

FACULTAD LATINOAMERICANA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES
ECUADORIAN SITE
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AND COMMUNICATION
2011-2013 COHORT

THESIS TO OBTAIN THE DEGREE OF
MASTER IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WITH A SPECIALIZATION IN
INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATION AND COOPERATION

PEDAGOGY IN AN OPPRESSED STATE

A Multilevel Analysis of Learning in the International Development of Ecuador's
Official Intercultural Bilingual Education

HERBERT GUY TERRY

JUNE, 2014

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JUNE, 2014

DEDICATION

To Melissa, to my family,
to all those I love, who have informed my education,
and to all who would educate, with love, towards liberation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research was possible thanks to the learner-developers who made Ecuador's official Intercultural Bilingual Education a reality, and to the learning I experienced throughout this master's program. My heartfelt gratitude goes to all the interviewees that shared their personal experiences with me, to the dedicated professors I have studied with at FLACSO-Ecuador, and to my thesis advisor and readers. I should also thank my Intercultural Communication students. Teaching in an area closely related to the research I was doing helped me comprehend what Paulo Freire meant about critical learning occurring through a continuous link between practice and theoretical reflection. Finally, this thesis is indebted to the critical pedagogy of Paulo Freire, a source of analytical categories applied in the present study and of inspiration to IBE's developers.

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ABSTRACT

The Ecuadorian State underwent a series of new learning experiences in the twentieth century that disrupted its traditional socio-economic order, the rungs of which were ethnically-coded. This study illustrates how domestic and international changes generated new learning for the State, how this learning facilitated an aperture to indigenous movement leaders in a national literacy campaign, and how this inclusion, in turn, supported their own learning and their trajectory as activists for further change. Among their clearest triumphs was the institutionalization of a semi-autonomous Intercultural Bilingual Education system. The education occurring in a rural high school founded within this system is also examined. By revealing learning's impacts across this spectrum, from the most global to the most local of contexts, this research sheds light on the mutual constitution of these different social spheres. It provides a critical constructivist account of institutional change, and considers whether the learning that caused this change has been more uncritical or critical, more oppressive or liberating.

Introduction

Top-down international and governmental support for the development of Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) has been, from the start, accompanied by a discourse of *inclusion* – first, indigenous inclusion in a national literacy campaign; next, their inclusion in educational governance. The indigenous movement, on the other hand, has led the call for IBE from below in the revolutionary terms of Paulo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, demanding a new kind of learning aimed at human liberation. While one vision sought to ensure a system’s persistence through broader inclusion in it, the other called for radical systemic change through critical learning, theory, and praxis.

A desire to understand the learning that has in practice occurred through IBE since the beginning of its institutional development led to the main research question:

Since 1979, how has Ecuador’s official¹ Intercultural Bilingual Education in practice promoted, and been shaped by, critical or uncritical kinds of learning at the levels of the State, the indigenous movement leadership, and students in an IBE high school?

The above question solicits two responses: 1) a multilevel account of the *impacts of the learning* that occurred in the development of Ecuador’s official IBE; and, 2) an assessment of the *kinds of learning* that have been most prevalent. Learning and its outcomes (or *impacts*) are traced at international, national and local community levels; to assess the most prevalent *kinds* of learning, analytical categories were derived from Paulo Freire’s critical pedagogy to differentiate between two main types: a critical versus an uncritical kind of learning. In answering this main question, this thesis also responds to the following auxiliary questions:

- 1) *What can this study contribute to an understanding of how uncritical and critical kinds of learning can restrict or promote positive social change?*
- 2) *What institutional conditions encourage a particular kind of learning?*
- 3) *In contexts where Paulo Freire’s critical learning characteristics are shown to have been present, did they always lead to the critical objectives he described?*

¹ This question specifies a focus on *official* IBE in order to distinguish it as programming that has been endorsed by the State itself as opposed to other experiments in IBE that have existed, but on a much smaller scale and completely independent of the State.

This thesis is organized into five chapters. The first explains the theoretical and methodological approaches used, locating this study at various intersections: between global and local spheres, between structure and agency, and between the fields of Education and International Relations. It introduces the theoretical themes of this thesis and explains the methods that were elaborated to explore these themes and to answer the research questions above.

Chapter Two introduces the learner-subjects of this study – the State and indigenous Ecuadorians – and contextualizes the historical oppression of each. These antecedents provide a necessary understanding of the preconditions prior to the learning that occurred. Without understanding these preconditions, we could not make an analysis of the impacts that this learning has had. A concise review of previous studies related to official IBE in the Ecuadorian context is also given.

The third and fourth chapters report on the impacts and kinds of learning identified at the three levels studied. Chapter three explains the learning of the State. Chapter Four relates to the learning of indigenous people in two contexts: first, of the indigenous leaders involved in IBE's institutional development; second, of students in the context of one rural community's local IBE high school.

The concluding chapter discusses the implications of these findings. In this discussion, it contrasts the learning that has been identified at these three levels. It also highlights the connections between these learning experiences; that is, it discusses how the distinct impacts and kinds of learning discovered at these different levels have influenced one another. Based on these findings, recommendations are then given for recuperating IBE as a path to positive social change and human liberation.

CHAPTER I

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO A STUDY OF LEARNING

“The task which the loss of the stable state makes imperative, for the person, for our institutions, for society as a whole, is to learn about learning” (Schön, 1973: 28).

The state is not as “stable” as it once was because its role is less well-defined in a world where global and local actors interact directly in more contexts than ever before. The State continues to be an important actor, but these novel interactions and contexts have occasioned transformative² learning for both states and individuals. The theoretical framework and the methodology outlined in this chapter were designed to help us “learn about learning”; that is, to learn about how different kinds of learning can occur as the result of different sorts of interactions and contexts at multiple levels.

Learning at multiple levels

Local actors eager to have their causes widely understood as legitimate now often frame their demands using discourses espoused by international actors. Conversely, economic globalization has prompted “the creation of global decision-making bodies” which, as non-traditional authorities, seek “to legitimate themselves by claiming to promote the interests of all” (Evanoff, 2007: 3). This constitutes a bi-directional quest for legitimacy between the most global and the most local of actors. The State frequently finds itself learning new norms in the middle of these mutual appeals, facing combined pressure from within and without. Globally-employed discourses can thus simultaneously be learnt by a State via both international and domestic interactions. This is very evident in the development of Ecuador’s official Intercultural Bilingual Education.

Nonetheless, while global and local actors find convergence on some points, discord between them can thrive on others. This is how the Ecuadorian indigenous movement came to lead a domestic resistance to internationally-sponsored neoliberal economic policies by, paradoxically, applying internationally-supported rights

² *Transformative* here is used only to assert that change has been caused by learning. Transformation does not always connote liberation or revolution. The degree to which the change occurring at these different levels has been liberating or not will be assessed in the following chapters.

discourses. Globalization has created new challenges for indigenous peoples, but it has also provided them novel platforms to confront both new, and pre-existing, challenges.

We cannot properly understand globalization as either the definitive enemy or champion of the historically marginalized and oppressed within nation-states. Globalization is often presented as a phenomenon that either “creates equality and cooperation or frightfully deepens inequality and hegemonic domination” (Alexander, 2005: 1). Theorists also tend to place themselves in one of two camps: those that see global interactions as having a primarily homogenizing effect and those that view them as vindicating diversity (Meisch, 2002).

As will be evidenced in this thesis, globalization can imply an increasing degree of *discursive* homogeneity, but when these discourses are adopted and tailored by different groups to suit their local interests, globalization can simultaneously sustain, even promote, *cultural* diversity. A Japanese man wearing Levi’s jeans has not become the cultural twin of a Bolivian wearing the same. There is more to cultural diversity than the use or rejection of well-known global brands. Likewise, diverse people(s) pursuing their individual and group interests with globally-recognized terms, such as *Intercultural Bilingual Education*, do not always have identical interests and cultures.

The belief that globalization will lead to cultural homogenization underestimates the diversity of interactions that occur at the global scale and the commitment to diversity of the world’s peoples (Scholte, 1995: 80-81).

Globalization has not decidedly destroyed or increased diversity and it should not be credited as either the main cause of or solution to social injustice. Rather than threatening a higher degree of social injustice, or promising a quick end to it, globalization has *globalized* the contexts in which age-old social struggles are manifested, considered and debated.

Freeman captures this succinctly: “Increased interdependence between countries has made for greater degrees of both competition and collaboration” (Freeman, 2006: 368). The principal novelty of globalization is not the kinds of problems faced by human beings living in society with each other; the novelty is the size of that society and the size of the human groups that compete and collaborate together within it.

This augmentation of “social space” (Scholte, 1995: 61) has created “unprecedented opportunities for learning as well as a pressing need to take them” (Freeman, 2006: 368). Kearney explains the need for multi-level studies in light of such

increasingly *glocal*³ contexts: “attention limited to local processes, identities, and units of analysis yields incomplete understanding of the local” while world-systems theories present “a subjectless history” of the globalizing world that ignores the importance of localized human interactions and learning (Kearney, 1995: 548-551). Scholte agrees that it is fruitless in research to isolate or “reify” the mutually-constitutive global and local spheres (Scholte, 1995: 78-79). This study identifies the learning that has occurred in IBE across a spectrum of contexts from the most global to the most local. It also considers the impacts of different kinds of learning within and between these levels.

Critical learning in a structured world

This study is interested in the structural conditions that have encouraged more, or less, critical kinds of learning experiences. Paulo Freire warned that “we must avoid (...) objectivism, which leads to mechanism, and idealism, which leads to solipsism” (Freire, 1985: 72). Similarly, Fischer advised that the positions of the extreme “idealist and of the materialist are exaggerations; the task is to find an appropriate balance between them” (Fischer, 2003: 24). Learning is the focus of this study, but it is understood that learning does not and cannot occur in a social vacuum.

Our subjects are not gods engaged in pure thought that springs out of celestial nothingness. States and individuals are social learners that were born into pre-existing structural conditions. Extant structures are susceptible to change through new learning and agency, but they can also promote or restrict *kinds* of learning. Analytical foci strictly on constraining conditions (material, social, institutional) or on human potential (ideas, learning, agency) are incomplete without each other because both external conditions and internal potential constantly inform one another in human life.

This is a study of institutional structure (*institutionalism*), ideas and learning (*constructivism*), and their combined roles in promoting kinds of human learning that either worsen oppression or promote liberation in a world of disparity (*critical theory*). Elements of each of the theoretical perspectives italicized above constitute the theoretical framework of this study.

³ The term *glocal* is an amalgamation of the words *global* and *local*. It refers to the “transnational social paces, social fields and communities” that arise within a context of increased globalization (Roudometof, 2005: 113).

Most scholars concerned with institutions focus mainly on the ways existing institutional structures influence the learning and behaviour of actors, while ignoring the agency of the critical thinkers that change institutions. According to Hay, traditional institutionalism was concerned exclusively with the study of the extant rules of institutions (Hay, 2006: 60). He describes three kinds of “new institutionalisms” that sought to go beyond this by answering questions about *why* institutional rules are followed instead of simply discussing *what* rules exist.

- 1) “Rational choice institutionalism” argues that actors follow a “calculus logic” in pursuit of selfish interests and try, wherever possible without being caught and punished, to break or bend the “rules of the game” all the while demanding that others follow these rules only to add to their own advantage (Hay, 2006: 60-61).
- 2) For neoliberal institutionalists, institutions are “persistent and connected sets of rules (formal or informal) that prescribe behavioral roles, constrain activity, and shape expectations.” (Keohane, 1988) This neoliberal subset is part of what Hay calls a “normative/sociological institutionalism” that emphasizes social norms as what keeps actors *generally* compliant (Hay, 2006: 60-61).
- 3) Finally, “historical institutionalism” combines the two aforementioned foci to answer why people follow rules when they do and is also “ostensibly concerned with process-tracing”. Nonetheless, this approach is “characterized by an emphasis upon institutional genesis at the expense of an adequate account of post-formative institutional change” (Hay, 2006: 60).

This thesis is concerned with explaining the genesis of IBE but also with how the learning occurring *within* this development has occasioned further change. While answering questions about *what* rules exist and *why* they are often followed, these new institutionalisms have not provided sufficient explanations of *how* they can change. As Schmidt puts it, in these approaches “how to explain change within essentially static institutions has been a fundamental problem” (Schmidt, 2010: 51).

A nascent constructivist approach to institutionalism has been suggested as a candidate for explaining not only the reality and influence of current structures, but also how they are altered (Hay, 2006: 60). The constructivist, Wendt, posits that “structural change occurs when actors redefine who they are and what they want” and this happens through new interactions and social learning (Wendt, 1999: 336). As discussed above,

new interactions and social learning were initiated through the aforementioned expansion of the social sphere via globalization. This generated a new institutional space for the development and practice of IBE, wherein still more transformative interactions and learning have occurred.

Constructivism is uniquely relevant in this case because of its focus on learning, and because it is serviceable in both the fields of International Relations and Education. Nicolos Onuf's 1989 *World of Our Making* is often credited for introducing constructivist theory into International Relations (Jackson & Sørensen: 2010: 166), but its emergence in educational theory can be traced back to earlier-20th century cognitivism of the Swiss developmental psychologist Jean Piaget (Piaget: 1937).

According to Piaget, learning is an ongoing, interactive cognitive process wherein the learner is confronted by new external experiences that put previous understandings into crisis, forcing him to modify his internal constructions of reality until he achieves new understandings that better accommodate these novelties (Piaget: 1937). For Alexander Wendt, one of the most cited international relations constructivists, states are the main subjects of analysis – the learners – and they undergo this process in relation to one another (Wendt: 1992).

In this thesis, the anthropomorphism of the State as a learner endowed with a self-identity, the hallmark device of IR constructivism, is used figuratively. Just as we talk about group identities of other types – national, religious, class-based, etc. – the State is a conglomerate identity made up of the human beings that occupy it and that support it as a legitimate actor. The State is an institution and its institutional structure is supported by the combined agency of the people acting within it.

If the State is especially valued as a unit of analysis, that is because of its still-privileged place in the current structure of international relations and in domestic governance. The State does not have a *personal* identity and interests, but it does have *official* discourses, agendas and policies, which reflect changes and new learning in its internal culture. It is this *culture* that truly bears an identity and interests, and which is referred to in this study as “the State” merely for concision.

Within the State, new institutions such as official IBE have sprouted up as the State's identity has been in flux throughout globalization. Participants in the new social spaces generated by the development and governance of these new institutions have

also, in turn, been learning and changing and, in this case, demanding further change from the State. In this multilevel, interdisciplinary study we examine the learning of both the State and of the people working, learning and living within it.

The common denominator shared by constructivists across disciplines is the conviction that understandings of reality, and one's roles and interests in it, are socially constructed and, as such, these understandings can be altered when subjects undergo new interactions and learning. These changes in the internal structure of subjects cause them to act upon their world and its existing structures in new ways that can, in turn, change these external structures. The constructivist approach explains how learning happens and how it contributes to change, but it does not always contain a commitment to promoting particular *kinds* of learning and change. Critical theory does.

Critical theorists have diverse foci, but can be defined as a group by their shared interest in *positive* social change. They are driven primarily by a "concern for the abolition of social injustice" (Horkheimer, 1982: 241). The critical element of this study is found in this concern.

When constructivists lack this normative concern, they merely cite social constructions as the cause, instead of fixed interests, of the same persistent social realities described by neo-utilitarians.⁴ As Marx critiqued, "philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it" (Marx, 1845). Mainstream constructivism is another way of interpreting the world *as it is* without providing much insight into how to change it for the better. It indicates symptoms, postulates causes, but shies away from offering needed prescriptions.

A conventional constructivist focus in IR research helps prove that new learning can change identities and interests, but does not sufficiently explore how different kinds of learning can increase either oppression or liberation. On the other hand, critical theorists often produce research that critiques systemic oppression, but that does not enhance our understanding of the *methods of learning* (constructivism) or the *structural*

⁴ Neo-utilitarianism, which can include both neo-realism and *neoliberal* institutionalism (Ruggie, 1998), is a descriptive but tragically immobilizing approach. Such studies reduce all actors to the nature of "homo economicus", which can be summed up in this classic definition of "man" given by John Stuart Mill: "(...) a being who inevitably does that by which he may obtain the greatest amount of necessities, conveniences, and luxuries, with the smallest quantity of labour and physical self-denial with which they can be obtained" (Mill, 1874).

conditions of learning (institutionalism) needed to confront this oppression and to spur the historical process in a revolutionary direction.

In this study, a critical perspective asserts the normative position of *what should be*, a constructivist lens helps show *how this could become a new reality through learning*, and institutionalism reveals the different structural conditions that *encourage either a critical or uncritical kind of learning*. Aspects of critical theory, constructivism and institutionalism inform this theoretical framework with the aim of contributing to a more *socially* useful, and less utilitarian, approach. Neo-utilitarianism was adapted from the field of economics, and the constructivist Ruggie has expressed concern that there are no other fields from which IR constructivists⁵ might likewise borrow strategies “to formulate a fully-fledged theory of their own” (Ruggie, 1998: 856).

Considering constructivism’s deeper roots in the field of Education, it is odd that Ruggie did not think to look there for help in theory-building. In his seminal work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire equipped critical theory with constructivist learning methods and constructivist methods with a critical purpose. Responding to Ruggie’s concern, a more “fully-fledged” and critical constructivist theory is suggested here by studying learning at both state and individual levels, and by fusing insights from critical constructivism (in Education and International Relations) with institutionalism. This mixed approach might be called Critical Constructivist Institutionalism or, without adding to a proliferation of new institutionalisms, we might simply call it a holistic approach to understanding critical learning in a structured world.

Methodological approach: theoretical tenets put to analytical work

The methodology applied in some ways resembles Foucault’s genealogical method, which traces the ancestry of ideas and stresses “contestation over meanings and conjunctures (...)” (Klotz & Lynch, 2007). To achieve a degree of methodological triangulation, “a cross-validation process that can ensure more compelling and verifiable results” (Denzin, 1970), coding and analysis was carried out based on a

⁵ Some constructivists have also relied on homo economicus as a model. In Wendt’s constructivism “actors are still rational” and still “calculate utility”, but their understanding of their available options, and the groups in which they converge to act as one unit, are informed by learning in a social context (Wendt, 1999: 337). Beyond this, however, people’s personal goals (and what they deem to be useful in achieving them) can also be subject to change through learning and there are ways of reasoning, also learnable, that do not fixate so exclusively on defining and measuring immediate personal utility versus costs.

variety of data sources: official documents and discourses, key secondary sources, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. As explained above, this thesis seeks to evidence the occurrence and impacts of learning in diverse contexts throughout IBE's development and to qualify this learning, once identified, as critical or uncritical. The specific methods developed to address these concerns are outlined below.

Methods to identify learning and its impacts at multiple levels

First, the learning of the State through the development of IBE in Ecuador was identified. Since the State, a conglomerate entity as opposed to a natural person, cannot be interviewed about its own learning, its official documents, constitutions, and agreements with other actors were studied to learn how its *ascribed* identity and interests have changed. Some insights from interviewees that were involved in these official interactions are also included to supplement the understanding gained from documents. At this first level studied, the ways the State's learning impacted the *existence* of the next level of analysis is also explored.

The next level of analysis is the level of indigenous leaders' learning, prior to and during the indigenous movement's greatest mobilizations, as participants in the two key projects that developed IBE as an official, state-approved, and nation-wide education system aimed at the indigenous population. At this level, data was derived from semi-structured interviews with key figures in the development of IBE. On average, interviews lasted one to three hours. Interviewees included the leaders of each of the major organizational actors in the programs that developed official IBE, and indigenous program participants that went on to lead further developments in IBE as well as the indigenous movement.

These further developments in IBE included the creation of new IBE schools; among them, the high school where our last batch of data was collected. In total, four teachers, the school director, and twelve students (one boy and one girl from each of the six years of study offered) of Dolores Cacuango high school were interviewed. In this case, shorter interviews of about 25 minutes per individual were conducted. Participant observation was also carried out by accompanying a group of students on a field trip to Quito and by visiting classes in progress at the school.

In all the interviews carried out, a semi-structured approach was used in order to encourage personal accounts of learning experiences that might not have been revealed under the pressure of responding to a more rigidly set list of “yes” or “no” questions. The questions that were asked attempted to draw the interviewees toward reflections that were relevant to the research question without leading them towards particular answers or indicating the researcher’s expectations.

Once data was collected at all these levels, it was analyzed through a three-pronged coding process. The first step of analysis was to code (e.g. to highlight) examples of “learning” and its “impacts” found in the texts of the documents and interviews and to organize these examples into the concise reports found in the results chapters. Defining characteristics and objectives of critical learning were then attained through the coding of a scholarly text that proved to have been particularly influential in official IBE’s theoretical development: *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (see next section). The final step of analysis involved scanning the previously-prepared reports on learning and its impacts for examples of these characteristics and objectives in order to determine the presence or lack of critical learning in IBE in practice.

Method to qualify learning as critical or uncritical

“The correct analogy for the mind is not a vessel that needs filling, but wood that needs igniting — no more — and then it motivates one towards originality and instils the desire for truth”- Plutarch

Plutarch likely meant that the correct *use* of the mind, or the correct *kind* of education, is not vessel-filling but fire-igniting. Both analogies, however, can be seen as “correct” insofar as they do describe existing kinds of learning and states of mind. In educational practice, the mind is often encouraged to accept information exactly as an empty vessel. A present-day critical pedagogue, Henry Giroux, has said that:

Rather than viewing teaching as technical practice, pedagogy in the broadest critical sense is premised on the assumption that learning is not about memorizing dead knowledge and skills associated with learning for the test but engaging in a more expansive struggle for individual rights and social justice (Giroux, 2013).

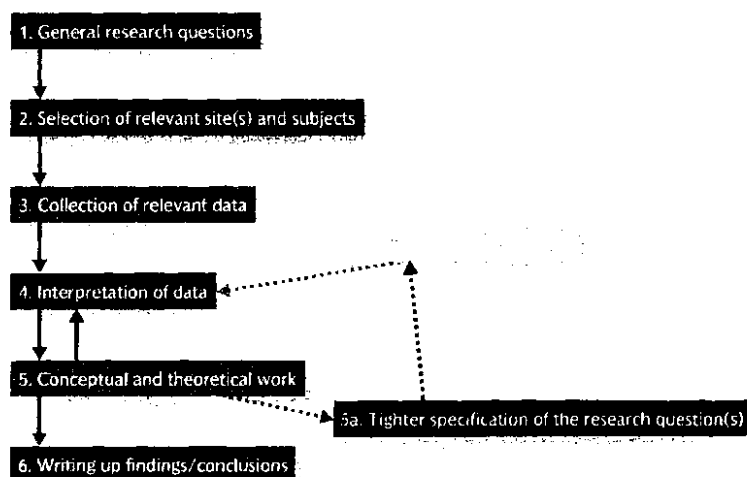
As the above first century quote suggests, the 21st century Paulo Freire was by no means the first theorist to differentiate between critical and uncritical kinds of learning or to

assert that critical learning leads to more constructive and principled outcomes. As the 2013 quote suggests, he has not been the last either. He did, however, define detailed characteristics and objectives to distinguish critical learning, which were especially influential in the context of Ecuadorian IBE and analytically useful in this study. Paulo Freire’s *critical* learning applies *constructivist* methods and it requires certain characteristics to occur, characteristics that can be promoted or obstructed by *institutions*. It is thus very well suited to the theoretical framework discussed above and to helping fully respond to the research question.

In the results chapters, the main characteristics and objectives of his educational theory are used as categories to differentiate the kinds of learning that have occurred in different institutional spaces in the development of official Ecuadorian IBE. From the outset, this study’s research plan was concerned with the impacts of learning in terms of social and institutional change, but it lacked a vocabulary to discuss the different *kinds* of learning that cause differences in these impacts.

Indeed, it was in completing this research that the importance of distinguishing between kinds of learning became apparent to the researcher since the learning discovered at different levels suggested dissimilar cognitive behaviour. The research process has thus been typical of qualitative studies. Bryman has outlined this well:

An outline of the main steps of qualitative research



(Bryman, 2008: 370)

The key tenets in Paulo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* emerged as appropriate analytical categories during the initial collection of data, and this led to a refined

theoretical framework as well as a tighter specification of the research question, with the addition to it of a distinction between critical or uncritical kinds of learning.

In reviewing the texts of documents and interviews, it became clear that Freire's definition of critical learning resonated deeply with the experiences of the indigenous leadership and informed the terminology used in their proposals and demands. (See, for example: Political Plan, 1994; Constitutional Demands, 1998; Constitutional Demands, 2007). As such, his criteria is very appropriate for use in a study evaluating the presence or absence, in practice, of this particular kind of learning.

This study chronicles a history of learning throughout IBE's institutional development, and then assesses the kind of learning that has been experienced. It determines to what extent the critical learning proposed by the indigenous movement leadership, in Freire's terms, has influenced the development of, and been promoted by, official Ecuadorian IBE.

Freire calls uncritical learning the "banking approach" to education, and argues that it is the most prevalent and conventional in the world today. It is oppressive since it limits the way people think and encourages an unquestioning and unconstructive status-quo acceptance.

In "the "banking" concept of education (...) the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits (...) in the last analysis, it is the people themselves who are filed away through the lack of creativity, transformation, and knowledge (...)" (Freire, 1970: 72).

He contrasts this with a critical pedagogy aimed at igniting people's minds and spurring change. To analyze the kind of learning that has occurred in IBE, six categories were identified: three key characteristics of critical learning and three key objectives.

Key Characteristics:

1) *Collaborative*

Freire states that "only through communication can human life hold meaning" (Freire, 1970: 77) and that "political action on the side of the oppressed must be pedagogical action in the authentic sense of the word, and, therefore, action *with* the oppressed" (Freire, 1970: 66). He contrasts the importance of collaboration in critical pedagogy with its absence in the vessel-filling, banking approach:

In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to now

nothing. Projecting an absolute ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry (...)The *raison d'être* of liberation education, on the other hand, lies in its drive towards reconciliation. Education must begin with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction, by reconciling the poles of the contradiction so that both are simultaneously teachers *and* students (Freire, 1970:72).

When this mutual learning relationship is established:

The educator constantly re-forms his reflections in the reflections of the students [who] are now critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher (Freire, 1970: 69).

2) *Problem-Posing*

Instead of depositing “correct” answers in the minds of learners, as in the banking approach, critical learning is about raising new questions and posing challenges to them through of the collaboration described above:

Liberating education consists in acts of cognition, not transferrals of information. It is a learning situation in which the cognizable object (far from being the end of the cognitive act) intermediates the cognitive actors – teacher on the one hand and students on the other. It is “problem-posing education” (Freire, 1970: 79).

In this way, through collaboration and through generating a new critical awareness of problems to be discussed and resolved, “people teach each other, mediated by the world, by the cognizable objects which in banking education are “owned” by the teacher (Freire, 1970: 80). Thus, “problem-posing education involves a constant unveiling of reality, the emergence of consciousness, and critical intervention in reality” (Freire, 1970: 68). This “critical intervention in reality”, brought about through critical reflection of it, also suggests the last main characteristic of critical learning – praxis.

3) *Praxis-based*

Freire defines critical praxis as “reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it” (Freire, 1970: 51). It is thus a constant exchange between theory and practice – not pure theory, and not action without reflection.

Reflection and action become imperative when one does not erroneously attempt to dichotomize the content of humanity from its historical forms (Freire, 1970: 51).

In emotive terms, Freire states that:

Apart from the praxis, individuals cannot be truly human⁶. Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient,

⁶Freire also wrote that Latin American peasants “often consider themselves equal to (...) the animals and the trees” (a perspective promoted in many indigenous cultures) and that “men who are bound to nature (...) in this way must come to discern themselves as *persons* prevented from *being*” (Freire, 1970: 174).

continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other (Freire, 1970: 72).

The Key Objectives:

1) *Solidarity*

Freire referred to solidarity as an important product of the three critical learning characteristics mentioned above, especially important because it is what leads to the spread of critical learning opportunities for more people and, subsequently, to genuine revolution:

Revolution is made neither by the leaders for the people, nor by the people for the leaders, but by both acting together in unshakable solidarity. This solidarity is born only when the leaders witness to it by their humble, loving, and courageous encounter with the people (Freire, 1970: 129).

He also asserted that, “true solidarity is found only in the plenitude of this act of love, in its existentiality, in its praxis” (Freire, 1970: 50) and this also “requires true communication” (Freire, 1970: 77).

2) *Positive Identity Affirmation*

Another goal of critical learning is the development of a positive (or pro-active) self and group identity.

Since the unity of the oppressed involves solidarity among them, regardless of their exact status, this unity unquestionably requires class-consciousness⁷. However, the submersion in reality (of the oppressed) means that consciousness of being an oppressed class must be preceded (or at least accompanied) by achieving consciousness of being oppressed individuals (Freire, 1970: 174).

It is especially important that, on the one hand, people develop through critical learning an authentic identity for themselves as opposed to simply identifying themselves with charismatic leaders. Otherwise, “their faith in themselves to cause change, and thus their commitment to change, will still be lacking” (Freire, 1970: 78). On the other hand, it is also important that the organizational leadership of a social movement “identifies itself with the oppressed state of the people” (Freire, 1970: 132).

An assertion that living people can be prevented from “being” or from being “truly human” echoes the harsh assertion of Socrates that “the unexamined life is not worth living”. Being in a cage does not stop a bird from being a bird, nor render that bird’s life worthless. The bird still exercises a unique characteristic of its kind – flight – only in a restricted way. It is the same for a person whose natural potential for critical and imaginative thought – *our* species most unique characteristic – is restricted through oppression. Instead of speaking of becoming more “human” in contrast to animals, as Freire does, it would be more accurate (and less disparaging to both humans and animals) to speak of fully realizing human *potential*.

⁷ In this case, raising consciousness with regards to an oppressed class identity went hand-in-hand with a redefining of the indigenous identity. This is understandable considering the historic links between class and ethnicity in Ecuadorian social hierarchy (described in the next chapter).

3) *Commitment*

Freire stressed that it is important for the leadership to be truly committed to the people they represent, help to educate and to organize them, but:

The conviction of the oppressed that they must fight for their liberation is not a gift bestowed by the revolutionary leadership, but the result of their own *conscientização*⁸ (Freire, 1970: 67).

Through critical learning, their:

Situation ceases to present itself as a dense, enveloping reality or a tormenting blind alley, and they can come to perceive it as an objective-problematic situation – only then can commitment exist (Freire, 1970: 109).

“Without the commitment of the oppressed, truly revolutionary action is impossible on a large scale” (Freire, 1970: 65). To achieve this commitment; they must be involved in praxis – reflection and action:

As they are increasingly posed with problems relating to themselves in the world and with the world, (they) will feel increasingly challenged and obliged to respond to that challenge. Their response to the challenge evokes new challenges, followed by new understandings; and gradually the students come to regard themselves as committed (Freire, 1970: 75).

The six categories described above were used to determine whether or not the learning identified in this research met Freire’s overall vision for critical learning, a vision shared in the indigenous leadership’s own articulation of an ideal IBE. Conversely, uncritical learning is defined by the absence of these. Below is a broader definition of each kind of learning to keep in mind while reading this thesis:

- 1) Uncritical learning – a passive learning in which students receive “deposits” of pre-packaged information that support social reproduction and systemic persistence.
- 2) Critical learning – an active kind of learning that encourages students to generate ideas and raises their critical consciousness, preparing them to contribute to social change and, ideally, to social justice and human liberation.

⁸ This can be translated as either “critical consciousness-raising” or “conscientization”. The three umbrella objectives described here might all, in turn, be placed under this one word – or the word *liberation* – to describe the overall objective of critical pedagogy since Freire viewed conscientization as the cause of these three objectives and also as the sole path to authentic human liberation.

Presentation of results

The results chapters follow the same order as the methodology described above. At each of the three levels of analysis, the identification of learning and its impacts comes first; and the qualification of this learning as critical or uncritical comes second. The results related to learning and its impacts are presented in the fashion that Bryman describes as most typical of qualitative studies: “presentation of the results and the discussion of them are (...) interwoven” (Bryman, 2008: 673) Then, once learning and its impacts have been identified and discussed, two tables labeled with the characteristics and objectives of critical learning described above serve to qualify this learning and its impacts as critical or uncritical.

In the last chapter, a comparison is made between the different kinds of learning, and impacts, at the three levels studied. This is to understand the relationship between different kinds of learning and different structural conditions. The implications of this understanding to theory and practice are then outlined with recommendations for future research and action. The following chapter describes the antecedents and contexts of the learning studied.

CHAPTER II

ANTECEDENTS: A HISTORY OF OPPRESSION

“Every entity develops (or is transformed) within itself, through the interplay of its contradictions. (...) The newness of the revolution is generated within the old, oppressive society.” (Freire, 1970: 136)

To assess how and to what degree learning has occurred through the institutionalization of IBE, and has caused further change, we need to understand the pre-existing conditions and contradictions out of which this learning developed. First, we will consider the Ecuadorian State’s historic position within the international system of states. Next, the historic oppression of Ecuador’s indigenous population and the formal educational schemes designed for indigenous citizens prior to official IBE. This chapter ends with a brief review of academic literature related to Ecuadorian IBE.

Oppression of the Ecuadorian State within the system of states

“The dependent society is by definition a silent society. Its voice is not an authentic voice, but merely an echo of the metropolis – in every way, the metropolis speaks, the dependent society listens”(Freire, 1985: 73).

It is popularly accepted in mainstream international relations studies that states interact in a condition of anarchy and so, despite inequalities, all states are equally free to make their own choices. This is a very limited notion of freedom. It is related to the notion that all people are free if all can “choose” their work and receive salaries for it, even if some have many options for work and earn fortunes while others distinguish only one option and earn a pittance. Where there is such inequality of opportunity and means, there is evidently a hierarchical and oppressive social order; and where there is such an order, anarchy is a gross misnomer. Such an order exists in the inter-state system and the use of the term “anarchy” to negate or obscure its presence helps maintain this systemic oppression.

Despite the constructivist slant of this thesis, the conventional constructivist assertion that “anarchy is what states make of it” is rejected in favour of a more critical assertion: anarchy is what states have *made up* to conceal oppression. The externally-

acknowledged condition of a state's "sovereignty" does not necessarily imply an internally-affirmed freedom. Freedom is an ongoing internal process evidenced by active learning, critical awareness and self-initiated action. An unquestioning submission to passive learning, on the other hand, is a sign that external restraints, even if officially and externally removed, have been internalized and remain in place.

The Ecuadorian State had a previous life before experiencing the presumed sovereignty of statehood, during which even the discursive pretense of anarchic freedom was absent. As a Spanish colony, the State apparatus was designed to slavishly extract and export resources from Ecuador's territory with hardly any investment being made in basic services for Ecuador's general population. After statehood, Ecuador found that its expected place in the society of states seemed to have been changed mostly in name, and the new national elites were lamentably content to maintain the status quo in order to secure their own positions.

The Ecuadorian State, in this hierarchal international order, did not become wholly free when it gained independence from Spain. An analogy taken from within this State can elucidate its own new position: when slavery was abolished in Ecuador, many freed men and women *chose* to continue working on the same plantations where they had been enslaved, receiving just enough for their labour to pay rent to a slave-master-turned-employer, and to purchase their food from this same person.

To what extent does continuing in such utter dependence truly represent the exercise of critically-conscious free choice? Choice implies the *perception* of multiple *options*. For these people, the hacienda was the only apparent means of subsistence; beyond it, they were well aware, lay a country void of educational and professional opportunities for indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorians and replete with prejudice against them. One might argue that they should have instantly organized amongst themselves, imagined new options, and fought to make these imagined alternatives become new realities. Critical thinking and faith in one's own potential to generate change, however, was obviously suppressed in the kind of learning experienced by slaves. The newly-sovereign Ecuadorian State was similarly limited by its own past social learning in its quest for real freedom.

In the twentieth century, however, following the lead of several other Latin American countries, a limited exploration of new options did begin on the part of the

Ecuadorian State. This was evident in the policies of Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI). The ISI model was inspired by the Singer-Prebisch Theory, which rejected the modernization thesis that greater and more open exchange between the most economically developed and the developing countries (or the centre and periphery) would accelerate the latter's development. In this pre-Washington consensus period, it became widely agreed in Latin America that "links to the center were the problem, not the solution" (Evans, 2005: 15).

Prebisch, in his role as director of the Economic Commission for Latin America, made a compelling case for protecting particularly fragile or infant industries from the competition of their much more established counterparts in the developed world. Prebisch did not suggest that each state become closed-off to international trade, but rather that very liberal trade, the kinds sought by the Washington Consensus, be reserved for dealing with other countries in the region (Prebisch, 1961: 34). The idea was to allow smaller fish the chance to grow in a small pond, rather than releasing them into the ocean where the much bigger fish hunted.

In practice, the tenets of this theory were not well-implemented. New programs were funded largely through international borrowing, which meant that dependency on foreign powers was restructured rather than broken. The State grew audacious in its borrowing and spending while not making strategic enough investments to encourage the planned industrial development. The State seemed to assume, as did its lenders, that it would always be able to repay eventually.

The colonial-style dependency on a "centre" had never really been broken in the ISI period in Ecuador. Following the fall of the Soviet Union, dependency on what was perceived as the only remaining centre, and the need to conform to its policies, must have seemed more inescapable than ever. This eventually led, in Ecuador's case, to a stronger wave of neoliberal adjustment policies.

In this climate of oppressive dependency, voices were eventually raised within third world countries. In Ecuador's case, the specter of colonialism, neo-colonialism, would continue to haunt the country for a decade before significant change was demanded and, to a degree, won. Indigenous Ecuadorians led the call for this change.

Oppression of indigenous people within the Ecuadorian State

“The silence of the object society in relation to the director society is repeated in the relationships within the object society itself. Its power elites, silent in the face of the metropolis, silence their own people in turn”(Freire, 1985: 73).

The territory that now constitutes Ecuador was home to several peoples prior to the European conquests. The State’s recognition of this territory’s plurinationality in the 2008 constitution is thus millennia after the fact. Ecuador now recognizes fourteen distinct indigenous peoples and nationalities, though these remain clustered together under that umbrella colonial branding of *Indio* (Indian), though *indígena* (indigenous) has more recently become the accepted term. What has changed most significantly in recent history, more than the word that signifies that branding, is who has the right to participate in its defining and usage.

Beck and Mijeski note that “control requires assuming the power to name and define, that is, to determine what it means to be an *indígena*” and they argue that “all the decrees, laws, and ordinances regarding indigenous peoples over the centuries have had a single purpose: to control indigenous groups” (Beck and Mijeski, 2000: 120). When the Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro and his 180 men landed in what is now the province of Manabí in 1530, there had been no one shared group identity for the peoples living in the territory that is now Ecuador, let alone the entire continent. Indeed, native groups in this particular territory were reeling from the Incan empire’s recent conquest, and a civil war, making a sense of strong unity amongst them quite improbable. Equally, in Western Europe at that time, there were surely not the same post-colonial connotations of being a “European” or a “Westerner”.

It was this colonial period of globalization that generated these larger groupings of people and established socio-economic differences between them in the colonies.

To be called "*un Indio*" meant that one was relegated to an immutable position at the bottom of social, cultural, economic, and political ladders. Such a label automatically placed a person under the supervision of *blancos* and *mestizos*, who defined their own identities” (Beck and Mijeski, 2000: 120).

Words such as *indio*, applied in a derogatory way, were the first terms ever to group indigenous people together. The colonial social structures within Ecuador did not change entirely with the expulsion of the Spanish empire. The head of the dragon was

severed, but its body remained intact and very much alive. Within the new republic, indigenous people were still, with afro-Ecuadorians, in a position of second-class citizenship and subjugation, only now dominated by a mestizo elite that had taken up the position of the Spanish. This situation continued undisrupted until the twentieth century when:

Ecuador's nationalist political elites, civilian and military, began to talk about the need to "develop" and "modernize" their country. Modernization analysts (argued) that the fundamental obstacle preventing Ecuador from modernizing lay in the "backwardness" of its indigenous and non-white citizens (Beck and Mijeski, 2000: 121).

This period of seeking "modernization" and national economic development slightly blurred traditional ethnic lines of discrimination by, as Rivera notes, aiming to increase economic efficiency through more "productive social relations on farms" (Rivera, 2011: 153). In the earlier days of the Republic, the colonial rationale of completely racialized social division still prevailed. The early republicans, trying to define a homogenous nation-state, dealt with the problem of diversity by trying to eradicate it. In the 20th century, subordination persisted but was now founded more on ethnocentrism rather than on a more strictly defined racism.

The new logic invited indigenous people to assimilate into the homogenous Spanish-speaking Ecuadorian culture. If they could not whiten themselves physically, they could "improve" themselves by adopting the culture of white men. Being indigenous was still treated as an undesirable condition, but it was now something *curable* through modernization, a cultural obstacle to be overcome as opposed to an *incurable* racial condition. For example, in the 1950 census, "the Ecuadorian government attempted to define who is an *indígena* according to three items: shoes, housing, and language" (Beck and Mijeski, 2000: 123). Thus, if an indigenous person were to change his shoes, housing and language, he would presumably be accepted, at least officially, as a "modernized" and non-indigenous Ecuadorian citizen.

Another factor to consider is that after centuries of *mestizaje* between people of European and indigenous descent, it would be difficult to continue to draw clear lines for discrimination based solely on physical appearance. The ruling elite of the country was now itself constituted mainly of mestizos. Certainly, prejudice based on skin colour and other characteristics associated with ideas of race would persist, but this was no

longer what was officially “wrong” with being indigenous. The problem now was that “*ellos no tienen cultura*” (they do not *have* culture).⁹

Luis Macas, the first president of the CONAIE and an interviewee in this thesis, has challenged both the earlier racial and later ethnocentric definitions of being indigenous. Macas argued that “being an *indígena* does not refer simply to one's genetic inheritance” nor should it refer to their “style of housing, or language spoken,” but instead to “an inherent sense of belonging to and identifying with a historically defined group” (Macas, 1993 cited in Beck and Mijeski, 2000: 123). Thus, he rejected the ways indigenous people have been defined by non-indigenous oppressors throughout history while acknowledging that this identity is a result of being historically defined.¹⁰

Wendt defined this phenomenon as a “common fate” source of identity-building that develops out of the logic of “the enemy of my enemy is my friend” (Wendt, 1999: 349). He offers as an example “Tecumseh's travels in the early nineteenth century throughout the Ohio River Basin trying to convince other Native Americans that they faced a common fate at the hands of the whites and should band together as a result” (Wendt, 1999: 352-353).¹¹ While recent international declarations that indigenous people should “self-define” their identity does not mean that other, non-indigenous people, no longer engage in perpetuating their own definitions¹², we can at least assert

⁹This is a common expression in Spanish to disparage a group of people who are perceived as not having, or practicing the customs of, a particular “culture” that is considered, ethnocentrically, to be the “best” or the “correct” one. A similar expression in English might be: “they are not *cultured*”.

¹⁰A common criterion in identifying groups as “indigenous” is whether they inhabited lands before becoming subjugated, on those lands, by an invading power. The UN system has referred to indigenous people as holding a “historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies” and also as constituting “non-dominant groups of society” (UN, Factsheet: Who Are Indigenous Peoples?) Another identifying feature for the UN is a “resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments (...)” and a “strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources” (UN Factsheet: Who Are Indigenous Peoples?). This conceptualization is repeated, almost verbatim, in a World Bank definition, which adds that indigenous peoples’ work relates to “primarily subsistence-oriented production” (World Bank, Key Concepts: Indigenous Peoples). If these are defining features of indigenous peoples, than what do we make of indigenous individuals that choose to leave their lands or to work in non-subsistence-oriented industries or, most significantly perhaps, of those that seek to alter their position of “non-dominance”?

¹¹Another example might be the celebration of a gay cultural identity, despite the fact that homosexuals can come from any family, any class, any region, and so on. This cultural group identification would likely not have been formed in the first place had it not been for a widely shared experience of discrimination.

¹²In contemporary Ecuador, it is still common to hear “*indio!*” hurled at an opponent as an insult. The Kichwa word, *longo*, was appropriated by Spanish speakers and transformed into an insult. Its Kichwa meaning is simply *young man*; in its redefined usage by Spanish speakers, however, it can mean: unfashionable, low-class, backward or ugly, or connote all of these at once. It is also used to mean indigenous person. The obvious implication is that all of these negative traits have been associated with indigenous people. As an insult, these terms are not used only to offend people who are indigenous. In the

that there have been great strides taken over the last century in terms of opening up signifiers – like “indigenous” – to indigenous-led proposals for new significations and to related demands for specialized rights.

Kay Warren has argued that through a kind of “strategic essentialism” (or instrumental ethnicity) indigenous leaders have managed to capitalize on stressing the uniqueness of indigenous peoples and their situations and have been able to thus achieve greater attention globally, greater international cooperation, and their current roles in policy governance (Warren, 1992). On the other side of the debate, Bretón is suspicious that indigenous organizations, often dependent on resources from large international organizations, are easily manipulated by them. He calls this process the neoliberal “privatization of development” (Bretón, 2002, p. 55). He also rejects the view of authors (whom he accuses of essentialist stereotyping) that social capital is something indigenous groups are prone to having in great supply even when there is an influx of new (monetary) capital. Zizêc (2000) and Cox (1983) as well as several authors using Ecuadorian case examples – Bretón (2002), Scrase (2003), Becker (2011) – have similarly argued that social initiatives and movements started by marginalized people are shrewdly co-opted into existing power structures, be they governmental, non-governmental or (for Zizêc) global Capitalism itself (Zizêc, 2000).

Indeed, it has been well-demonstrated that the spaces made for indigenous inclusion and participation have tended towards being ethnicity-specific. Indigenous cultures, it is argued, are frequently only “incorporated into development thinking within particular imaginative geographies of policy” (Radcliffe, 2006: 84). In other words, indigenous people have been invited to participate in policy-making and governance, but only in relation to specific “indigenous issues”; thus, the argument holds, they are having their demands for inclusion placated to an extent, while remaining in other important areas as excluded from governance as ever. In the case of Ecuador, IBE might be seen as one such imaginative geography.

Nonetheless, such peculiarly indigenous issue areas can serve as important inroads to formulating demands for wider societal participation and inclusion. This is

same way that chauvinist attitudes are evident in male speakers insulting other men by referring to them as women, white and mestizo Ecuadorians sometimes exhibit supremacist attitudes by insulting other whites and mestizos by referring to them as indigenous – calling them *indio* or *longo*.

especially apparent when increased access to formal education (the official inroad to all professional positions in society) is what is being provided. International and national development actors have been frustrated at times to see a building they have funded for use as a hospital or women's shelter being transformed by locals into a market or residence, which the locals perceived as more immediately necessary; similarly, providing new access to higher education does not mean that those receiving it will use that education strictly according to the set objectives of the State or international cooperation (for example, to become literacy campaigners).

You can give a man a pistol and tell him to fight for his government but, once that pistol is in his hands, he has the agency to fire it in whichever direction he chooses. Granting indigenous people in Ecuador greater access to the education they have been excluded from and expecting it to be used strictly in the context of IBE, is the same as giving a prisoner the key to his cell and expecting him to take the key, open his cell, walk past his abusive guards and enter a new cell down the hall.

Historically-marginalized people can appropriate externally given group assignments while rejecting the negative definitions assigned to the group in pursuit of their own liberation. Accepting and celebrating this group membership provides greater strength in numbers. The greatest challenge is that the negative definitions given by oppressors can often be so omnipresent in the social learning of the oppressed that they are internalized and difficult to identify as unjust. This is an example of what Bourgois has called "invisible violence", which he groups in three sub-types:

The Pandora's Box of Invisible Violence

- **Structural Violence:**
Political-economic forces, international terms of trade, and unequal access to resources, services, rights, and security that limit life chances
- **Symbolic Violence:**
Domination, hierarchies, and internalized insult that are legitimized as natural and deserved
- **Normalized Violence:**
Institutional practices, discourses, cultural values, ideologies, everyday interactions, and routinized bureaucracies that render violence invisible and produce social indifference

(Bourgois, 2009: 19)

This begs the question of how the indigenous movement came to lead a transition from a negative indigenous identity to a self-affirming one in the 1980s and 1990s. The

answer is that with the intensification of the globalization process, the structures, symbols and norms that people have traditionally been socialized with in a given society have been in a state of flux as new global interactions (and social learning) call into question older local truth claims. The next chapter will show, through the example of IBE's institutional development, how change can beget further change; how new social learning can construct new understandings of the world and one's place in it.

In this context of what Mato called "the times of globalization" we have seen "new social movements, among them those organized around ethnic, local, regional and gender identities (...)" and we have seen the State losing its power in the face of new power being generated through:

interconnections between networks, transnational corporations, social movements, agencies and foundations for development, tourism, migrations and the rise in the diffusion of communications technologies that recently are used by social actors that were previously isolated (...) (Mato, 1994: 20).

Until the last quarter of the 20th century, Ecuadorian State policies treated indigeness as synonymous with backwardness, and indigenous people as "obstacles to the development and progress of the Ecuadorian nation" (Rivera, 2011: 152). The State sought to integrate indigenous people into its modernizing economy by eliminating difference altogether through cultural assimilation. Indigenous farmers were asked to become peasants, receiving limited new rights and support as members of this *economic class* so long as they did not demand them as members of a distinct *ethnicity*.

Giroux argued that race is now understood differently in the US since non-white groups have become a majority in many of the largest US cities, which has made it increasingly difficult to ethnocentrically dismiss them from everyday life (Giroux, 1992: 133). The same has occurred in Europe with increased migration from around the world. Since US and European power centres have themselves been dealing more directly with questions of diversity, and have formulated their own multicultural (mainly U.S.) and intercultural (mainly European) education policies to address these issues, marginalized people in "peripheral" countries have found an important point of transnational issue area convergence with international organizations and international development actors based in these centres.

With substantial new international discourses to appeal to, new communications technology and travel opportunities, and the opening up of new social learning contexts

like the ones studied here, a new generation of indigenous organization in the 1980s and 1990s shocked society with their ability to challenge the state and, in doing so, further “served to deconstruct the false image of indigenous people as subordinate beings” (Rivera, 2011: 157). These organizations successfully interrupted this process of assimilation and brought ethnicity back into the equation, but this time on their terms. This has been called “the return of the Indian” (Albó, 1991).

They have pressured governments to acknowledge rights for indigenous peoples – such as the right to a unique educational system. The central strategy has been to appropriate the concept of a single, shared indigenous identity for their own political use. The assemblage of all indigenous peoples into one single group was a result of colonization; nonetheless, that unified identity, regardless of its source, has been taken up by the indigenous movement to establish convergence and make demands.

To recapitulate, oppression of indigenous people within the State has moved from a colonial exclusion based on racism to a 20th-century stigmatization of indigenous people as being culturally handicapped to, with the indigenous movement of the late-20th century, the “return of the Indian”, and the introduction of the Indian’s right to self-definition. Special indigenous rights grew out of the older human rights tradition and the popularity of multicultural and intercultural discourses in the US and Europe. By making their demands within these internationally understood frameworks, movement leaders were able to apply international pressure on the State and national elites to accept them.

Education as oppression: historic schemes for schooling indigenous Ecuadorians

Prior to independence from Spain, the State had no particular official stance on the education of indigenous Ecuadorians. An official stance was unnecessary since they were simply excluded from all formal education, and the professions requiring such education, as a matter of course. An indigenous family aspiring to have a son¹³ formally educated would have to find some way for him to attain a Spanish last name, learn Spanish fluently, and in many other respects disguise his indigenous background.

¹³ Females were another group excluded from formal education at the time and, after independence from Spain, also from the literacy that would be a requisite to participate in democracy.

The history of developments in indigenous education in Ecuador mirrors the general history of the country's ethnic and social relations. The kind of education offered to indigenous people after independence from Spain can be seen as indicative of a general hypocrisy in the republican discourse of "decolonization". Ecuadorian-born people of European descent, known as *criollos*, now occupied the old positions of the Spanish-born colonists, but made no sincere attempts at "decolonizing" the racist internal power structures, which were a microcosm of the international colonial order.

In 1895, the newly-formed Republican State, under the administration of Eloy Alfaro, declared that there should be special schools opened for indigenous students to attend (Martinez Novo, 2009: 3). Literacy was especially necessary to practice citizenship in the republic since, until 1979, the vote was reserved for people that could read and write in Spanish. In theory and in discourse, the State was making room for indigenous people in the new democracy by asserting their right to a formal education, which would presumably include literacy.

In practice, this was not the case. The State delegated the responsibility of educating indigenous people to the same local administrations and landowners who exploited their labour. The vast majority of these local authorities clearly had no interest in educating their workers beyond the manual skills that were applicable to their labour (Martinez Novo, 2009: 4). As such, illiteracy remained the norm and it can be deduced that indigenous exclusion from genuine educational opportunities was as prevalent during the early republic as it had been in colonial times.

The State's earliest sincere involvement in formal indigenous education came in the 1950s and was aimed at transitioning indigenous peoples into the "modern" or mainstream Ecuadorian culture and economy. As discussed in the previous section, this was a period in which strict racial segregation became less of a social priority. The new priority was to modernize the country by overcoming the cultural "obstacle" of indigeness.

Instead of delegating this educational goal to the local rural authorities and landowners, "the state delegated the responsibility of "civilizing" the different Amazonian and Andean ethnic groups to Catholic and Adventist religious missions, who limited the use of native languages" (Rivera, 2011: 153). The largest of these was a US-based Christian mission, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). The SIL was

already active in other parts of Latin America, having begun in Mexico in the late 1930s. Its principle mandate was to translate and then teach the bible to indigenous peoples in their own languages (López and Sichra, 2002: 2).

In exchange for this license to operate in the country, and to pursue its mandate of Christian evangelism, “SIL committed itself to help governments incorporate indigenous communities that were then either isolated or had limited contact with mainstream society” (López and Sichra, 2002: 2). Another contemporary organization that was involved in helping the State with “modernization” (or acculturation) was the Andean Mission, beginning in 1956. This Mission was financed by the International Labour Organization and, while formally a literacy campaign, its general discourse suggests that it was also aimed at turning rural schools into “an institution of acculturation and a vehicle to bring the indigenous community into modernity” (My translation¹⁴, Krainer, 2012: 37).

While the SIL’s activities were controversial, the fact that they had a large impact on indigenous education is not. A unique element of SIL was that, despite promoting the State’s assimilationist goals, at the same time it encouraged the use of indigenous languages in formal, State-approved, education. López and Sichra hold that:

SIL's work has drawn severe criticism, but it must also be acknowledged that the importance given to the development of literacy in the indigenous language contributed to speakers’ self-esteem and the valuing of their languages” (López and Sichra, 2002: 3).

The SIL also may have played an indirect role in the formation of the Catholic University’s research centre, soon to be the cradle of official IBE. De la Torre observed that the initial market that spurred the University’s research and teaching in Kichwa consisted of foreigners working in development projects, including SIL missionaries (De la Torre, Luz, 2013, interview).

It was also the SIL, along with the MEC, that co-organized the first “National Seminar on Bilingual Education” in 1972, the same year the military dictatorship began to exploit petroleum and administer reforms, which was attended by representatives of the private sector, the Church, and universities. Still, however, the intention at this point was clearly to “civilize” the rural and Amazonian indigenous peoples, using their native

¹⁴ Note: All further translations found throughout this text from Spanish to English, including quotes from the interviews conducted in Spanish, were also translated by the author.

languages as a means to this end. For example, one document, drafted in 1973, following this seminar, explained the long-term plan:

Step by step, the vernacular language is substituted in daily school life with the official language. This process of substitution takes a minimum of 3 years in the case that the community lives very isolated from the Hispanic world. The learning of the vernacular language during the first months of school experience also simplifies the learning of the typical school routine and discipline (Draft Bill of Bilingual Education, Quito 1973).

Thus, the language was to be used as a bridge towards learning the language as well as the typical “routine and discipline” (or the culture) of a typical Hispanic school.

The SIL was perhaps an innovator in terms of operating indigenous education in the country with the backing and formal approval of the State, but it was not the first effort made towards educating indigenous peoples. Firstly, indigenous peoples have always been educating their children even when that education did not include literacy using a Western alphabet and did not occur in Western-style schools. Secondly, even in terms of literacy education and the use of indigenous language in a classroom setting, SIL was not a sole innovator in Ecuador.

Prior to and during the SIL’s presence in the country, there existed several isolated initiatives scattered around the country that were not aimed at oppression, acculturation, or religious evangelism. The majority of these were limited to single schools. One system of schools, however, was more widely implemented than the rest: the “indigenous schools of Cayambe” led by Dolores Cacuango (Krainer, 2012: 37). Cacuango is remembered as the grandmother of indigenous-led formal schooling in Kichwa, and her name was given to the Cayambe IBE high school studied in this thesis. Her bilingual education project was inspired by the inequalities she saw while working as a domestic servant in a hacienda, and a conviction that literacy, which she herself had never attained, would help future generations of leaders learn about and demand rights.

The schools she managed received some financial support from a non-indigenous women’s group in Quito, but they were formally administered and financed by the Ecuadorian Federation of Indians, of which she was also a founding member. This organization received some sponsorship from the Communist Party. In large part due to this association with the revolutionary Left, the indigenous schools of Cayambe were eventually shutdown by the dictatorship, and Cacuango spent time in prison. In

1963, the military junta closed the last school and also *forbade* the use of Kichwa for the instruction of children (Krainer, 2012: 37).

The SIL, however, was the *largest* bilingual education organization to exist prior to the DINEIB, and the only one with the government's explicit endorsement (Official Register, May 19, 1971). In 1978, a dictatorship of "civilians in military uniforms" transitioning the government back to democracy, began limited collaboration with Quito's Catholic University leading to the establishment of the University's *Centro de Investigaciones para la Educación Indígena* (CIEI) (Yáñez, 2013, interview). The CIEI worked with the SIL and other international organizations in investigating and teaching the Kichwa language. The SIL remained the leader in bilingual education until 1979.

In 1979, after Ecuador's return to democracy, the State expressed a new interest in *preserving* linguistic and cultural diversity (rather than *solving* it) and in funding a new kind of culturally-appropriate bilingual education to this end. The SIL was expelled from the country in 1981, accused of using bilingual education as a means of cultural assimilation, and the CIEI was asked to take the lead in nationalizing this effort; that is, to make it a project of the Ecuadorian State, led and designed within an Ecuadorian university and the Ministry of Education, rather than a project of a foreign NGO. A change of even greater significance was that, within the CIEI, indigenous people were for the first time included in a project of educational governance that would have national reach and implications. This is where the history of official IBE and the learning that has occurred within, and as a result of, it began.

Academic antecedents related to Ecuadorian IBE

Sutton asserted that multicultural education in the US "initially grew out of civil rights movements (...) particularly efforts for the complete enfranchisement of African-Americans" (Sutton, 2005: 97) and "multicultural education is associated primarily with the education of minority groups" (Sutton, 2005: 108). In Ecuador, though called intercultural education¹⁵, a similar assertion can be made: it initially grew out of efforts for the complete enfranchisement of indigenous Ecuadorians and it is associated

¹⁵ The preference for the term intercultural education in Ecuador is likely due to the popularity of this term in Europe in the 1980s, and German cooperation's important role in influencing its development in Latin America. This will be explored in chapter three.

primarily with the education of this minority group.¹⁶ The first indigenous leaders in the twentieth century won influence as institutional anti-racists. (Altmann, 2012: 6) Florencia Simbaña has stated about interculturality that, in Ecuador, “more than a social theory, it is a political project” (Simbaña cited in Altmann, 2012: 3).¹⁷

As López and Sichra argued “it is difficult to separate education and literacy from the struggle for rights and self-determination” (López and Sichra, 2006: 2). The previous exclusivity of education, and the resultant lack of indigenous people with formal educational credentials, had added legalistic grounds to the more blatantly racist ones for excluding them from participation in many fields. For this reason, the majority of previous studies of IBE in Ecuador have focused on IBE as an accomplishment of the indigenous movement (Canclini, 2004) (López and Sichra, 2006: 2) (Altmann, 2012: 5) (Moya, 2007) (Maritnez Novo, 2013) (Krainer, 2010 and 2012) (Hornberger, 2010) (Walsh, 2008). These studies have rightly illustrated that access to formal education has been one of the most central demands and successes of the movement.

What has been overlooked or minimized in most previous work, however, is the significant role that other actors – people working in the State, NGOs, universities – have played by informing the social learning of indigenous leaders through interactions and collaboration with them. This social learning has, in turn, informed the trajectory of these leaders, of the indigenous movement, and of IBE. Without questioning the obvious protagonism of indigenous leaders in the development of IBE, a key contribution this thesis seeks to make is a new understanding of the impacts that their social interactions and learning with other actors has had in this development.

As already discussed above, globalization has created more expansive social spaces in which new interactions can also be accompanied by new convergence between the demands of disenfranchised local groups and the discourses of powerful global actors. Canclini discusses this in relation to IBE educational policy formation,

¹⁶ There is a *theoretical* distinction made between multicultural education, implying the existence of multiple cultures, and intercultural education, implying interaction between different cultures (García, 2004). Multiculturalism is often claimed to promote an acceptance of diversity whereas interculturalism can imply new proposals from “the other” and, possibly, mutual change (Krainer, 2008: 33).

¹⁷ If the current use of intercultural education is similar to the use of multicultural education in the United States, it is because of convergence around a similar issue; specifically, the fact that Ecuador – like the US – has experienced a history wherein a large number of citizens have been excluded from rights (like education) on racial/ethnic grounds. Terms like multicultural or intercultural education are universally understood “mottos” that have “oriented the claims and struggles of groups organized around different cultural identities to achieve reforms in constitutions (and social policies)” (Bourgois, 2009: 20).

proposing that the simultaneous emergence of IBE in several Latin American countries has been the result of indigenous leaders discovering a general convergence of their own *local* interests with people from other countries when interacting in new *global* contexts (Canclini, 2004: 39).

Hornberger has critiqued official IBE's application in Ecuador arguing that there are irresolvable tensions between public schooling that aims at national unification, on the one hand, and "serving as a vehicle of diversification and emancipation", on the other (Hornberger, 2000: 174). Hornberger framed this as an assimilationist/pluralist paradox (Hornberger, 2000: 175). Yet, this is only the case if unification is taken to mean achieving complete cultural homogeneity.

Katherine Walsh made a distinction that is very important to this study between a "functional" and a "critical" approach to interculturality. Functional approaches are a new strategy for a more inclusive kind of capitalist domination aimed at including more people in the current system. Critical interculturality, on the other hand, is aimed at changing the system into one that can overcome (uncritical) ethnocentrism and promote positive change and diversity (Walsh 1998).

In the CONAIE's 1998 constitutional demands they refer to this kind of critical intercultural education aimed at developing "*critical thinking*" and promoting "*human solidarity and social and communitarian action*" (Constitutional Demands, 1998); and in their 2007 demands they cite education for human liberation as a key priority, stating that "it is necessary to reorient the meaning of education, from an education aimed only at *systemic reproduction* to a *liberating education*" (Constitutional Demands, 2007).

Walsh insists that this kind of interculturality remains an ideal that does not exist yet in practice since this must occur in conditions of equality, which have as yet been unreachable (Walsh 1998). In agreement with this, Schmelkes proposed that it would be more accurate, at this point, if we spoke of education *for* interculturality rather than about intercultural education because "the achievement of intercultural education means avoiding asymmetries among cultural groups" (Schmelkes, 2005 cited in Oviedo, 2008: 459). In the chapters that follow, these claims will be tested as we search for evidence of whether or not some degree of critical intercultural education has already existed and promoted liberation in the different learning contexts studied here.

CHAPTER III THE STATE AS A LEARNER

In this chapter, we discover what the State has learned in the development of IBE and the impact of this learning. The account of the State's learning presented here is based on an analysis of official documents, those of the State and of the domestic and international actors with which the State has formed a discursive web. The State's learning is revealed by highlighting links between change in its official discourse and interactions with other actors and their discourses. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the extent to which learning in IBE has contributed to the State's sovereignty, and the extent to which this learning can be deemed critical or uncritical.

A curricular “cold war” between human rights and economic development

The Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union can be seen as a struggle between two international agenda-setters, or global educators. Their “teaching methods” were alike in that they provided ready-made solutions, encouraging the rote memorization and implementation of their recommended policies. Their two set curriculums, however, were distinct. This curricular divergence was manifest in a *discursive* cold war paralleling the political one – a discourse promoting economic, social, and cultural rights pitted against a discourse promoting neoliberal development.

Since 1948, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) has been used globally as the fundamental referent in discussing the entitlements of all people.¹⁸ It has been a trans-decadal constant in a changing world, and both superpowers sought to entwine their power with its ideological weight:

From the Cold War period until 1989 the human rights debate was dominated by the East-West ideological dispute over whether civil and political rights

¹⁸The preamble of the UDHR identifies “teaching and education” as the principal means of promoting all the rights within it. By stressing the importance of education, the UDHR elevates this right to a special status in relation to others. Education is not only an end in itself, but an invaluable means of ensuring the realization of other rights. UDHR Article 26, on Education, contains three points of relevance to IBE: 1) The State must provide free, accessible education; 2) education must be aimed at promoting rights and respect between differentiated groups of people; and 3) those different groups have the right to choose between different kinds of education. Thus, demands for official IBE, a *state funding* of a different *kind* of education to accommodate *group differences* had their first international legal basis in the UDHR.

should be accorded priority over economic, social, and cultural rights, or vice-versa. (Jonsson, 2003: 14)

This resulted in “the creation of two separate covenants. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR)” that “were both adopted by the General Assembly in 1966 and entered into force in 1976” (Jonsson, 2003:15).

The UDHR itself is a non-binding resolution but these two separate covenants are legally binding on the States that ratify them. Like a lighthouse whose beam can be refracted in two directions to cover the entire ocean, the UDHR was codified by these two *distinct* covenants allowing its light to extend, though fractured and dimmed, across a politically divided Cold War world.¹⁹

Each side championed the covenant that emphasized the rights their adversary was less apt to respect in their own domestic governance. US rhetoric focused on the CCPR in which Democratic rights, such as the right to vote and the right to peaceful assembly, were elaborated.²⁰ Article 27 on the rights of minorities also posed a unique challenge to the undemocratic Soviet Union, comprised as it was of several linguistically, culturally, and historically distinct countries:²¹

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language (CCPR).

On the other hand, in the Soviet-backed CESCR, the State is called on to take an active role in ensuring the fulfillment of people’s basic social and economic needs.²² A US policy think tank founded during the Reagan administration stated that:

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights establishes the rights to housing, food, a fair wage, paid vacations, health care, and other

¹⁹In genealogical terms, this textual trinity (known as the International Bill of Human Rights) has been the progenitor of a multi-generational, and extended, family of internationally accepted rights. Many indigenous rights, including intercultural bilingual education, are a part of this lineage. The Ecuadorian State has not only ratified the Bill and other human rights treaties, it has progressively internalized human rights into its own constitutions making it ever-more accountable to legal demands both from beyond and within its own jurisdiction (see Appendix 1).

²⁰ The U.S. discourse in favour of civil and political rights was primarily domestic in its orientation, though used in the international context to critique Soviet oppression. The U.S. collaborated with dictatorships and democracies alike in Latin America.

²¹ Despite having the word “cultural” in its title, the Soviet-preferred Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights only uses the word “culture” (singular) and refers to it as a resource to be developed uniformly throughout the State’s domain amongst *its* people (again, singular), with little reference to the issue of domestic diversity.

²² As of the writing of this thesis, the US has still not ratified this covenant.

expensive benefits (Executive Memorandum #361 on Legal Issues, the Heritage Foundation, 1993).

Referring to these needs as “expensive benefits” exemplifies Washington’s 1980s “view that economic, social, and cultural rights were not really rights but merely desirable social goals and therefore should not be the object of binding treaties” (Amnesty International). Furthermore, the CDESCR asserts that the subsistence of all people must be prioritized above “obligations arising out of international economic co-operation” (Article 1, CDESCR). This clashed with the tenets of the “Washington Consensus”.

The Washington Consensus espoused an export-oriented approach to development prioritizing debt repayment over social service provision, and economic *freedoms* over economic, cultural, and social *rights*. Macro-economic development was treated as a vital prerequisite to, and thus a priority before, such “expensive benefits” as food, health, and housing, the lack of which were viewed as the inevitable growing pains of developing countries. This lesson was central in Washington’s curriculum for the third world.

The Ecuadorian State seeks to reconcile human rights and development

“Third-world” states, so-named because they were not formally aligned with either superpower, were watched for signs of political missteps taken in the opponent’s direction. The US was of course particularly concerned about communist involvement in Latin American countries. Latin American discourses citing the soviet-promoted CDESCR were treated, therefore, as “red” flags in the region and criticized harshly by Washington. In 1979, the Ecuadorian State raised one such flag.

Ecuador’s 37-year-old Jaime Roldós campaigned under the slogan “the force of change” in 1979 to become the first elected president after almost a decade of military rule. Roldós made bold and critical proposals for further change in this hopeful climate of democratization. A new constitution introduced earlier that year, written by a dictatorship by then made up mostly of “civilians in military uniforms” that wanted democratization (Yáñez, 2013, interview), gave illiterate citizens the right to vote (Article 33, Constitution of Ecuador, 1979). Since the majority of indigenous citizens were illiterate, this meant that Roldós was the first victor in an election to consist of a considerable indigenous electorate.

This new constitution also promised that the State would “formulate and execute plans to eradicate illiteracy” (Article 27, Constitution of Ecuador, 1979). In this context, Roldós gave the first presidential speech ever in an indigenous language (Yáñez, 2013, interview) and, within a national adult literacy campaign, created the subprogram of Kichwa literacy, arguing a need for “special dispositions to attend to the indigenous vernacular-speaking communities” (Official Register, Nov. 23, 1979).

In 1981, he expelled the SIL, responding to complaints from indigenous organizations that it had used bilingual education to promote acculturation.²³ Roldós decreed that it is an “obligation of the national government to guarantee the preservation and the development of ethnic minorities” and, to do this, the State must assign resources to “national organizations, public or private” for the development of bilingual education (Official Register, May 29, 1981).

He assigned funding to this effect to the CIEI in light of their strong existing Kichwa research program (Yáñez, 2013, interview) and their past collaboration with the MEC and the SIL. Increasing collaboration with the CIEI was a way to nationalize the leadership of this initiative without losing the work of the SIL, since the CIEI had been involved in bilingual education during the SIL-led era and inherited much of the work that, according to the SIL website²⁴, was “donated” to local universities.²⁵

Roldós signed the decree expelling the SIL on May 24th. This was recorded in the State’s Official Register – posthumously – on the 29th (Official Register, May 29, 1981). Considering the nationalistic motives he expressed in this decree, this May 24th signing might have been a symbolic choice since that date marks Ecuador’s independence from Spain. Roldós’ death, in a plane crash later that same day, may have been an equally symbolic choice, since many suspect it was an assassination.²⁶

²³ This was a significant change of policy for the State. Only a decade earlier, in 1971, a presidential decree argued it was “imperative to revise the 1956 contract (with the SIL) to foster the expansion and easy development of the civilizing project that the Institute realizes” (Official Register, May 19, 1971)

²⁴ <http://www-01.sil.org/sil/facts/JPerkins.htm>

²⁵ This “donation” was in fact ordered by the president (Official Register, May 29, 1981).

²⁶ The autobiographical “Confessions of an Economic Hitman” popularized international suspicion of foreign involvement in the crash. Its author, J. Perkins, an American economist who spent time in Ecuador as a consultant, accuses the US government of the assassination. He also claims that the SIL’s work was a ruse to support oil company interests (Perkins, 2005). The SIL denies any connection to oil firms, stressing that it was invited to “study, record and work on translation of materials into indigenous languages” (<http://www-01.sil.org/sil/facts/JPerkins.htm>).

Assassination is suspected based mainly on a conspicuous lack of in-depth investigation carried out after the crash, and the speedy resolution to the tensions between the US and Ecuadorian governments following his death. Roldós was one of very few leaders at the time trying to reconcile economic development and human rights promotion. His human rights approach to development was remarkably similar to what has recently become popular in the UN. In his Cold War application of this discourse, however, it was decades before its time and very unsettling to some US observers because it referenced rights found in both covenants.

In the influential policy recommendation, “A New Inter-American Policy for the Eighties”, plans to ensure US leadership in the Americas by renewing the Monroe Doctrine were outlined. Condemnation of a rival “Roldós Doctrine” was also called for claiming that it, and its human rights focus, was merely an excuse to invite communist intervention in the region (Council for Inter-American Security, 1980). Roldós’ support for including ethnic minorities in democracy, and a national literacy campaign, was related to rights defined in the US-sponsored CCPR, but his discourse also extended to the CDESCR. This discourse was also not only aimed at a national audience. He led the democracies of the Andean region in signing a regional “Charter of Conduct” encouraging:

new schemes for holistic development that, inspired by social justice principles, would permit change to the unjust structures that still exist (and declaring) a solemn commitment that respect for human rights, political, economic and social, is a fundamental rule of conduct within the Andean Group of States (...) (Charter of Conduct, 1980)

The State’s official discourse at this time was not expressly anti-US or anti-Soviet, but it certainly was pro-human rights and pro-regionalism. In the Cold War “with us or against us” context, referencing the Soviet-backed covenant while promoting Andean solidarity instead of US regional leadership must have seemed a threat to US national/regional security. Whatever the cause of the crash, an innovative and critical leader was silenced. However he had been silenced, through ill fate or ill will, many Ecuadorians imagined ill will to have been the case.²⁷

After Roldós’ death, the State behaved like a fearful schoolboy who had received the rod for asking a challenging question in class. Whether the US, domestic

²⁷ One need only recall the history of US support for dictatorships in the region, and for transnational terror campaigns like Operation Condor, to understand public suspicion.

opponents, or simple bad luck had wielded that rod, the sting of it had been felt and, with it, the hopeful and critical learning environment of a new democracy was crushed. For the next two decades, the Ecuadorian State would lead no more regional initiatives, and present no more challenges, to Washington's set curriculum.

Learning from Washington: the State delegates indigenous education

The human-rights discourse, the public's optimism, and the State itself immediately began to recede after Roldós' death; of these, none would fully return until the Correa administration, which would promise social change once again but this time in a climate where a human-rights approach to development had become an international standard. The overall change of course for the Ecuadorian State cannot be attributed solely to the death of Roldós, however.

The tragedy of his death was coupled with an economic tragedy in 1982 – the end of the oil boom and the dawn of the Latin American debt crisis. Roldós was president in a time of relatively easy access to international financing²⁸; he, and the dictatorship before him, relied on foreign loans and high oil revenue to fund State programs that to some degree obscured the severity of domestic economic imbalances. In 1983, borrowing had led to a foreign debt totaling almost US\$7 billion.

The Latin American debt crisis primarily grew out of an economic recession in Europe and the United States, which translated into a sudden rise in interest rates on foreign loans and a drop in the prices of primary resources, like oil, that Ecuador's economy relied on. Thus, the State's elite credit cards were suddenly being cut up and it found itself in a scramble to locate new financing; the lenders, for their part, were looking for new assurances that these states would not default on repayments.

Roldós began his presidency in a seemingly stable economic climate and an unusually optimistic political one. His vice president and successor, Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea, assumed the presidency during the onset of a turbulent economic climate and a political one that was confused and reeling from the sudden death of a president. Ecuadorian statesmen no doubt felt that obedience was now the safest way to navigate the complex waters of economic crisis and cold-war rivalry. Thus, the Ecuadorian state returned to its historical role as a passive, uncritical learner.

²⁸ It is worth noting that this has also been the case during the Correa administration.

This meant strict adherence to the so-called “Washington Consensus.”²⁹ In coining this popular term, Williamson defined *Washington* as consisting of:

(...) both the political Washington of Congress and senior members of the administration and the technocratic Washington of the international financial institutions (...) (Williamson, 1990)

Hurtado signed the first of several condition-dense letters of intent with the International Monetary Fund in 1983, agreeing to neoliberal policy adjustments. IFIs dictated development goals and strategies; the State produced “letters of intent” committing itself to these; and subsequent economic monitoring determined the release of loan transfers. This learning regimen is comparable to a lecture being given, followed by a comprehension test, and a teacher monitoring each student’s performance to assign grades. In practice, neoliberal adjustment policies did not solve the economic trouble in Ecuador, although they did put an end to something else – economic growth and social protection. Economic growth during the 1980s became so sluggish that it is now commonly called the region’s “lost decade”; meanwhile, limited ISI-era subsidies and social investments protecting the rural poor were largely abolished.

There was one door to social funding left slightly ajar by the State, and it would be pressed further open by the indigenous movement – Education. Most tenets of the Washington Consensus encouraged the State’s general retreat from social spending, but one saved education from the guillotine. It argued for “switching expenditure from subsidies toward education and health (especially to benefit the disadvantaged)”³⁰ (Williamson, 1990). This discursive prioritization constituted one precarious link between the otherwise disengaged international human rights community and the neoliberal economic development community. Education was defensible from either side of this divide since it belonged to the social human rights discourse but also fit

²⁹ We might think of this as a US-mandated curriculum instead of a community, considering that adherence to “Washington Consensus” was encouraged mainly by the conditions attached to the economic cooperation of the US and US-backed international financial institutions. Countries had to support this consensus in order to receive the “good grades” needed to secure further funding.

³⁰This prioritization of education is also evident in the fact that, since the dictatorship’s rewrite of the constitution in 1979, and maintained through the constitutional reforms of 1984 and 1986, the only direct use of the term “Human Rights” occurred in Article 27 and was related to education: “education shall be inspired by principles of (...) the defense of human rights” (Constitution of Ecuador, 1970). Education has from the beginning has been the area in which human rights (and later indigenous rights) received the most specific and practical treatment and speediest inclusion.

neatly into the neoliberal development discourse of building “human capital”.³¹ In the “human capital” perspective, learning is valued as a necessary path to acquiring productive skills. Literacy was seen as fundamentally one of these. So, while neoliberal structural adjustments ended many of the State’s social commitments, the national literacy campaign pressed on but with the stipulation that it be kept low cost through delegation and decentralization.

The Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) fully delegated its Kichwa component to the CIEI. In interviews, two reasons for an increased delegation to the CIEI were given: 1) Marleen Haboud, the current coordinator of the University’s linguistics department, suggests that delegation to the University, which had its own infrastructure, likely saved on costs (Haboud, 2013, interview). 2) Consuelo Yáñez, director of the CIEI, explained that Hurtado’s background as an alumni and ex-professor of the University, and friend of the rector, strongly encouraged this institutional alliance³² (Yáñez, 2013, interview). Yáñez also asserted that the lack of involvement by the neoliberal State after delegating this work to the CIEI provided the centre a high degree of autonomy in determining practice (Yáñez, 2013, interview).

However, in a second and stronger wave of conditionality and structural adjustment, the State would turn away from the Roldos-Hurtado era funding of “national organizations, public or private” in bilingual education (Official Register, May 29, 1981) and return to delegating this work, and the responsibility of funding it, to a foreign organization. The next president, León Esteban Febres Cordero, had been imprisoned during the ISI period for import tax evasion; a tax he no doubt felt was inappropriate. He was a true adherent to neoliberalism.

Unlike Roldós and Hurtado, both of whom had been university professors prior to their presidencies³³, Febres Cordero came from the business world. He had also spent the majority of his own student life, from primary to tertiary levels, studying in the

³¹Ecuador’s letters of intent with the IMF in the 1980s set clear goals in terms of eliminating subsidies, but not in terms of “switching” any of those funds to education; indeed, not a single mention is made of education in any of these letters. However, while the IMF letters did not mention supporting education, they also did not encourage the State to oppose initiatives in education.

³²The rector also shared an interest with the Christian-Democrat, Hurtado, in liberation theology, though despite campaign speeches and sponsoring the CIEI program, Hurtado led a government that did very little else to actively support liberation in practice. The rector, on the other hand, seemed more committed. It was this priest who personally recruited Luis Macas to come and study at the University.

³³Correa also belongs to this class of president – the academic-turned-politician.

country that was evidently the most committed to the spread of the Washington Consensus – the United States. Under his leadership, the Ecuadorian State was now a teacher’s pet to Washington and the IFIs, initiating neoliberal structural reform beyond what was even required in their conditionality. The collapse of the Soviet Union put an end to a globalizing structure for socialists. The only superpower left to learn from was the US, and Febres Cordero’s Ecuadorian State was an eager student.

“Bread, roof and employment from the reconstructive government”³⁴ had been his misleading campaign slogan. Bread, housing and employment were precisely what many people, especially the rural poor, were to find lacking more than ever in his presidency. Joseph Stiglitz argued: “the reason that the invisible hand often seems invisible is that it is often not there” (Altman, 2006). In late-1980s Ecuador, the invisible hand of the international market was not there as the regulating, rights-affirming force that neoliberals had predicted it to be, but Cordero and subsequent administrations certainly made sure that it was there. Most Ecuadorians learned of this presence as one learns of the invisible hand of a skilled pickpocket – after the fact. In the 1990s, the impact of these reforms would be fully felt. To add insult to injury political leaders continued insisting that this pickpocket was an economic deity, a saviour working in mysterious ways, who should be welcomed among them further with still more neoliberal adjustment.

The transition away from a large state ruled by the iron fist of a dictator to a small neoliberal one ruled by this equally firm-fisted invisible hand meant two things for indigenous peoples: for highland indigenous peoples involved in farming, the agricultural policies that had benefited them were cut; and, for more isolated indigenous peoples living in the resource-rich Amazon, incursions into their lands by multinationals became more commonplace. In this way, the neoliberal period gave the indigenous peoples of the Amazon and of the Highlands a new contemporary point of convergence, strengthened a sense of “common fate”. They were now affected not only by the same historic marginalization, but also by a new threat to the possibility of maintaining their ways of life.

Neoliberal adjustment was a double-edged sword – both a target of transnational protest and, in some ways, as facilitator of it. It brought marginalized people together

³⁴ His government proved to be more *deconstructive* than reconstructive, dismantling much of the State.

under “common fate”-based identities and facilitated increased activity on the part of international NGOs, which came in to fill the large gaps in the domestic social governance, and these organizations linked people in different countries in new ways and in new social contexts.³⁵

The end of the CIEI’s agreement with the MEC was followed by a new agreement between the MEC and the GTZ in 1986. CIEI participants stated that the GTZ’s involvement kept IBE’s development going in practice when the State cut funding to the CIEI (Macas, 2014, interview) (De la Torre, Luz, 2013, interview) (De la Torre, Luis, 2013, interview). Upon its closure, about half of the participants in the CIEI, especially those involved in “post-literacy” education in topics like health and agriculture, went on to form the *Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas* (ICCI) (Macas, 2013, interview); while others, led by Consuelo Yáñez, formed the *Corporación Educativa Macac* (Yáñez, 2013, interview). The former continued using methods developed in the CIEI to train adults and promote critical reflection and political organization, but their activity was limited by funding and became almost “clandestine” (Macas, 2013, interview); the latter also struggled with funding constraints and became dedicated to providing materials for self-directed learners (Yáñez, 2013, interview).

The GTZ-funded *Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural* (PEBI) was then able to recruit the support of many indigenous academics that had been trained within the CIEI, and who would soon become members of the CONAIE, including many of the people who were also involved in the two institutes mentioned above (Abram, 2013, interview). The PEBI took the reins in advancing IBE in terms of its practical and official application, and in terms of spreading that application beyond adult literacy and into the realm of children’s education (Macas, 2013, interview). The other two parallel initiatives remained relevant and, at times, collaborated with the GTZ and other international cooperation actors, but the PEBI would have the most impact in terms of developing IBE with the State’s official approbation³⁶. They also had the most financing of any NGO involved in this area (Abram, 2013, interview). The ICCI, however, was a

³⁵ The roles, and learning, of particular individuals within these contexts are explored in much more depth in the following chapter.

³⁶ This special impact on *official* IBE’s development is why learning within the CIEI, and then the PEBI, was focused on as opposed to the many more isolated initiatives that developed alongside these.

site where further socialization between future CONAIE leaders, including Macas, occurred and it developed in unison with the CONAIE itself (Macas, 2013, interview).

After a successful IBE project in Peru, the GTZ approached the Ecuadorian government with an offer of significant technical and economic support. The neoliberal State was focused on debt-servicing rather than on social expenditure, but was at the same time lobbied on all sides, from domestic and international actors, to show a continued commitment to universalizing literacy. Thus, any aid in this area, especially the relatively condition-light aid of the GTZ, was bound to be welcome.

There was also a pre-existing commitment on the part of the German State to offer technical cooperation to Ecuador, and so this was an opportunity for the German State to fulfill this prior commitment (Cultural Cooperation Agreement, 1969). Indeed, the German director of the PEBI, Matthias Abram, says that this was not the area where the biggest German or Ecuadorian state interests lay. Indeed, it only began on Abram's own suggestion to use "left-over" funds for research in the area of indigenous education, which, he argues, was seen by decision-makers in both States as a somewhat "exotic" side-project (Abram, 2013, interview). It is likely that the indigenous beneficiaries of this project were seen as an equally exotic side-note in this State-State cooperation for economic development. They were soon to emerge from the margins and, as we will see in the next chapter, specifically out of the CIEI and the PEBI programs, to assume a central role in Ecuadorian politics.

International critiques began emerging about the negative impact of structural adjustment policies on the human rights of the poor in the late 1980s. In the 1987 UNICEF document, "Adjustment With A Human Face", the authors argued:

These changes in macro-economic performance relate directly to changes in social welfare of developing countries due to the contraction of their government expenditure per capita (...) which reduce the real incomes of the poorer sector" (UNICEF, 1987).

This article was a feeble precursor to the much more comprehensive human rights approaches prescribed to development starting in the late 1990s (after another decade of continued adjustment and global protest); nonetheless, its authors ventured to write that their proposal was "a radical change of emphasis: 'alternative adjustment', a strategy which decides that poverty alleviation must be an integral part of adjustment policy" (UNICEF, 1987).

Radical seems to be a strong word since their “alternative adjustment” still called on the IMF, not on developing countries or their citizens, to mastermind changes. Without radically changing their neoliberal conditionality, the IMF and the World Bank reaffirmed the Washington Consensus prioritization of spending in the areas of health and education, “an objective that fell under a cloud in the early years of the Reagan administration, but that has recovered its standing (...) in the late 1980s, aided by the prodding of UNICEF”. (Williamson, 1990) Then Managing Director of the IMF, Michel Camdessus “declared the Fund to have a concern about the impact of its programs on the poor and (...) Barbara Conable, President of the World Bank (...) reasserted the Bank's commitment to seeking to end poverty” (Williamson, 1990).

In “Adjustment with a Human Face”, UNICEF called on the IFIs to lead change by incorporating human rights more deeply into *their* conditions, basically asking the teachers to add something to their curriculum instead of dealing directly with the students. The IFIs did not change much in terms of pressure on the State from above. It was the CONAIE, and its indigenous leadership, that continued to fight for human rights incorporation with fervor from within Ecuador in collaboration with international allies (such as Abram in the case of the GTZ).

In Germany's cooperation agreements with the State, a role for indigenous organizations was gradually introduced. In the first and second cooperation agreements dealing specifically with IBE, no mention was specifically made of any collaboration with a third party organization beyond the two states, but recruitment of indigenous participants (who would become members of these organizations) in developing the proposed project was already included (Agreement on the Consultancy Project for the Implementation of the Rural Intercultural Bilingual School, 1984) (Final Act, 1987); in the third, however, funding to support the new, semi-autonomous National Directorate of Intercultural Bilingual Education (DINEIB) had been introduced with a stipulation that special funding be designated for the “indigenous representation” which was, in practice, the CONAIE. In this agreement it was also stipulated that the Ecuadorian State would “entrust the realization of the project” to the DINEIB and its now indigenous leadership (Additional agreement on the Consultancy Project for the Implementation of

the Rural Intercultural Bilingual School, 1991).³⁷ These treaties occurred before, and then in parallel to, the CONAIE's demands for the DINEIB, and so it can be inferred that the terms introduced in these treaties by German cooperation supported the CONAIE's lobbying for the directorate and also their eventual leadership in its governance.

Interviewees noted that despite adherence to the same neoliberal paradigm, there were easier, and more difficult, decision-makers to persuade when it came to securing participation in educational governance for indigenous people (Abram, 2013, interview) (Grande, 2013, interview) (Macas, 2014, interview) (Conejo, 2013, interview). Abram specifies that Borja, the president who institutionalized the DINEIB was particularly open to the idea that indigenous people should have their own education system (Abram, 2013, interview). Grande suggested that Borja struggled within his own government with others who were more wary of indigenous inclusion into an important area of national governance as a slippery slope (Grande, 2013, interview).

This was a very well-founded concern. Luis De La Torre, an indigenous leader in the development of IBE, confirmed that access to formal education, and then later its governance, had been a necessary step for the movement in asserting itself as a political actor. It had been a "way to get us into the party" (De La Torre, Luis, interview, 2013). In 1988, Executive Decree #203 formed the DINEIB.³⁸ A cooperation agreement was then signed between the MEC and the CONAIE. This was a major victory for the indigenous movement, and a strong platform for further demands.

³⁷ In the fourth, and final, agreement, concern was raised over an increasing sectarianism and division of interests amongst the indigenous organizations (Final Act, 1994).

³⁸ Just as previously separate indigenous organizations became consolidated within the CONAIE, previously established schools and programs for indigenous education now became consolidated within the new IBE system and fell under the practical authority of the CONAIE.

The indigenous movement: the grassroots champions of IBE and human rights

Only when the people of a dependent society break out of the culture of silence and win their right to speak – only, that is, when radical structural changes transform the dependent society – can such a society as a whole cease to be silent toward the director society.” (Freire, 1985: 73)

Despite having signed and ratified the entire International Bill of Human Rights, the State kept this behind an almost completely closed door. Education had kept that door only slightly ajar. The CONAIE found its way onto the political stage through education and, from there, made further rights-based demands.

In October 1988, the CONAIE held a meeting on Human Rights in which they linked human rights discourses to their movement goals and also disseminated instructional material on how to demand rights within the legal system. For example, in a brochure drafted in this meeting they specified how to apply Habeus Corpus to protect personal liberty (or, at least, to provide a paper trail to show to international human rights organizations if it has been infringed upon by the State) (First Meeting on Human Rights, 1988). In a subsequent publication, the CONAIE went on to frame all of its demands within a human rights perspective and to make a final stipulation that it is also the right of their organization to propose *new* indigenous rights (Human Rights and Indigenous Peoples Solidarity, 1988).

In 1989, the State was asked to sign a memorandum with the UNESCO in which traditional support for literacy was reaffirmed but suddenly, added to this, was:

The improvement of the quality of general basic education, giving special attention to the development of human resources and to strengthening study programs related to interculturality (UNESCO Memorandum of Understanding, 1989).

This is indicative of a general linking between the demands of the national indigenous movement and international human rights discourses. Besides their shows of physical force, the indigenous movement's governing role in IBE and their application of a human rights discourse gave them an internationally-recognizable legitimacy to protests and act politically, not to be pegged as “terrorists” or “communist subversives” as indigenous protestors with similar concerns previously could have been.

Previous human rights-based documents drafted by the CONAIE were streamlined, for easy dissemination perhaps, into “The 16 Points” that defined the movement’s demands before the State (The 16 Points, 1992). The CONAIE startled Ecuador, and the world, with the size and impact of its 1992 uprising, placing The 16 Points before the president. Among them was a demand for funds – to be administered by the CONAIE – in support of IBE. This was, for the reasons expounded throughout this chapter, the demand to which the government was most receptive. In 1992, article 28 of the Education Law made the DINEIB a “decentralized” department that:

guarantees the participation, in all levels and instances of educational administration, of the indigenous peoples, according to their representation (Education Law, 1992).

It was not until another reform in 1996, in which CONAIE president Luis Macas became a part of Congress and participated in its formulation that human rights began to be included beyond education in changes to the constitution. Like Macas himself, Human Rights left the domain of education and became more broadly relevant to Ecuadorian politics. In the 1998 constitution, brought about by indigenous movement pressure, the term “human rights” appears seven times and includes social/collective human rights (Constitution of Ecuador, 1998). IBE itself was also now constitutionally protected (Article 69, Constitution of Ecuador, 1998).

The uprisings from 1992 through to the 2000s, not only disrupted the nation’s stability, it was disruptive to global business. The CONAIE’s uprisings, in combination with other mobilizations against the policies of neoliberal globalization worldwide and increasingly severe poverty indicators led to an increasing awareness that this model would not work. It would not work for people, and it would not work for business.

From delegation to cooptation: the State’s new IBE and human rights discourse

In 1997, a UN Program for Reform was introduced calling for “the mainstreaming of human rights within the United Nations system”. Finally, in 2003, UN agencies agreed “upon a common understanding concerning the content of a human rights-based approach (HRBA) to programming”³⁹ and, since then, “human rights mainstreaming has progressively gained momentum under the United Nations Development Group’s

³⁹ <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/human-rights-based-approach/>

Human Rights Mainstreaming Mechanism (UNDG-HRM), established in December 2009”.⁴⁰

The recent prioritization of human rights at the international development level, beginning in earnest in 1997 (post-1996 indigenous movement success in introducing human rights more broadly into the constitution), is a key difference between Roldós’ national human rights development *moment* and Correa’s human rights development *era*. The Millennium Development Goals, which have thoroughly linked human rights and development discourse in defining these objectives, and the related Paris Declaration and its successors, increasingly have called upon the State itself, no longer the IFIs or other international organizations, to take the lead in defining and executing plans to achieve these human rights-based goals (The Millennium Development Goals) (The Paris Declaration).

UNICEF, an organization that has been influential in IBE, now states that its “programmes of cooperation support those who have obligations to respect, protect and fulfill rights, by helping them develop their capacities to do so. And UNICEF helps those with rights to develop their capacity to claim their rights.”⁴¹ The UNDP notes that:

Civil society representatives indicated that the dialogues and consultation processes supported by UNDP indirectly influenced the design of social policies (...) (UNDP, 2008).

The Ecuadorian State itself has now, under the current administration of President Rafael Correa, made a point of demonstrating to its public, and the world, an unwillingness to continue permitting the IMF and other international institutions to monitor and influence the development of their economic policies. President Correa has also frequently expressed his disapproval of the neoliberal policies adopted by previous administrations.

A shift in international development thinking toward supporting State “ownership” of development projects combined with the growth of new markets – primarily China – facilitated Correa’s success in applying new social policies. His government has received new financing and an international green light to use it on social spending. There has been an international approbation of the re-instatement and development of *state*-led social programming, calling on states to take leadership roles

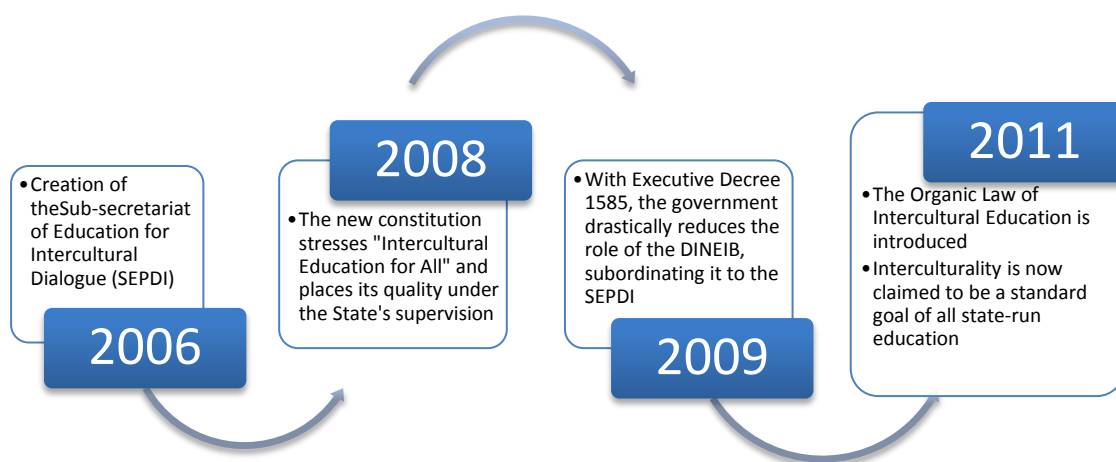
⁴⁰ <http://hrbaportal.org/the-un-and-hrba#sthash.s08mEbwF.dpuf>

⁴¹ <http://www.unicef.org/policyanalysis/rights/?p=printme>

instead of delegating. Thus the CONAIE’s “return of the Indian” has now come head to with the “Return of the State”.

The UNDP observes how “in some cases, such as that of the Ministry of Education, the UNDP contributed to developing greater capacity for efficient and transparent administration” (UNDP, 2008). Correa would no doubt count the incorporation of the IBE system into the Ministry of Education’s standard programming as an example of more efficient and transparent administration, as he criticized indigenous leadership for a lack of efficiency and transparency (Executive Decree #1585, 2009). Figure 1 (below) illustrates the progressive detachment of IBE from its origins as a delegated initiative and then semi-autonomous institution to its integration into the State’s mainstream education system.

Figure 1.



Source: elaborated by the author

In 2006, the government created the Sub-secretariat of Education for Intercultural Dialogue (SEPDI); in 2008, the new constitution stressed the importance of interculturality as a theme of import to the education of all Ecuadorians as opposed to being a uniquely indigenous proposal; in 2009, with Executive Decree 1585, the

government drastically reduced the role of the DINEIB, subordinating it to the SEPDI within the MEC; and, finally, in 2011, introduced the Organic Law of Intercultural Education to complete the transition.

In the 2009 decree, he accuses the CONAIE of politicizing the DINEIB and failing to fulfill its educational mission (Executive Decree #1585, 2009). When asked to respond to this accusation, Luis Monteluisa, the first director of the DINEIB, eagerly agreed that they *had* politicized it. “Of course it was political”, he said, “We wanted to politicize people” (Monteluisa, 2013, interview). It was clear, however, that his use of *politicize* referred to raising critical consciousness in order to help people learn and fight for their rights, not, as Correa would have it, to fight for the private or corporatist interest of the CONAIE’s leadership.⁴²

Alberto Conejo, the current Sub-secretary of SEPDI, presented a mixed and diplomatic view. He shares the president’s opinion that the system was not being effectively run, but he also admits that it is possible that now was too soon for change – since the project of building a stronger, more self-reflective indigenous identity may not have been completed. Such solid identities, he argued, would be useful in fostering real intercultural communication, in a context of mutual respect and sense of equality, with other Ecuadorians (Conejo, 2013, interview).

Correa’s critics argue that this has been a ruse to take the teeth out of IBE and, by extension, the CONAIE, and question what steps will be taken to more efficiently run IBE. His answer, perhaps, can be seen in the increased funding (not just in terms of amount, but also in terms of percentage of GDP) for education in general, and focusing on demanding more working hours and qualifications from teachers. Indeed, Correa’s government has shone in the world in terms of its success in applying the now fashionable human rights approach to development. This can be seen in its advances with the MDGs (see Appendix 2).

The MEC, under his government, has also released new intercultural-themed textbooks for primary and secondary school students. Sebastian Grande, director of the Salesiana University’s IBE master’s program argues that these have at times perpetuated stereotypes, however, and that Correa’s focus is on the poor, not specifically the

⁴²“Any viable notion of critical pedagogy must be understood as central to politics itself and rather than disconnect public education from larger social, economic and political issues, it must connect them to such forces as part of a wider crisis of both education and democracy” (Giroux, 2013).

indigenous poor (Grande, 2013, interview). He also added that the focus has been taken off of community rights, and placed on individual ones. Correa has thus managed to undermine the CONAIE as representative of a united indigenous group, by directly meeting more of the interests of individuals in it (Grande, 2013, interview). He and Monteluisa are concerned that IBE might exist only as discourse now and that IBE has, since Correa's appropriation of it, become less meaningful than ever in terms of encouraging critical perspectives and systemic change (Grande, 2013, interview) (Monteluisa, 2013, interview).

The dismantling of the DINEIB has also meant the loss of a great deal of data. At the beginning of this research, the DINEIB's website was still running and contained a wide variety of historical documents and statistical information related to IBE's development. Upon later discovering the disappearance of this important resource, and its replacement by a meager half-page mention of the DINEIB's past within the MEC's main website, the researcher visited the MEC several times to try to track down this data. After several fruitless petitions, it was finally confirmed that all of this information – including the historic agreement between the MEC and the CONAIE – had been permanently *misplaced*. Furthermore, with the exception of Alberto Conejo, the various employees spoken to at the MEC (mostly young professionals new to their positions) asserted that they had been completely unaware that the MEC had ever signed such an agreement with the CONAIE. In interview, Luis Macas asserted that “their greatest sin” in the transition from the DINEIB to the new sub-secretariat was to have “dismantled this information system” (Macas, 2014, interview).

To be considered a legitimate leader, the state must now continue to show that it is inclusive of indigenous people and interested in interculturality⁴³, the same way that international organizations with governing aspirations must now show that they are inclusive of states in their attempts to reorganize global governance. This multi-level inclusion has ultimately been the greatest outcome or impact of the State's learning. While neoliberal discourse encouraged some degree of multicultural inclusion, and delegation, the Washington-Consensus era certainly did not promote the development of, and inclusion in, the kind of large *state-run* social programs that we see today. Instead, this was learnt through interaction with the indigenous movement and other

⁴³ “Interculturality will not disappear now (from the government's agenda)” (Abram, interview, 2013).

anti-neoliberal movements around the world. As Freire predicted, it was only after oppressed people had risen up within states that states' own discourses, in relationship to dominant international actors, began to change. What Freire did not predict was that the "director society" and international organizations would respond positively to states' demands for greater autonomy. They had also, with domestic politicians like Correa, learnt that a change was needed to ensure greater stability.

The State's experiment in following the original neoliberal lesson plan directly facilitated two important new spaces in which indigenous movement leadership could collaborate and find a united voice; that is, could "win their right to speak". As several interviewees put it, neoliberal government policy-makers were not opposed to including "poor Indiocitos" in their national literacy campaigns if this could raise the national literacy average and cost them little to nothing (Grande, interview, 2013) (Abram, interview, 2013) (De la Torre, Luis, interview, 2013). The use of the Spanish diminutive *Indiocitos*, "little Indians", is indicative of the sub-estimation of who they were and what they could accomplish.

In the next chapter we will examine the impacts and kinds of learning experienced by indigenous leaders in two neoliberal era IBE development spaces – the CIEI and the PEBI. First, the two tables below examine whether the State-level learning we have discussed in this chapter ultimately corresponds, or not, to Paulo Freire's criteria for critical learning.

Table 1. Did this learning correspond to characteristics of critical learning?

Collaborative
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Constructive</i> interactions did occur, and cause learning, but these were rarely collaborative. • On an international level, the State, under the Roldós administration expressed interest in greater <i>regional</i> collaboration in policy-making but this interest did not outlive him. • In the era of the Washington Consensus, international “cooperation” was <i>received</i>. It was given and received with strong conditionality. This unidirectional giving of funds and conditions cannot be called collaboration, which implies a reciprocal relationship between parties. Indeed, for the same reason, international <i>cooperation</i> was another misnomer in this case. • The complete delegation of the Kichwa literacy program to the CIEI, then of IBE to the GTZ, and later to the CONAIE was also not collaboration. Neither a completely controlling approach, nor a completely hands-off approach, constitutes collaboration (that is, mutual participation). • Equally, the State’s “giving in” to demands for IBE was not truly collaborative. As Freire notes, real collaboration does not exist between antagonists. • Robert Putnam says states often engage in “double-edged diplomacy”, negotiating between pressure from within and beyond their jurisdiction (Putnam, 1988). In this case, the State was caught between external pressure to adhere to the Washington Consensus and increasing internal pressure to reject it. It usually <i>followed</i> instructions from above but sometimes also <i>gave in</i> to demands from below. In both cases, the State learnt through coercion, not through collaboration.
Problem-posing
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The outgoing military dictatorship launched a national literacy campaign only once such campaigns were “pre-fabricated” by the UNESCO and being “adopted” across Latin America as a requirement to show each state’s commitment to modernizing (Abram, 2013, interview). The Roldós administration’s call for Kichwa literacy in particular and for the SIL’s expulsion was, however, an early example of the State framing specific national problems and confronting them. • In general, the State’s framing and new understanding of problems has been primarily reactionary to apparent economic problems and to the coercion described above; since ready-made solutions were given along with the definition of these problems, little critical or creative initiative was required on the State’s part. The Washington Consensus conditions of loans both framed, and claimed to solve, economic development problems. • To some extent, however, Freire’s prediction that the State could raise a voice against its own oppressors once the internally oppressed raised their voice within it has come to fruition. The State posed a problem to the world system due to its own political instability, which was a result of constant uprisings within it. This instability made it clear that the State would not be able to continue business-as-usual under the same strict conditions agreed to in the 1990s.
Praxis-based
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emerging from dictatorship, the State experimented with taking national and regional initiatives. • Aligning the Ecuadorian State with the Washington Consensus meant putting neoliberal economic development theory into practice through expansive structural adjustment. As such, the Ecuadorian State was much more involved in neoliberal <i>praxis</i> than Washington itself. • As Freire predicted, out of this praxis new problems arose and called for new reflection (Freire, 1970). The neoliberal discourse of inclusion in education and economic opportunities and its simultaneous enhancement of inequality promoted the rise of the indigenous movement.

Table 2. Did the impacts of this learning meet critical learning objectives?

<p>Solidarity</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The State apparatus has become somewhat less exclusive in that it now includes members of all ethnic minorities, but this does not necessarily imply solidarity with the general populations of these minorities and certainly does not mean that the State is expressing any genuine interest in learning from, and much less sharing, their world-views. • The State has however expanded access to education and this is encouraging accessibility to new opportunities in various professions for many people from marginalized ethnic groups. • At the international level, there is more South-South cooperation and more regional-level planning and institutions amongst Andean states. This might be regarded as evidence of a growing solidarity between them and a consciousness that, as states that have suffered divisive oppression in the past, they would do well to collaborate further in making shared future plans.
<p>Positive Identity Affirmation</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The State is now, in name at least, intercultural and plurinational. While the degree to which the State has internalized this identity in practice may be debated, the fact is that the assumption of this identity – and the responsibilities that go with it – has opened legal avenues for complaint and protest that previously did not exist. • The State has asserted itself as the guarantor of social rights (including intercultural bilingual education) and indigenous rights specifically. This may have been done in order to take this role away from the indigenous movement, but the State must now do a better job in this role than the indigenous organizations or else it will lose its credibility and risk the rebirth of a much stronger movement (now that the populations’ familiarity with and belief in these rights has been spread more widely than ever through the State’s own application of rights discourses). • The State is increasingly identifying itself as a component part of a larger, and potentially much more influential, regional identity.
<p>Commitment</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The State is showing a degree of commitment through its rising expenditure on social programs. • The Ecuadorian people have responded well to President Correa’s social rights discourses and commitments; their continued support for his administration has made it the longest running in decades, which means that the State has been able to execute longer-term plans/commitments. • The State, however, maintains its international role as a resource and export-driven economy dependent on the markets of other states. Dependence on new international patrons, like China, has helped the State to project an illusion of commitment to a more radical break with its historic role than it is experiencing and to a greater sovereignty than it is actually exercising.

CHAPTER IV THE PEOPLE AS LEARNERS

Indigenous participants in IBE's development and governance

"That is where I began."- Luis Macas, *ex-president of the CONAIE, relating his time and learning at the Catholic University to his political career (Macas, 2014, interview).*

The national literacy campaign was adopted by the Ecuadorian State, uncritically, from other countries and UNESCO. This ready-made campaign came from beyond Ecuador's borders and was not tailored to the unique conditions of Ecuador, much less to the unique conditions of Ecuador's indigenous population (Abram, 2013, interview). The State did show initiative in adding a Kichwa component to it, but did not, on its own, create a unique education system for its people(s). Inadvertently, however, the State supported learning spaces in which indigenous movement leaders redefined their own identities and interests and began using new discourses and connections to establish the IBE system and to develop other movement demands.

Two State-facilitated spaces were of particular importance in terms of developing official IBE. The first arose in the context of Roldós' delegation of Kichwa literacy to the Catholic University – the University's *Centro de Investigaciones para la Educación Indígena* (CIEI); the second took place in the context of the Washington Consensus administrations' widespread delegation of social service matters to NGOs – the German, GTZ-managed *Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural* (PEBI).

The data found in the following account was collected through interviews with the learner-developers involved in these projects. These included: the directors of these two ventures – Consuelo Yáñez at the CIEI and Matthias Abram at the PEBI; three indigenous leaders, the “three Luises of IBE” whose higher education began in these contexts and who had an unique impact on IBE – Luis Macas, twice the president of the CONAIE and once a presidential candidate for the country who led IBE as a political demand; Luis Monteluisa, a linguist who served as the first director of the DINEIB; and the educator Luis De la Torre who was the CONAIE counterpart to Abram in their development of IBE pedagogy in the PEBI.

Additionally, further perspectives were provided by De la Torre's sister, Luz María, also a participant in the CIEI and currently a lecturer at UCLA in the United States; Marleen Haboud, a non-indigenous collaborator in the CIEI who is now the director of Linguistics at the Catholic University; Irma Brito, a non-indigenous alumni of the University who studied in the linguistics department while the CIEI was in operation; Sebastián Grande, the director of the IBE teacher training program at Salesiana University; and Alberto Conejo, the indigenous director of the new Sub-secretariat of Education for Intercultural Dialogue within the Ministry of Education.

Learning within the CIEI

The CIEI was a learning space created out of top-down initiative, discourse, and funding, given a strong academic emphasis when institutionalized within the Catholic University and, finally, populated and appropriated by future indigenous leaders. The government opened this space to support indigenous inclusion in a national literacy campaign; in practice, it became a learning context that fostered a positive indigenous identity, interdisciplinary academic development, interculturality, and the pursuance of personally defined intellectual and political aspirations.

During a visit to Quito, future movement leader Luis Macas met the current rector of the Catholic University, Humberto Malo. Malo was a priest and educator interested in the plight of his indigenous countrymen. It was in his administration that the teaching of the indigenous languages Kichwa and Shuar began, and the CIEI was opened under the direction of Consuelo Yanéz. Macas stressed the impact his encounter with Malo had on his life:

He had ideas about liberation through education, which is why he invited me to study and gave me a scholarship⁴⁴. If it weren't for him, I wouldn't have studied at all. I don't know what I would have become, perhaps a teacher in my community, I don't know. That is where I began" (Macas, 2014, interview).

The scholarship he procured for Macas was to study and work in the CIEI and the linguistics department. At first the CIEI was composed primarily of Luis Macas and Consuelo Yanez, but then a French pedagogue named Gabriel Tarle, not content in his role as an educational consultant in the French embassy, asked to involve himself

⁴⁴ Such scholarships were a rarity at the time, and Macas remembers the shock of people at home that he could have received one at the elite Catholic University (Macas, 2014, interview).

directly in the discussion over literacy pedagogy in the CIEI.⁴⁵ “This started the dialogue,” asserted Macas, “the three of us started to dream about further extending this project.” (Macas, 2014, interview) This collaboration between an aspiring indigenous leader, a mestiza linguist and self-confirmed member of the elite (Yáñez, 2013, interview), and a French pedagogue, meant the development of official IBE was a very intercultural endeavor from the start.

As the CIEI grew, “some of us (...) believed that it should be something more than a place to teach Kichwa” (Macas, 2014, interview). When this team decided that it would be necessary to bring in more indigenous collaborators, Macas reviewed profiles of candidates from across the country. A central part of his selection process was based on people having already demonstrated leadership in their communities, and so the CIEI served as an important context for socialization amongst a new generation of leaders from different parts of the country (Macas, 2014, interview).

The majority of participants arriving to work in the CIEI had experienced discrimination based on their indigenous identity prior to their time on the Catholic University campus.⁴⁶ The discrimination that participants felt in the city of Quito, however, on a campus populated by the country’s white-mestizo elite, was for most to a new degree. Groups of mestizo students protested that this indigenous presence would reflect poorly upon the university, marking it as lacking “modernity” (Yáñez, 2013, interview). A few anthropology professors at the University even asserted, at times with indigenous students sitting in their class, that indigenous people simply didn’t exist in the country anymore (De la Torre, Luz, 2013, interview).

Discrimination and negation did not only occur within the University walls. Luz De la Torre remembers being harassed on busses while trying to occupy seats. This treatment, she admitted un-proudly, was sometimes reacted to with violence. She recalled male indigenous classmates engaging in fistfights with mestizos in her defense on such occasions (De la Torre, Luz, 2013, interview). She quickly added that it was out

⁴⁵ He completed an interesting study on indigenous mathematics, which Macas says added to their focus on vindicating indigenous knowledge beyond the study of their languages (Macas, 2014, interview).

⁴⁶ Luz De la Torre remembered being told to speak “Christian” by Mestizo teachers when caught speaking her native Kichwa in high school, and generally made to feel ill-at-ease on account of her being indigenous (De la Torre, Luz, 2013, interview). Luis Macas also confirmed that attending a high school in Cuenca was the first time he had truly felt “humiliated” (Macas, 2014, interview). After this experience, he went back to his rural community and would have stayed there, perhaps, if not for the fateful encounter with Malo.

of these experiences that the futility of a violent approach to gaining respect became apparent to them, and this informed their commitment to finding other political paths in developing the indigenous movement (De la Torre, Luz, 2013, interview).

In almost the same breath, she affirmed that this shared discrimination united them more as a group despite their being from a variety of places and cultures (De la Torre, Luz, 2013, interview). Macas agreed that “in a group of 20 or so other indigenous people, you did not feel the discrimination as much” (Macas, 2014, interview). The close relationships they formed in this tightly-knit group – a group composed of young indigenous thinkers from across the country – helped further the socialization necessary to lead the national social movement to come (Macas, 2013, interview).

A *mestiza* student who studied in the linguistics department of the same period noted that this indigenous group seemed in itself to be a quite exclusive clique to which mestizo students, who had their own cliques, were not invited (Brito, 2013, interview). She admitted that many mestizo students probably did harbour prejudice against indigenous people, but she did not recall the formal protests that other interviewees remembered. She speculated that this was probably because such protests would have “targeted the indigenous students and gone unnoticed by the majority on campus”. (Brito, 2013, interview). She affirmed that the general feeling among this majority about the indigenous students was simply a lack of interest. “They had their closed social group, just like we all had our little groups” (Brito, 2013, interview). “We were young and thinking about other things,” she said, “we simply didn’t pay much attention to them” (Brito, 2013, interview).

Nonetheless, if a few people did actively discriminate against them, and the majority did not take any action at all, then it is not surprising that the more active discrimination is what they remembered. Moreover, a simple lack of interest can *feel* like (and indeed sometimes be) a form of discrimination. After studying linguistics, Macas enrolled in the University’s Law program. “It was a mistake for me to want to study Law there,” he said decidedly. “I was constantly left out when students were asked to form study groups and I never knew where to go” (Macas, 2014, interview). Thus, without the support of his indigenous in-group, he felt the discrimination more.

Working within their tightly-knit group, all of the indigenous interviewees that had been at the CIEI remembered these days as full of energy, excitement, and

experimentation (De la Torre, Luz, 2013, interview) (De la Torre, Luis, 2013, interview) (Monteluisa, 2013, interview) (Macas, 2014, interview).⁴⁷ Being there, “we felt we were a part of important changes, and became more and more committed to change” (De la Torre, Luz, 2013, interview).

They also grew committed to new paths towards change that was sometimes at odds with the plans of a previous generation of indigenous leaders. As such, in addition to that endured in Quito, discrimination was also experienced upon their return to indigenous communities. For the mass of the indigenous population, higher education marked those who received it as *different*. This could at times generate a certain admiration (De la Torre, Luis, 2013, interview), but at others this difference was regarded with suspicion, even hostility. Many leaders of the contemporary indigenous organizations opposed an indigenous presence at this elite university, arguing that the indigenous students in attendance would become indoctrinated with non-indigenous values and interests and become less authentically indigenous⁴⁸ (Macas, 2014, interview) (De la Torre, Luz, 2013, interview) (De la Torre, Luis, 2013, interview).

Macas acknowledged that, given the history of national attempts at acculturation through education, their suspicion was not hard to understand. However, while showing respect for the contributions of previous generations of leaders, he made it clear that acculturation was not the kind of learning they had in practice experienced at the CIEI:

The process of the indigenous movement did not start with this literacy campaign ... but this experience did strengthen the movement through a deeper debate and discussion of indigenous themes (Macas, 2014, interview).

When CIEI participants began visiting communities to teach literacy in Kichwa, indigenous organization leaders followed them to berate those who attended their classes (De la Torre, Luz, 2013, interview). This was, Macas asserted, due to a mix of suspicion about their being university educated, jealousy about their starting new initiatives that were different from those of the leaders⁴⁹, and concern that the material

⁴⁷ It was at this point in the interviews that a pleasant nostalgia was most palpable; interestingly, much more so than when they discussed the famous trials and successes of the indigenous movement to come.

⁴⁸ Even bathing more regularly than was usually customary in rural communities was attacked at times as a sign of identity loss (De la Torre, Luz, 2013, interview).

⁴⁹ The CIEI’s standardization of written Kichwa, for example, was seen as an affront to their previous local efforts at defining spellings and as a troubling attempt at homogenization (Macas, 2014, interview).

being covered within this program was not clearly revolutionary.⁵⁰ Some local leaders, he also contended, saw the protection of their people as necessarily involving the “closing-off of indigenous communities” whereas he and other CIEI participants were committed to the ideal of interculturalism and of “expanding the horizons of indigenous people” through new interactions with both indigenous and non-indigenous people (Macas, 2014, interview).

The negative discrimination they had encountered by some mestizos in Quito and by some indigenous leaders in their communities supported their commitment to “*re-indianize*”; that is, to demonstrate their indigenous identity more assertively in protest against attacks on it. They wanted non-indigenous people to accept them as equals and they wanted indigenous people to accept that they were still indigenous despite having a higher formal education (De la Torre, Luis, 2013, interview).⁵¹ Learning how to deal with discrimination pro-actively, instead of hiding from it, was a valuable lesson that the CIEI participants learnt together within their supportive group.

The supportive group at the CIEI was not only made up of indigenous people, however. The commitment to “expanding horizons” through intercultural contact, as opposed to closing off indigenous people to the rest of society (e.g. hiding), derived in part from the fact that they themselves had experienced positive intercultural learning within the CIEI. On the one hand, the double-sided discrimination discussed above served to develop an acute critical awareness of the dynamics of marginalization and resentment at play in society (how things were); on the other, a uniquely inclusive, intercultural and stimulating environment within the centre offered a specific and concrete example of an alternative to this oppressive reality (how things could be).

Indigenous participants studied in the company of non-indigenous academics that took a strong interest in their students’ indigenous language and culture. This interest, juxtaposed with the discrimination and lack of interest experienced outside the centre, encouraged true intercultural collaboration. The director of the CIEI, Consuelo

⁵⁰ Macas argued that, “from a (critical) pedagogical point of view, we needed to start slowly” and the old leaders did not always understand that methodology and wanted more blatant revolutionary discourses.

⁵¹ Luis De la Torre’s sister, Luz, recalled that their own mother initially saw their pursuing higher education as an opportunity to shed the weight of their indigenous identity and blend in more with mestizo society. However, when Luis, in his first reaction to the discrimination encountered, discussed pressure he felt to cut his hair short to fit in, their mother and he suddenly both realized that “fitting in” was not the priority – they became conscious at that point that keeping their family’s sense of identity alive, in new contexts and in the face of discrimination, was most important (De la Torre, Luz, 2013).

Yáñez, stated that she prioritized academic rigour and left political agendas to others (Yáñez, 2013, interview). This was another important step in a top-down process of delegation that opened new spaces for bottom-up initiatives to develop. The Washington Consensus left space for the State to exercise some agency in education, the State delegated indigenous literacy to the CIEI, and then Yáñez made space for indigenous participants within the CIEI to pursue their own intellectual and political interests, while encouraging that these be pursued within academically-sound frameworks.⁵²

Yáñez developed a personal interest in indigenous culture through an upbringing that crossed borders of class and ethnicity. She explained that her father, a wealthy property developer, brought her as a child to his construction sites where she grew up playing with the children of indigenous workers and was exposed to their language and culture. Her way of speaking and behaving became distinct enough from her parents that visitors to the family's home would sometimes say that she was not her parents' daughter (Yáñez, 2013, interview). Thus, despite her assertion of academic neutrality, Yáñez did encourage pride in participants' indigenous identity deriving from her own personal respect for it. She forbade the use of titles within the CIEI, insisting on a first-name basis, and she would tease those that did not yet speak their indigenous language well, or did not proudly demonstrate their identity, by calling them "*cholos*"⁵³.

Another non-indigenous participant, Marleen Haboud, also grew up in an intercultural environment. Her parents, she explained, had migrated from Lebanon and so had not grown up internalizing the common mestizo-indigenous divide in Ecuador (Haboud, 2013, interview). Living in the rural, mid-sized city of Ambato, this immigrant family forged strong friendships with both indigenous and mestizo residents. The indigenous nanny that cared for Haboud as a child was never treated as an employee, and was regarded by Haboud as a second mother (Haboud, 2013, interview).

⁵² Her role might be likened to that of a personal trainer who is dedicated to improving her clients' workout discipline while at the gym, but not in telling them what to do with their newfound strength outside of that gym. Yáñez demanded academic discipline in the execution of the CIEI's linguistic research, but left political agenda building to the beneficiaries of this training. On their own initiative, the program trainees made full use of this academic fitness center and, becoming well-versed in internationally-recognized terms, better prepared themselves as protagonists in the academic, political and legal Olympics to come between the State, international actors, and the indigenous movement.

⁵³ This term is used differently in various parts of Latin America and the USA, often disparagingly; in Yáñez' usage, it seemed to denote an accusation of being an unauthentic "wannabe" or, as the Mirriam-Webster online dictionary defines it, a "Europeanized Indian".

Haboud felt that the program at CIEI provided an authentic intercultural learning environment for the following reasons:

- 1) The majority of the participants were indigenous, but they came from different communities and nationalities, and they also worked with scholars from non-indigenous backgrounds.
- 2) The CIEI was a collaborative context of respect and equality – since all were researchers engaged in the task of learning together and from each other.
- 3) As well as learning from and about their differences, the indigenous participants encountered similarities, and around these developed a stronger sense of a pluri-national indigenous identity.

(Haboud, 2013, interview)

The more senior academics were non-indigenous, but a relation of mutual mentorship developed since a sense of shared ownership was fostered in the program. It was, after all, the indigenous participants' language being transcribed and studied. What the native-speaker of a language says is "right" or "wrong" carries a special legitimacy. The same way that indigenous students often left school when confused and ashamed by not understanding their Spanish-speaking teachers, here they were given a mentorship role over Spanish-speaking academics as the possessors of the knowledge they wished to acquire – the knowledge of their own language. They were also given a degree of autonomy in pursuing their personal academic interests much more freely, perhaps, than when one is simply a student in a structured degree program.

The sociolinguistic study of their own language's inner-workings also encouraged reflection on the value and uniqueness of their language and, associated with it, their culture. Haboud explained that, on the other hand, some participants had to "relearn their indigenous language" since it was not necessarily the most used language in every family's home after centuries of Spanish-language dominance (Haboud, 2013, interview). Haboud requested that this thesis not cite the names of any such participants for fear of embarrassing them (Haboud, 2013, interview). The fact this might embarrass them indicates that they see native-speaker knowledge of Kichwa as a source of pride and perhaps opportunity. This is striking in contrast to the several previous centuries of

indigenous people feeling obliged to hide their knowledge of indigenous languages in order to access opportunities.

The indigenous participants in the program were simultaneously learners and paid researchers. Thus, it provided a uniquely hands-on and collaborative university education as well as financial compensation. Their very presence in this University context was simply “strange” (Brito, 2013, interview). The Hurtado government likely underestimated the implications of supporting this small centre, but the fact that any space at all had been made for indigenous people in such an elite university threw a wrench into the mechanics of centuries-old social reproduction in Ecuador.

In the CIEI, indigenous participants met and worked with non-indigenous academics that helped them network further in the still unfamiliar, and very influential, world of academia. They met and worked directly with many esteemed Ecuadorian scholars and also with visiting academics of renown, including two French linguists, and Paul Freire (Haboud, 2013, interview) (Yáñez, 2013, interview). This latter personage saw the potential of the CIEI group and predicted to them that they would “bring about radical change after 500 years of injustice” (De la Torre, Luz, 2013, interview).

Even if Yáñez did not have a political vision that she was trying to promote, the hosting of such guests at her centre nonetheless encouraged participants in their growing commitment to critical thinking, struggle and change. She helped put indigenous participants in both national and international contexts for new networking opportunities. For example, Roldós’ funeral – an affair of State – became an intercultural event thanks to the presence of several indigenous researchers from the CIEI; as another example, she invited the future CONAIE leader, Macas, to accompany her when visiting influential scholars on a trip to Paris (Yáñez, 2013, interview).

Both Yáñez and De la Torre also indicated that funding in this period was supplemented by the winning of several international prizes, from organizations such as UNESCO, as the CIEI began to gain international prestige for its breakthroughs in indigenous language and education research (Yáñez, 2013, interview) (De la Torre, Luz, 2013, interview). Abram noted that the “CIEI, in its time, was present in all the conferences and meetings related to indigenous bilingual education” (Abram, 1992: 68). The CIEI’s presence at these international events often included the presence of the

centre's indigenous collaborators, who would not have been there without this institution's support. In these conferences, they met other indigenous citizens from around the region, expanding their national network of indigenous leaders into a transnational one.

Finally, visiting communities across the country, program participants became teachers. Despite the aforementioned attempts to discredit them on the part of some contemporary indigenous leaders, these participants gained a new sense of status and responsibility (De la Torre, Luz, 2013, interview). They were, after-all, official state-approved educators visiting these communities. In many places, the nearest official state school had long been the State's only concrete presence; now, opening up alongside Hispanic schools, were these equally-official, indigenous-run centres. The novelty of this attracted the attention of many community members, and gave the CIEI participants a new aura of national authority (De la Torre, Luz, 2013, interview).

Participation in the CIEI not only prepared a group of indigenous academic and political leaders; it provided contexts in which to network across Ecuador and beyond. This helped them to lead a movement that would rise to prominence on a popular platform of opposition to the Washington Consensus and neoliberal globalization.⁵⁴ In defining the aims and strategies of the CIEI project and the implementation of a new learning model, Yanéz envisioned distinct roles for the indigenous organizations, the State and the University:

The application of this model implies the necessary support of the State at the administrative and financial level, of the indigenous organizations at the level of representation of the population to be benefited, and the CIEI at the scientific level, exclusively (Yané, 1980: 103).

This proved to be unappealing to both the State and the indigenous organizations. The State found it objectionable because it required extensive investment and the indigenous organizations because they sought to become administrators of their *own* education, not just the representatives of beneficiaries. The CIEI was eventually closed and then the new president Febres-Cordero ushered in a fiercer stage of neoliberal reform – a period

⁵⁴ The Washington Consensus stressed investment in the primary education of children, since they are the future (Williamson, 1990). The initial adult Kichwa literacy campaign was in part aimed, in Ecuador, as a way of preparing indigenous teachers for indigenous youth. Children may be the *future*, but the education (and the agency) of today's adults should not be underestimated since they are potential game-changers *now*, capable of immediately impacting the future structures children will grow up in.

in which social programs that were not expressly prohibited by the State, such as IBE, would depend on foreign NGOs and international cooperation from other states.

Learning within the PEBI

As in the case of the CIEI, the State (in this case the German State) did not directly plan for the kind of learning to be experienced in practice by participants in this program. It was, at the level of State-State cooperation, expressly concerned with the Washington Consensus-sanctioned educational inclusion and the development of human capital. Delegation again was a decisive factor in providing room for a more critical learning experience to occur.

German cooperation provided an unusual degree of autonomy to its functionaries at different levels of its activities.⁵⁵ Firstly, the BMZ, which manages the State's international cooperation planning, is self-governing and not dependent on the German chancellorship; secondly, much work is then contracted to the GTZ, a semi-private development agency. The project director, Matthias Abram, explained that he was given almost complete autonomy in defining the details of the PEBI and so, whatever the dominant interests between the two states, he was able to pursue his own personal interests and social commitments in developing the PEBI (Abram, 2013, interview).

Whereas the CIEI fostered the learning of individuals, many of whom would later join the CONAIE, the PEBI in some ways also fostered the organizational learning, and trajectory, of the CONAIE. The particular articulation of a demand for IBE, and the positive State response to it, was facilitated by the GTZ in several ways. The PEBI and the CONAIE were founded within a short time of each other, but the PEBI was founded first. The first cooperation agreement naming this project was signed with Germany in December 1984, and a GTZ pilot project was launched in 1985, though the "main phase" of the PEBI only began in April 1986. The CONAIE was formed, afterwards, on November 16th, 1986. The PEBI and the CONAIE from then on supported one another in taking the definitive step in IBE's institutionalization by pressuring the State to establish, within its Ministry of Education, the autonomous

⁵⁵ Compared to, for example, USAID.

National Directorate of Intercultural Bilingual Education (DINEIB) in 1988.⁵⁶ The PEBI shared this space with the CONAIE in the first years of its management but the PEBI eventually departed and its administration was left to the CONAIE.

Yáñez considers Abram to be a dedicated leftist who had a political agenda in his administration of PEBI (Yáñez, 2013, interview). De la Torre, who collaborated with the PEBI and whose brother, Luis de la Torre, was the principle liaison between the CONAIE and the GTZ, believes that the majority of the Germans involved tended toward Marxism (De la Torre, Luis, 2013, interview). Abram stressed to the CONAIE leadership, with whom he states he had excellent contact⁵⁷, the importance of including IBE in their agenda as “part of a process” (Abram, 2013, interview). In interview, his greatest commitment seemed to have been to encouraging multilingualism, but he did also articulate a strong desire to use education as a tool to promote freedom, diversity, and empowerment (Abram, 2013, interview).

The CONAIE was not only the first indigenous organization with a national reach; it also became the first with such an expansive international reach. CONAIE leaders became uniquely adept, thanks in part to the learning opportunities some of them experienced within the CIEI, at using internationally-recognizable discourses, such as human rights, to attract the support of international actors. If they had framed their demands in a more culturally specific way, they would have been harder to substantiate legally and the task of identifying points of convergence with the mandates of international actors would have been more complicated.

This linkage with international discourses and interests was encouraged further by the PEBI. CONAIE’s earliest documents discussing education within a human rights discourse did not include the term *intercultural*. As mentioned in the CIEI section above, Yáñez expressed that her focus in directing the CIEI was primarily linguistic and

⁵⁶ This was originally called the National Directorate of *Indigenous* Intercultural Bilingual Education. The word *indigenous* was soon dropped from this name in recognition of an inherent contradiction between an education that is at once meant to promote *interculturality* more broadly and is at once seen as strictly relevant to only indigenous people. In practice, nonetheless, the DINEIB would indeed remain primarily focused on promoting education amongst the indigenous population.

⁵⁷ Luis Macas noted that this relationship was, from his perspective, much more on a personal level with Abram than an inter-organizational level between the CONAIE and the GTZ (Macas, 2013, interview). As already mentioned, though, the person of Abram basically was the GTZ as far as its practical involvement in the development of the PEBI was concerned.

academic (Yáñez, 2013, interview). The director of the PEBI, Matthias Abram stated a stronger interest in developing the intercultural aspect:

We started in 1985 with 80 teachers from around the country that were trained in pedagogy in an 8-month program. (...) From the beginning we were training them for intercultural bilingual education. *Intercultural* is now in the mouths of everyone, but at the time nobody had thought about this, it was a novelty here, and we, myself above all, were very interested in making sure that indigenous culture was brought into the curriculum. Ideas like indigenous technology and wisdom were shocking; at the time, there was an endemic racism here. All the indigenous were thought to have was 'folklore' (...) (Abram, 2013, interview).

He affirmed the fact that the intercultural education discourse originated in Europe (Abram, 2013, interview). Documental evidence supports this, showing that intercultural education discourse was emergent within UNESCO and the Council of Europe before it was applied in the Ecuadorian context.⁵⁸ The fact that intercultural education was already in vogue in Europe, and recalling that German cooperation has played a central role in executing European initiatives in recent decades, implies another reason that the GTZ was so receptive to proposals to extend experimentation in this area to the South American context.

The adoption and usage of the particular term *intercultural education* was able to attract much foreign, primarily European, support for the CONAIE.⁵⁹ Europe had been undergoing its own recent globalization-based identity crisis in light of European regional integration and increased global migration. This change in Europe was likely a factor in the increased attention being paid to diversity in other countries, 500 years overdue in the case of South America.

⁵⁸ In Europe, this grew out of human rights education, the Council of Europe's interest in further integration and collaboration across Europe and, perhaps primarily, the increasing presence of large minority groups of recent foreign origin in European cities. A committee of the Council of Europe in 1984, the same year Abram proposed exploring IBE in Ecuador, which recommended member states to "encourage the holding of national and international seminars and courses on the intercultural approach to education" and to "promote the circulation of material on intercultural education and training developed under the auspices of the Council of Europe".

⁵⁹ After the initial German involvement, other European states were drawn to follow its lead in cooperating in Ecuadorian IBE. In a comprehensive search of official treaties signed between Ecuador and other States mentioning IBE it was discovered that the 1980s and 1990s most treaties were primarily with Germany and other European actors, and only one was with another Latin American State – Bolivia. In the 2000s, however, the list of collaborators included Paraguay, Guatemala and Peru. Thus, despite the European origins of the intercultural education discourse, it has struck a strong chord with populations and governments in South America, who seem to be offering it a permanent home in Latin American South-South cooperation and in related regional policy convergence.

The PEBI's use of this term, then, had the effect of bringing the Ecuadorian indigenous movement into greater discursive harmony with organizations such as UNESCO and with European cooperation actors. It also encouraged that this demand for education, one of the few social human rights issues that IFIs were not restricting State responses to, was formulated in a consistent way with other indigenous movement organizations across Latin America, such as in the Peruvian case where the GTZ had its first experience with indigenous IBE cooperation (Abram, 2013, interview).

Abram explains that, in IBE, “from the beginning we have tried to create a network in all of Central and South America”, mentioning, as an example, organizing the first Latin American Congress of Bilingual Intercultural Education⁶⁰. PEBI participants were present at bi-annual conferences where pan-continental experiences in IBE were shared. These gatherings consisted of a dynamic mix of academics, government representatives and indigenous leaders (Abram, 2013, interview). In the PEBI, more indigenous people had networking experiences like those experienced in the CIEI. The key CONAIE liaison with the PEBI, Luis Alberto De la Torre, said that:

I, for example, was able to travel widely, study more, meet important figures from around the world, partake in famous experiences in the field of education, relate with diverse cultures from our own country and also from other countries. These contexts allowed us to relive our practice of solidarity with our peoples in this country and others where we went to collaborate (...) In this way we helped Chile, Bolivia, Nicaragua and Guatemala to develop IBE. In the same way that we have given it, we have also received help through orientations, consultancy, analyses, exchanging experiences, and all else implied in a socialization between peoples that have suffered similar prejudices on the part of a (dominant) national society (De la Torre, Luis, interview, 2013).

He added that, at the organizational level of the CONAIE, this and then subsequent IBE-related cooperation provided:

the opportunity to lead an important social development process of the time and acquire goods such as cars, houses, trips, and diverse equipment for their offices (De la Torre, Luis, 2013, interview).

He also affirmed that for a time, through this cooperation, the CONAIE was able to access more resources for indigenous education than the Ministry of Education itself (De la Torre, Luis, 2013, interview).

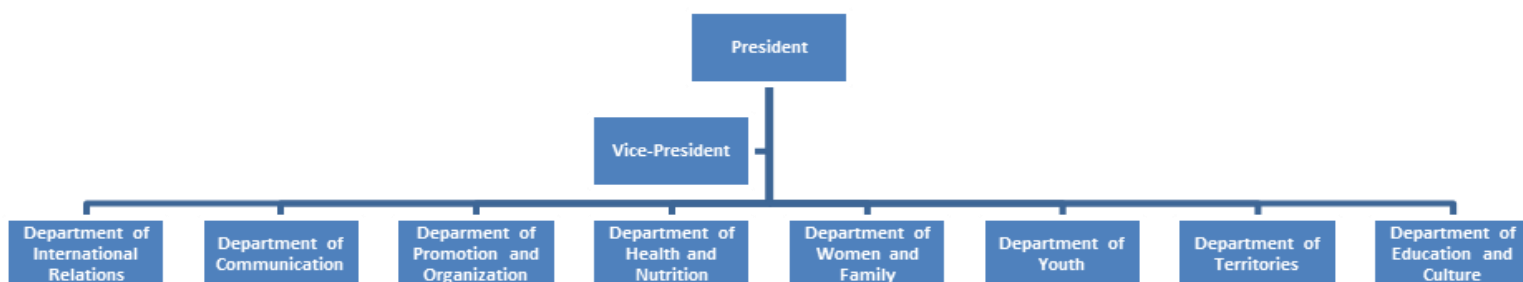
⁶⁰ There have, to date, been nine of these conferences. A tenth, Abram notes, was supposed to take place in Ecuador but has not yet, he argues, due to the inactivity of current IBE administrators (Abram, 2013, interview).

Abram explained that he was keen to direct support to the CONAIE, despite the German agreement being originally for State-State cooperation. Specific examples given include the paying for the cost for their attending and hosting international and national conferences, developing the CONAIE’s own education unit, paying for promotional materials, and purchasing a property in Quito’s historic centre to house offices which, though bought in connection to the PEBI, was acquired in the CONAIE’s name and, ultimately, left for use at their discretion⁶¹ (Abram, 2013, interview).

The PEBI influenced structure in more ways than physical buildings, however. Simultaneous cooperation with the CONAIE and the State affected the learning of both, and helped bring them into a shared structure – or learning context – with each other. Abram “wanted the project to be a partnership between the CONAIE, the MEC and the GTZ” (Abram, 2013, interview). He ensured that five delegates of the CONAIE were constantly involved in the PEBI at all times – working side-by-side with MEC employees and officials. This has implied benefits and challenges. In this process of finding a space for the CONAIE *within* the MEC, a kind of work and organization characteristic of the State was, to some degree, encouraged in the indigenous participants that would populate this space (De la Torre, Luz, interview, 2013).

While governance in many indigenous communities might well be distinctly “horizontal”, the organization of the CONAIE at the executive level is not unlike the model of most nation-states and corporations (see Figure 2 below).

Figure 2.



Source: elaborated by the author with information from www.conaie.org

⁶¹Macas mentioned this house – stating that it had been a great library related to IBE for several years, but later was not maintained. It is now, he believes, being used as a Quito residence for CONAIE leadership (Macas, 2014, interview).

The CONAIE has one individual leader (not an assembly), and departments below him or her are based on specific issue areas (not holistic in focus) and led, again, by individuals, usually specialized in those areas. The CONAIE acknowledges on their website that it may have “been developed with too much influence from the structure of labor unions or interest groups” and claims that they “are searching for work methods that faithfully reflect our own manner of arriving at consensus” (www.conaie.org).

While concerns about following this “Western” model may be valid in some respects, it did perhaps also help to attract Western support. This form of organization was understood and esteemed by international cooperation organizations that had similar structures. Anita Krainer, an Austrian expert in interculturality who has worked with the GTZ, recalled “grass-roots” projects in which European colleagues were shocked and disoriented when entire indigenous communities showed up for meetings, instead of sending one or two representatives to speak on their behalf – the norm for decision-making and governance in their own cultures (Krainer, 2013, personal communication). The CONAIE’s specialized division of labour and its hierarchy are hallmarks of the organization of modern Western capitalist societies.⁶²

When asked if the GTZ favoured collaborating with the CONAIE over other organizations, Abram responded promptly, “Of course, they were *the* indigenous organization”, referring to their national reach and their consolidation of smaller organizations throughout the country. He mentioned that this multi-level structure made it easier for the GTZ to work at the grassroots level. He was eager since the CONAIE’s establishment to form a triangulation in PEBI governance between the State, the GTZ, and the CONAIE (Abram, interview, 2013).⁶³ It was always a goal, he asserted, to get IBE within the Ministry since he believed that to be the key to its permanence after the GTZ’s departure (Abram, interview, 2013).

The GTZ shared space with the DINEIB briefly within the MEC before leaving. The reasons for the GTZ’s departure are contested, but most interviewees concurred that there had been some conflict between certain German and Indigenous functionaries.

⁶² Efficiency in terms of rapid production, but clearly not always in terms of sustainability.

⁶³ Indeed, he sees the lack of this as having been a weakness of the CIEI, attempting to organize education directly and from the University. He does, however, credit the CIEI as the PEBI’s main predecessor and acknowledges that the majority of the indigenous collaborators within PEBI had previously been trained in the CIEI (Abram, interview, 2013).

Abram is aware of some people's accusations of the PEBI having tried to impose a German vision onto IBE (Abram, 2013, interview). Monteluisa suggested that an imposition of a German model for IBE was incongruent with the indigenous model and this occasioned the GTZ being asked to leave the DINEIB (Monteluisa, 2013, interview).⁶⁴ Abram argued that it would not be possible to impose *the* German model since there is no *one* German approach; there are many philosophies (Abram, 2013, interview).⁶⁵ He asserted that a simple "transfer of know-how" was never the aim in this project, and much less was it the aim to impose any German model.⁶⁶

Just as Yánez had her particularly demanding academic standards, he had results-oriented standards. "I'm not a slave-driver", he laughed, "but I did want people to work". "We had meetings to discuss and assign tasks, tasks aimed at results (...) Many people who are today great leaders learnt to work in the project ... many." When he said this, he was referring, of course, to a particular kind of work. He explained that many participants came from rural families that did not have a tradition of working in offices, and much less with the State (Abram, 2013, interview). Abram acknowledged that, since this was a new kind of work for many, some indigenous participants might have felt pressured at times in completing it.

Conejo suggested that this was probably a source of some of the clashes that occurred. There might have been a difference between the Germans expectations of how to complete work and make decisions – which he called more vertical and punctual – and the indigenous way which, despite the CONAIE's rather "Western" structure, he deemed to be generally more horizontal and less linear (Conejo, 2013, interview).

De la Torre stated that he does not think cultural differences were a main factor in the disagreements that occurred but rather a kind of rivalry (De la Torre, Luis, 2013, interview). Macas felt that "work in the GTZ accustomed people to a very vertical way of getting tasks completed" but that, on the other hand, part of "the rupture between the GTZ and the DINEIB was because the GTZ was more productive" (De la Torre, Luis, 2013, interview).

⁶⁴ Abram argues that they were not dismissed, but left due to a refocusing within the GTZ (2013, interview).

⁶⁵ There is also no *one* indigenous educational philosophy either.

⁶⁶ It is worth noting that the state-state agreements between Germany and Ecuador did speak more in terms of knowledge transfer; nonetheless, Abram had enough liberty in managing the project to change its focus in practice (the same way as the State's intentions for the CIEI were changed by participants).

Abram expressed frustration that a group working within the DINEIB had lobbied against the use of materials that had taken the PEBI a great deal of time to develop and secure funding for. Instead of these texts, a series of what he referred to as “Disney-like” texts were developed and used by this rival group (Abram, 2013, interview). Whatever the cause for the conflict, Luz De la Torre contended, everyone involved in IBE at the time seemed genuinely to have good intentions, and it is a shame that further collaboration was not possible between them (De la Torre, Luz, 2013, interview).

Abram grew up in Bolzano, the trilingual (German, Italian, and Ladin) capital city of the Northern-Italian autonomous province, South Tyrol. Here, he asserts, is where he learnt to value interculturality and bilingualism (Abram, 2013, interview). He speaks nine languages - German, Italian, Spanish, English, French, Portuguese, Kichwa, Sinhala and K'iché; he is a Doctor of Philosophy teaching courses such as “Ethnography of Communication in Multilingual and Multicultural contexts” at a university with an intercultural mandate; and he divides his years between living in Italy and Ecuador. He asserted that he was open to serviceable ideas from anywhere, but primarily sought them within the indigenous communities themselves (in accordance with critical pedagogy) (Abram, 2013, interview).⁶⁷ Macas confirmed that Abram was particularly focused on this kind of grassroots cooperation (Macas, 2013, interview).

Notwithstanding, anyone’s personal and cultural background inevitably influences his or her interests. For example, while wanting communities (and the CONAIE) to take the lead in their own education, he did state that “it was very difficult to raise consciousness of the *use* of studying one’s own language among parents” (Abram, 2013, interview). This suggests that he, himself, had become committed through his own experience to the idea that own-language study was important and useful and he did want community members to come to share this view.

Thus, while wanting community members themselves to take the lead, he had a clear personal opinion on what some of the objectives of this leadership should be if

⁶⁷He listed several influences on his own educational perspectives, and among them he highlighted Waldorf education, which is a learner-centred approach that encourages learning through play, practical activities and the exploration of the learner’s own interests. He thought that some aspects of this approach might serve as an avenue for including traditional indigenous learning methods, and communities, into formal IBE schools’ activities and governance.

they were going to contribute to lasting change. Conejo noted that the undervaluing in communities of indigenous languages that Abram hoped to reverse was the result of hundreds of years of (oppressive) influence from outsiders, asserting that a lack of interest in the study of their own language grew out of the belief that Spanish was the only means to accessing new opportunities (Conejo, 2013, interview).

Freire argued that, while people must ultimately liberate themselves and set their own agendas to do so, this: “does not mean that the objectives of revolutionary action should be limited by the (...) [often naïve] aspirations of the people” (Freire, 1970: 182). In calling these aspirations “naïve” Freire was contrasting them to the aspirations they could develop after they have critically analyzed their situation and envisioned alternative paths to meeting their needs beyond those established by their oppressors.

When a person is convinced that he and his people have only one option, he is likely to defend their pursuit of it against suggestions from outsiders. Freire asserted that revolutionary leaders must respect and learn from the people’s worldview, but not be “passively bound to that vision” since the point is to collaborate and build new alternatives with them; otherwise, “in the guise of respect for that view”, no real effort at promoting positive new perspectives and ambitions through critical learning is made. (Freire, 1970: 180).⁶⁸

Abram contended that this “guise” of respecting the people’s current views has been commonly applied by DINEIB bureaucrats:

The bureaucrats gave up on bilingualism, hiring mestizos that don’t speak the language and justifying this by saying that parents don’t want it. 80% of the (IBE) schools aren’t bilingual (Abram, 2013, interview).

He called this giving up “an unconstitutional defrauding on the part of the indigenous DINEIB administration itself” since it does not live up to the role for IBE defined in the constitution (Abram, 2013, interview). Abram, who has worked behind a computer, speaking at conferences, and directly with communities in the field, had hoped all IBE professionals would be equally motivated to not just “work their hours” in the office or classroom and then clock-out, but to become “promoters of development in their communities” (Abram, 2013, interview). Unfortunately, as all the interviewees agreed,

⁶⁸ He used demands for higher wages as an example of how a necessary synthesis can be formed: “the leaders must on the one hand identify with the peoples demand for higher salaries, while on the other they must pose the meaning of that very demand as a problem” (Freire, 1970: 180).

this has not been the most common case. Abram is certainly not alone in his concern about this bureaucratic defrauding. Macas said that:

The “sickness” of bureaucratization⁶⁹(...) grew fast in the DINEIB. (...) In the GTZ, they were much more active in the field. (...) The CONAIE proposed IBE and the expectation in communities was that this would support the process of organization. However, through bureaucratization this (expectation) started to lessen. Even in the schools, the teachers started to just work their hours and teach the same things as in any other school. It became something completely different from the aspirations. Many workers were affiliated with the CONAIE, but once they secured their positions within the DINEIB, they did not have much to do with the organization or with the communities (Macas, 2014, interview).

Luis De la Torre agreed that:

In reality, our people bureaucratized to an exaggerated degree in these positions, both in offices and in teaching, and I would go much further than that and say that worrying levels of corruption were reached (...) (De la Torre, 2013, interview).

As described in the previous chapter, these concerns have been central to Correa’s critique of the CONAIE’s leadership of the DINEIB. However, Macas asserted that this was not so much a problem with the CONAIE’s control of the DINEIB but, to the contrary, a problem that stemmed from the CONAIE’s loss of control over the DINEIB, which he claimed happened long before the Correa’s administration’s absorption of it.

Macas stated that only “until about 1992, the CONAIE did have more of a connection with the DINEIB”. After that:

The administration of the DINEIB – national and provincial –did not coordinate well with the CONAIE. They independently chose their provincial directors as opposed to hosting elections via the organizations within the CONAIE. From then on, the community couldn’t run things locally through its organizations affiliated with the CONAIE; instead inspectors from the DINEIB occasionally came down to visit IBE schools in communities and made all of their decisions from above (Macas, 2014, interview).

“In the end”, he lamented:

We haven’t been able to control these institutional spaces (within the State), like the DINEIB, as we had hoped to. The political power over them comes from above and so with changing governments, they have been able to use them more for their purposes than we could for ours (Macas, 2014, interview).

⁶⁹He defined bureaucratization as the ailment of people who assume an attitude of superiority to others because they work in an office, who are not interested in working hands-on in the community, and who engage in presentism – that is, in getting paid for just “being there” putting in hours behind a desk (Macas, 2014, interview).

He reflected on the irony of how they appropriated the state-facilitated CIEI and the PEBI for their use while, in turn, the DINEIB (opened by the movement's own demands on the State) was appropriated by the government for its use (Macas, 2014, interview).

Despite the sense of disappointment expressed by the interviewees that were involved in the development of IBE with regards to what has become of it, it is undeniable that gains have been made. GTZ collaboration led to the purchase of office space for the CONAIE, brought members of the organization to international conferences, and helped indigenous people to get their feet in the doors of State offices. In both the CIEI, and then the PEBI, indigenous participants were encouraged to take part in critical reflection and they have all expressed that, on a personal level, these experiences benefited them in many ways. As Luis De La Torre put it, relating these two experiences directly to the methods prescribed by Freire:

This stage of the psychosocial method⁷⁰ really caused us to reflect deeply. (...) It occurred at a key moment in which we had been in a cultural decomposition as indigenous people. The majority of indigenous people were becoming embarrassed by their identity and opting to camouflage themselves as mestizos. I say that (these experiences) obliged us to reflect deeply because the axis of conceptions about indigenous education were precisely our identity with its culture, people, organizations, lands, symbols, celebrations, cultural patrimony and focuses on interculturality. This notably interrupted the runaway process of acculturation that had been occurring (De La Torre, 2013, interview).

Marleen Haboud stressed that people's aspirations for education, and liberation, existed long before the IBE system's development (Haboud, 2013, interview). Luis Macas, acknowledging the influence of Freire's work and of his own learning in IBE's development, explained that these influences were less directly instructional and more a matter of providing new terms in which to articulate what they had already experienced (Macas, 2013, interview). Articulation of lived experience and of feelings can help clarify these into a new understanding, however.

De la Torre explained that indigenous people felt their oppression in a way that would be very difficult for others to understand, no matter how well-intentioned some non-indigenous allies were; nonetheless, despite this feeling being widespread in the indigenous population, he described the experience of those who had received a critical education through these new interactions, such as himself, returning to their

⁷⁰ The "psycho-social method" is a name sometimes given to Freire's critical pedagogy.

communities as feeling as if they stood before “a legion of blind people, and were the only ones that could see” (De la Torre, Luis, interview, 2013).

Considering the kind of learning that the participants in the development of IBE experienced, and the enthusiasm they set out with, their general disappointment in its outcomes with respect to the system that grew out of it is understandable. Nonetheless, “the runaway process of acculturation” had indeed been challenged (De la Torre, Luis, 2013, interview). In Tables 3 and 4, the degree to which the learning described above, experienced at the level of indigenous leaders in the development of IBE, has been critical is given a final assessment. Following this, the results of field research in a contemporary IBE high school are presented with the goal of understanding what the State and indigenous leadership developments described above have meant in practice to the indigenous youth of one specific indigenous community.

Table 3. Did this learning correspond to characteristics of critical learning?

<p>Collaborative</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From the beginning of the CIEI intercultural and international collaboration was already present in the team of the indigenous Macas, the <i>mestiza</i> Yáñez, and the French Tarle. • In the CIEI and the PEBI indigenous participants were at once learners, teachers, and leaders. Their participation had been sought out by established non-indigenous academics because of their expertise as members of the linguistic and cultural group of interest. Thus, the criterion of an equal footing for intercultural collaboration to occur, proposed by both Freire (Freire: 1970) and Walsh (Walsh: 2009), was approximated by the fact that both the indigenous and non-indigenous collaborators regarded each other as experts. Both groups were aware that the other possessed a different kind of valuable knowledge that they themselves wished to acquire. • Collaboration and networking with people of different backgrounds – cultural, economic, and academic – presented them with new perspectives and new alternatives to consider for their pursuits in study and work. • Collaboration on these projects with indigenous leaders from other parts of the country, and later other parts of the world, increased the transnational nature of their learning.
<p>Problem-posing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Since their own groups’ historic exclusion from education, and their own culture and language, were the subjects they were studying, an atmosphere of critical reflection on what had hitherto been “normal” or “accepted” was encouraged. • Their direct interactions with other social groups, both collaborative and conflictive, shed new light on the reality of the national and international structures and power dynamics they were living in and problematized them.
<p>Praxis-based</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They were not learning just for the sake of learning or a title in these contexts, they were there to do a job – to create a new Kichwa-language education. • They reflected critically on their own conditions and realities and took a series of actions to deal with what they themselves were defining as problems; theory and practice were both at play.

Table 4. Did the impacts of this learning meet critical learning objectives?

<p>Solidarity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thanks to the collaboration and socialization amongst rising leaders from across the country in these contexts, they formed a more united group to lead the national (and transnational) indigenous movement. • In reaction to discomfort and discrimination on campus, and upon returning to their own communities now differentiated by higher education, indigenous participants of CIEI formed a close-knit, solidary group. • On the other hand, the suspicion and hostility felt toward this new university-educated group by many indigenous people who did not share this experience, made the task of establishing a mutual sense of true solidarity with them somewhat more difficult; that is, many indigenous people had come to see them as outsiders and, as such, perhaps hoped for benefits from them (as they did from non-indigenous university alumni interested in their communities' development) while not necessarily expecting or hoping for genuine solidarity with them.
<p>Positive Identity Affirmation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partly in reaction to the discrimination from without their group at the CIEI, and partly support found within it, they felt compelled to “re-indianize”. • The deeper reflection on their culture and language encouraged within the CIEI and the PEBI helped to vindicate it. • Ethnic and class identities then strengthened and expanded to include redefinitions of a national and even transnational indigenous identity. • On an individual level, participants developed new personal identities as renowned professionals, academics and leaders.
<p>Commitment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indigenous interviewees expressed a newfound enthusiasm and a sense of purpose brought on by their participation in these projects. • In general, close ties were retained with home communities; even those living in cities regularly return to their communities and maintain strong relationships with people living in them. • The commitment to furthering the cycle of critical pedagogy was much stronger in some cases than in others; many of those who began as leader-educators ultimately committed themselves strictly to politics, academia, or administration and left the tasks of critical pedagogy to others.

IBE high school students' learning

Dolores Cacuango High School

Dolores Cacuango was the historic matriarch of formal Kichwa literacy education in Ecuador. The school chosen for analysis was named after her and is located where her first efforts took place – the canton of Cayambe, in the province of Pichincha. The school's mission and vision statements are in keeping with Cacuango's general aim of emancipation, and with the tenets of critical pedagogy:

Mission:

The educational unit "Dolores Cacuango" develops human talents through basic education and high school, with identity, to achieve their own and universal knowledge and techniques, to become critical human beings, leaders and entrepreneurs who contribute to the good life of the peoples and nationalities of the country and, by extension, the world.

Vision:

The educational unit "Dolores Cacuango" will become a leading institution in the training of technicians and graduates in science, oriented toward research, action and entrepreneurship. An institution with infrastructure, equipment and the latest technology, with highly trained, skilled and efficient staff that promote a highly participatory education of both quality and warmth for the good life.

Institutional Values:

The Intercultural Bilingual Education unit "Dolores Cacuango" is based on the following values:

- The improvement of the confidence and self-esteem of all actors
- The valuing of cultural events with identity: language, customs, music, dance and other activities.
- Punctuality in all its actions. All activities will be carried out at the appointed time.

(Colegio Dolores Cacuango, 2013)

Assertions related to fostering identity, critical thinking, entrepreneurialism, confidence, self-esteem and the Good Life via “a highly participatory education” can be found in the mission statements of most IBE-founded schools, reflecting their origins in the indigenous movement, its stated goal of liberation, and of using a critical pedagogy as a means to achieve it.

Having examined the learning in the CIEI and the PEBI – two learning contexts that developed many more learning spaces (IBE schools) that did not exist previously – this section examines the learning occurring in one of these specific spaces. The framework offered by the Ecuadorian State, then in cooperation with the German State,

did not foresee all of the developments that came out of the agency of participants in the CIEI and the PEBI; equally, the opening of an IBE school where none was before can be a new opportunity for the contributions of community members, school directors, teachers and students to make of it in practice something quite distinct in each particular case. All of these local actors have been given a new institutional and discursive structure from above, but what they make of this structure in practice depends on themselves, on their aspirations and current understandings.

This high school, like each one in the IBE system, has a unique history and belongs to a unique community in which people have experienced different realities and have different aspirations. Dolores Cacungo was originally created in La Loma, a neighborhood in Quito, under ministerial agreement #023 on June 18th, 1997, offering a specialty in social sciences for the growing indigenous population in the city. However, this IBE high school, with its particular specialty and location, did not attract enough indigenous city-dwellers. Most parents preferred to send their children to the non-IBE high schools in Quito to study more technical specializations (teacher, 2013, interview).

As a result, a decision was made by the DINEIB to relocate the high school where one had been requested by the local community indigenous organization, COINCCA, in Cochapamba, Cayambe. Ministerial Decree #023 on February 4th, 1999 made the plan for the move official. From the very founding of this school, then, we can see that it has been adapted to local aspirations and agency. The DINEIB planned on a social science-oriented urban high school, but learnt from the indigenous public's demands that this was not what was desired at the moment. In response, the school became a technical rural high school instead.

On the same website that contains the mission, vision, and value statements for the school, the administration acknowledges that:

Students are the reason for the high school's existence. However, their participation and welfare have been neglected (Colegio Dolores Cacungo, 2013).

Nonetheless, interviews held with the staff and students (two students from each grade; one male, one female) proved that the existence of this high school has been greatly valued by the community, and has dramatically altered the directions many students' lives will take, and the learning that will take them in those new directions. The researcher joined these students on a special excursion to Quito. For most of the

children interviewed, this was their first time visiting the capital and they expressed a great deal of excitement about the visit. From there, the researcher rode back to Cochapamba with them on a bus, and the next day visited the school to speak more in depth with staff and students and to engage in further participant observation by attending several classes.

The Staff

A mix of perspectives emerged in conversation amongst the teachers and the director of Dolores Cacuanango. One teacher, who had studied psychology, spoke passionately about indigenous language and culture, was well-versed in intercultural theory and proudly stressed these elements as central to his work in the classroom; the rest of the teachers preferred to discuss the implications of the IBE system being subsumed into the Ministry, including having to work longer days and experiencing a lack of material resources. The director stressed that last point, regarding resources, questioning why orders for basic supplies could not be filled while the construction of a few expensive high-tech “millennium schools” were being celebrated in government commercials. He believes they received more support before this government, but notes that this support had come in large part from international cooperation, which has lessened (staff of Dolores Cacuanango, 2013, interview).

The one teacher who was uniquely interested in discussing the aims and practice of intercultural bilingual education noted that most of his colleagues were indigenous, though they speak only Spanish in front of their students and “pretend to be mestizos” (teacher, 2013, interview). If being mestizo or indigenous is taken to be a matter primarily of self-identification, it is unclear whether his accusation of their “pretending” to be something they were not is wholly justifiable. He explained, however, that he meant they had themselves grown up in indigenous households. If this was indeed the case, and the students of these teachers are equally aware of this recent identity change, then this might obscure the identity-affirming aim of IBE and critical pedagogy.

The director made brief mention of the importance of having a special system for indigenous students, though membership in the IBE system seemed irrelevant to most staff. One teacher even paused when asked about the school’s status to consider whether or not it were still intercultural before agreeing that “yes, oh yes, sure, it is a

part of that system” (teacher, 2014, interview). While the teachers seemed to have a good relationship with their students, and appeared committed to their work, commitment to fostering a particularly intercultural or bilingual environment seemed lacking.

The Students

With regards to the identity-building aspect of their education all twelve students interviewed expressed that they had learnt their indigenous identity at home or in their community, not at school. Several did, however, specify that they were told at school to be “proud of being indigenous” (3rd-year student, 2013, interview), “not ashamed to be indigenous” (5th-year student, 2013, interview), “that it is very good to be indigenous” (2nd-year student, 2013, interview) and that it is a “duty to maintain our indigenous identity” (4th-year student, 2013, interview) and “to show respect for our ancestors” (2nd-year student, 2013, interview).

When asked to define what it meant to be indigenous, the following twelve answers were given: “to be well”; “a clothing style”; “to struggle for land”; “to have tradition and work in the country”; “to be part of a nationality made up of different communities”; “people from America”; “tradition”; “culture and clothing”; “customs”; “preserve a culture and language”; “to be cultured”; “to be natural (not pretentious)” (students, 2013, interview). Asked to state their nationality, six students said Ecuadorian (two of which specified that they were Ecuadorian firstly, then “Cayambe indigenous” secondly). The other six said they were Cayambe/indigenous (two of which specified that they would say Ecuadorian only to foreigners or outside of the country) (students, 2013, interview).

When asked to explain what interculturality meant, most students simply recited definitions of the term; for example, “an interaction between cultures” (6th-year student, 2013, interview). At a different point in the conversation, several students offered personal intercultural experiences: “the people in they city of Cayambe are very ... (giggled without finishing) ... but it’s OK, we can be friends” (5th-grade student, 2013, interview); “sometimes they laugh at us because of our clothes” (6th-grade student, 2013, interview); “I don’t know many non-indigenous people, most of us (in the school) are indigenous, but there are family differences. At school with friends and teachers I

learned to talk more. At home we are quiet” (5th-grade student, 2013, interview). One of the girls interviewed, who said she was the only non-indigenous student in her grade, said that “I don’t know many mestizos outside of my own family now, but I am happy that (the other students) do not treat me differently here” (4th-grade student, 2013, interview).

With respect to the language component of IBE, all students agreed that this was not a focus in their studies. Kichwa was only spoken to them in one Kichwa language class, and those that did not speak it at home said that they had learnt more Kichwa from friends than from this class (students, 2013, interview). Overall, it was clear that students did demonstrate comfort and, in many cases, pride in discussing their indigenous identities. They also expressed a keen interest in non-indigenous cultures even if they had not interacted with many people of them before. For example, when asked if she knew many non-indigenous people, one girl said “I know you now ... and I would like to meet more” (2nd-year, 2013, interview).

The positive feelings about their own cultural identity, and healthy interest in others, clearly owed to a positive socialization in their families, in their communities, and also in their school. Notwithstanding, this socialization did not appear to foster educational priorities very distinct from those of non-indigenous Ecuadorian students, and their education did not seem to encourage critical reflection as much as it did aspirations for access to career opportunities. Most of the students responded enthusiastically to a question regarding their plans for after high school. Like many mestizo counterparts in the Hispanic system, they seemed to view high school primarily as a stepping-stone to higher educational opportunities; as the first of several rites to be passed in order to enter into a profession. Of the twelve students interviewed, ten said they planned to go to university.⁷¹

Not a single student, however, said that they planned to work in or around Cochapamba immediately after graduating from high school.⁷² This is significant, noted one teacher, since almost none of their parents had even considered post-secondary education an option open to them, and had lived their whole lives in the community;

⁷¹ One of the remaining two said she would like to be a secretary and the other said he would like to be a soldier.

⁷² Although it is worth noting that a majority said they would like to return to work in or near their community after graduating from university.

indeed, he explained, many had not attended secondary education at all and, of those who had, many had dropped out from the non-IBE schools they had attended (teacher, 2013, interview). This contrasts strikingly with the matter-of-fact attitude shown by students in this IBE school towards moving on to higher education. When asked why he wanted to go to university, one of the youngest students interviewed answered plainly “that is where you go when you finish high school”; then, when asked if his parents had also gone to university, he answered, “no, not in *their* times” (1st-year student, 2013, interview).

Students reported plans to study a wide variety of subjects – from languages to sciences, and from commerce to architecture (students, 2013, interview). It is worth recalling here that, a generation ago, the most likely means for indigenous students to access higher education was to partake in the programs related to the development of the IBE system itself or, once this system was established, to join the teacher training programs funded to help staff this new system.

Several students spoke not just about what subjects they would like to study but also, in the cases of some of the final year students, about scholarships and funding. They demonstrated an awareness of academic scholarships offered to the population in general, and also an interest in researching more about scholarships aimed at the indigenous population. When asked where they had learnt about such opportunities the answers were mixed, but most said they had heard about them at school, either from teachers or classmates (students, 2013, interview). Thus, while students did not cite the school as the primary place where they learnt what it meant to be indigenous, it has been the context where most learnt that as Ecuadorian citizens, and as indigenous Ecuadorians particularly, they now had a good chance of accessing some kind of economic aid should they wish to further their formal education. Most importantly their IBE high school, in part by its very existence as a state-sponsored school designed for indigenous inclusion, has taught them that their indigenous identity does not, as it had in the past, exclude them from a range of possibilities post-graduation.

Many people might seize upon the fact that students were not actively learning new things about their indigenous identity – having learnt this primarily at home – as evidence that the school had done little to live up to its official mandate. However, the impact of a change is best measured against the previous status quo, rather than against

an ideal that has not yet existed in practice. Prior to this school's foundation, there had been no school within the community. The closest was an hour away in Cayambe City, the capital of Cayambe canton, and was a non-IBE school in which students were at a young age confronted with discrimination.

While most ideals of an intercultural education would obviously include interaction⁷³ with another cultural group, it must be remembered that for this to be a fruitful exchange it must occur in a situation of mutual respect and equality and an experience at a young age of strong discrimination might produce the opposite of the desired effect – a fear or disdain of the “Other” as opposed to a constructive interest.

Still, such segregation is always a bandage social measure; it does not heal wounds as much as it conceals them. The majority of students said that they liked their school precisely because it is “for us” and they felt more comfortable in the company of students and teachers of a similar cultural background. However, there would be no need to feel uncomfortable in a culturally-mixed school if a great number of mestizo children were not still learning, in their families and in the “regular” (and not-at-all intercultural) schools, to discriminate against indigenous people. An education that fosters interculturality in society might be better aimed at undoing the teachings of prejudiced teachers and parents than at isolating groups of minority children.

Impressed by the consistency with which students voiced a plan to study at universities in Quito after graduation, and recalling the impact that time spent at the Catholic University had on the indigenous leaders interviewed, the researcher also interviewed two students, one male and one female, that are currently studying at the Catholic University. The female student was enrolled in Law and the male student in Business. Both of these students had studied at IBE schools in highlands' provinces. They were asked about their time within the IBE system, about their experiences in the university, and about whether their IBE experience facilitated in any way their entrance to university.

Their concerns about IBE high schools were very similar to those expressed by the current high school students. Principally, they focused on how they felt the teachers hired had not received the best training or lacked internal motivation. Interestingly,

⁷³Indeed, “interaction” was a keyword used in the definitions of interculturality recited by three of the students interviewed (students, interview, 2013).

however, despite this critique one statement by the male student might suggest that this very lack of commitment on the part of some teachers made room for students to learn how to self-motivate. “It was up to us if we wanted to learn or not.” In the case of these two students, they chose to learn, and said that they did find in their IBE school access to an initial education that peaked their personal interest in their chosen subjects. (Catholic University students, 2013, interview)

Both students adamantly expressed that the best part of attending an IBE school had been having a place to learn where they could feel “safe”. When asked to explain if they might have felt less “safe” in a non-IBE school, they said that this would probably have been the case. They came to this conclusion based on stories they had heard from family and friends who had attended Hispanic high schools. They were told of teachers and mestizo students treating indigenous students as unintelligent or strange, especially those that struggled with Spanish (Catholic University students, 2013, interview).

Similarly, Matthias Abram asserted that indigenous students tended to learn Spanish better when studying in IBE schools rather than in Hispanic ones (Abram, 2013, interview). Generally, one would assume that a fuller immersion experience amongst native speakers of a language would produce better results but, in this case, the feeling of “safety” found in studying amongst peers of a similar background seems to have worked better than an immersion in the language (and the discrimination) of a non-bilingual school.

In discussing the degree to which they had felt discrimination since moving to Quito, and whether or not their “intercultural” learning had prepared them for this, they smiled good-naturedly as if to say “it is a reality, but we don’t let it bother us”. They confirmed that IBE had not particularly prepared them, but that it didn’t need to since they were already well-informed from other sources about prejudice and had experienced it to some degree in visiting smaller cities before coming to Quito (Catholic University students, 2013, interview).

Something that was quite distinct from the experience of the 1980s Catholic University indigenous alumni interviewed was that they felt there was very little open discrimination on campus and that it was not at all difficult to fit into non-indigenous social groups. “We have lots of non-indigenous friends here, and also our little group of indigenous friends” (Catholic University student, 2013, interview). This “little group”

might imply that there is still gravitation between indigenous students towards each other while on campus, even if they are being more readily welcomed into other groups as well.

Discrimination is not totally absent, however. On the one hand, they said that some people seem to “positively” discriminate in wanting to befriend them especially *because* they are indigenous as a sort of testament to their own self-identity as progressive multiculturalists. On the other hand, the business student said that he could tell people were shocked when he started attending classes with them in economics courses. “People have gotten used to seeing us on campus, but they expect us to only study linguistics or anthropology. They seem surprised that we can do other things” (Catholic University students, 2013, interview).

So, while the presence of indigenous students on an elite university campus was a shock in the 1980s, and openly opposed by some, their presence in the departments where those initial spaces were made for them has now become accepted, but in a broader range of subjects continues to reveal an expectation that they would either not be interested in, or unable to, study in other areas that do not relate directly to the study of their own culture or language. These students are trailblazers for future indigenous professionals, just as the participants in the CIEI and the PEBI had been in their generation.

Based on the enthusiasm with which Dolores Cacuanango students spoke about a wide range of careers, we can expect a continuing stream of indigenous youth coming out of this and other IBE high schools into new university and professional contexts, and we can hope that they will support new critical interactions, reflection and positive change in these now somewhat more welcoming contexts. IR constructivists sometimes describe a kind of international learning process they study as a “norm cascade”, in which norm entrepreneurs – most often influential ones – socialize enough states until the norm is accepted and spread downward to all states.

The relationship between the local and the global, however, might be more aptly compared to precipitation, which is usually imperceptible in the ascent to the atmosphere, but at times causative of torrential downpours. We notice the biggest clouds, and we notice the rain, but it is hard to keep track of all the specific sources from which that water was initially drawn. When there is enough issue convergence, in

enough places in the world, it is bound to collect and rise up. With broader social inclusion in a variety of contexts, there is no telling what new ideas and commitments might result, become widespread, and start rising up. If this particular high school has not directly provided a particularly critical learning context, it has hopefully facilitated entrance to other contexts that will.

In tables 5 and 6 below, the degree of critical learning at this level is expressed. The following, and concluding, chapter compares the learning that has occurred at all three levels analyzed above, and the relationship between these. Recommendations are then given for encouraging critical learning at more levels in society.

Table 5. Did this learning correspond to characteristics of critical learning?

<p>Collaborative</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students occasionally engaged in group-work with each other in the classrooms. • One student took part in a special event where indigenous student delegates from around the country collaborated in intercultural activities. The fact that only one student had this experience might reflect a continued focus on “leadership training” as opposed to preparing whole communities as collaborators in a more community-based/horizontal governance. • Students generally perceived their teachers as controllers, not co-learners.
<p>Problem-posing</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material is taught from a set curriculum and students described rote memorization as the main method of learning this material. The custom of being given “correct” answers to memorize was evident in their responses to being asked to define what interculturality meant to <i>them</i>; students either recited a memorized definition or told the researcher that they had forgot the answer. • When asked to define things they would like to see changed in their high school, they stated that they would like infrastructure improved and better teacher training. Several also mentioned, however, that they simply want their school to stay open, suggesting positive feelings about their school and also an awareness that its longevity faces obstacles, such as poor funding. • Despite the fact that a more teacher-centred methodology does not present students with too many problems to consider on their own, one important and novel question had been posed to the students in their school: “What do you want to be when you grow up?” Most of their parents were not asked to figure this out, as until now this had been historically pre-determined.
<p>Praxis-based</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students expressed a critical awareness of educational and infrastructure faults in their school, but they did not seem to think that any actions they could take could lead to positive changes. These were problems for “the authorities” to solve. Several did, however, state that they would like to return after receiving a university education to contribute to their local communities. • On their field trip to Quito, specifically to a water museum, the students were very keen (much more so than the groups of students from Hispanic Quito schools also present that day) to volunteer and participate in the optional interactive activities proposed by the guide. They were speaking about the things they had <i>done</i> at this museum the entire ride home. • In interviews, most of the students said that their favourite part of school-life was taking action (e.g. playing sports at recess, going on field trips, preparing school events) and they would like their everyday classes to include more real-life action to balance the lessons taught/memorized.

Table 6. Did the impacts of this learning meet critical learning objectives?

<p>Solidarity</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students reported feeling more comfortable in a mainly indigenous school than they imagined they could have if they had gone to one of the Hispanic schools in the city. • Students said that they do not fight or bully much amongst themselves and that they were solidary in keeping each other out of trouble with teachers. • Both the solidarity they felt in belonging to an indigenous school (and thus protected from the prejudice of the Hispanic ones) and the solidarity they felt as students (against their teachers) suggest a lack of broader solidarity (e.g. with non-indigenous citizens and with their teachers)
<p>Positive Identity Affirmation</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overall, students did seem proud to assert their indigenous identity to the non-indigenous person interviewing them and they did note that this pride was encouraged within their school. • Most teachers identified themselves to the students as mestizos, not indigenous, and did not speak Kichwa in the school (even though some grew up speaking it); on the other hand, while the students mostly spoke Spanish amongst themselves, the majority identified themselves as indigenous and did not think there was any stigma attached to using Kichwa in their school. • Most of their sense of what it meant to be indigenous was learnt at home and in society, not in the school, and their descriptions of what was unique about their culture was mainly limited to location (a rural community), style of dress, and language. • When speaking about language as a unique feature of their indigenous identity, however, several students spoke about <i>bilingualism</i> itself as what was unique from mestizo culture. Similarly, a few students asserted that they probably know much more about mestizo culture than most mestizos know about their indigenous culture. Thus, <i>being</i> intercultural and bilingual has become to some a positive and distinctive part of their own indigenous identity. • While all stated that they were aware of discrimination still being an obstacle in accessing opportunities in the national society, they were also convinced that opportunities for higher education and diverse kinds of work would be available to them as indigenous youth. This conviction was learnt primarily at school. Many were also aware that some scholarship opportunities now exist <i>especially</i> for people who identify themselves as indigenous.
<p>Commitment</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The majority are committed to change in terms of pursuing new fields of study (new to their families and communities) through post-secondary education. • Most students reported a plan to come back from the city afterwards and to use their learning in the community, but they did not say why or how they developed this commitment so it is unclear whether this had to do with their learning in the school's context.

CHAPTER V CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis was titled “Pedagogy in an Oppressed State” partly to recall Paulo Freire’s pedagogy of and for people living in a state of oppression and partly to imply that the Ecuadorian State itself has been historically oppressed. It also indicates a main conclusion: The pedagogy of Ecuadorian Intercultural Bilingual Education remains oppressed. IBE’s potential to meet the ideals of critical pedagogy, ascribed to it by indigenous activists since 1979, has been truncated; in practice, IBE has promoted, and been shaped by, uncritical more than critical learning, and inclusion more than revolution. Nonetheless, this inclusion might still generate further critical and intercultural learning spaces and, as we have discovered, such spaces can cause change. It is the author’s hope that we are only at the beginning of a domino effect in which prejudices and other barriers to true interculturality are being toppled. This final chapter considers the kinds of learning that have taken place at the different levels studied and their relationship to each other. It ends by recommending ways for critical learning to be fostered further, at all levels, to promote more socially-just and less-oppressed societies.

Learning in IBE: two parts inclusion, one part revolution

Rosenau argued that “governance is always effective in performing the functions necessary to systemic persistence; else it is not conceived to exist” (Rosenau, 1992: 5). In order to continue, a system must sometimes adapt to changes in the reality it organizes, and to do so the actors within it may renegotiate aspects of its governance. A restaurant that changes its menu, staff and décor to adapt to changes in market demands or the availability of ingredients remains a restaurant. Its core systemic features – the preparing and selling of food for profit – persist. It would be different if the building were closed, renovated, and reopened as a community centre. The learning discussed here cannot be said to have revolutionized national or international systems because they have not changed “business as usual” within them. Nevertheless, inclusion within systemic governance has been widened and what we have learned in this thesis suggests that initial inclusion in the praxis of governance can lead to more significant changes.

“The big question (...) in explaining change, once we have established that ideas and discourse do matter” posed Schmidt, “is when do ideas and discourse matter, that is,

when do they exert a causal influence?” (Schmidt, 2010: 61) This thesis has shown that changes in *discourse* matter when they facilitate the inclusion of new actors, allowing for new collaboration, new reflection and new praxis. In other words, discourses are causative of change when they facilitate the creation of constructive, interactive learning spaces where *new* ideas can be born; in turn, *ideas* matter when they are new and when they drive people to new personal and organizational commitments.

While confirming the value of the praxis element of Freire’s critical pedagogy – *praxis* being defined by him as the necessary interplay between theory-building and new action – this study calls another of his tenets into question. Freire posited that uncritical learning leads only to uncritical social reproduction and systemic persistence. This study has discovered that uncritical learning can at times actually lead to the opening of institutional spaces where critical learning can occur.

The structure of political institutions helps put certain ideas onto the political agenda (Hall, 1993). Institutions do not always just ensure a prioritizing of *old* ideas, however. Institutional structures can also encourage critical learning, new ideas, and change. Top-down support for indigenous inclusion in educational program development were generated by the uncritical learning of the State, but nonetheless created institutional contexts that, more than reproducing old ideas, provided a critical learning environment – even if this was not the intention of the State.

The State has been accustomed to receiving an oppressive deposit-making learning since colonial times. It is used to having an authoritarian teacher and to getting “good grades” by following suit with international “recommendations”. During the 1980s and 1990s, the State learnt to delegate social programming and to focus its attention on national debt repayment. Therein lays the fatal contradiction of the Washington Consensus era – the delegation of social programming it promoted created inclusive social governance contexts and, from within them, newly included participants in governance began to envision and then lead anti-neoliberal social movements.

Admittedly, much of the learning discovered in this thesis at the State level could have been described just as clearly in terms of power instead of learning. After all, powerful international actors mainly set the “curriculum” for the State. However, following this curriculum had unexpected results. Powerful actors are not all-knowing; there is a limit to their capacity to make rational choices to maintain the status quo.

Inevitably, their plans will have holes in them. If neoliberal policy-makers could have foreseen how inclusion in a Kichwa literacy campaign would support the trajectory of a movement strong enough to paralyze Ecuador's economy and demand changes to its constitution, it is unlikely they would have allowed indigenous leaders to be included in this initial learning space.

Their inclusion was clearly aimed only at facilitating an affordable literacy initiative. Nonetheless, opening educational spaces for indigenous leaders from across the country to come together, collaborate and think critically about the particulars of their own cultural identity, and its current stigmatized place in society, motivated further change. In sum, powerful actors' interests (even when they correspond perfectly well to realists' expectations) can contribute to building new institutional spaces which, when populated by new actors, can produce results distinct from those originally sought.

IBE's potential to spread critical pedagogy to more spaces in society is still intact. For researchers and educators interested in critical learning in general, or IBE in particular, this study can provide a point of departure for developing new learning spaces that reproduce the conditions of the most successful experience studied here.

The most critical learning experience revealed in this thesis was clearly that of the indigenous participants in the two projects linked to IBE's development. Within these new spaces, indigenous people were for the first time included in an important area of national governance. They encountered a sincere interest in what they had to *teach*, being asked to critically reflect on their own language, culture and context, and to explain these. This call to explain oneself *to* others encourages a genuine reflection on one's self-identity *in relation to* others. They were learning with a clear purpose (*praxis*), they were posed with new *problems* to resolve, and they were *collaborating* with people from other cultural backgrounds. The educational outcomes predicted by Freire – solidarity, a strengthened identity, an increased consciousness of oppressive structures and a commitment to overcome them – were also apparent.

Meanwhile, at the level of the State in the international system (the most global context studied) and at the level of students in an IBE high school (the most local), a much less critical learning has been demonstrable. The learning at the State and the high school students' levels currently appears to be less than critical, and to correspond more to the objectives of systemic inclusion than the objectives of critical pedagogy. This

leaves us to consider an important question: How can the conditions of the movement leaders' critical learning experience be spread more broadly at these other two levels?

To start, we should consider what we have learnt here about the nature of *inclusion*. We have seen in the case of IBE's development that even when begun through uncritical learning and interests in systemic persistence, inclusion can produce critical learning contexts and unplanned-for demands for further change. This is clearly an age of broader social inclusion than in the Washington Consensus era.⁷⁴ Today, although still widely learnt through the banking approach, a new and important deposit is evident at all levels – the doctrine that all members have an equal right to inclusion and participation in the systems in which they live. Critical theorists and educators should capitalize on this deposit as much as possible.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the indigenous movement became the local voice of the human rights community, and the State was the voice of the neoliberal economic development community. The tensions between these two domestic actors' discourses and normative stances mirrored those between these two global camps. Since the late 1990s, a middle ground has been emerging with an inclusive human-rights approach to development that invites States to take the lead in development.

The Ecuadorian State has embraced this approach in its own national plan for *Sumak Kawsay*.⁷⁵ The Ecuadorian State's global "teachers" are now giving it much more of its own room to respond to its people's demands than in the past, and to self-define its development *path*.⁷⁶ The State has, in effect, been asked to reflect on its own situation and problems, to collaborate with international partners and diverse domestic actors, and to be more directly involved in praxis.

Thus, the State may be entering into a learning space that can provide the conditions for some degree of critical learning. Correa seems as faithful to the inclusive, human rights development paradigm as Febres Cordero was to the Washington Consensus paradigm. International actors are giving the State new space and, in turn,

⁷⁴During the prevalence of the Washington Consensus brand of neoliberalism, multicultural inclusion began developing as a part of discourse but social expenditure was so limited that in practice broad inclusion could not really be expected in societies marked by great economic disparity.

⁷⁵*Sumak Kawsay* is a Kichwa phrase that can be loosely translated to English as the Good Life. Its meaning is contested in the political context, and it might be argued that its use by the Correa administration is akin to stealing a flag from the indigenous movement.

⁷⁶Although key development goals – for example the MDGs – are still internationally defined.

the State is giving internationally-defended minority groups new space in the professions and State apparatus.

A compelling critique can be made that this multilevel show of inclusiveness is simply to co-opt the strength of the social movements that rose up in the neoliberal era. As this thesis has evidenced, however, change begets change and instance of new inclusion intended to preserve a system can in fact lead to changing aspects of it. A discourse may be introduced by a hegemonic group in an attempt to co-opt the social movements of the marginalized but, once that discourse is internationalized and legitimized, the marginalized can re-appropriate it once again, in order to present themselves as one unified, transnational political force backed by millions that – counted together – represent a population greater than many nation-states.

This transnational quality has also clearly been a key strength in the case of the Andean indigenous movements and their securing of roles in governance and ever-wider inclusion across several sectors, beginning with education. Any policy maker who cynically thinks that granting new inclusion and rights can be done as a temporary placating gesture and nothing more, is sorely ill advised.⁷⁷ Cooptation does not describe the complete process we have witnessed. *Cross-cooptation* could be a more descriptive term to denote an entanglement in a discursive web woven between diverse actors in a common struggle for legitimacy.

Interculturality and human rights were first adopted by the State, and its constitutions, primarily with respect to education.⁷⁸ The indigenous movement seized on this area, making it their own (or co-opting it) and it became an inroad to developing further demands. With their movement thus empowered, the State has responded by embracing interculturality and human rights more broadly in its own discourses, constitutions, and institutions (or, again, co-opting these concerns). There is no reason to think that this cycle of cross-cooptation will not persist for some time and it is opening the door to many opportunities for new interactions and critical learning spaces.

The Ecuadorian population has responded very well to the government's discourse of prioritizing interculturality and social rights and, at the international level, its discourse of protecting its own sovereignty in order to do so. It is through such

⁷⁷ As Sen notes, depriving people of rights is easier when they have never known them. Once they have, the rescinding of these rights feels like stealing as opposed to simply withholding (Sen, 2003).

⁷⁸ See Appendix 1 for graphs depicting the evolution, in size and themes, of the Ecuadorian constitutions.

discourses and related actions that the current government has become the most enduring in decades, and the Ecuadorian people will see the continuation of this discourse, and praxis, now as a measure of the legitimacy of future administrations.

In the Washington Consensus era, international cooperation meant receiving cooperation in the form of funding, conditions, and planning from abroad, not actual collaboration. The State is now much more involved in determining program development in collaboration with traditional international cooperation actors as well as, increasingly, in collaboration with new South-South cooperation. In this broader collaboration, in defining and solving more of its own problems, and in the praxis of managing new social programs, the State might now itself experience more critical learning than in the past.

Meanwhile, Dolores Cacuango high school offers an education, and a diploma, that can lead to inclusion in new opportunities within society. It completes this function very well. It does not appear to be fostering a truly critical learning experience in itself, but we have seen from interviews that it prepares and motivates students to go on to study and work in a variety of contexts in which they might be indigenous trailblazers. We have seen what the first generation of such university-educated indigenous trailblazers accomplished out of their time at the PEBI and working with the GTZ.

Inclusion will not always in itself cause critical, intercultural learning environments, however. In this thesis we have demonstrated the potential of *inclusion* to generate these, and the potential of critical *learning* to cause change, but we have also uncovered challenges to the spread of such inclusive, critical learning environments.

Challenges and Recommendations

It was discovered throughout the interviews that rivalries existed between different programs and equally well-intentioned leaders in the development of IBE. While all of the people interviewed shared a common commitment to helping indigenous people, they had distinct visions on what goals were the most important to pursue in order to do so.⁷⁹ Theorists and educational practitioners that are truly interested in promoting positive social change are recommended to embrace and exemplify critical learning in

⁷⁹ See Appendix 3 for a table illustrating the different foci of interviewees on distinct objectives when discussing whether or not IBE has been successful.

their own work together – letting their distinct perspectives inform, but never deter, collaboration.

At several different stages of IBE's development, work was lost unnecessarily. There was a lack of trust and sharing between the CIEI and the PEBI and, in the government's takeover of the DINEIB, a great deal of previous work accomplished within it has been erased and forgotten through the dismantling of their website and the loss of their data and documents. If one has a sincere interest in liberation, he should look for collaboration wherever, whenever and with whomever it can be fostered to that end.

A key recommendation here, then, is not to become jealous of one particular vision or perspective. This jealousy can only inhibit collaboration and critical learning and encourage new manifestations of oppression. Another serious impediment to collaboration is a tendency in leadership to underestimate other people's capacity to think as critically as they can. This is a trait more characteristic of oppressors than of liberators. An oppressor always underestimates the capacity of the oppressed to think critically and to commit. Simultaneously, he overestimates these qualities in himself. This arrogance can sow the seeds of change (as discussed above) by opening spaces that the oppressor cannot see as important since he does not believe the oppressed to be capable of thinking up new revolutionary uses for these spaces or of critically learning anything new in them.

The fact is that we cannot in practice clearly divide human beings into two opposed groups: oppressors and oppressed. These are features that we all can find within ourselves if we reflect critically enough. A key recommendation is to be vigilant and to keep jealousy and arrogance from defining our character. What is most distinctly human about us is our ability to imagine reality as we have not yet experienced it. Critical thinking and empathy are two specific skills that derive from this same ability and we need to exercise them both for our imaginations, and the societies they create, to reach their full potential.

What is needed is not just critical learning, but an education that also exercises our human capacity for empathy so that we can learn to better trust and value the critical capacity of others and to accept their different paths and perspectives. People need to practice imagining what it is like to be someone from another background, not just

identify more strongly with an oppressed “us” group identity pitted against an oppressor “them”. This is a necessary interpersonal, and intercultural, element to education that was perhaps not developed enough in Freire’s original critical pedagogy, which focused on awakening the oppressed to their *own* situation and the need to change it.

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire constantly asserted that a loving solidarity is one of the most necessary goals to achieve in order to promote liberation, but the only hint he made at how to achieve this goal was praxis – reflection and action. He assumed that compassion would naturally accompany or grow out of praxis. Yet, what ensures that confronting new challenges will always inform a reflection that is empathetic as opposed to alienating? His text is full of warnings about the many ways solidarity can be lost in the process of praxis. For example, he warned that, through critical learning, people can become conscious of their own individual state of oppression and, frustrated by this, seek to identify and work more with oppressors than with the other oppressed:

It is a rare peasant who, once "promoted" to overseer, does not become more of a tyrant towards his former comrades than the owner himself. (...) In this example, the overseer, in order to make sure of his job, must be as tough as the owner—and more so (Freire, 1970: 46).

In this case, the peasant has become the oppressor of others, despite his critical reflection and despite praxis. He used praxis to change his own position in the dynamic of oppression he became critically aware of. Freire offers little explicitly in terms of how social solidarity can be gained and maintained. In this study, we have found that it was in situations of intercultural collaboration (the CIEI and the PEBI) and empathy-building through trying to understand another’s language, culture, and background where the most commitment and solidarity was developed.

Empathy implies respecting and understanding the value of others’ current perspectives and feelings, even when they contrast starkly with one’s own. This involves believing in their human potential to learn, to change, and to feel. A stronger and more practical application of intercultural engagement – like that experienced by the indigenous movement leaders – could support the development of greater empathy in the face of difference. It is not just in interactions between people of very different backgrounds that empathy can be exercised and developed, of course, but the challenge of trying to collaborate across differences can cultivate compassion and our critical

ability to see new alternatives by contrasting the distinct associations we have with the same cognizable objects. This is a context that should be promoted by critical educators.

We cannot liberate ourselves while oppressing others and we cannot fully-exercise our own imaginative or critical capacity without learning to exercise empathy. We must *all* be teacher-learners and, as convinced of other people's capacity to think critically as of our own, we should encourage them to engage our minds with their own critical thoughts and input. We must remain in this role of teacher-learner even when, especially when, we assume roles of leadership; otherwise, we permit condescending ideas, oppressive tendencies, and unimaginative thinking to take root within ourselves.

Even the dedicated educator De la Torre said that, overall, the experience in the CIEI developed "political activists instead of, or more than, just educators" (De la Torre, Luis, 2013, interview). The sentiment, also expressed by Luis Macas in similar terms (Macas, 2013, interview), apparent in the phrase "more than just educators" at the very least implies a separation between the role of educator and political leader, and perhaps a prioritizing of the latter. Freire called for leader-educators. In fact, he claimed that the only authentic revolutionary leaders are at once by definition also educators, since an authentic revolution can only occur in a context of constant pedagogical exchange between movement leaders and the people. He warned that:

A divisive effect occurs in connection with the so-called 'leadership training courses,' which are (although carried out without any such intention by many of their organizers) in the last analysis alienating. These courses are based on the naïve assumption that one can promote the community by training its leaders – as if it were the parts that promote the whole and not the whole which, in being promoted, promotes the parts (Freire, 1970: 142).

Perhaps this divisive effect has occurred to some degree in the development of IBE. Luis Macas' affirmation that the CONAIE leadership only maintained a real link to the DINEIB for the first couple of years implied an educational disconnect between the leaders and their base. The CONAIE, he explained, lost control of the DINEIB so early on because they were too busy in other areas advancing their political project (Macas, 2014, interview). An opportunity was lost, perhaps, to generate a stronger and more critical revolutionary base when more energy was placed into winning ground in politics than on continuous learning with the people.

Freire is very clear about the risks of not actually developing critical learning in the people themselves:

To substitute monologue, slogans, and communiqués for dialogue is to attempt to liberate the oppressed with the instruments of domestication. Attempting to liberate the oppressed without their reflective participation in the act of liberation is to treat them as objects which must be saved from a burning building; it is to lead them into the populist pitfall and transform them into masses that can be manipulated (Freire, 1970: 65).

The oppressed, in cases of this “populist pitfall”, identify with charismatic leaders and, in populist demonstrations, “come to feel that they themselves are active and effective” (Freire, 1970: 78). The trouble is that their understanding of their own interests, capabilities and options remains limited, or as Freire said, “naïve”, and if they are transformed into “masses that can be manipulated” then the next charismatic leader to come along can as easily manipulate them with better or quicker material benefits. The State, much wealthier than movement leaders, can of course always outbid them if loyalty remains dependent on such immediate benefits. This can explain how the Correa administration so quickly won over the support of much of the CONAIE’s base.

Freire argued that:

A real humanist can be identified more by his trust in the people, which engages him in their struggle, than by a thousand actions in their favor without that trust. Those who authentically commit themselves to the people must re-examine themselves constantly (Freire, 1970: 60).

The reason they must constantly re-examine themselves is to make sure they have not lost their trust in, and engagement with, the people. For a “citizen’s revolution” to occur and be lasting, as opposed to falling into yet another populist pitfall, aspiring revolutionaries must reflect on the conditions that fostered their own critical learning and sense of commitment.

The revolutionary leaders must realize that their own conviction of the necessity for struggle (an indispensable dimension of revolutionary wisdom) was not given to them by anyone else—if it is authentic. This conviction cannot be packaged and sold; it is reached, rather, by means of a totality of reflection and action (Freire, 1970: 67).

Critical leaders should dedicate themselves to replicating more widely in society the learning conditions that helped them to become critical thinkers in the first place. Plato argued for societies led by philosopher kings. That is, kings that examine life critically. However, if only leaders possess the capacity to create ideas, and the masses remain recipients of them, then the people remain oppressed. The leaders are also oppressed by their own sub-estimation of the people (which makes real collaboration and mutual

learning with them impossible) and by the concern that will always plague oppressors – how to keep the people receptive to uncritical learning.

Philosopher kings, whether or not they are well intentioned, could never experience all the lives of the people they rule. They could never share all of the perspectives gained from these different experiences and so they could never properly act in the interests of society as a whole nor permanently maintain the esteem of the ruled. What is needed are philosopher peoples who live and act in their diverse stations in life but hold in common a commitment to respect and critically learn from one another's different lived experiences.

De la Torre spoke of himself and other leaders as feeling as though they stood before a “legion of the blind” (De la Torre, Luis, 2013, interview). Revolution requires not a “legion of the blind”, hoping to receive new benefits from visionary leaders (or presidents), but a legion of revolutionaries with their own clear and personal commitments to partaking directly in systemic change. To achieve this, education should have remained a top priority for the CONAIE leadership, not a conquest of an institutional space to be celebrated and then left to the care of bureaucrats who, Macas argued, were members of the CONAIE but not active in it politically. The failure to use the IBE context as a means to interact and collaborate more directly with people, and to encourage real critical learning for them and the leaders alike, was a missed opportunity but one which might still be recuperated if those now hired to work within IBE insist on changing its direction. Admittedly, this might take more work and commitment now considering IBE's deeper insertion within the State's very vertical power structure.

In the two development projects studied here, the inclusion indigenous participants experienced came through delegation. As such, they were not only included in the projects, but also asked to *lead* developments within them. They were invited to make it their own by identifying new problems, collaborating amongst themselves, and engaging directly in praxis.

Inclusion in an institution does not always imply these conditions. It is entirely common that an employee within an organization experiences an environment very similar to a school applying the banking approach. Instead of identifying problems and collaborating with others, he is given rules to memorize and assigned a specialized task to complete in isolation. Instead of engaging in praxis he, an isolated person with his

isolated task, completes it without much reflection on its import beyond a deadline. In this thesis, we discussed the bureaucratization of many indigenous people working within the DINEIB who became clock-punchers rather than revolutionaries.

The question is how to encourage people to remain committed to doing what they can to promote change from within institutions that are less amiable to employees assuming the role of leader; or, approached another way, the question might be how to promote more collaborative or democratic institutional contexts in society. Correa accused the CONAIE of turning IBE into an ethnocentric, sectarian education system, and argued that it should be aimed instead at spreading interculturality amongst the whole population. Freire agreed that:

Sectarianism, because it is mythicizing and irrational, turns reality into a false (and therefore unchangeable) "reality." Sectarianism in any quarter is an obstacle to the emancipation of mankind (Freire, 1970: 35).

Amartya Sen, too, has warned against potential problems in sectarian educational programming:

We have to make sure that sectarian schooling does not convert education into a prison, rather than being a passport to the wide world (as it is meant to be). Education can be a great liberator of the human mind, with many indirect benefits – economic, political and social (Sen, 2003:30).

Sen is of course correct that education can be a great liberator, and a passport to the wide world. However, an uncritical inclusion into this “wide world” is unlikely to promote change in it. We must strive to ensure that this wide world does not simply constitute a larger prison under a more ambiguous authority. As Freire explained:

Peasants live in a “closed” reality with a single, compact center of oppressive decision; the urban oppressed live in an expanding context in which the oppressive command center is plural and complex. Peasants are under the control of a dominant figure who incarnates the oppressive system; in urban areas, the oppressed are subjected to an “oppressive impersonality” (Freire, 1970:175).

As consumers who do not know who exactly was involved in the production of most of our consumer goods, and as task-based workers who are sometimes unclear on exactly what we are producing or, at least, what all the impacts of that production will be, most of us, if we reflect critically, can relate to this idea of an “oppressive impersonality”. The problem with uncritical inclusion in the “wide world”, even if people enter it as trained specialists armed with Sen’s famed “capacities”, popular in the UN today, is that the wide world is bogged down by this Weberian oppression, in which we all become

specialists with blinders on, and in which, therefore, the left hand of society does not know what the right hand is doing. If the oppressor is not one single patron, it is hard to know who to rebel against or to even understand how we are being oppressed.

Ultimately, through work and consumption, we are all included in the same machine. It is this machine that is the impersonal oppressor, and its moving parts are all of us – people who feel they are “just getting by” under its oppression, doing jobs that either sell or produce things mainly in order to buy more things that other people have worked hard at convincing us to want. Most of us today are oppressed by the same system we work so hard to maintain by producing and consuming uncritically within it.

Since we do not see ourselves as clearly the oppressor or the oppressed, we believe that we are neither. As such, many people acknowledge the need for change but ascribe responsibility for change to others, which they do see as a clearer oppressor or oppressed. That is why we hear so much about struggles between “heartless corporations” versus “indigenous tribes” and cheer for the tribes, while consuming the products of the corporations, and then berate indigenous leaders (as President Correa has done) if they “lose their way” by not being stalwart enough in *their* struggle.

Ecuador’s “golden ponchos”, Correa’s pet name for the university-educated indigenous elite that led the indigenous movement, are not wealthier than most successful mestizo professionals. How is it that they can be demonized for not living in poverty and dedicating their entire lives to the defence of the rights of nature and of people, while mestizos or whites are seen as “successful” based mainly on their ability to generate personal wealth? It is like the “liberated” woman who has gained the right to work outside the home, only to be called a failure if she does simultaneously excel in her traditional roles at home. To be “successful” she must be both worker and homemaker while, in many cases, only the former requisite is still really applied to men.

This is not to say that no one should be expected to make homes, protect the environment, and defend/develop human rights; it is to say that everyone should be equally committed to these important roles, not just the historically *more* oppressed. Likewise, no one should be celebrated for excelling in just one specialized profession; we all must engage in a variety of roles. Furthermore, these roles should be adopted by individuals not out of social expectations but out of social commitment arrived at through critical reflection. It is not the role of one ethnicity, or class, or age group to

lead change in society.⁸⁰ Everyone has the potential to be oppressor and oppressed within themselves, and so it is within ourselves that, through our potential for critical reflection and empathy, we should begin the struggle to end oppression.

This study has identified different kinds of learning throughout the development of official Ecuadorian IBE and discussed the roles of this learning and of institutional conditions in fostering positive social change. It is hoped that more studies like this will encourage social movement leaders to become more personally involved in critical pedagogy and that, despite such research, those dedicated to maintaining oppressive status quos will continue to underestimate, even fund, inclusive spaces – like the CIEI and the PEBI – where critical, intercultural learning can occur. Such contexts can help call into question “deposited” definitions of concepts like status, personal success or national development, generate more sustainable and just alternatives, and transition us from an era of social inclusion discourse to one of radical and positive social change.

⁸⁰ Freire wrote in regards to adult education, but the potential of youth to lead change should also not be under-estimated. Indeed, it is likely that in such formative years, the task of developing critical consciousness would be less challenging than in minds that have already endured years of a deposit-making and thought-restricting education. The IBE system has claimed to foster the involvement of parents in the community in determining educational goals – and these parents have often, not surprisingly, repeated the goals defined for them by the dominant culture (e.g. learn Spanish and urbanize). These goals have been instilled in their minds as the only path to success since they were children making it difficult to imagine alternatives in which their own children play a constructive and leading role in creating new opportunities instead of requesting admittance from the sole providers of opportunities, the “owners” of the social reality. Children themselves, not just their parents and community leaders, should develop habits of ownership and critical thinking by being co-leaders of their own education and of projects where they define and confront problems through praxis in their own schools and communities.

List of Abbreviations

BMZ *Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung* (The Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development)

CCPR – Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

CESCR – Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights

CIEI – *Centro de Investigaciones para la Educación Indígena* (Indigenous Education Research Centre)

CONAIE – *Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador* (The Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador)

DINEIB – *Dirección Nacional de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* (National Directorate of Intercultural Bilingual Education)

GTZ – *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit* (German Agency for Technical Cooperation)

IBE – Intercultural Bilingual Education

ICCI – El Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas

IFI – International Financial Institution

IMF – International Monetary Fund

MDG – Millennium Development Goal

MEC – Ministry of Education and Culture

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

PEBI – *El Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural* (Intercultural Bilingual Education Project)

UDHR – Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UNESCO – The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF – The United Nations Children's Fund

SEPDI – *Subsecretaría de Educación Para el Dialogo Intercultural* (Sub-secretariat of Education for Intercultural Dialogue)

SIL – Summer Institute of Linguistics

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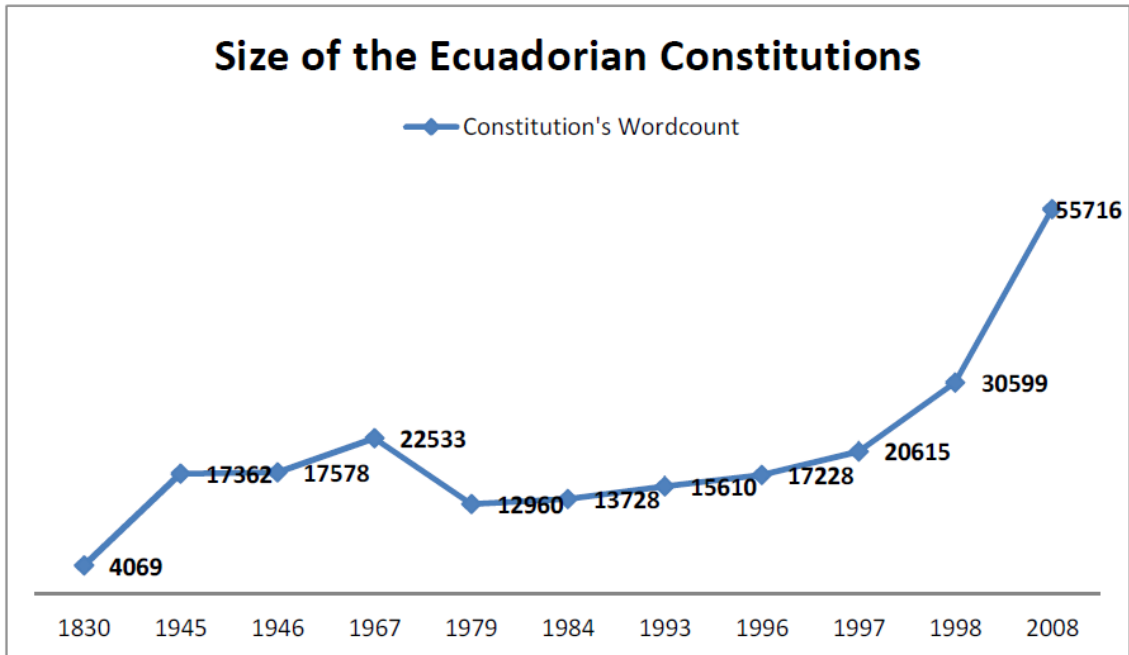
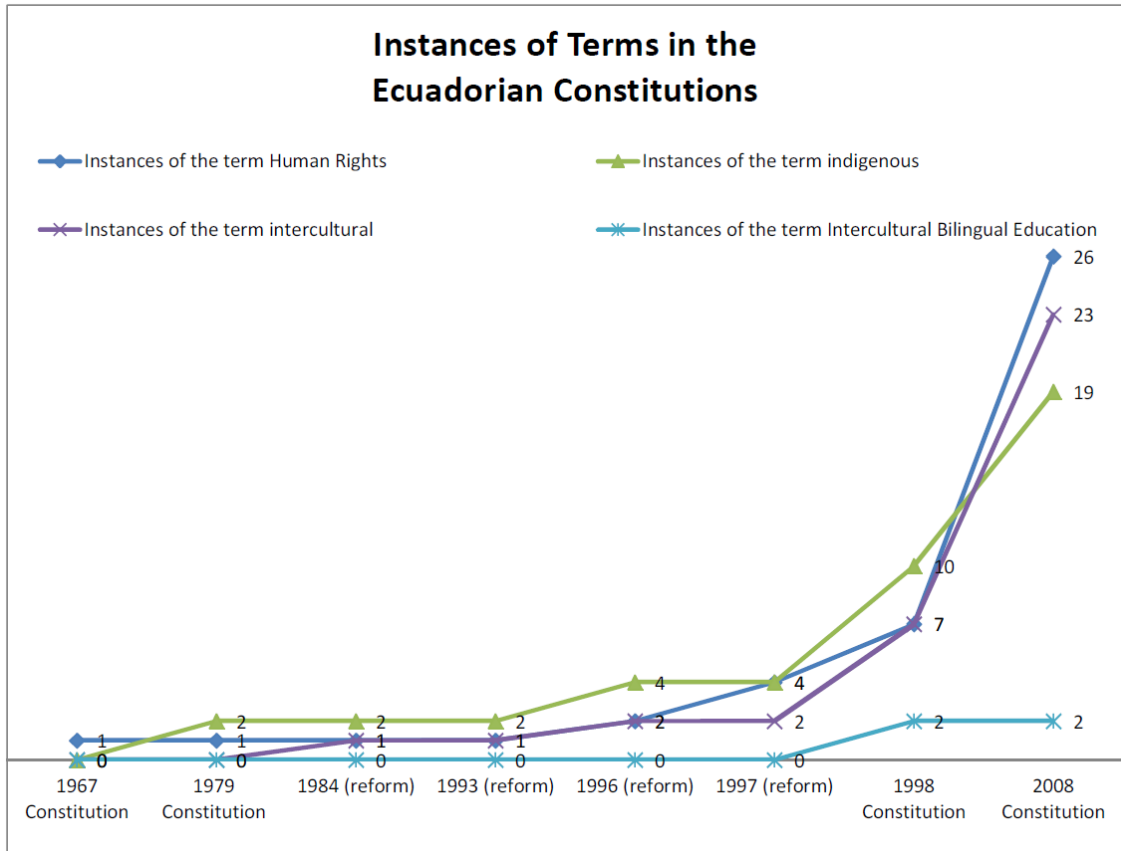
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Appendix

Appendix 1

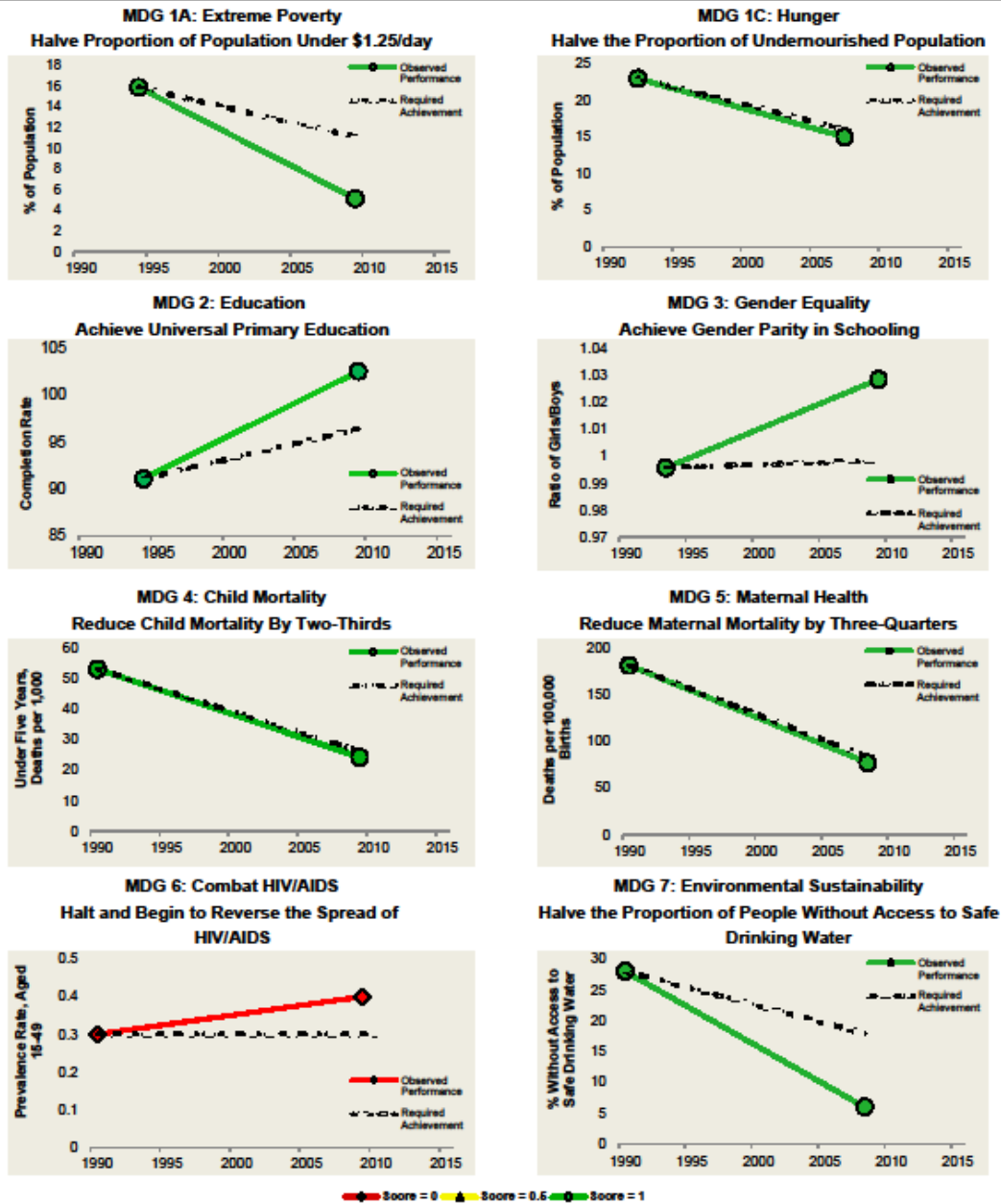


Source: elaborated by the author based on the constitutions

Appendix 2

MDG Progress Index Scorecard - Ecuador

Score: **7.0**



For more information:

"Who Are the MDG Trailblazers? A New MDG Progress Index",
by Benjamin Leo and Julia Barmeler.
<http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/1424377>

Sources: World Bank, World Development Indicators 2011
The Lancet: Maternal Mortality for 181 Countries

Source: http://www.cgdev.org/userfiles/cms_iframes/mdg_map/scorecards/EC.pdf

Appendix 3

Primary Foci Stressed by Interviewees in Discussing the Success or Failure of IBE

Interviewees		Indigenous language study/survival	Cultural renewal and identity-building	Political base-building for societal change	Social and economic inclusion
	Luis Macas				
	Luis Monteluisa				
	Alberto Conejo				
	Lúz María De la Torre				
	Luis De la Torre				
	Dolores C. students/staff				
	Consuelo Yáñez				
	Marleen Haboud				
	Sebastián Grande				
	Matthias Abram				

Source: elaborated by the author based on interviews