ILV operated in, at the behest of the Organization of American States. In 1963, ILV launched its bilingual education system in Limoncocha, in the northeast, and within five years, they operated 29 schools, garnering praise from then President Velasco Ibarra for their

⁸⁹ “Dolores era una brillante y apasionada oradora. Su palabra de fuego enardeció a las multitudes que se congregaban en torno a ella. Expresaba la voz de los pueblos indios durante tantos siglos oprimidos y humillados por los amos que se adueñaron de la tierra de sus mayores.” Rodas, Raquel. *Crónica De Un Sueño: Las Escuelas Indígenas De Dolores Cacuango : Una Experiencia De Educación Bilingüe En Cayambe*. 2nd ed. Quito: Proyecto EBI-GTZ, 1998. 21.

“civilizing” work. He upped their contract.⁹⁰ The campaigns of the ILV, which received praise from academics, Catholics and government officials, shows the precarious control Indigenous groups have when external institutions come to administer education. Indigenous communities objected to their methods, curriculum and lack of community integration.

Another important current is the growth of confederation and coalitions, which also had a major impact on the more overtly political work of the Indigenous groups, which will be discussed later in this chapter. As the case study will demonstrate, each Indigenous people has specific education concerns based on size, location, language, organization and more. Rather than impose one scalable indigenous policy, which would counter the ideology of intercultural education, confederations have emerged as a more responsible and effective way to unify around issues from education to broader political agendas, as happened in the 1990s.

The gap in organizing between the mid century and the 1990s has a primarily political explanation, as Ecuador had a military government that restricted the potential for protest. A 1972 military coup set up the dictatorship of Rodriguez Lara. The coup’s causes were multiple, though it aligned with a regional period of economic crisis, largely due to the import substitution industrialization policies, which spurred multiple political reactions around the region, including populism. In Ecuador, however, the future of a more petroleum based economy without the framework of populism and a politically

⁹⁰ Walsh, Catherine. "Desarrollo Sociopolítico De La Educación Intercultural Bilingüe En El Ecuador." *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, no. 31-32 (1994): 99-164.

responsive government, created an opening for organizational formation.⁹¹ While the accompanying dictatorship didn't include mass killings, it shut down the space for more successful radical protests until the democratic transition in 1992, with tremendous repression and anti communism, especially in the 1960s, as discussed in the previous chapter, though the final few years were much weaker and included the coup of 1990 and the creation of the ministry of intercultural bilingual education. The political changes and military coup of 1963 both halted activism and shuttered programs, including the indigenous school of Cayembe that Cacuango fought so hard to establish. The FEI period of mobilization ended and as historian John Uggén noted, "no political party, except the PCE, was willing to articulate peasant demands, and they were declared illegal."⁹² When all but the most fringe groups had to abandon peasant, and by extension indigenous causes, the wide scale changes were few.

During this period, there was still a period of growth that set the stage for further mobilization: namely the foundation of many smaller regional groups that began to combine into federations, which would prove crucial in the 1980s. ECUARUNARI (*Confederación de Pueblos de la Nacionalidad Kichwa de Ecuador*) was founded in 1972 and organized the highland Indigenous groups. The support of leftist organizations helped the Indigenous people understand structures of exploitation while the support of the church focused on human rights and dignity. Various NGOs brought organizational strategies and interfaced with the state. In 1980, another important regional coalition formed, in the Amazon region, uniting the Shuar, Achuar and some quichua groups:

⁹¹ Isaacs, Anita. *Military Rule and Transition in Ecuador, 1972-92*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993.13.

⁹² Uggén, 1975 as cited in Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.137.

CONFENIAE (*Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Amazonía*

Ecuatoriana).⁹³ While, the massive and public uprisings in 1990 and 2000 have brought indigenous movements and the larger groups that represent them to the forefront of public consciousness it is important to remember that, as CONAIE, the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador, which represents and organizes many of Ecuador's Indigenous groups of all sizes, writes in its history of indigenous movements,

“Popular, community, union, associate organizations, peasant and Indigenous movements do not appear overnight, nor are they the fruit of one or two people who meet and decide to create them. A movement does not appear because a group of leaders decides to call it by this or that name. A movement, a mass organization is the fruit of a long process of organization, of consciousness-raising, of decision making, of uniting many ideas. More than anything, it is the fruit of problems and contradictions that are produced between oppressors and the oppressed at a specific time and place (3).”⁹⁴

The legacy of the unions and alliances developed in decades past paved the way for CONAIE. Founded in 1986 with 26 affiliates, CONAIE elects directors every two years at a congress and governs through a 100-member assembly. Its inclusion of groups from each of Ecuador's regions gives them great negotiating power before the state and allowed for the creation of a more cohesive national indigenous agenda.⁹⁵ Critiques of CONAIE mostly come from other groups that contend that the group's size and longevity make it the default voice for all Indigenous peoples, when arguably no such thing exists. This tension is another example of the tradeoffs between organizational strategy and ideals that Indigenous advocates must make. Since CONAIE is often the only Indigenous

⁹³ Tello, Edgar. *Movimiento Indígena Y Sistema Político En Ecuador: Una Relación Conflictiva*. 1st ed. Quito: Abya Yala | Universidad Politécnica Salesiana, 2012.64-65.

⁹⁴Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

⁹⁵ Tello, Edgar. *Movimiento Indígena Y Sistema Político En Ecuador: Una Relación Conflictiva*. 1st ed. Quito: Abya Yala | Universidad Politécnica Salesiana, 2012.

group interfacing with the state and the broader example of indigeneity held up before society, there are many interests to balance.⁹⁶ The organization rose to prominence during the uprisings of 1990 and 2000, assembling a political party in the intermediate decade that sought to determine laws rather than solely advocate.⁹⁷ Indigenous movements in Ecuador are, to the activists fighting in them, overdue and deeply revolutionary. They are attempting to change power structures that have been part of their nation for centuries and are reinforced throughout the world. With this ideological shift come many practical concerns: a population that is poor, illiterate or not fluent in the dominant language of Spanish has trouble negotiating with governments. CONAIE is part of a secondary wave of indigenous organizations because it is a confederation and its structure was crucial in advocating for government intervention on behalf of such a diverse and large constituency. The variation in indigenous organizational structures was crucial for the movement's survival, with the hierarchy necessary when organizing large groups of people balancing with the communal values of the people being represented using progressive structures.⁹⁸

Decades later, in 1990, when a massive popular movement raised public consciousness of indigenous struggles, CONAIE leaders, too, felt frustrated after centuries of struggle to note as their then president and current Pachakutik leader Luis Macas did in 1992,

⁹⁶ “su único interlocutor y referente indígena ante la sociedad entera.” Tello, Edgar. *Movimiento Indígena Y Sistema Político En Ecuador: Una Relación Conflictiva*. 1st ed. Quito: Abya Yala | Universidad Politécnica Salesiana, 2012. 64-65.

⁹⁷ Lucas, Kintto, and Dinah Livingstone, trans. *We Will Not Dance on Our Grandparents' Tombs: Indigenous Uprisings in Ecuador*. London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 2000. 3.

⁹⁸ Sánchez-Parga, José. *El Movimiento Indígena Ecuatoriano: La Larga Ruta De La Comunidad Al Partido*. Quito: Abya Yala | Universidad Politécnica Salesiana, 2010. 15.

Currently, the living conditions of our population are miserable, accelerated process of decomposition of our productive abilities, malnutrition, acculturation, and unemployment, basically a general social unraveling. The fundamental problem is the lack of lands, which has provoked the migration of indians to the cities, where we assume the worst jobs, where we are mistreated and poorly represented.⁹⁹

The problems here would be familiar to any activist from the 1940s, as land ownership and economic prosperity remain frustratingly out of reach, with a level of discrimination coloring all interactions. Here, education is not mentioned as a goal of the indigenous movement, but rather the focus is on basic humiliation and desperation that Indians must undergo to make a living, due in part to the lack of rights cited by many activists. From my visit to Ecuador, most of the visibly Indigenous people I saw (as identified by their dress, which is distinct) have menial and unsustainable jobs, selling fruit on the side of the road or to moving cars on major avenues. What the testimonies from this uprising suggest is that education and its possibilities for changing attitudes and empowering people were valued more than its economic powers for the change in the image and perception of Indigenous peoples that it could provide, at least in that time. As Macas states, they had tried almost everything, “Rebellions, mobilizations, uprisings and fundamentally by organizing and unifying our people. We ourselves have responded with the great affirmation of our culture and identity in relation to our languages, customs, beliefs and traditions as their own forms of consciousness and resistance in the face of

⁹⁹ “En la actualidad, las condiciones de vida de nuestra población son de crítica mísera, acelerados procesos de descomposición de nuestras formas productivas, desnutrición, aculturación, desempleo; es decir, una descomposición social generalizada. El problema fundamental es la escasez de tierras, lo que ha provocado la migración de los indios a las ciudades, donde nos someten a los peores oficios, donde somos maltratados y mal remunerados.” Macas, Luis. “El Levantamiento Indígena Visto Por Sus Protagonistas.” In *Indios: Una Reflexión Sobre El Levantamiento Indígena De 1990*, 17-36. Quito: Instituto Latinoamericano De Investigaciones Sociales, 1991.21.

domination.”¹⁰⁰ The languages, customs, beliefs and traditions are parts of opposition in these types of protests, along with working conditions and economic factors.

To end, scenes from the 1990 uprising, including the occupation of a church in Quito showed a symbolic and tangible clash. The 1990 uprising happened two years after the state assumed responsibility for bilingual education, but the few years of limited implementation didn't produce the changes in economic and social status that the movement sought, which were more land and economically based. The 1990 uprising had violent moments with some prominent Indigenous leaders assassinated and the atmosphere created could not have eased the burgeoning relationship between the ministry of education and Indigenous communities, though that was not the principal issue. A political party added another tool to the indigenous toolbox, in a sphere that dominant society had established and monopolized for centuries.

As would be echoed in the coup of 2000, there is an important connection between what a particular protest is about at the surface and how relevant parties, namely the press, Indigenous groups and the dominant people in government, perceive it. Even terms like revolution, rebellion, protest or uprising are labels, with particular sociopolitical connotations. According to Indigenous author Ileana Almeida, the June 1990 movement was a *tantanukay*, a kichwa word meaning “to come together all as one” used to “express with only one attitude and one voice collective sentiments and

¹⁰⁰ “rebeliones, movilizaciones, levantamientos y fundamentalmente con la organización y la unidad de nuestro pueblo. Asimismo hemos respondido con la mayor afirmación de nuestra cultura e identidad con relación a nuestros lenguajes, costumbres, creencias y tradiciones como formas propias de conciencia y Resistencia frente a la dominación.” Macas, Luis. "El Levantamiento Indígena Visto Por Sus Protagonistas." In *Indios: Una Reflexión Sobre El Levantamiento Indígena De 1990*, 17-36. Quito: Instituto Latinoamericano De Investigaciones Sociales, 1991.22.

desires.”¹⁰¹ She explains this in an essay titled, “The indigenous movement in the ideology of the dominant hispanoecuadorian sectors,” emphasizing the interpretation (or mis interpretation) of the *tantanukay* and what that meant. The term *tantanukay* is not commonly used in retellings of the events of 1990 (it was defined in a book of essays reflecting on the *levantamiento indigena*, the indigenous uprising of 1990). Even so, Almeida, continued,

Traditionally considered to be unusual peasants, the indigenous people reconnected with the identity of their people, and in doing so needed to respond to their questioners as to who they were and who they want to be. Their dramatic “otherness” is evident in the constant confrontation with the non indian, with he who behaves cultural in another way, who speaks a language other than their own, who fills different social and political roles, who is situated in the higher levels of social stratification; and their own consciousness alerts them that it’s now necessary to use the categories of the hispanoecuadorian nation and of indigenous nationalities, that connect the indian peoples, specifying which ones, to the historical process of the country. The indigenous struggle has broken the limits of the concepts of a mestizo nation and a national state.”¹⁰²

This argument shows the limits of the preexisting concepts of diversity, even those that built systems like intercultural bilingual education. The existing paradigms are limiting, failing to consider the variations in indigeneity that the translations of their experience do not adequately recognize. The mestizo nation, in which the majority of citizens do not

¹⁰¹ “congregarse todos en uno,” para expresar con una sola actitud y una sola voz el sentir y el querer colectivos. Almeida, Ileana. "El Movimiento Indigena En La Ideologia De Lo Sectores Dominantes Hispanoecuadorianos." In *Indios: Una Reflexión Sobre El Levantamiento Indígena De 1990*, 293-318. Quito: Instituto Latinoamericano De Investigaciones Sociales, 1991.293.

¹⁰² “Considerados tradicionalmente como campesinos atípicos, los indígenas se reencuentran con la identidad de sus pueblos, y al hacerlo necesitan responder a los interrogantes de quiénes son y quiénes pretenden ser. Su dramática “otredad” se evidencia en la confrontación constante con el no indio, con aquel que se comporta culturalmente de otra manera, que habla otra lengua que la suya, que cumple papeles sociales y políticos distintos, aquel que está situado en grados superiores en la estratificación social; y su propia conciencia alerta ya hace necesaria la utilización de las categorías de nación hispano ecuatoriana y de nacionalidades indígenas ecuatorianas, que conectan a los pueblos indios, especificándolos, con el proceso histórico del país. La lucha indígena ha roto con los límites de los conceptos de nación mestiza y de Estado nacional (295).” Almeida, Ileana. "El Movimiento Indigena En La Ideologia De Lo Sectores Dominantes Hispanoecuadorianos." In *Indios: Una Reflexión Sobre El Levantamiento Indígena De 1990*, 293-318. Quito: Instituto Latinoamericano De Investigaciones Sociales, 1991.295.

claim their indigenous roots, is one of the ways that Indigenous peoples' voices are minimized in political decision, which spurred the need for explicit political engagement.

What the 1990 movement did was motivate the transition from Indigenous groups and confederations to political parties, which officially occurred in 1995 with the creation of the Pachakutik party. The 1996 election was the first that fielded Pachakutik candidates. The lack of responsiveness of dominant politicians to indigenous concerns was demonstrated once again, necessitating a change in strategy and an entry to the system. Mainstream politicians had more trouble getting indigenous votes by simply adding a few superfluous indigenous items to their platforms. The 1990 protest, which took place during a crucial solar festival, included an occupation of a church in Quito followed by a nine day occupation led by CONAIE, all demanding the resolution of land disputes. With this, Indigenous groups demonstrated their strength for mass mobilization but could not offer a mechanism of change that worked within national resources. Here social movements and political parties display their differences in tactics and effects. Movements aim to be disruptive while political parties work within a system, operating differently with other actors. The name Pachakutik as defined by historian Nils Jacobson is "the Andean notion of a turning point of cosmic dimensions and the beginning of a new era through which what was below would be on top and vice versa." Pachakutik is a force "capable of resorting order."¹⁰³

1990 also marked what many Indigenous activists considered the 500th year of resistance in reference to colonial history and in July 1990, Quito hosted the First

¹⁰³ Becker, Marc. *¡Pachakutik! Indigenous Movements and Electoral Politics in Ecuador*. Updated ed. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011. 1-2.

Continental Conference on Five Hundred Years of Indigenous Resistance.¹⁰⁴ The continental nature of this conference shows the already strong regional collaborations on indigenous issues, which have greatly increased scholarship. The five hundred years of resistance provided an important marker and showed the historical influences that shaped the uprisings. José Almeida Vinueza, a researcher at the The Pontifica Universidad Católica del Ecuador, penned an essay on the Fifth Centennial and Indigenous Resistance, opening with a quote from the quichua child speaking with a musical group at a festival in Otavalo, north of Quito, “We are the root of our ancestors,” marking the enormous weight the indigenous and colonial history carries in all modern day struggles.¹⁰⁵ This essay discusses the challenges of the past 500 years including the fact that Ecuador’s territory was not truly part of the Inca Empire, but rather they were conquered very shortly before the Spanish arrived, implying an even greater history of resistance than their neighbors. The essay cites Bartholomew de las Casas, an early advocate for indigenous rights, who was horrified by the treatment of the Spanish, and emphasizes that so many forms of foreign intervention are connected to colonialism, even theories like self determination and democratization that were widespread during the 20th century.

In January 2000, the last rebellion of the millennium took place in Quito as Indigenous people stormed the streets of the capital, succeeding in overthrowing the president Jamil Mahuad in a veritable coup d’etat. Images of Indigenous people traveling

¹⁰⁴ Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

¹⁰⁵ “Nosotros somos la raíz de nuestros antepasados.” Almeida Vinueza, José. "Quinto Centenario Y Resistencia Indígena." In *Indios: Una Reflexión Sobre El Levantamiento Indígena De 1990*, 263-292. Quito: Instituto Latinoamericano De Investigaciones Sociales, 1991. 263.

from the corners of the country moved many and upended traditional views of weakness. The images of Indigenous peoples traveling far and wide, blocking roads and causing losses of oil revenue are stark and counteract the images of poor Indigenous workers so often seen. Efforts to stop their momentum attacked their obligations within the existing hierarchy, with police helicopters dropping pamphlets in *El Arbolito*, a park that became a base and staging area, with a clear message, in both Spanish and Quechua, “Your animals need you,” showing the still narrow view dominant society had.¹⁰⁶ Five years later, in April 2005, President Luico Gutiérrez was also forced from power. Ecuador’s next president, Rafael Correa does not and could not afford to, take indigenous affairs so lightly. Ten years after the 1990 uprising, their concerns were similar, with the economic oil boom more central on their minds. The millennial moment in Ecuador, written about around the world, captured attention in part because of the obvious symbolism of its imagery. On the eve of a new millennium, Indigenous peoples wrestled for power and made an impact. However inspiring, the real story is more complicated and sadly less victorious in its shattering of the status quo, as the next and epilogue show.

¹⁰⁶ Gerlach, Allen. *Indians, Oil, and Politics: A Recent History of Ecuador*. Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2003.166.

Chapter 3: Ideology in the Classroom: The Implications of Intercultural Bilingual Education

“By the late 1980s, some younger Indians no longer learned Quichua.”¹⁰⁷

This final chapter deals with results of one of the major changes that came to indigenous life in Ecuador in the last 50 years: the introduction of state administered intercultural bilingual education. I do not aim to overstate the impact of this reform but rather explain how it came about conceptually and how it was negotiated at various levels, as well as examine its ideological implications within the indigenous struggle. To begin, I discuss a case study of implementation: The Shuar and the Achuar.

Of these many examples, all cited as antecedents of the subsecretary of intercultural bilingual education, the Shuar federation and its radio program of schools is one of the most innovative and well researched and serves as an interesting case study, because of the layers of identity at play. The Shuar language, along with kichwa is one of the largest and most widely spoken indigenous languages and one used commonly in intercultural communication. The Shuar group and the smaller and allied Achuar group, another Indigenous people, both implemented radio programs in as a strategy for education. They were able to create this program, in their own language, thanks to a dictionary and written record assembled over many years by a priest Luis Bolla of the Salesiana Mission, which arrived in 1924, and later became a network of universities with a holistic focus and campuses in Quito, Cuenca and Guayaquil.¹⁰⁸ The Salesiana universities produce a great deal of scholarship on indigenous issues and publish regularly in collaboration with Abya Yala. In the Achuar case, Bolles helped them

¹⁰⁷ Hanratty, Dennis M. *Ecuador: A Country Study*. 3rd ed. Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division: Library of Congress, 1991.87.

¹⁰⁸ 180 and the info on the Salesiana mission from <http://www.ups.edu.ec/en/118>

consolidate beginning in the 1962, organizing into towns with small local governments, all measures that made their systems more closely aligned with dominant society.¹⁰⁹ One of the questions that emerges when designing a intercultural or indigenous system of education is that of identity, which as Achuar author German Ujukam explained, “The Achuar, we identify as an autochthonous people of the Amazon region for being the first to occupy this territory although we are not originally from these lands. I think that we have a double identity because in spite of being Ecuadorian citizens we feel like a part of the Achuar people though we could not be Ecuadorians without being Achuar.”¹¹⁰ This complexity is at the heart of decisions around education and assimilation. How much do the Indigenous people rely on the nation and concept of Ecuador? How do they balance these two identities while struggling to maintain a distinct culture? What consequences does this answer have for the design and administration of education?

The Achuar literacy efforts began with the Salesiana mission, a Catholic mission that moved east to the Amazonian region beginning in Macas in 1924. The Salesiana presence and organization (and funds) caused major changes with regards to access to education in a formal context and economic development and they identified the Shuar group as particularly in need of education, despite their rural lands and relatively small population.¹¹¹ The Salesiana University, in conjunction with publishing house Abya Yala

¹⁰⁹Ujukam, German. "Cultura Y Educación Bilingüe Intercultural En El Pueblo Achuar." In *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, 163-196. Vol. 37-38. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1997.177.

¹¹⁰“Los Achuar nos identificamos como un pueblo autóctono de la región Amazónica, por ser los primeros que ocupamos este territorio aunque no seamos originarios de estas tierras. Pienso que nosotros tenemos una doble identidad, porque a pesar de ser ciudadanos ecuatorianos sentimos ser parte del pueblo Achuar, entonces no podemos ser ecuatorianos sin ser Achuar.” Ujukam, German. "Cultura Y Educación Bilingüe Intercultural En El Pueblo Achuar." In *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, 163-196. Vol. 37-38. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1997.181.

¹¹¹“Ya no son únicamente los centros más poblados que se aprovechan de este beneficio, sino que se ve la necesidad de ampliar más el campo educativo, especialmente en el grupo Shuar que se encuentra adentro, en Trans-Kutukú acercándose más a los grupos Achuar.” Ujukam, German. "Cultura Y Educación Bilingüe

publishes a great deal on indigenous issues and conducts important research. Abya Yala began as an effort to make an encyclopedia of Shuar community, though it now covers a broader indigenous area.¹¹² Previous education was strictly at home and the community was loosely organized and consolidated, with girls learning how to take care of a home and boys learning the tasks males needed to know to provide for their families. The gender differences in Achuar society are problematic. Ujukam describes a ceremony among elder men that uses specific oratory, spoken loudly enough to be heard from a distance. This ceremony is very important, yet “the only contribution of women to this ceremony is filling the chicha glasses.” *Chicha* is a fermented drink made from yuca and a special variety is needed for the ritual.¹¹³ Ujukam does not explore the implications of this type of gendered society but one drawback of making an education model wholly aligned with Achuar culture would be the continued marginalization of women. Though there is a powerful history of female Indigenous leaders, the variations in different Indigenous peoples show the dangers of reproducing and reinforcing patriarchy as education spreads. Nonetheless, adapting the oral Achuar language to a written and teachable linguistic framework was an important innovation, even if it initially came from outside of the community, as happened in many indigenous cases.

Another interesting dynamic in the Achuar case is their relationship to the larger Shuar group, which is organized in a federation, and whose language is sometimes perceived as a more refined version of theirs, because as Ujukam explains, “The Achuar

Intercultural En El Pueblo Achuar." In *Pueblos Indigenas Y Educaci3n*, 163-196. Vol. 37-38. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1997.185.

¹¹² "Abya Yala - ¿Quiénes Somos?" Abya Yala - ¿Quiénes Somos? Accessed December 19, 2014. http://www.abiyayala.org/presentacion.php?FAC_CODIGO=.

¹¹³ Ujukam, German. "Cultura Y Educaci3n Bilingüe Intercultural En El Pueblo Achuar." In *Pueblos Indigenas Y Educaci3n*, 163-196. Vol. 37-38. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1997.181.

language is above all imperative, which shows the character and attitude of those who use it. Supplementary throat grunts and decisive and aggressive affirmations make this language something strong and dominant.”¹¹⁴ This distinction is a reminder of the nuances of indigenous relationships, even within Ecuadorian Indians of Amazon, a group with many common characteristics and challenges; there is conflict over issues of language, research and identity. In order to educate this community, there was a twofold push to bring an indigenous language into education practices and then a second effort to reclaim and take pride and learn in Achuar dialect, rather than Shuar. Feelings about this linguistic dispute are intense and the Ujukam ends his section on language with a challenge to the linguistic supremacy of the Shuar, “I sustain the hypothesis that the Achuar dialect is the oldest of those of other groups like Shuar, Awajún, Wampís etc. This hypothesis will have to be affirmed one day with a thorough investigation about this.”¹¹⁵ While the verdict of the Achuar linguistic heritage is still undecided, many of the issues faced in implementing the new educational programs can be traced to different meanings of the concept itself.

Just as language is too complex to generalize, too still is the concept of education, which is vital to preserving indigenous ways of life. For the Achuar, the transmission and preservation of culture is the goal of the education, whereas in other situations the goal revolves around economic advantage or personal development. Ujukam cites Priest Bolles’ definition, “education is no more than the process of transmitting culture, taught

¹¹⁴ “El idioma Achuar es sumamente imperativo, lo que demuestra el carácter y la actitud de los que lo usan. Gruñidos de garganta suplementarios y decisivas afirmaciones agresivas hacen de este idioma algo fuerte y dominante” Ujukam, German. "Cultura Y Educación Bilingüe Intercultural En El Pueblo Achuar." In *Pueblos Indigenas Y Educación*, 163-196. Vol. 37-38. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1997.180.

¹¹⁵ “Pero yo sustentó la hipótesis de que el dialecto Achuar es más original que los de los otros grupos como Shuar, Awajún, Wampís etc. Esta hipótesis se tendrá que afirmar algún día con una investigación profunda de esta naturaleza.” Ujukam, German. "Cultura Y Educación Bilingüe Intercultural En El Pueblo Achuar." In *Pueblos Indigenas Y Educación*, 163-196. Vol. 37-38. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1997.189.

or observed with the object of reproducing and maintaining it.”¹¹⁶ Thus, when the Achuar group affiliated with the Shuar Federation, the schools initially established failed to shift paradigms, “to these schools arrived Shuar teachers to work with Achuar kids and apply the type of education they received in Hispanic and boarding schools, meaning traditional education.”¹¹⁷ Indigenous teachers were not enough, if they were not speaking the Achuar language, an issue that affects many smaller Indigenous groups when they hope to set up a school system.

Education by radio was an important innovation for the Shuar people, as programs covered music, news, contemporary issues and cultural issues in a format that was accessible in a very rural context. It also maximized the number of people that could be reached by the limited number of trained teachers. These radio programs were, as Ujukam notes, slightly self-taught because of the lack of face-to-face interaction with an instructor, an inherent weakness of the format. In 1972, the Bicultural Shuar Educational Radio Station opened, which grew for the next fifteen years and even more rapidly after the creation of regional ministries. Over 20 Achuar communities eventually got stations, which delivered educational programming to a wide area. In 1996, after decades of work, the Achuar people set up CEIBA, an experimental intercultural bilingual Achuar high school, funded by the ministry of education.¹¹⁸ The school explicitly aims to teach knowledge that will be useful for work, showing a focus on community economic

¹¹⁶ “la educación no es más que proceso de transmisión de la cultura, dada o vigente con el objeto de reproducirla y mantenerla” Ujukam, German. “Cultura Y Educación Bilingüe Intercultural En El Pueblo Achuar.” In *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, 163-196. Vol. 37-38. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1997.183.

¹¹⁷ “A estas escuelas llegaron los maestros Shuar para trabajar con los niños Achuar, y aplicar el tipo de educación que recibieron en las escuelas hispanas y en los internados, es decir la educación tradicional.” Ujukam, German. “Cultura Y Educación Bilingüe Intercultural En El Pueblo Achuar.” In *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, 163-196. Vol. 37-38. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1997.189.

¹¹⁸ Ujukam, German. “Cultura Y Educación Bilingüe Intercultural En El Pueblo Achuar.” In *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, 163-196. Vol. 37-38. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1997.193.

development in addition to preserving and developing Achuar culture after past educational structures invited division or assimilation. The Achuar situation is one of many that assert the power and need for nuance and tailoring. A model, even the best one, can only be implemented in specific and personalized ways to carry out its full intent, which is explored in the next section.

Intercultural Bilingual Education was adopted at a turning point that can seem contradictory: the most aggressive push to preserve indigenous culture and identity thus far came through a state apparatus and a time when there was no parity in ethnic relations. As a 1991 report described it,

“No pretense to equality or egalitarianism existed in ethnic relations. From the perspective of those in the upper echelons, the ranking of ethnic groups was undisputed: whites, mestizos, blacks, and Indians. As the self-proclaimed standard bearers of civilization, whites contended that only they manifested proper behavior, an appropriate sense of duty to family and kin, and the value integral to the Christian, European culture.”¹¹⁹

Unlike the mobilizations of the 1940s, an international ideology did not fuel this campaign, it was the result of a need identified and addressed by Indigenous groups with support from international and state needs. The framework developed carries with it certain goals for the concept of education: namely preservation, incorporation into national paradigms and the personalization of an educational program to Indigenous peoples of all sizes, which differs from the land and family perspective that motivated actions in the 1940s. It also coincided with what Becker calls “an academic ‘Generation of 1990’ with numerous articles, books, and doctoral dissertations on the subject of Indigenous Politics,” spurred by the political activity of 1990 discussed in chapter two as

¹¹⁹ Hanratty, Dennis M. *Ecuador: A Country Study*. 3rd ed. Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division: Library of Congress, 1991.84.

well as the 500th anniversary of indigenous struggle.¹²⁰ The scholarship produced during time did a great deal for communities in terms of cultural recording and in terms of disrupting and challenging ideas of what it meant to be indigenous. Bilingual education became a worthy field of study, with professors and a wider range of international scholars weighing in. The number of dissertations that I have encountered in my research suggests a culture of academic mentoring and growth.

The academic outpouring that accompanied and followed this change challenged mainstream ideas about Indigenous people and intelligence, as

“Some regarded *indígenas* as little better than a subspecies. A more benign perspective condescendingly considered the Indian as an intellectual inferior, an emotional child in need of direction. Such views underlay the elaborate public etiquette required in Indian–white/mestizo interactions. Common practice allowed whites and mestizos to use first names and familiar verb and pronouns in addressing Indians.”¹²¹

The model advocated for over decades and eventually adopted by the Ecuadorian Ministry of Education demands a different conception of Indigenous humanity: it is intercultural bilingual education. CONAIE attributes its passage to pressure and protest of Indigenous organizations, but that was not the sole lever, as international organizations and concerns over low literacy rates also played a role.¹²² The additional word “intercultural” connotes more than a multi linguistic dialogue or simply a class period of foreign language instruction. The cultural aspect posits that indigenous culture and tradition will be part of the classroom environment, from beliefs about the universe to a

¹²⁰ Becker, Marc. *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

¹²¹ Hanratty, Dennis M. *Ecuador: A Country Study*. 3rd ed. Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division: Library of Congress, 1991.87.

¹²² “debido a la lucha y presión de las organizaciones indígenas.” Walsh, Catherine. "Desarrollo Sociopolítico De La Educación Intercultural Bilingüe En El Ecuador." *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, no. 31-32 (1994): 106.

different vision of history, which is a huge shift. The “inter” element emphasizes Spanish as the dominant language in contemporary society with the corresponding indigenous language still framed as vital. Both are used in different contexts, with value ascribed to each. None of the materials I found included meaningful references to the other potential interpretations of inter, meaning this new curriculum structure has not led to more teaching of indigenous culture in mainstream, all Spanish schools. Since one of the goals of education, from an indigenous perspective, is disrupting the power balance and forms of domination and oppression that have existed since colonization, this represents a problem in the realization of the movement’s goals.

The most recent version of the law on bilingual education, from 2011, differs crucially from the versions of the late 80s and early 90s. While I was unable to find the establishing law, there is extensive writing by Indigenous scholars on the law’s main flaws and strengths. In 1997 a group of scholars, some Indigenous and identified by their nationality, published, “*Pueblos indigenas y educación*,” through Abya Yala, Ecuador’s indigenous publishing house. This biannual journal, which began in March 1987 as an Abya Yala initiative “to systemize and share the numerous contributions that have been written about the diverse projects in indigenous education that are developing in the continent” is an important space for debate and research.¹²³ There was concern about the project ending due to funding shortages in 1994 but it continues to this day, part of an academic movement that extends beyond the Andes. The 1997 edition, for example contains essays addressing concerns about indigenous education in countries from Guatemala to Chile and other editions have even wider topics.

¹²³ “para sistematizar y difundir las numerosas contribuciones que llegaban a la redacción sobre los diversos proyectos de educación indígena que maduraban en el continente.” Moya, Ruth, and Javier Herrán, eds. *Pueblos Indigenas Y Educación*. Vol. 31-32. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1994.4.

Ecuador, as the first Latin American nation with a national department of bilingual education, begins the volume. Less than a decade after the creation of the bureau, problems were evident in the prioritization and development of educational programs. A 1996 proposal for curriculum reform in primary schools spent three and a half pages (of 154) discussing intercultural education, a reductive treatment that belies a low commitment to the department and its aims.¹²⁴ The discussion describes Ecuadorian history in three chapters: the first of a cultural clash, the second of a national culture and the third of interculturality, being formed as a contemporary process, which suggests that interculturality is a victory and the final chapter of an essential historical conflict.¹²⁵

From the indigenous perspective, of course, this issue is nowhere near resolved. While the author of this particular paper, Wolfgang Küper, is German, he had experience in indigenous schools as part of the German group that provided technical support for intercultural bilingual education and that enabled the publication of the journal, a long term partnership. Küper describes this treatment of Intercultural Bilingual Education as tokenism, noting an emphasis on a national Ecuadorian identity, which according to the report, hopes a graduate of primary education emerges with “a clear and deep consciousness of being Ecuadorian, with a recognition of the cultural, ethnic, geographic and gender diversity of the country.”¹²⁶

¹²⁴ *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, 3-16. Vol. 37-38. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1997

¹²⁵ 1. La del “choque cultural” 2. La de la “cultura nacional” 3. La de “la interculturalidad, como un proceso contemporáneo en formación” Küper, Wolfgang. “La Educación Bilingüe Intercultural En Los Procesos De Reforma De Los Sistemas Educativos En Los Países Andinos.” In *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, 3-16. Vol. 37-38. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1997.5-6

¹²⁶ “conciencia clara y profundo del ser ecuatoriano, en el marco del reconocimiento de la diversidad cultural, étnica, geográfica y de género del país.” Küper, Wolfgang. “La Educación Bilingüe Intercultural En Los Procesos De Reforma De Los Sistemas Educativos En Los Países Andinos.” In *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, 3-16. Vol. 37-38. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1997.6.

In my archival research in Quito, records from non-bilingual Hispanic schools at this time showed no mention of intercultural activity and instead showed a greater focus on western assimilation and modernization, with efforts to add musical enrichment and formal sports to the school offerings. The documents I looked over dealt only with the province of Pichincha, which includes Quito and its surroundings, including Cayembe, a historical hotspot for indigenous activism, therefore I cannot extrapolate these schools to the entire country. Regional information about schools was not available. Mentions of diversity took on the tokenism feared by Indigenous advocates, such as a request for a large tambourine for a mandated celebration of Afro Ecuadorian music from a school in San Sebastian.¹²⁷ In the letter, the director of the Center of Cultural Diffusion writes of the school's willingness to comply with whatever cultural programs the government sees fit. There is a sense of obedience or compliance rather than initiative. To be fair, these are municipal records and compliance with the office that funds you is politically sound regardless of the matter at hand.

There is a huge lack of records from the subsecretary of bilingual education itself, a gap they attribute to the oral cultures of Indigenous peoples and being short staffed. I found this explanation inadequate but also cannot speak to the degree of recordkeeping in other parts of Ecuador's ministry of education or government on a broader scale. Therefore, there may be records I could not access showing Spanish schools eagerly embracing intercultural education in the 1980s and 90s. I did not find them and indigenous sources cause me to doubt their existence.

Either way, an open embrace of intercultural education and its power shifting implication did not come from the dominant society. Official correspondence of the late

¹²⁷ María Isabel Hayek B. to Rodrigo Paz D, Quito, November 7, 1988.

1980s was full of requests for funding for sports events, guest speakers, new yearbooks and the expansion of school grounds. There was even a 1989 table tennis tournament with Chinese players, sponsored by the official Ecuadorian Federation of table tennis.¹²⁸ Some disparities and pushes for equality are noticed, but the tension is strikingly framed as urban versus rural, with some more rural school areas pushing for greater land or improvement to their facilities.

These surface level efforts at creating diversity do nothing to revalue or rectify the problem of cultural dominance in the nation. Professor of Andean linguistics and bilingual education Ruth Moya wrote of a complicated social landscape and the fraught concept of cultural diversity in Latin America,

“On our continent, cultural diversity had to reconceive itself as an oppressed diversity, subject to an avalanche of homogenous factors promoting the established powers. This notion of diversity allowed them to infiltrate the social order and to propose distinct challenges to construct a society that reshapes its understanding of development itself, from its resources and interests and at the same time, form a distinct identity based on a framework of solidarity and the peculiarities inherent to our societies.”¹²⁹

Diversity in this case comes tied to challenging oppression, which often explained that everyone was different, yes, but not everyone would have power. A reconceptualization of diversity means a reconceptualization of the entire history of Ecuador, especially with regards to colonial frameworks of development and their elevation of European and western ideas on all manners of topics, from imports to land ownership. The definitions offered in the laws regarding education promise intercultural representation but do not

¹²⁸ Jaramillo, Patricio T. Patricio Jaramillo T to Rodrigo Paz, Quito, November 21, 1988.

¹²⁹ “Por ejemplo el que en nuestro continente la diversidad cultural tenía que reconocerse como una diversidad oprimida, sujeta a la avalancha de factores homologantes provenientes de los estamentos del poder. Esta noción de diversidad permitía impugnar el orden social y proponer retos distintos para construir una sociedad que remozara su comprensión del propio desarrollo, desde sus recursos e intereses y, al mismo tiempo, forjar una identidad distinta, en el marco de solidaridades y de las peculiaridades inherentes a nuestras sociedades.” Moya, Ruth. "Heterogeneidad Cultural Y Educación: Encrucijadas Y Tendencias." In *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, 5-70. Vol. 31-32. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1994.6.

explicitly decry the colonial legacies, allowing for the teaching of “non official” histories is as far the record goes. While “non official” histories are important, the official history is still one of dominance and the administration of many intercultural bilingual programs still came from outsiders. Indigenous groups actively fill this silence and add this layer of meaning in many different contexts, which keeps it from being neglected, though it still comes from a place of oppression.

I see echoes of this fear of tokenism in contemporary materials on indigenous education, including the cover of the model of bilingual education in Appendix 1, which depicts a colorful parade of children, some in indigenous dress, clutching objects ranging from textbooks to iPads on a dirt road near a volcano.¹³⁰ Indigenous groups are represented, not homogenously, but a variety of dress is shown, with each Indigenous child dressed differently. The iPad is a nod to modernity, the near futuristic promise of this ultra inclusive Ecuadorian education that could propel Ecuador aggressively into the 21st century. The sun has a smiling face, rising over the nearby volcano. The children are on a rural dirt road and a truck with the ministry of education has arrived, delivering some unclear good. The assortment of children is so diverse, with members also representing the Afroecuadorian population and a child in a wheelchair shown in the background leaving the schoolhouse, that it is unlikely to reflect the demographics of any school within the nation, especially not one in a rural area. Such an image could only come from a zealous government. There is a lack of reflection on the relationship between the system of bilingual education and the general educational system and once again, the mention of diversity feels like an afterthought, as Küper lamented in his essay.

¹³⁰ See Appendix for image from Espinosa Andrade, Augusto. *MOSEIB: Modelo Del Sistema De Educación Intercultural Bilingüe*. Quito, 2013, distributed at the Ministry of Education

Other serious problems with the intercultural bilingual system include a lack of consideration for higher education. There are few Indigenous universities and intercultural bilingual curricula do not always place students on a pathway towards traditional universities. Since the curricula for intercultural bilingual schools are not parallel to traditional schools, students would have problems enrolling in a Spanish university, linguistic differences aside. These tensions call to mind the challenges of the 1940s, where a lack of post secondary education meant many indigenous schools struggled to find trained teachers from within the community and culture. The Department of Intercultural Bilingual Education had mentioned creating an indigenous university, in collaboration with an American university but to Küper, this suggestion indicated, “the graduates of indigenous high schools will have the same difficulties entering existing universities as the graduates of bilingual elementary schools do when they continue in Spanish high schools.”¹³¹ Küper’s essay continues to address other nations’ histories with bilingual education, many of which are also problematic and Ecuador’s role in setting trends and precedents in official administrations of intercultural bilingual education.¹³²

¹³¹ “los egresados de los colegios bilingües van a tener las mismas dificultades para entrar en las universidades existentes como tienen los egresados de las escuelas bilingües primarias para seguir en los colegios hispanos.” Küper, Wolfgang. “La Educación Bilingüe Intercultural En Los Procesos De Reforma De Los Sistemas Educativos En Los Países Andinos.” In *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, 3-16. Vol. 37-38. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1997.7.

¹³² The question of indigenous higher education, while not explored in depth in this project, is an important one. There are some indigenous universities including Amautay Wasi in Ecuador, but many have suffered from chronic funding shortages. Some have closed in recent years and there have been issues with retaining and training professors. The pipeline from indigenous schools to universities is not well trod and its development would have meaningful implications for indigenous representation in political areas and beyond. The language of academia is still Spanish. The increasing role of oral history in Latin American and indigenous scholarship, such as the collaborative work done by Rosa Isolde Paillalef and Florenica E. Mallon offers some possibilities about how indigenous voices can enter scholastic discourse even with the disparities in higher education, but it’s not a replacement for the development of options.

In the same 1997 issue, Ileana Soto, a linguist and professor at the Catholic University of Ecuador contributed an essay about interculturality in Ecuador's education system, which also critiques the concept of diversity and interculturality, given the nation's history. She addresses the same three stages of culture also cited by Küper (the first of a cultural clash, the second of a national culture and the ongoing third phase of interculturality). The second phase of a national culture prioritized assimilation and minimized differences, especially as many Ecuadorians moved into cities. She describes the third stage, whose "focus appears to be a necessary relationship among the diverse cultures, for the purposes of recognition and respect of differences. This stage, far from being completed, is based in a frankly adverse scheme, immersed in ideological focuses sustained in the superiority and inferiority of the cultures."¹³³ This constitutes a push for assimilation and homogeneity, even under the banner of cultural diversity. Even so the entire culture of society, from politics to economic structures to systems of internal migration is all based on external influences, with little to no consideration of indigenous wishes. Concepts such as indigenous schemes of cosmovision, their theories of the universe, are only included in science lessons, when in fact they occupy a much larger role in indigenous thought and study. In 1997, nine years after the adoption of Intercultural Bilingual Education, "The educational system has created a lack of communication among diverse cultures, as a consequence of valuing only the schemes of the white-mestizo-western culture, imposing Spanish as the only legitimate linguistic

¹³³ "cuyo enfoque aparece como una relación necesaria entre las diversas culturas, bajo los propósitos del reconocimiento y el respeto a la diferencia. Esta etapa, lejos de estar consolidada, se encuentra en franco proceso de construcción en un esquema mayormente adverso, inmerso en enfoques ideológicos sustentados en la superioridad e inferioridad de las culturas." Soto, Ileana. "Interculturalidad En La Educación Básica Ecuatoriana." In *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, 69-80. Vol. 37-38. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1997. 70.

vehicle for education, subsequently relegating all other national languages and cultural traits.”¹³⁴ She praises the model of intercultural bilingual education as “good, not perfect, but of a frankly advanced train of thought with respects to intercultural curricula.”¹³⁵ The well-tested Intercultural Bilingual Education model developed in Ecuador is perhaps one of the least disputed aspects of indigenous education, most conflict centers around administration and execution. Resources and funding are in jeopardy more than the concepts themselves, which if executed in good faith, could lead to many changes.

Also meaningfully, the model was tested in Ecuador but has since been used in other countries so much that it has become a critical tool for global pushes around intercultural bilingual education. This also influences comparative research on education in Ecuador, which can separate linguistic and political issues; a separation I argue is false. The community of scholarship around intercultural bilingual education and indigenous education is a strong one, with annual publications and conferences held in rotating nations. Scholars publish essays and present papers on programs and case studies, sharing their expertise and noting common struggles. Sometimes annual events have themes but often a biannual journal will cover a range of topics. For example the 1999 edition covered multilingualism among Indigenous populations, the importance of human resources in bilingual education in the Andean region, Mayan Intercultural Bilingual Education projects, the maintenance of three indigenous languages, and culturally

¹³⁴ “El sistema educativo ha creado la incomunicación de las culturas diversas, como consecuencia de la sobrevaloración del castellano como único vehículo lingüístico legítimo de educación con el consecuente relegamiento de las demás nacionales y otros rasgos culturales.” Soto, Ileana. "Interculturalidad En La Educación Básica Ecuatoriana." In *Pueblos Indigenas Y Educación*, 69-80. Vol. 37-38. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1997.71.

¹³⁵ “instrumento si bien no perfecto, de línea francamente avanzada con respect al currículo intercultural vigente.” Soto, Ileana. "Interculturalidad En La Educación Básica Ecuatoriana." In *Pueblos Indigenas Y Educación*, 69-80. Vol. 37-38. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1997.72.

specific educational practices.¹³⁶ The breadth of the publication has grown over time, with a 2003 edition discussing early childhood education in Japan, issues in Australia, Kenya, reports from the Fifth Latinamerican Congress of Intercultural Bilingual Education, among other things.¹³⁷ This diversity of setting speaks to the growth of indigenous scholarship on a global level as well as programs all around the world aiming to address indigenous issues, similar to those faced in Ecuador. Three continents and countless peoples fit in one volume. The issues raised at the Congress included the gap between the reality of multilingual Latin Americans and intercultural relationships, protesting elements of current intercultural bilingual processes.¹³⁸

At this point in Ecuadorian history, bilingual education was a concept that's accepted at least rhetorically, but not practically, the implications, from the vantage points of the advocates and scholars cited above, would be radical indeed. What the advocates, then and now were proposing, and what their counterparts in other nations argued for was not a tacit recognition of diversity as an innate quality of a nation but rather for a model of interculturality which propositions,

“the recuperation, revaluation, appropriation and generation of cultural values. The idea of revaluing aims to, with certain limits, give the deserved value to those practices, knowledge and wisdom, forms of social organization, material objects and needs that have been reproduced in the dynamic and changing context of cultures.”¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Juncosa, José, ed. *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*. Vol. 47-48. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1999.

¹³⁷ "Declaración De Lima." In *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, 113-117. Vol. 53. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 2003.

¹³⁸ "Declaración De Lima." In *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, 113-117. Vol. 53. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 2003

¹³⁹ “El modelo de interculturalidad propicia la recuperación, revaloración, apropiación y generación de valores culturales. La dimensión de la revaloración supone poner en sus justos límites, dar el valor que le corresponde a aquellas prácticas, conocimientos y saberes, organización social, objetos materiales y necesidades que se han venido reproduciendo, en el contexto dinámico y cambiante de las culturas” Soto, Ileana. "Interculturalidad En La Educación Básica Ecuatoriana." In *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, 69-80. Vol. 37-38. Quito: Abya Yala|EBI-GTZ, 1997.76.

Explaining different concepts of the universe in science class does not deign to address these disparities in cultural appreciation. The many sources of culture and the recognition of its dynamism lend a modern sensibility to the push for bilingual education: the Indigenous people pushing for these changes need to become a part of the modern economy, without doing so they will struggle to survive.

The dialogue around Ecuador's system of bilingual education continues to this day, with yearly conferences and publications evaluating the state of affairs. Actions, as always, speak louder than words. The benefit of this writing and dialogue is the opportunity for other countries to learn from one another and for more and more scholars to examine the issues the community is facing. At this point, reflections at periodic moments of policy provide a window through which to observe change and progress, which has definitely been made but there is a sense of incompleteness in all spheres of thought, particularly if increased access to education does not produce economic benefits, which though not explicitly identified as a goal of intercultural bilingual education, go hand in hand with a revaluation of indigenous culture and contributions.

The academic movement around indigenous issues owes much of its impact to the Abya Yala publication house, which publishes 70% of Ecuador's books, with a heavily indigenous focus. Their impact is twofold: visibility and preservation. The indigenous scholarship used in this thesis represents a commitment on the part of various publishers, particularly the indigenous Abya Yala based in Quito, and pioneering academics to share and sometimes translate indigenous perspectives, as well as the bravery of Indigenous people themselves in living and recording their experiences. *Abya Yala*, named for a term from a Panamanian Indigenous group that refers to the land of the Americas, conveys

symbolic and real reclaiming of discourse and debates. Founded in 1975, Abya Yala, has published research papers and books by Ecuadorian authors, mostly in the social sciences. The influence that this indigenous publishing house has on the materials coming out of Ecuador is enormous and their political views, especially in policy-based topics are potentially disseminated through the publishing house. They also have relationships with various Ecuadorian universities, particularly the Salesiana University, founded by the same Catholic priests that worked with the Achuar referenced at the beginning of this chapter. 1980s coverage of bilingual education reveals a certain priority and their website explains efforts to include Indigenous voices, publishing not only in Spanish but also in indigenous languages and making great efforts to catalogue and research all of the Indigenous tribes of Ecuador, not only the larger ones, which receive more attention¹⁴⁰. They publish EBI-GTZ (The German Technical Cooperative), a series on Intercultural bilingual education created as part of a collaboration with the German Government aimed to raise the quality of indigenous education for school age children in the Ecuadorian highlands. This partnership, signed in 1984 started in 1986 by opening 73 schools in 8 of the 10 highlands provinces.¹⁴¹ The advisor of that series, who also provided funding, was Anneliese Merx, who cited Dolores Cacuango's legacy as "a challenge and a commitment."¹⁴² The GTZ partnership, though it began with a relatively narrow focus, expanded to publishing the journals, which address a variety of topics and regions, a

¹⁴⁰ Abya Yala Publicaciones. "¿Quiénes somos?." Accessed March 24.
http://www.abiyala.org/presentacion.php?FAC_CODIGO=.

¹⁴¹ Walsh, Catherine. "Desarrollo Sociopolítico De La Educación Intercultural Bilingüe En El Ecuador." *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, no. 31-32 (1994): 99-164.

¹⁴² "Para nosotros Dolores es un reto y un compromiso" Rodas, Raquel. *Crónica De Un Sueño: Las Escuelas Indígenas De Dolores Cacuango : Una Experiencia De Educación Bilingüe En Cayambe*. 2nd ed. Quito: Proyecto EBI-GTZ, 1998.

successful example of evolving with the community. The publishing house also maintains a museum next to their Quito store, which takes a more anthropological approach to indigenous issues, with exhibits showing the traditional tools, ornaments and garments of different Indigenous peoples set alongside photos of oil extraction in the rainforest. A visit is an emotional experience.

Politics and Pupils: Education and the Indigenous Movement

Education in the context of intercultural bilingual schools has taken a very different trajectory than the other issues of the indigenous movements, which have grown more polarizing, particularly regarding economic and environmental issues. There is an acceptance, at least rhetorically and legally of the model of education proposed by Indigenous activists and international advocates, one that permeates national boundaries. Reasons for these differing paths are twofold. The first is the agenda item itself and the second is the alliance of academics and activists in schemes recognized in educational circles and the prestige they lend to the issue. The proposal for intercultural bilingual education came to the state after years of study from a Confederation of Indigenous groups. Adopting it did not imply favoring any one Indigenous group over another, even if those dynamics are borne out in practice. Furthermore, to strengthen Ecuador's plurinational identity and soft power, education can spread to other countries in a civilized and nonviolent way, through intellectual publications, conferences and visits, which have flourished since the early 1990s.

There is certainly fury, mostly over questions of diversity and history and identity, all of which are eminently important to indigenous education but much of the work is administrative and communal. In addition, the incomplete pipeline (or flawed pipeline)

that tracks Indigenous students to a university level keeps them outside many of the official positions of power. On the other hand, the proposals of other Indigenous groups, many of whom also advocate for education, seek a redistribution of power and resources in a way that would affect many more Hispanic Ecuadorians than the opening of indigenous schools in the Amazon. I found no documented Indigenous groups that do not support intercultural bilingual education; it is a well-liked policy and if executed in word and spirit can affect the identity politics of Ecuador and of Indigenous people in major ways, from more local and micro victories such as those of the Achuar people in distinguishing their language and identity from the larger Shuar group while still benefiting from associations with their federation to the very public embrace of Kichwa language in politics and the current radio campaigns and images used to advertise the uniqueness of Ecuador's educational model, which is now considered a national asset. Education dovetails and is borne from the values of indigenous movement but is not the solution for many issues.

Frameworks and ideology aside, results are important. A 1997 Interamerican commission on Human Rights report took careful stock of the nation's bilingual offerings and gives a rare picture of how the subsecretary implemented the promised services among such a diverse population and how incomplete progress is. In a section on Respect for Indigenous Expression, Religion and Culture, they report,

“In certain sectors of Ecuador, particularly in the Sierra region, comprehensive programs of bilingual education have been developed and implemented. In other areas, such as in the Amazon region, bilingual education is still in its initial stages of development. The Commission delegation, which travelled to the interior was informed that few schools there offer bilingual education, and that there are few learning materials available to facilitate bilingual and bicultural learning. For example, Huao children are generally instructed in Spanish and are educated almost exclusively within the framework of the national curricula. Information

gathered just prior to the Commission's visit indicated that, of the two dozen teachers working with Huaorani children, most were Mestizo or Quichua, and few were able to speak Huao. Thus, Huaorani children are abruptly separated from their native language and culture for the hours they spend in school each week. The lack of Huaorani teachers has been identified as an important barrier to improving the responsiveness of education in the Huaorani schools."¹⁴³

Technically, the conditions that the commission found are illegal and prove that the government is not fulfilling its obligations to education the population according to the framework they adopted. The Huaorani schools were part of a program run by a foreign oil company to advance indigenous literacy. The program MAXUS, which began in 1993, was approved by the Hispanic side of the Education Ministry and the commission that implemented it was not run by the department for intercultural bilingual education, removing its power and participation. There was no contact with the community prior to setting up the schools and the educators arrived with a very generic understanding of bilingual education. What the Huaorani wanted, and protested for, was Huaorani education, not the one-sized fits all model that considered quechua needs. As the MAXUS supervisor of community relations, Milton Ortega explained, "The Huaorani saw the that the Bilingual Program is more quichua than anything else. It means nothing to them. The bilingual educational model has nothing to do with their reality; it is a quichua model... The government has accepted that this system does not work for the Huaorani."¹⁴⁴ This statement remained accurate when the Interamerican Commission visited and helps explain the issues in the community. A lack of teachers tied to a

¹⁴³ "Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Ecuador- Chapter IX: Issues of Special Relevance to the Indigenous Inhabitants of the Country." Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. April 24, 1997. Accessed December 19, 2014. <http://www.cidh.org/countryrep/ecuador-eng/chaper-9.htm>.

¹⁴⁴ "Los Huaorani ven que la Dirección Bilingüe es más quichua que todo. No significa nada para ellos. El modelo de la educación bilingüe no tiene nada que ver con su realidad; es un modelo quichua... El Gobierno ha aceptado que este sistema no funciona para los Huaorani." Walsh, Catherine. "Desarrollo Sociopolítico De La Educación Intercultural Bilingüe En El Ecuador." *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, no. 31-32 (1994): 99-164.148.

shortage of higher education and the rapid growth of schools is fairly common but the Huaorani case is particularly damning for the international organizations trying to generalize approaches in this incredibly complex process. The hierarchy of indigenous languages the commission observed, with Quichua teachers assigned to work with a different Indigenous population, mirrors the Shuar/Achuar case with a larger population's linguistic needs being met while a smaller group remains underserved. The lack of teachers cited here speaks to the lack of higher education for Indigenous peoples, the type of training that would allow Huaorani people to become teachers and improve their community's schools. The lack of material cited, especially textbooks, speaks to a budget shortage but also a lack of research and development of educational materials in indigenous languages, which is a time consuming and costly process. When the populations that would use these materials are so small, it is difficult to justify the expenses, especially when the political consequences for failure are so low. In 2012, Ecuador spent 4.4% of its GDP on education, ranking 94th in countries reported, which hints at the budgetary issues that absolutely contribute to the lack of programs at all levels of the educational ladder.¹⁴⁵

Measuring success for such an expansive concept is a challenge. While government statistics and international organizations tend to measure the impact of education in terms of literacy campaigns or number of schools opened, many Indigenous activists make a distinction between quantitative and qualitative gains. Ruth Moya viewed the impact of literacy programs thusly, "Even if they made only 20,000 people literate, many more indigenous and non indigenous people were made aware of the rights

¹⁴⁵ "Ecuador." The World Factbook. June 22, 2014. Accessed December 19, 2014. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ec.html>.

of the indigenous population to educate itself in its own language. It also revealed the myth of the supposed incompetence of an indigenous language, regardless of its oral history, for education and the production of knowledge.”¹⁴⁶ Changes in deeply rooted attitudes are incredibly hard to measure, even more so when the singular concept of intercultural bilingual education has been implemented to so varying degrees in the regions of Ecuador. A more holistic measure of success hasn’t yet been realized, since the goals of intercultural bilingual education are so overreaching, and debated. Researchers and activists point to state goals for indigenous education that center around integration, hoping to use education to bring more Indigenous people into the economic fold, “orientated towards the linguistic, social and cultural integration of indigenous people to the mestizo and Spanish speaking society.”¹⁴⁷ This approach is almost Machiavellian. If indigenous education is what it takes to garner economic productivity and integration, then it is justifiable, but radical paradigm shifts are not on the agenda. Osvaldo Hurtado, who served as vice president under Jaime Roldós and assumed the presidency in 1980 after his death explained the adoption of bilingual education in terms of the country’s “ethnic problems,” highlighting poverty, literacy campaigns, low education rates and the groundwork of the ILV.¹⁴⁸

The budget issues and evaluation issues raised by the report show the relationship between the political interpretations of intercultural bilingual education and recent

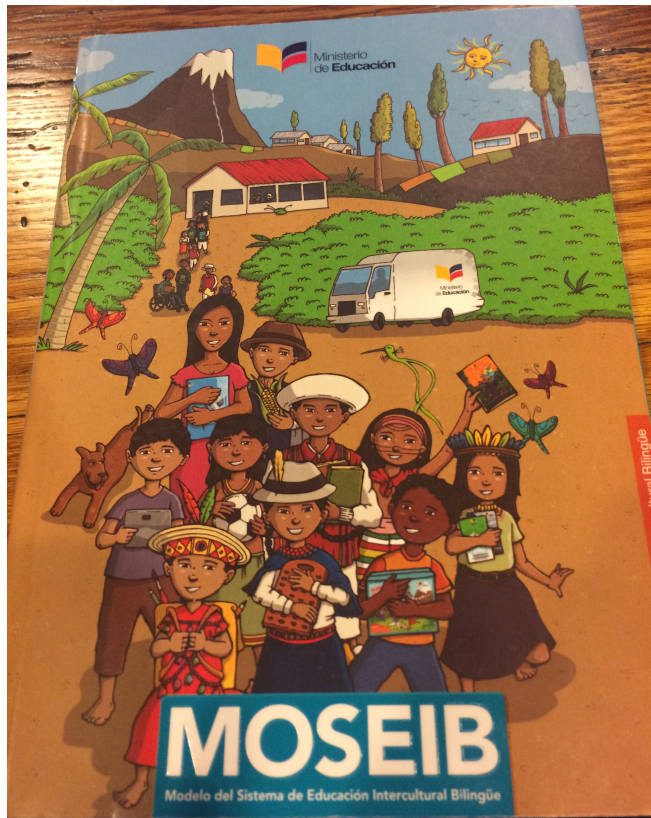
¹⁴⁶ “Si solo se alfabetizaron unas 20.000 personas, muchísimos más indígena y no indígenas se sensibilizaron al derecho de la población indígena de educarse en su propia lengua. También se reveló el mito de la supuesta incompetencia de una lengua indígena, además de tradición oral, para la educación y la producción del conocimiento.” Walsh, Catherine. "Desarrollo Sociopolítico De La Educación Intercultural Bilingüe En El Ecuador." *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, no. 31-32 (1994): 99-164. 108.

¹⁴⁷ “integrador orientado a la integración lingüística, cultural y social de los indígenas a la sociedad mestiza e hispano hablante” Walsh, Catherine. "Desarrollo Sociopolítico De La Educación Intercultural Bilingüe En El Ecuador." *Pueblos Indígenas Y Educación*, no. 31-32 (1994): 99-164.106.

¹⁴⁸ “Desarrollo sociopolítico de la educación intercultural bilingüe en el Ecuador, Catherine Walsh, from *Pueblos Indígenas y Educación*, julio-diciembre 1994, 31-32, pages 99-164.108

political and regional developments will be explored in the conclusion. When well-argued and well-tested educational concepts did not convince the Ecuadorian government that changes were needed, Indigenous activists tapped into a more radical toolkit to confront the challenges of the 21st century, which are educational, environmental and will be explored in the epilogue.

Appendix 1:



Epilogue: Petroleum and Plurinationalism: The 21st Century

A crucial player in the history of Ecuador is black and sticky: the petroleum reserves that represent one of Ecuador's greatest resources and challenges. Oil extraction, which began in the 1970s, brought many foreigners to Ecuador, particularly Americans. As international climate policy grows stricter, the oil rich regions become more regulated, with corporations paying more and more for drilling and mining rights. Education, as a tool for integration, cultural revaluation and empowerment, is important in helping Indigenous peoples understand their land rights, which have evolved thanks to various international statutes, such as those from the ILO and UN conventions. The decisions made with regards to the oil lands, primarily in the eastern Amazon region of the nation are irreversible fights for sovereignty with dramatic implications. But many encounters with the destruction of forests come first hand, as drilling wrecks lands that have both practical economic and spiritual significance. Within the Andean region, Indigenous peoples have staged highly visible protests around oil, chaining themselves to trees and protesting secret agreements made between oil companies and governments without popular input, which arguably chip away at a nation's sovereignty with irreversible consequences. China plays a major role in this development, investing in mines and pipelines, on lands belonging to Indigenous peoples who have not consented to their use. The Shuar territory, for example, is rich in copper and China invested \$1.4 billion in 2012 to begin extracting.¹⁴⁹ In 2013, Ecuador's ambassador to China described the rationale behind such agreements, "Ecuador is willing to establish a relationship of mutual benefit

¹⁴⁹ "Chinese Invest \$1.4 Billion in Ecuador Copper Mine." The Associated Press, *Yahoo!Finance*, March 1, 2012. Accessed December 9, 2014. <http://finance.yahoo.com/news/chinese-invest-1-4-billion-022046132.html>.

– a win-win relationship," with three million hectares of Ecuadorian rainforest at stake.¹⁵⁰

The ambassador's statement was undercut by the indigenous response that denied any sort of benefit for their community.

Today, Indigenous protestors use different tools to assert their needs and protest abuses. They post online petitions in a confederation of seven nations, represented by organizations old and new that articulate many historic struggles. Abya Yala, using its museum and publication platforms, makes the destruction of ancient lands visible, using



modern social media tools to explain the stakes, such as the photo posted below, posted to its facebook page. The text, "It produces an intense sadness to

think that nature speaks and human beings do not listen to it," when accompanied by photos of destroyed lands, is powerful and has an advocacy agenda, as it is near

impossible to work on these issues without taking a stance.¹⁵¹ The very definitions and

¹⁵⁰ Kaiman, Jonathan. "Ecuador Auctions off Amazon to Chinese Oil Firms." *The Guardian*, March 26, 2013. Accessed December 18, 2014. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/26/ecuador-chinese-oil-bids-amazon>.

¹⁵¹ Museo Abya Yala photo, posted on facebook on September 10, 2014. <https://www.facebook.com/museoabyayala/photos/pb.391849990960841.-2207520000.1418964366./535926316553207/?type=1&theater>

terms are so contentious, that unbiased sources do not exist. In an open letter in response to the petroleum ambitions of Chinese firms, the Confederation of Indigenous

Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon wrote:

“In various previous declarations, our constituents have demanded that the XI Round not be carried out due to its violation of our collective rights enshrined in the Ecuadorian Constitution and International Human Rights Treaties. We demand that public and private oil companies across the world NOT participate in the bidding process that systematically violates the rights of seven indigenous nationalities by imposing oil projects in their ancestral territories.

The “socialization” of communities that was carried out by the government, and which they try to pass off as Previous Consultation of the indigenous peoples and nationalities, does not comply with international standards upholding the right to free, prior, and informed consent as decreed by the Interamerican Court of Human Rights in the sentencing of the “Sarayaku Case”; which up to this point the government has failed to adhere to. Once again, this demonstrates that oil projects do not respect, nor will they respect, the rights of indigenous communities. History repeats itself!”¹⁵²

The arguments in this statement are sophisticated, drawing upon international laws and precedents and explaining how the historical neglect of indigenous rights allowed this to happen. The same government that sent bloodhounds for strikers is unlikely to protect ancestral lands. The struggle is modernized and so is their response. They also echo earlier arguments for education, claiming that a true recognition of indigenous rights and nationality would be dramatic and revolutionary. The Ecuadorian state, and other states trample on Indigenous rights, whether to control land or learning, despite historical claims and sophisticated and evolving tactics.

The Sarayuku case, ruled by the Inter-American court of Human Rights in 2012, concerned the rights of the kichwa Indians in the village of Saruyuku when the CGC, Argentina’s national oil company began testing the area. The Court

“found that the state had breached the villagers’ rights to prior consultation, communal property and cultural identity by approving the project, and that CGC’s

¹⁵² Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon to the Public and Private Companies Interested in Participating in the Ronda Suroriente, Puyo, Ecuador, December 2012.

tests had threatened their right to life. It ordered the government to pay damages, clear the remaining explosives and overhaul its consultation process. In future affected groups must be heard in a plan's "first stages...not only when the need arises to obtain the approval of the community." However, the judges did not ban prospecting on Sarayaku lands. The right to consultation does not grant a veto."¹⁵³ This ruling, as *The Economist* reported, was expected to set an important precedent but was disregarded only a year later as economics once again trumped ethics. Particularly powerful is the rejection of the government's consultation of indigenous interests, which they dismissed as an incomplete attempt at consent that violates precedents and offers more proof that oil cannot be extracted in collaboration with indigenous interests. Just as indigenous advocates claimed that not all iterations of intercultural bilingual education were executed to the necessary extent, the concept of consultation and consent is a fraught one, with the government having a different standard for approval.

Ecuador's secretary of hydrocarbons, Andrés Donoso Fabara pushed back against the indigenous argument in an interview with the *Guardian*, "These guys with a political agenda, they are not thinking about development or about fighting against poverty."¹⁵⁴ Dismissing a centuries long fight for territorial sovereignty as a political agenda once again positions the Indigenous peoples of Ecuador as being unaware of their own best interests, particularly when those interests are at odds with the government's campaigns. Poverty is a major concern of Indigenous peoples but so too is land sovereignty. Such a statement resurfaces paternalistic tropes in which the state needs to care for the childlike Indigenous people, even when there is an ample history of organization and advocacy among the protesters. Fabara again postures a relationship of consent later in the

¹⁵³"Indigenous Rights in South America: Cowboys and Indians." *The Economist*, June 28, 2012. Even the title of this investigative article shows the limits of nuanced reporting and the ease of relying on tokenism and stereotypes when reporting on indigenous affairs, especially from a foreign perspective.

¹⁵⁴ Kaiman, Jonathan. "Ecuador Auctions off Amazon to Chinese Oil Firms." *The Guardian*, March 26, 2013. Accessed December 18, 2014. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/26/ecuador-chinese-oil-bids-amazon>.

interview, explaining "We are entitled by law, if we wanted, to go in by force and do some activities even if they are against them, but that's not our policy."¹⁵⁵

His interpretation of the law, which many would dispute, still comes from a paternalistic place, implying that any consideration, however brief, of indigenous claims goes above and beyond legal obligations. They are being considerate in seeking input to then ignore. As in mid 20th century, the presence of international organizations provides some legitimacy, with international NGOs and legal offices somewhat filling the role that communist and socialist groups occupied then, lending structure and authority to arguments and linking them to struggles around the world. The Inter-American Court of Human Rights both tries cases and writes reports on the human rights situations of nations in the Organization of American States.

An April 1997 report on Ecuador devoted a chapter to human rights issues that specifically concerned Indigenous people serves as reminder of the movement's progress and unfinished business. Recognition of indigenous nationality ranked high among the movement's goals and the plurinational revision to the constitution fulfilled that demand. The Pachakutik political party was in its infancy when the report was released so the modest electoral gains of 1996, its first election cycle, were heralded as major progress, particularly as leaders from other groups, particularly CONAIE joined the mainstream body politick. The concerns about development and Indigenous peoples, however, remain pressing and unresolved.¹⁵⁶ The role of oil in certain isolated parts of the country brought

¹⁵⁵ Kaiman, Jonathan. "Ecuador Auctions off Amazon to Chinese Oil Firms." *The Guardian*, March 26, 2013. Accessed December 18, 2014. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/26/ecuador-chinese-oil-bids-amazon>.

¹⁵⁶ "Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Ecuador- Chapter IX: Issues of Special Relevance to the Indigenous Inhabitants of the Country." Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. April 24, 1997. Accessed December 19, 2014. <http://www.cidh.org/countryrep/ecuador-eng/chaper-9.htm>.

all sorts of dangers, from environmental damage to the introduction of new diseases where there are few healthcare facilities. The reports also addresses the threat of extinction that several uncontacted Indigenous groups are facing and urges government protection of these peoples, while raising the possibility that certain nations may not wish to be contacted by the dominant society. The final recommendations of the report are salient over a decade later, calling for training of public officials, particularly those in law enforcement, on appropriate behavior with Indigenous people, an active role for the state in preventing and sanctioning discrimination in the public and private sector and a more equitable distribution of resources and spending. Bilingual education with all its cultural implications should continue and indigenous land rights must be guaranteed in advance of deals. Wary perhaps of the loopholes of consent, the Commission called for meaningful indigenous participation in decisions about land, clarifying that meaningful “necessarily implies that indigenous representatives have full access to the information which will facilitate their participation.”¹⁵⁷ True Intercultural Bilingual Education could advance these measures in many ways.

The evolution of Indigenous groups, from socialist syndicates to regional groups and cooperatives to broader confederations to a political party speaks to the changes in social movement tactics over the last century. Indigenous groups currently work mainly in collaboration, maximizing the exposure they can gain through overlapping networks. Many of the Pachakutik candidates work within the government and with other organizations, with CONAIE still playing an important role, having grown in membership. The overlap between CONAIE leaders and Pachakutik candidates is high,

¹⁵⁷ "Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Ecuador- Chapter IX: Issues of Special Relevance to the Indigenous Inhabitants of the Country." Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. April 24, 1997. Accessed December 19, 2014. <http://www.cidh.org/countryrep/ecuador-eng/chaper-9.htm>

and the CONAIE structure is more consistent, because it does not depend on winning seats each election and can grow with the addition of new member groups, making decisions in an indigenous context. With regards to communications, the rise of internet has opened many doors as even rural areas are likely to have a wifi signal, which offers immediate communication with international organizations, particularly in times of crisis and visible protest. For context,

“In the 2013 Networked Readiness Index of the World Economic Forum, a measure of countries’ development of the Internet and other technological capabilities, Ecuador ranked 91st out of 144 countries, although it was ahead of many of its South American neighbors, including Argentina, Bolivia and Venezuela.”¹⁵⁸

Information about rights and options is accessible in new ways, and the dissemination of digital petitions and open letters invites a global audience to a longstanding movement and live protests, which can garner international attention as climate politics grow more urgent.

Correa’s presidency is incomplete at the time of writing and it is unclear what his legacy with regards to Indigenous peoples will be. So far, his administration extends a more visible embrace than his predecessors, aspiring to project an image of cooperation rather than open hostility and violence. One major step was the ratification of a new constitution in 2008, which defined Ecuador as Plurinational. This change was first proposed by Socialist party in Congress in 1986 and gained serious traction after the 1990 uprising, which brought new gravitas to the movement.¹⁵⁹ Correa defined this change to his people, “‘Plurinationalism’ means admitting that several different nationalities coexist

¹⁵⁸ Neuman, William. "Ecuador, Possible Snowden Haven, Is High on Beauty but Low on Tech." *New York Times*, July 3, 2013. Accessed December 2, 2014.

¹⁵⁹ Lucas, Kintto. "Ecuador: New Constitution Addresses Demand for "Plurinational State"" *Inter Press Service*, May 5, 2008. Accessed November 26, 2014. <http://www.ipsnews.net/2008/05/ecuador-new-constitution-addresses-demand-for-plurinational-state/>.

within the larger Ecuadorean state, which is obvious in this country and need not scare anyone. Everyone should have the same opportunities.”¹⁶⁰ Incorporating multiple nations into one nation is a complicated exercise that is highly symbolic, but meaningful to many and was an improvement from the 1998 constitutional reforms that called the “Ecuadorean state as multicultural and multiethnic, and within the definition of “collective rights” it refers to Indigenous peoples as “peoples who by self-definition are nations with ancestral roots.”¹⁶¹ The implications of this change are still being argued but Humberto Cholango, leader of Ecuaranari, called it “the definitive burying of an exclusionary neoliberal system” though he emphasized that supporting the constitutional change was not the end of the campaign: Indigenous communities needed to see change implemented.¹⁶² The Plurinational concept has long held promise because it officially rectifies a central challenge of indigenous organizing: that Indigenous people are a part of the nation of Ecuador, rather than a challenge to its core nature.

The diversity of Ecuador is an asset in its international standing and reputation and an important part of the country’s self-conception. Correa took the plurinational mandate as a charge to “to properly define the scope of plurinationalism, which basically means recognising the different peoples, cultures and worldviews that exist, and for all public policies, such as education, health and housing, to recognise the plurinational dimension”¹⁶³ This interpretation argues for reconsidering the responsibilities of the state with regards to indigenous nations and sounds similar to the agendas and proposals for intercultural bilingual education proposed in the 1980s. It has more teeth in this context

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Becker, Marc. *¡Pachakutik! Indigenous Movements and Electoral Politics in Ecuador*. Updated ed. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011. 158.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

due to its constitutional basis and presidential support, but the framework closely echoes designs by MACAC and early advocates of intercultural bilingual education. As the reach and centralization of the Ecuadorian state has grown in the past decades, so too has their influence in all aspects of life.

As Olson argues in her analysis of the country's changing constitutions, "A persistent republican idealism and a repeated (if sometimes implicit) invocation of the nation as indigenous are the most striking elements of that common sense that built national identity through rupture in Ecuador."¹⁶⁴ Therefore, it falls under Correa's best interest to balance those factions with the nation's economic and developmental concerns, no easy feat. Tourism is a priority of the administration with major investments in airports evidenced by 2013 opening of the Mariscal Sucre International Airport thirteen kilometers outside of Quito, a major construction project that required the building of new roads and bridging of dramatic cliff. Traffic to the airport puts the trip at over an hour on a one-lane road.¹⁶⁵

Unfortunately, history suggests that indigenous interests are unlikely to dominate national politics, in part due to the structures of oppression that dissociate indigenous rights from the nation's best interests, which are often economically determined. What remains incredibly impressive and inspiring is the adaptability and agility of Indigenous protesters, who persist still at great risk to their safety and livelihoods. Ecuadorian sociologist Andrés Guerrero, when interviewed about Indigenous people and the constitutional myth, stressed the concept of community as essential to indigenous organization, and as a form of citizenship against, "the historical process, which

¹⁶⁴ Olson, Christa J.. *Constitutive Visions: Indigeneity and Commonplaces of National Identity in Republican Ecuador*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014. 27.

¹⁶⁵ "Quito's New Airport : A Tight Fit." *The Economist*, April 4, 2013.

associated citizenship with the administration of the population.” He defines indigenous community, as

“something mythological. In the domestic, inter–domestic and partially communal spheres, relationships of solidarity exist which are not commercial. This creates a political, cultural and symbolic cohesion. Some people think that it would be better if the indigenous stopped thinking this way and became buyers and sellers. The indigenous know how to manage very well in two codes: the commercial code for the outside world and the code of reciprocity and communal solidarity at home.”¹⁶⁶

The past several years have been contentious and dangerous, with prominent activists found murdered before planned climate policy protests in Lima. These actions show the vitality of resource extraction to Ecuador’s economy and the priority the government places on indigenous rights, all rhetoric and constitutional change aside. One of the the most recent victims was José Isidro Tendetza Antún, a Shuar leader, whose body was found on December 6, 2014, after protesting the long disputed Mirador copper mining program implemented by the Chinese.¹⁶⁷ He, like many others, died for his country, though it is a country that sees his people’s interests as at odds with its own.

Education, in the past eighty years, has been an institutional and ideological laboratory with the highest of stakes. Groups of all sizes and structures have struggled to reconcile the purpose of education with the logistics of national integration, while maintaining their identities and earning a livelihood, a process that sometimes resembles high wire juggling. No plank is unimportant but finding a policy that satisfies all three goals and wins mainstream approval can be nearly impossible. The position of the national government has in some sense shifted in their favor but not without strong caveats that cast doubt as to the administration’s priorities for Ecuador. The political

¹⁶⁶ Lucas, Kintto, and Dinah Livingstone, trans. *We Will Not Dance on Our Grandparents' Tombs: Indigenous Uprisings in Ecuador*. London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 2000.99.

¹⁶⁷ Watts, Jonathan, and Dan Collens. "Ecuador Indigenous Leader Found Dead before Planned Lima Protest." *The Guardian*, December 6, 2014.

party's creation, while an important entry into the official arena, has not led to the transformative change that such a format offers. Neither, for that matter, has intercultural bilingual education. Ecuadorian education has no one definition but it is sorely needed if the nation, with such a diverse citizenship, hopes to chart a sustainable and responsible course for development in the 21st century. The classroom does not hold the whole solution, but it is nonetheless a place to shape and articulate an agenda, and critically, teach it to a new Ecuadorian generation that can, with great effort, break from the patterns of the past.

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