

This article was downloaded by: [Pontificia Uni Catolica del Ecuador ]  
On: 10 March 2014, At: 10:32  
Publisher: Routledge  
Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number:  
1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street,  
London W1T 3JH, UK



## Current Issues in Language Planning

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rclp20>

## Language Planning and Policy in Ecuador

Kendall A. King & Marleen Haboud

Published online: 26 Mar 2010.

**To cite this article:** Kendall A. King & Marleen Haboud (2002) Language Planning and Policy in Ecuador, *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 3:4, 359-424

**To link to this article:** <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14664200208668046>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms & Conditions of access

and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

# Language Planning and Policy in Ecuador

*Kendall A. King*

*Georgetown University, Department of Linguistics, Washington DC, USA*

*Marleen Haboud*

*Department of Linguistics, Pontifical Catholic University of Ecuador, 12 de Octubre y Carrión, Quito, Ecuador. Colegio de Artes Liberales, Universidad San Francisco de Quito, Campus Cumbayá, Cumbayá, Ecuador*

This monograph presents up-to-date information concerning language planning and policy in Ecuador, highlighting the country's cultural and linguistic diversity, historical context, current sociolinguistic situation and possible directions for the future. Taking into account Ecuador's particular sociopolitical conditions, it aims to provide a comprehensive review of language policies and planning, as well as educational policies and programmes involving use of minoritised languages in media, education, religion and public official spaces. This monograph also underlines some of the challenges non-official languages confront *vis à vis* the dominant society, allowing for a better understanding of the dynamics of indigenous languages and organisations in Ecuador and the Andes.

**Keywords:** Ecuador, language planning, education, Andes, indigenous languages, Quechua

## Introduction

The Republic of Ecuador, which sits on the equator on the north west coast of South America, is limited by Colombia on the north and by Peru on the south and east (see Figure 1). The population of 12,156,608 occupies a territory of 256,370 km<sup>2</sup> (96,579.39 miles<sup>2</sup>) (INEC, 2001), constituting one of the smallest countries in Latin America. The history of the country has been profoundly influenced by the existence of three major geographic regions: *la Costa* (the Coast /S/), *la Sierra* (the Highlands /S/) and the *Oriente* (the Amazon Basin /S/),<sup>1</sup> and by the presence of indigenous groups in each of these regions, which together characterise Ecuador as a multilingual, multiethnic and multicultural country. In addition to Spanish, roughly a dozen indigenous languages are spoken.

Shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Highlands and a portion of the Coast were conquered by the Incas, who imposed their language, Quechua, on the groups residing in those regions. Ecuador's history as a Spanish colony began in 1532. Soon after the Spanish conquest, Spanish became the *de facto* official language of Ecuador, and the existing sociopolitical and socioeconomic systems were restructured and modelled after those in Spain (Guevara, 1972). With independence from Spain, the new national Government aimed to assimilate the indigenous population into mainstream society, albeit to the detriment of indigenous identity and culture. In 1830, for instance, the Government proposed to eradicate all trace of Indianness and 'to Christianize the Indians in order to help them learn how to develop a political reasoning that could help them participate



**Figure 1** Map of Ecuador

Source: Adapted from: [http://www.worldrover.com/country/ecuador\\_main.html](http://www.worldrover.com/country/ecuador_main.html)

in the construction of the nation' (Martinez, 1995: 46). However, even after more than 500 years of contact under hugely unfavourable circumstances, many of the Indian languages have survived to the present day.

At present, the great part of the population is made up of *mestizos* (individuals of mixed indigenous and Spanish heritage) and indigenous people. The so-called 'whites', most of them descendants from Spanish settlers, constitute around 10% of the total population; they have, however, exercised political and economic power since the conquest of the country by the Spaniards early in the 16th century. This group traditionally has defined national Ecuadorian culture in terms of the country's Hispanic heritage. The middle class is largely made up of *mestizos* and less well-off whites, who occupy positions in administration, the military, or in the professions and smaller businesses. Anxious to distance themselves from the lower class, the middle class has traditionally identified with

upper-class values and traditions. Indian people, as well as the Afroecuadorian population, whose ancestors were brought to the country as slaves during the Spanish conquest, occupy the bottom rung of the social hierarchy. Thus, although Ecuador can be defined by its geographic, cultural and linguistic diversity, the dominant tone has historically been set by the Hispanic heritage and the Spanish language; however, the linguistic and cultural differences among the native groups have persisted until now.

Framed by Ecuador's historical context and present sociopolitical situation, this monograph focuses on the indigenous languages of Ecuador and their long-standing contact with the dominant society. More specifically, this monograph presents the current status of language policy and language planning in Ecuador, and provides an overview of language-use patterns in public and private contexts in the country. This overview highlights five themes: (1) the dynamic and shifting relationships between languages and their speakers; (2) the continued loss of indigenous languages and the ongoing transition towards Spanish monolingualism; (3) the continually, and at times rapidly, shifting politics and practices concerning language and education; (4) the longstanding gaps between official policy and rhetoric concerning indigenous populations and languages on the one hand, and implementation of programmes to meet those goals on the other; and (5) the dramatic expansion of indigenous power in recent decades, coupled with unexpected sociopolitical changes which make the linguistic situation unpredictable.

This monograph consists of four sections. In the first, we provide a general overview of the language profile of Ecuador, including numbers and location of speakers, and the current status of Ecuador's indigenous languages. We highlight the role of internal and external migration and discuss the difficulty of gathering accurate demographic data. Next, we turn to the issue of language spread, focusing on language and education. This section discusses the significant steps towards intercultural bilingual education that have taken place in recent years and the challenges faced in implementing these programmes. In the following section, we focus on language policy and planning, highlighting the informal nature of planning and policy in Ecuador, as well as the multiple indirect channels of planning in the country, including adult education programmes, publishing, mass media, and religion. In the fourth and final section, we discuss the prospects of language maintenance and point to some of the lesser-known grassroots efforts to revitalise Quichua and other indigenous languages of the country. We conclude the monograph with a recapitulation and brief analysis of the most recent changes in the country that have placed a sector of the indigenous population in positions of relative power. We briefly discuss possible outcomes of these unprecedented shifts in power and their impact on language maintenance.

## Overview: Languages and Speakers

### Terms and definitions

All languages in Ecuador other than Spanish are considered 'minority languages'. However, this term is ambiguous as it potentially refers either to a numerical minority or to less powerful speakers who may in fact constitute a numerical majority (see Haboud, 1998; Wiley, 1996). The non-Spanish languages

Table 1 Indigenous groups in Ecuador

Region	Province	Nationality	Language	Population size by source and date			
				SIL (dates vary)	CONAIE, 1989	Montaluisa, 1998	PRODEPINE 1998-2001
Coast	Esmeraldas	Awa	Awapi't	(1986) 'many'	1600	3500	3221
	Esmeraldas	Enbera	Epera Pedede		N/A	60	N/A
	Esmeraldas	Chachi	Cha'palaachi	(1987) 5000	4000	8000	8040
Highlands	Pichincha	Tsachila	Tsa'fiqui	(1987) 1800	2000	2000	1020
	All Andean provinces except Carchi	Quichua	Runa Shimi/Quichua	(1976-1987) 1,405,000	3,000,000	2,000,000	621,517
Amazon	Sucumbíos	A'i (Cofán)	Aingae	(1987) 400	800	650	635
	Sucumbíos	Siona-Secoya	Paicoca	(1981) 290	1000	N/A	846
	Sucumbíos	Siona	Paicoca	N/A	N/A	150-200	N/A
	Sucumbíos	Secoya	Paicoca	N/A	N/A	250	N/A
	Pastaza	Wao (Huaó)	Waoededo (Huaó Tiriro)	(1987) 800	600	1300	1927
	All Amazonian provinces	Quichua	Runa Shimi/Quichua	(1976-1981) 14,000	30,000	N/A	N/A
	Pastaza, Morona and Zamora	Shuar-Achuar	Shuar Chicham	(1981) 32,000	40,000	50,000	37,492
Pastaza, Morona	Achuar	Achuar/Shuar	(1991) 2000	5000	N/A	N/A	
Napo	Tetete		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Morona	Zaparo	Kayapi or Zápara*		N/A	N/A	190	

\*only 5 to 10 speakers

Source: Adapted from Haboud, 1999

spoken in the Andean and Amazonian regions are referred to as 'native', 'autochthonous', 'vernacular', 'indigenous', 'unofficial', 'oppressed' and 'sub-standard' (see Albó, 1979:310–11). Haboud (1998,2001c) has suggested the use of the term *minoritised* instead of *minority* in order to underline the unbalanced sociolinguistic contact situation (and outcomes) in which dominant and subordinate relations are more important than numbers. Following this argument, we have chosen to use 'minoritised' instead of 'minority' here.

In the analysis of minoritised languages in Ecuador, it is also important to clarify the terms Indian (*indio* /S/), black (*negro* /S/), and nationality (*nacionalidad* /S/). In recent years, Indian and Afroecuadorian organisations have chosen to use formally stigmatised terms such as *indio* and *negro* as symbols of self-recognition, empowerment, and pride *vis à vis* the official discourse. Indian people and Indian organisations view themselves as 'nationalities' in order to convey their common history and quest for self-determination. Nationalities are recognised beyond state boundaries; for instance, Quichua speakers recognise their nationality with fellow speakers from other Andean countries such as Peru or Bolivia. This has generated official concern regarding the differences between 'nation' and 'nationality'; to address this issue, the 1998 Constitution (Art 83) clearly states that the term *nacionalidad* has been chosen by the Indian people, and that acceptance of the term does not imply detachment from the rest of the country: 'The indigenous peoples, self-defined as nationalities with ancestral roots, and the black or Afroecuadorian peoples, are part of the Ecuadorian State, which is *one and indivisible*' (emphasis ours). The terms 'Indian' and 'indigenous' on the one hand, and 'nationalities', 'groups', and 'people(s)' on the other, will be used here as synonyms.

In Ecuador, there is no general consensus concerning the number of speakers of different languages, the number of indigenous groups, or even the location of some of the groups, and official demographic estimates differ depending on the source (see Table 1). The *Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador* (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador /S/ (CONAIE)) claims that at least 40–45% of the total population of the country (12,156,608) is indigenous (INEC, 2001; SIISE, 2002b). Other studies maintain that 25–30% of the population is indigenous (Chiodi, 1990), while more conservative figures drop to 15% (Ortiz, 1992) or even 5.3% (PRODEPINE, 2002a).

These discrepancies largely result from the lack of precise data collection methods and the rejection by indigenous people of the national census as biased. This lack of general demographic information characterises Quichua, the most widely spoken indigenous language of Ecuador, as well as other indigenous languages of the country with much smaller numbers of speakers.

## Quichua

Quichua, usually known in most regions outside of Ecuador as Quechua,<sup>2</sup> is spoken to a greater or lesser extent in the Andean countries of Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Chile and Argentina (see King & Hornberger, in press, for an overview of Quechua linguistic and sociolinguistic research). In Ecuador, Quichua is spoken in nine of the ten highland provinces and in the Amazon Basin to the east of the Andean mountain range. Although the word *Quichua* is in general use in Ecuador, older speakers in the Central Provinces of Cotopaxi and Tungurahua, and in the province of Loja in the south, still refer to the language as *inga*. A similar

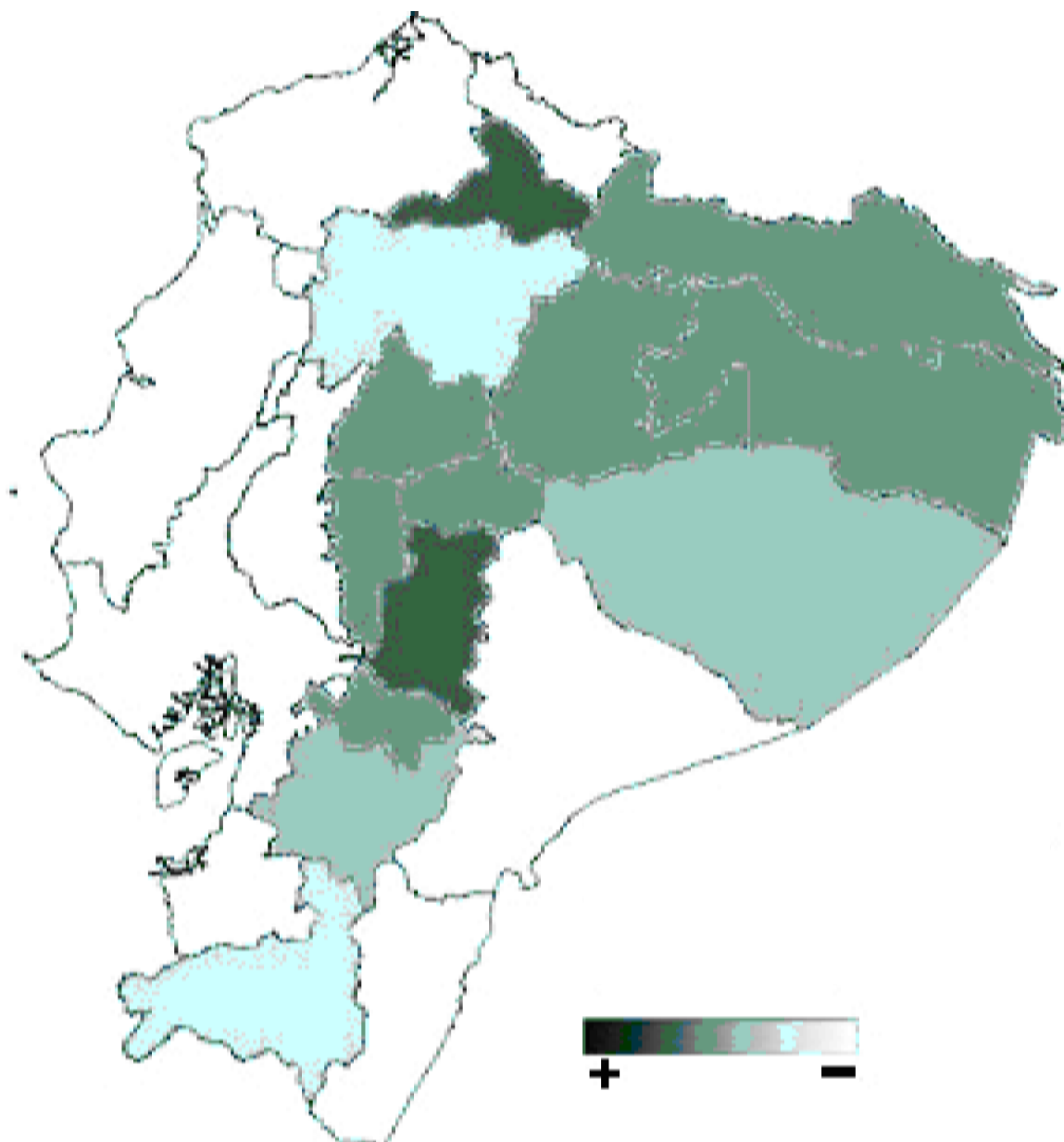


**Figure 2** Map of Ecuador by province  
 Source: Adapted from *SIISE*, 2002b

denomination is used in Colombia (see Hornberger and Coronel-Molina, in press). In political arenas, national and local Indian organisations tend to use the Quichua term, *runasimi* or *runashimi* ('human language' /Q/), to underline the importance and strength of the language and its speakers within a space of political controversy. In the same vein, Amazon Quichua people have rejected all the names that mistakenly have been used to label them and their languages (e.g. *Quijos*, *Alamas Yumbos*) and have chosen to identify themselves as *Runas* ('people' or 'person' /Q/) (Guerrero, 2001). Significantly, the word *runa* continues to be used by non-indigenous, Spanish-speaking Ecuadorians to connote 'poor', 'bad quality', or 'cheap' (Haboud, in press).

Ecuadorian Quichua has two main varieties: highland Quichua and lowland Quichua. Highland Quichua consists of three sub-varieties: (1) Northern (found in the provinces of Imbabura and Pichincha); (2) Central (provinces of Cotopaxi,





**Figure 3** Distribution of Quichua population along the Ecuadorian provinces\*

Source: Haboud 2003

\*Note that the map shows demographic tendencies, with darker provinces having traditionally greater numbers of Quichuas. The migrant Quichua population is not represented here.

Tungurahua, Bolivar and Chimborazo); and (3) Southern (Cañar, Azuay and Loja). Lowland Quichua is further divided into three sub-varieties: (1) Bobonaza (province of Pastaza); (2) Tena (Napó); and (3) Limoncocha (Orellana). (See Figures 2 and 3 for province map and location of Quichua speakers.) Each of these varieties is still in use (Haboud, in press).

Quichua is recognised both implicitly and explicitly as the predominant Indian language in the country. The reformed Constitution of 1979 (Art. 1) recognised both Quichua and the other indigenous languages of Ecuador as a part of the country's cultural heritage, thus giving them the status of national languages: 'Spanish is the official language. Quichua and the other aboriginal languages are recognised as integral parts of the national culture.'

Table 2 Estimates of Ecuadorian Quichua population

Source	Year	Total Ecuadorian population	Total number of Quichua speakers	As a percentage of the total population
Census (older than 6 years old)	1950	3,202,757	444,000	2.4%
Córdova (316 questionnaires)	1981-2	7,180,775	900,000	12.53%
Board of Education	1986	8,179,510	2,000,000	24.4%
Knapp	1987	8,395,344	1,360,107 (based on projections of 1950 census)	16.2%
Montaluisa	1998	11,180,514	2,000,000	17.88%
CONAIE	1998	11,180,514	3,000,000	26.83%
Haboud	1998	9,648,189 (1990 census)	2,000,000 (includes different levels of bilingualism)	20.72%
Census	1990	9,648,189	340,000	0.35%
PRODEPINE	2002	12,646,095 (Projections)	621,517	0.49%

Source: Adapted from Haboud, 1999

Despite the fact that Quechua is the most widely spoken indigenous language in South America, the total number of Quechua speakers is unknown. Parker (1963) and Cerrón-Palomino (1987) estimate eight million for all of South America (Argentina 120,000; Brazil 700; Colombia 4402; Bolivia 1,594,000; Peru 4,402,023) and 2,233,000 for Ecuador. Estimates concerning the Ecuadorian Quichua population display equally great variation depending on the criteria of Indianness and the methodological procedures used by the researchers. For instance, some of the major sociolinguistic studies developed during the 1970s and 1980s used a limited number of interviews or non-Indian interviewers. Others were only based upon census projections or were specific to a single geographic area (cf. Büttner, 1993; Córdova, 1987; Floyd, 2002; Haboud, 1991; Moya, 1979). The widely fluctuating estimates (between 340,000 and 3,000,000) of Ecuador's Quichua population are evident in Table 2.

As can be seen, demographic information concerning the Quichua population (and the Indian population in general) in urban Ecuador is inadequate. Ecuador, like most Latin American countries, has high rates of rural-urban internal migration. Presently, urban areas are home to 62.7% of the country's population (CEPAR, 2001; United Nations, 1996, in Katz, 2000: 4). Rural areas lose between 1-3% of their population to urban migration every decade (see Haboud, in press). Within these new urban contexts, there are no obvious methods for determining the ethnic affiliation of any one individual and for discriminating between one's ethnic identification and language knowledge. Still, recent local studies suggested that, by February 2002, there would be 350,000 indigenous people and 120 Indian organisations in the capital city of Quito (*El Hoy*, February, 2002), an estimate which is slightly higher than that of the official 1990 census regarding the indigenous population of the entire country (340,000).

The linguistic and sociolinguistic situation of Quichua varies considerably by region, having been shaped by longstanding contact with both Spanish and indigenous languages (Hornberger and Coronel-Molina, in press). As an example, Moreno Yáñez (1976: 97 in Garcés, 1999: 44) and González Suárez (1970 [1892]) illustrate how, during the colonial period, Quichua was used by the church to evangelise, educate and pacify the Indian population and by the Spanish *conquistadores* to consolidate their conquest and facilitate their commercial activities (see also Haboud, 1998; Niño-Murcia, 1988). At the same time, Quichua was used by the Indian people as the primary means of communication. Espejo, one of the *mestizo* leaders of the independence movement who strongly defended Indian identity, argued that use of Spanish only 'would facilitate vertical communication, but most of all, would eliminate all forms of cultural resistance so that they [the Indian people] would become fully conquered . . . and would lose all elements of their identity' (Ramón, 1993: 220, in Garcés, 1999: 43).

Quichua continues to play a public, strategic role in the country. Politicians use Quichua to gain votes; some religious organisations use it to increase members; and national television stations employ it to create sophisticated tourist-oriented advertisements. For native speakers, Quichua continues to be an important means of intra-communal communication and organisation and an effective tool of empowerment *vis à vis* the dominant society (see Haboud, in press). National Indian movements in Ecuador have raised consciousness of

Quichua's presence in the country, using the language as a symbol of indigenous permanence and resistance. Indeed, the language has been publicly and strategically used during national and local uprisings (Ibarra Illanez, 1992).

The highly political nature of speaking Quichua and of identifying oneself as a Quichua speaker has complicated the process of gathering accurate demographic data. As these issues are critical for understanding the current situation within the country, as well as the prospects of language loss and revitalisation, these challenges are addressed directly in the following section.

### Demographic assessments

As noted previously, demographic information about minoritised languages and people in Ecuador remains limited and inaccurate (see Table 2), posing serious difficulties for planners, politicians, social scientists and educators. Such ambiguity is largely rooted in conceptual and methodological disagreements in determining the boundaries of an ethnic group.

As an example, the most recent national census (November, 2001) included one question about spoken language(s) (number 5, *¿Cuál es el idioma o lengua que habla?* What language do you speak? /S/) and one about race and ethnic background (number 6, *¿Cómo se considera: ¿indígena, negro (Afro-ecuatoriano) mestizo, mulato, blanco u otro?* How do you conceive of yourself: Indigenous, Black (Afro-Ecuadorian), mestizo, mulato, white or other? /S/) (INEC, 2001). Census interviewers publicly reported the difficulties and disagreements that members of the same family had in labelling their ethnic background. The main criterion was the respondents' individual perceptions of their own skin colour. Given the drastic changes that indigenous peoples and organisations have experienced during recent decades (including, for instance, greater awareness of ethnic identities, and the positive and powerful images of indigenous cultural groups) and their political impact in the country, self-reports by speakers are highly variable. Santiago Ortega (census interviewer, personal communication, November 2001; July 2002) has argued that it would be naïve to place much confidence in these self-reported affiliations.

The 1990 census was also problematic and thus less than accurate. One major problem was that Indian organisations organised a boycott of the census in 1990 as part of the largest ever indigenous uprising in Ecuador (*La reafirmación indígena*, n.d.). In addition, analysis of final report of the 1990 census shows serious conceptual flaws. For instance, *población indígena ecuatoriana* (Ecuadorian indigenous population /S/), and *población que habla una lengua nativa* (Ecuadorian indigenous population that speaks a native language /S/) are treated as synonyms. More generally, social scientists working in peasant and Indian communities argue that the 'Ecuadorian censuses have not provided us with appropriate means of understanding the linguistic geography of Ecuador . . . It is thanks to the census that the portrait of the Ecuadorian population has been dramatically bleached' (Fernando Ortega, personal communication, August 2002).

A related difficulty in determining the ethnic affiliation and linguistic competence of any one person is related to geography and migration. Given that Indian and Afroecuadorian people have traditionally inhabited rural areas, there is a tendency to confuse ruralness with Indianness and blackness. However, over the

last 30 years there has been large-scale rural-urban immigration. Thirty percent of the population lived in urban areas in 1950; by 2002 this percentage was 70. Due to the general tendency to relate urbanity with *mestizo* identity, those indigenous persons who have migrated are often viewed as *mestizos* (see *SIISE*, 2002a). This tendency thus automatically excludes people residing in urban areas, as well as black or indigenous people who have achieved a higher socioeconomic position. This perspective also reinforces the relationships among ethnic group, poverty, low status, and discrimination that favours language shift, loss and death (see *SIISE*, 2002b). It is imperative that appropriate census techniques be developed that can measure the impact of these contextual factors on the ethnic, cultural and linguistic recognition of groups and individuals (Ortiz, 1992).

Social scientists also disagree on the total number of languages and ethnic groups in Ecuador. Data from several official and non-official sources vary from 8 to 12 groups (see *CONAIE*, 1989; Garcés & Alvarez, 1997; Moya, 1997; Vries, 1988). A possible explanation for these discrepancies rests with the fact that some indigenous groups have similar cultural and linguistic characteristics, and that groups with very small numbers are often not taken into account. For instance, this is the case of the Epera and Záparo nationalities on the Coast and the Amazonian, respectively (see *CONAIE*, 1989; Moya, 1997). Similarly, other groups might be counted as separate or unified. This is illustrated by lowland Amazonian groups such as Siona and Secoya, or Shuar and Achuar, grouped separately or together depending on the researchers' criteria and interests. In contrast, Quichua people from the Highlands and the Amazon Basin are sometimes considered to be two different groups based upon geographic location or dialectal variation (Grimes, 1999; Vries, 1988). In spite of these discrepancies, academic institutions devoted to the study of Indian nationalities such as *Universidad Politécnica Salesiana* (Salesian Polytechnic University /S/), based on Garcés and Alvarez (1997) tend to recognise 12 different languages and ethnic nationalities, each of which is briefly described in the following section.

### Other indigenous languages in Ecuador

Linguistic and sociolinguistic information concerning Coastal and Amazonian languages is scarce and highly variable depending on the sources and the researchers. Based on the most recent available data, this section offers a brief description of the languages spoken in these regions.

#### *Coastal languages*

The existing languages of the Coastal region of Ecuador are Awapi't or Awa Coaiquer; Cha'palaachi or Chachi; Tsa'fiki or Colorado; and Epera Pedede. The first three are believed to belong to the Barbacoan language group; Epera Pedede is classified as a Chibchan language. Glottochronological studies suggest that in 50 BC, the Cha'palaachi-Tsachila and Awa Coaiquer (Awap'it) split into two languages from a common ancestor (Stark, 1985). Until the 1750s, the Tsachila people were separated in two groups: (1) Yumbos who lived in the Central Highlands, and (2) Tsachilas, around Santo Domingo, where they presently reside (Ventura, 1995). The economic situation of all these nationalities greatly varies depending on their contact with outsiders, access to productive land and basic services, and their relationship with the dominant society.

**Awapi't** (North Barbacoan) is spoken by the Awa people (also known as Awa Coaiquer, Cuaiquer, Cuayuer, Kwaiker or Coayquer), who live in the north-western region between the coastal province of Esmeraldas and the highland provinces of Carchi and Imbabura. There are about 3500 Awas in Ecuador and about 10,000 in Colombia. Curnow and Liddicoat (1998) claim that in many areas the Awa are increasingly monolingual in Spanish, with only 5–10% of the population being able to communicate in Awapi't.

**Cha'palaachi** (Chapalachee) (South Barbacoan) is spoken by the Chachi people. This nationality lives in the tropical forest along three rivers: Cayapas, Canandé, and Muisne in the province of Esmeraldas (Krainer, 1999; Vitadello, 1988). Demographic figures fluctuate between 4000 and 8000 (Krainer, 1999; Moya, 1997; Vitadello, 1988). *Programa de Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas y Negros del Ecuador* (1998) (Development Programme for Indigenous and Black People of Ecuador /S/ (PRODEPINE)) reported 8040 Chachis in 1998 (3951 men and 4089 women), distributed across 29 communities. In spite of the increasing number of literacy programmes offered only in Spanish, Vitadello (1988: vii) reports the Cha'palaachi language is still spoken by all the members of Chachi communities, as they have been able to maintain their language and culture in part due to their isolation.

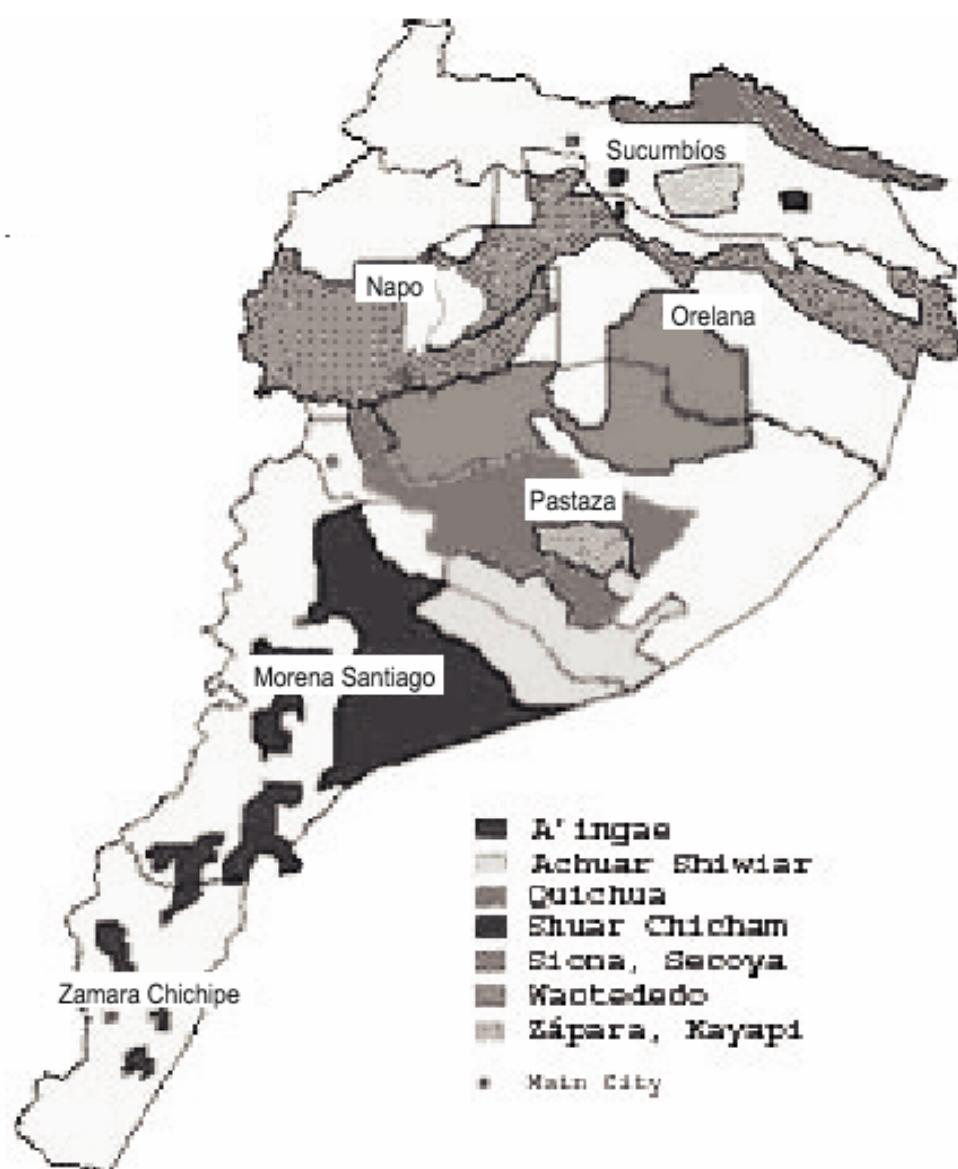
**Tsa'fiki** (Tsa'fiqui) (South Barbacoan) is the language of the Tsachilas (commonly known as Colorados), who live in the tropical forest in the province of Pichincha. Alfonso Aguavil, one of the Tsachila leaders (personal communication, June 2002) reports that there are about 2000 Tsachilas distributed in seven different communities. Most of the Tsachilas are bilingual in Tsa'fiki and Spanish. They own productive land sufficient for subsistence, which slows the trend towards urban migration. The Tsachilas are well known in the country and abroad for their famous shamans who operate an alternative medicine school. They also attempt to sell their own crops in markets of bigger cities to obtain better prices. Ventura (1995) notes the Spanish chronicles referred to the Tsachila people as brave warriors who defended their territories from the Spaniards.

**Epera Pedede** (macro-Chibchan) is the language of about 60 Epera (Embera or Enbena) people who live in the province of Esmeraldas (Montaluisa, 1998). This group migrated from Colombia, where there are about 30,000 people according to the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Grimes, 1999). This estimate differs widely from Montaluisa's (1998) data, which suggest 60 speakers in Ecuador, 2000 in Colombia and 8000 in Panama.

### *Amazonian languages*

According to the 1990 National Census, 20.8% (120,000) of the total population of the Amazonian region (576,748) is indigenous. They are grouped in different nationalities, each with its own language (*Instituto para el Ecodesarrollo Regional Amazónico*, 1998). The languages spoken in this region represent the major South American language families: Chibchan, Western Tucanoan, Jivaroan, Quechuamaran, and Zaparoan. One language remains unclassified. (See Figure 4 for overview of location of ethnic groups in Ecuadorian Amazon.)

**A'ingae** is spoken by the A'i (Cofán) nationality located along the Colombian-Ecuadorian border in the province of Sucumbíos. They are distributed along three rivers: Aguarico, San Miguel, and Guamués. SIL (2002) reports 400



**Figure 4** Indigenous groups in the Ecuadorian lowlands  
 Source: Haboud, 2003

Cofán people in Ecuador while other organisations maintain that there are only 342 (74 families), most of them A'ingae-Spanish bilingual (Telecentros, 1998). With the oil boom starting in the 1960s, their territory became the centre of oil production for the Texaco-Gulf Corporation with the support of the Ecuadorian Government. This was the beginning of a 20-year multibillion dollar oil industry dominated by foreign companies. During this period, many lowland Quichuas were driven out of their territories by *mestizo* settlers and they moved into the Cofán region, which started a process of Quichuisation among the Cofán people. This, along with the presence of missionaries, settlers, and oil companies, has put the Cofán language and culture in danger (Mirzayan, 1997).

The Western-Tucanoan language group has two or three representatives, **Siona**, **Secoya**, and **Tetete**, depending on the criteria chosen. The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) reported only two speakers of Tetete in the 1970s, and it is now considered an extinct language. As for the Siona and Secoya

people, different sources list them as one or two separate groups. Their languages are mutually intelligible and are considered to be two dialects of Paicoca (CONAIE, 1989). Mirzayan (1997) comments that in the 1630s the Sionas were located along the upper Putumayo River, while the Secoya lived in a different region. It seems that the groups became interrelated due to post-colonial contact and extensive intermarriage. At present, both live near the Cuyabeno River in the province of Sucumbios. The number of speakers is uncertain. CONAIE (1989) reports 1000 Siona-Secoya people, while the Program *Redes Comunitarias* (Community Nets /S/) mentions 330 (78 families) (Telecentros, 1998). Vickers (1989), based on extensive fieldwork in the Siona-Secoya territory, projects the death of this language in the years to come as Spanish is the first language of most of the children.

Two Jivaroan languages sharing a common ancestor are spoken in the Ecuadorian Amazonian region: **Shuar Chicham** and **Achuar Shiwiar**. Although some anthropologists and linguists refer to the Achuar language and people as a part of the Shuar nationality and the Shuar language (Shuar Chicham) (CONAIE, 1989; Mejeant, 2001), we will treat them separately. There are in fact important lexical differences between Shuar Chicham and Achuar, and researchers have described significant differences that have developed in terms of their languages and their social organisation, in part due to their separation resulting from the Protocol of Rio de Janeiro between Ecuador and Peru in 1942 (Mejeant, 2001). ECORAE, for instance, presents Shuar, Achuar, and Shiwiar as three different ethnic groups (*Instituto para el Ecodesarrollo Regional Amazónico*, 1998).

Located in the foothills of the Andean mountains, mainly in the province of Morona Santiago, the Shuar nationality is the second largest nationality in the Amazon Basin. Estimations of their population fluctuate between 40,000 and 45,000 people. The Shuar are well known in the country and abroad due to their highly organised *Federación de Centros Shuar* (Federation of Shuar Centres /S/) founded in 1964. This organisation is one of the oldest and most successful Indian organisations in South America (Hendricks, 1991; Salazar, 1981).

The Achuar people are closely related to the Shuar, and they share the same geographical area and many of the same customs and traditions (Becker, 1998). There are about 2000 Achuars in Ecuador and 2500 in Peru. Prior to the 1970s, Achuar were mostly monolingual in their native language (Mirzayan, 1997), but then the Shuar Federation established bilingual Spanish-Shuar schools in the Achuar territory, which resulted in a new generation of bilingual Shuar-Spanish children. In addition to Shuar and Spanish, many Achuar and Shuar people also speak Quichua, which is spreading along the Amazon basin.

**Zápara** or **Kayapi** is the only Zaparoan language in Ecuador. The Záparo people live near the Curaray River in the northern part of the Pastaza province. The Vice-President of CONAIE noted that, in the year 1680, there were about 10,000 Záparos (Mejeant, 2001). In 1941 they were separated due to the controversies between Peru and Ecuador. Presently, there are about 114 in Ecuador and about 200 in Peru. Zápara, their native language, is spoken by no more than a dozen elders as Záparos have taken Quichua as their own language. Researchers working with the Záparos believe that the revitalisation of this nationality has been possible thanks to the peace treaty signed by Ecuador



and Peru in 1998 as now both countries support the Záparos' cultural maintenance efforts (Lucas, 2002). Their local organisation, *Organización de la Nacionalidad Zápara del Ecuador* (Organisation of the Zápara Nationality of Ecuador /S/ ONAZE) encourages their children to relearn their language and to participate with non-natives in field research and publications. According to Andrade (2002), these joint activities have given some members of the Záparo nationality the opportunity to express their viewpoints and rediscover their history.

**Waotededo** (Huaó Tiro, Wao Tiro) is spoken by the Waorani (Huaorani) nationality and is located along the Yasuní, Cononaco, Nushiño, and Curaray Rivers in the provinces of Napo and Pastaza. There are about 1300 people (Montaluisa, 1998). This group was largely monolingual until the mid-1800s (Stark, 1985), but has since witnessed several changes that have threatened their culture and language. They were relocated by the SIL and the Ecuadorian Government into a missionary station; at that time a road system was built within their area of residence (Mirzayan, 1997). Later, oil companies invaded their territories, forcing them to move further away. In recent years there has also been an increasing number of intermarriages with the lowland Quichuas, generating a new Wao-Quichua community. In addition, increased *mestizo* migration to the area has been a great source of cultural and linguistic change.

Overall, minoritised Indian languages maintain a lower status *vis à vis* the dominant society that ignores their existence or conceives of them as extinct or low class dialects. Derogatory names are still widely used to refer to Indian people and their languages. In the indigenous languages, however, these names carry the fundamental meaning of humanity (Montaluisa, 1998). As an example, the Waoranis and their language (*Waotededo* 'language of the people' /W/), are commonly referred to as *Auca* (wild, savage /Q/) by non-members, while *Wao*, the term they use to refer to themselves, means 'human being' (see Table 3).

### *Media Lengua*

In addition to the indigenous languages, there are also a number of newer varieties that have developed as the result of intense language contact. The most

**Table 3** Names and meanings of indigenous languages

<i>Language</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
A'ingae	<i>a'i</i> ('man' or 'people'), <i>ingae</i> ('language')
Awapi't	<i>awa</i> ('man' or 'people'), <i>pit</i> ('language')
Cha'palaachi	<i>chachi</i> ('man' or 'people'), <i>palaa</i> ('language')
Epera Pedede	<i>epera</i> ('man' or 'people'), <i>pedede</i> ('language')
Runa Shimi	<i>runa</i> ('man' or 'people'), <i>shimi</i> ('language')
Shuar-chicham	<i>shuar</i> ('human being'), <i>chicham</i> ('language')
Tsa'fiqui	<i>tsachi</i> ('man' or 'people'), <i>fiqui</i> ('language')
Waotededo	<i>wao</i> ('man' or 'people'), <i>tededo</i> ('language')

Source: Adapted from Montaluisa, 1998: 11

well documented of these is *media lengua* (half language /S/), which is characterised by Quichua morphosyntax and massive Spanish relexification. Muysken (1979, 1981), in his analysis of *media lengua* in Salcedo (in the province of Cotopaxi), concluded that *media lengua* is a type of interlanguage used by Quichua speakers as a mechanism to facilitate their shift towards Spanish. More recently, Gómez (2001) documented a different version of *media lengua* in the northern province of Imbabura. He suggests that this variety is a relatively stable and coherent semi-creole, used as a linguistic strategy to adapt to a diglossic environment (Gómez, 2001: 224). Gómez further argues that *media lengua* has an important extralinguistic role as a means of resistance on the part of the minoritised speakers towards cultural assimilation and linguistic shift. It serves to mark the internal and external limits of a group *vis à vis* the outsiders and to reinforce their ethnic and linguistic identity. However, both researchers concur in the need to develop a new means to describe these linguistic varieties that takes into consideration their linguistic and extralinguistic conditions.

### Immigration patterns and immigrant languages

In addition to the three most visible population groups (the indigenous population, the individuals of direct European origin, and the large group of *mestizos* whose ancestry is rooted in both populations), there are also immigrants in Ecuador who have arrived more recently from other regions. Such groups are by and large Spanish-dominant or Spanish-monolingual; to our knowledge, there are no state-sponsored programmes to cater for the linguistic needs of these populations.

By far the most significant and most visible of these 'other' immigrant populations are Ecuadorian blacks. By some estimates, African descendents constitute as much as 25% of the population (Lipski, 1994), and by others, as little as 3% (US Department of State, 1998). Afro-Ecuadorians largely reside in the north-western coastal regions of the country, with smaller numbers in the highland Chota Valley (Lipski, 1987). As Lipski (1994) reports, there is lack of certainty concerning when and how Africans immigrated to Ecuador. One common belief is that the first black residents landed on Ecuador's west coast as a result of two shipwrecks at the end of the 16th century. In the decades that followed, Jesuits (and eventually other landowners) imported black slaves to work on plantations. Other blacks came to Ecuador from Colombia as soldiers early in the 19th century during the wars of colonial liberation. Afterwards many remained in the coastal province of Esmeraldas. The most recent wave of African-ancestry immigration occurred in the late 19th century, when roughly 4000 to 5000 labourers were brought to the country from the Caribbean to work on construction projects and plantations.

In addition, in Ecuador, as in most South American countries, there are small numbers of immigrants from other continents. For instance, there are a significant number of Catalan-speaking families in Quito who have founded *La Casa Catalana* (The Catalan House), where about 100 families meet weekly. Although there are many mixed (Spanish-Catalan) marriages, these families generally speak Catalan and maintain their cultural traditions. Currently, Catalan classes are being offered to the public at *La Casa* (David Sánchez, personal communication, November 2002). There are also individuals of Jewish and Arabic descent;

Japanese, Korean, and Chinese immigrants, and immigrants from neighbouring Andean countries, especially from Colombia in recent years (*New York Times*, 2002).

While immigration has not had a huge impact on national demographics, a far more potent force has been emigration, as thousands of Ecuadorians have left their homeland for either permanent or temporary residence in the United States or Europe. There are currently estimated to be 260,000 documented Ecuadorians officially living in the United States, with many more remaining undocumented and uncounted (NAHJ, 2001). In New York City, for instance, which is traditionally a stronghold for Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, Ecuadorians are the fourth most numerous Latino group, numbering 144,314 (more than the total combined number of Guatemalans, Hondurans, Salvadorans and Peruvians) (Kugel, 2002). Roughly 60% of Ecuadorians in the U.S. have settled in New York City; another 10% reside in Los Angeles (NAHJ, 2001). The Ecuadorian Government estimates that 500,000 people, 4% of the total population, left Ecuador in 1999 and 2000 alone (*Washington Post*, 2000). This group significantly impacts the Ecuadorian economy: remittances from family members working abroad are projected at one billion US dollars annually, placing them only behind oil exports, the country's leading source of foreign capital, according to the newly created Office for Ecuadorians Abroad (*Washington Post*, 2000).

Emigration often has significant consequences on language use and ethnic identity maintenance. For instance, Linda Belote (personal communication, April 2002) reports that roughly 1000 indigenous people from the Saraguro area (the total Saraguro population is estimated at 22,000–25,000) have relocated to Almeria and Vera, Spain; according to Belote, many have altered their indigenous clothing and hairstyle in order to blend in with Spanish society. Back in Ecuador, for some indigenous communities, the departure and long periods of absence of young men, and in some cases whole families, puts further stress on communication networks and traditional routines, as the youngest and oldest are left behind. Unofficial estimates suggest that Cañar and Azuay are the provinces with the highest rates of emigration (see also Grebe Vicuña, 1997; Herrera, 1999; Katz, 2000).

In sum, Ecuador is a multilingual, multiethnic, and multicultural country whose society has faced a series of abrupt socioeconomic, cultural, and political changes during the last three decades. These have affected both the way people use and conceive of their languages, and the way official institutions have approached and regulated them. Overall, the decline and increased endangerment of Ecuador's indigenous languages remains apparent. This is largely due to the fact that, even though new rights have been recognised and new laws have been developed which favour the indigenous people, the implementation of such laws has been less than complete. The complexity of this situation is particularly clear in the case of education, which is discussed next.

### Language Spread: Education

Education is compulsory for all Ecuadorians. The public education system for those under the age of 18 consists of three components: (1) 'regular' primary and secondary schools, which comprise a system for indigenous students and one for

Hispanic students, (2) compensatory schools, which aim to assist students who have not been able to attend classes regularly for a wide range of reasons, and (3) special education programmes for students with particular emotional, physical or cognitive needs. By law, students must attend six years of primary school from age 6 to 12, and then three years of basic secondary education (middle school) from age 12 to 15. Students then have the option of attending an additional three years of high school to earn their high school degree, and then going on to attend a technical institute or one of 29 universities in the country (see HESD, 2003, for more details).

Although education is compulsory in theory, in practice, only 50% of the population completes six years of primary school, and of those who enrol in secondary education, 50% fail to graduate (HESD, 2003). Rates of school participation and school completion have varied widely across regional, ethnic, gender, and socioeconomic groups. These divergent school experiences are most clearly reflected in the nation's illiteracy rates and school attendance statistics (SIISE, 2002b). Although by most measures overall literacy rates have increased by roughly 25% over the last three decades, wide discrepancies in literacy skills remain across rural and urban populations, as well as between men and women. Correspondingly, statistics reveal that urban children on average complete twice as many years of schooling as rural children, while boys tend to complete more schooling than girls do (see Tables 4 and 5).

Ecuadorian children's school experiences vary widely not only in terms of the amount of time spent in school, but also in the types of schools they attend. As an example, roughly 20% of primary and secondary schools in the country are privately run, and the percentage of students enrolled in private schools increases for each scholastic year (for instance, slightly less than 20% of primary students, but more than 40% of secondary students, are enrolled in private institutions). Private institutions are also far more common in urban areas, where roughly one-third of schools are not state sponsored (Library of Congress, 1989). For instance, one well-known private institution is the *Colegio Menor San Fran-*

**Table 4** Percentage of children between 6–11 years old enrolled in school in 1999, by region and gender

	<i>Coast</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Highlands</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Amazon</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
Rural	81.2	80.0	82.4	88.4	88.8	88.0	85.9	86.0	85.8
Urban	92.2	91.8	92.7	94.2	94.3	94.2	91.3	91.0	91.5

Source: SIISE, 2000

**Table 5** Number of school years completed in urban and rural areas by region and gender

	<i>Coast</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Highlands</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Amazon</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
Rural	4.1	4.3	3.9	3.8	4.5	3.3	4.4	5.0	3.7
Urban	8.0	8.3	7.7	8.8	9.5	8.2	7.0	7.5	6.5

Source: SIISE, 1999

*cisco de Quito*, founded in 1995. This fee-based school serves upper-middle-class students and is known for its progressive (US-style) curriculum, international teaching staff, and early and strong emphasis on English, all of which distinguish it from state schools (Lannak, 1999).

For most students in the country, education is conducted through the medium of Spanish and is oriented towards Spanish or Hispanic culture. None of the indigenous languages described in previous sections are taught to non-indigenous Spanish speakers, and the Hispanic school system includes no possibility for doing so. (All indigenous students, in contrast, must learn Spanish as a second language and in many cases are educated through the medium of Spanish.) In 1994, the Board of Education, as part of reforms to the Law of Education, agreed to include some topics related to the indigenous peoples of the country in the national curriculum. These 12 *ejes tematicos* (thematic topics /S/) include: 'different Ecuadorian cultures', 'family and community habits', 'myths and legends', 'worldviews', 'ancestral technical knowledge', 'health and sickness', 'ethics', 'production systems', 'familial, social and external organisation', 'festivities and ceremonies', 'values and their maintenance' and 'social and economic changes (transformations)' (Soto, 1997). Nevertheless, these 'topics' have neither been properly developed nor included as regular areas of the curriculum within the Hispanic public school programmes. Furthermore, because indigenous schooling is limited to primary education, indigenous students who wish to continue with their education beyond grade six, must do so in Hispanic secondary schools.

Bilingual education in Ecuador can loosely be classified into two general types (King, in press). In the first group are programmes aimed at students who are monolingual speakers of Spanish, and which teach English (or less commonly, French or another European language) as a foreign language, in some cases using it as a medium of instruction. These programmes, which are typically offered in private schools only, tend to be designed for – and in many instances are only available to – students from upper-middle and upper-class backgrounds, and are created as a means to enrich their educational and social opportunities. As English is a language of high social status and economic advancement, this type of school potentially facilitates a version of elite closure, wherein competence in English simultaneously signals elite status and is accessible only to elites (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Enrichment programmes such as these, which promote an additive type of bilingualism, have often been labelled 'elitist' bilingual education (Hornberger, 1991; Mejia, 2002).

The second class or type of bilingual programmes is aimed at students who are dominant or monolingual in an indigenous language, and who need to acquire Spanish as a second language. These programmes are designed as vehicles for providing meaningful instruction and literacy training in students' first language, prior to (or concomitant with) their transition to Spanish, and are typically part of the national indigenous intercultural bilingual education system. In contrast to the first class of programmes, these students tend to come from societal groups that have long been economically and socially marginalised within the national context. Advocates of such programmes argue that the use of the students' first language provides them with a greater chance of engaging with the school curriculum, developing literacy skills, and eventually, participating

on more equal terms in the wider national society (PEBI, n.d.). However, some critics of these so-called 'maintenance' programmes point out that, despite some use of students' first language in the early grades, in reality the programmes overwhelmingly tend to be oriented towards transition to Spanish, and hence to promote a subtractive form of bilingualism. Each of these two types – elite (foreign-language) bilingual education and indigenous bilingual education – are briefly discussed in the following sections.

### Elite bilingual education and foreign-language instruction

While Spanish is the primary language of instruction, foreign-language instruction – especially English – also takes place in both elementary and secondary schools. In many secondary schools, for example, English is a mandatory subject, and private institutions are incorporating English into the curriculum at even earlier grades, not only as a subject of study, but also as a medium of instruction. These institutions aim for students to become bilingual and to develop strong academic skills in English. For instance, at the *Colegio Menor San Francisco de Quito*, mentioned previously, English is used as a primary medium of instruction at each grade level, and courses such as maths and science are taught exclusively in English using US materials (Lannak, 1999). Other schools where English is used as the language of instruction include *Academia Cotopaxi* and international sections of the American School.

In addition to English, other languages such as French, German and Italian are also taught. German and French especially are used as the main means of instruction in some international schools: the German school, *Colegio Alemán*, for instance, functions with two sections, one national in which 60–70% of the subjects are taught in German, and one international, in which all coursework is completed in German. Spanish is only taught as a second language. Similarly, the French school, *La Condamine*, teaches approximately 70% of all subjects in French and the remaining 30% in Spanish.

Foreign-language instruction is not entirely limited to private schools, however. For instance, in 1992, under an agreement between the British and Ecuadorian Governments, a new project, CRADLE (Curriculum Reform Aimed at the Development of the Learning of English) came into effect. This programme has been devoted to improving the teaching of English in all Ecuadorian public and missionary schools (but excluding bilingual intercultural schools). Its stated goal is to help Ecuadorian high school students to acquire English in order for them to have better opportunities in the future. With a series of books adapted to the Ecuadorian context, CRADLE aimed to develop four English skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing (Haboud, 2001a).

This trend towards English within K-12 institutions is a reflection of the growing place of English within both urban and rural Ecuadorian society. Alm (personal communication, May 2002) notes that, in Ecuador, English is primarily used for international communication in specific pan-national domains such as science, higher education, and technology. In describing a profile of the use of English in Ecuador, Alm (2002) writes that English is highly prestigious and is regarded as an important means of climbing the social ladder and being competitive in the labour market, especially in business. Alm also finds that English is widely used in advertising as a means of projecting images that are easily associ-

ated with modernity, technology, education, and beauty. English is also commonly used in mass media, especially radio stations in the main Ecuadorian cities (i.e. Quito and Guayaquil) and the written press. For instance, *El Comercio*, a well-known Ecuadorian newspaper, publishes bilingual English-Spanish jokes in its Sunday supplement. The popularity of English among Ecuadorians has resulted in the increase of many private institutions that offer English classes for all ages and with different methodologies. The yellow pages of Quito's telephone book, as an example, show the existence of about 40 English institutes in Quito's commercial centres (July 2002).

### Indigenous bilingual education

Despite the substantial linguistic and ethnic diversity of the country, Spanish has traditionally been the primary medium of instruction in all schools. However, due to significant shifts in education and language policy that took place in the 1980s, use of indigenous languages in education now has a firm legal basis and a dedicated administrative office within the national educational system. Intercultural bilingual education in Ecuador rests on three legislative and executive decisions, each of which is outlined in the following paragraphs.

The first legislation enacted to support indigenous language use in education was Decree No. 000529 of 12 January 1981, which officialised bilingual, intercultural education in predominantly indigenous zones for both primary and secondary education. In these areas, instruction is to be imparted in Spanish and Quichua (or the group's indigenous language). The second foothold for bilingual education is found in Article 27 of the Ecuadorian Constitution, which was adopted in 1983. Article 27 provides that 'the educational systems in predominantly indigenous zones should use Quichua (or the community's respective language) as the primary language of education and Spanish as the language of intercultural relations' (*DINEIB*, 1994: 5).<sup>3</sup>

Five years later, the third legal administrative structure was put into place in order to implement these legislative decisions and to support meaningful use of indigenous languages in education. With these aims, the *Dirección Nacional de Educación Indígena Intercultural Bilingüe* (National Directorate of Bilingual Indigenous Intercultural Education /S/, *DINEIIB*) was created and charged with organising and administering schools in areas where the population is more than half indigenous (see the *DINEIIB* section below for more details). *DINEIIB*'s mandate is extensive, and its responsibilities include developing pedagogical materials; promoting the unified standard of various indigenous languages; coordinating regional directorates in each of the country's 22 provinces; implementing and evaluating health, environmental, and community education programmes; and providing all in-service and pre-service teacher training (*DINEIIB*, 1991; Krainer, 1996). These three policy decisions represented a major break with previous language and education policy and practice. In the following paragraphs, we trace their historical and political development.

Prior to the 1960s, formal schooling in Ecuador was Spanish-only in terms of both medium of instruction and cultural orientation. In addition to resulting in irrelevant curricula and largely ineffective pedagogy, this system also abetted indigenous language shift and cultural assimilation (*DINEIB*, 1994; *PEBI*, n.d.).

The radical shift in policy which made indigenous language education possible was the result of national and international pressures on the Ecuadorian Government, and it needs to be viewed in light of similar shifts in neighbouring Andean countries and beyond, as well as within a broader framework which takes into account issues of power and resistance.

Ricento (2000) has recently argued that research in the area of language policy and planning is best divided into three historical phases. In the first of these phases, language-planning work was perceived as politically neutral and as a technical, problem-solving exercise; goals frequently focused on achieving unification, modernisation, and efficiency within newly formed nation-states (Ricento, 2000: 198–9). Work within the second phase, in contrast, began to question the feasibility and the neutrality of these goals, as modernisation policies in the developing world failed and notions such as the ‘native speaker’ and ‘diglossia’ were critically scrutinised. This phase is generally characterised by:

a growing awareness of the negative effects – and inherent limitations – of planning theory and models, and a realisation that sociolinguistic constructs such as diglossia, bilingualism, and multilingualism were conceptually complex and ideologically laden and could not easily fit into existing descriptive taxonomies (Ricento, 2000: 202).

The third and current phase, in turn, builds on these insights, but is also informed by critical theory and a language ecology perspective, and is concerned more specifically with the role of ideology in language policy, the maintenance of threatened languages and linguistic diversity, and support for linguistic human rights.

While some of the existing language planning and policy research on Ecuadorian bilingual education policy has worked within the first phase (e.g. *DINEIIB*, 1991), more recent analysis operates from the perspective of the second and third phases (e.g. King, 2000; von Gleich, 1994). From this vantage point, the three shifts in policy outlined previously are generally viewed not as politically neutral technocratic solutions to language problems, but as the result of negotiations and compromises, and as embedded in larger debates concerning identity, ethnicity, and conceptions of nation-state. More precisely, the Ecuadorian case must be viewed in light of three related currents: (1) the global trend towards greater acceptance of minority language rights; (2) the regional shift across the Andean nations towards greater recognition of the plurilinguistic, pluricultural and pluriethnic nature of these nation-states, and perhaps most significantly, (3) the political shifts resulting from the expansion of identity-based political organisations in Ecuador and the concomitantly greater articulation of indigenous rights within the country. Each of these three trends is now briefly discussed.

### *Global trends towards language rights*

‘Globalisation’, and the process of cultural erosion that it implies, is often characterised as a force that (further) endangers ‘small’ languages and cultures (Hamelink, 2000; Phillipson, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). For instance, the greater availability and aggressive marketing of dominant-language media, services, and goods potentially promotes languages such as English and simultaneously undermines the use and status of minority languages (Phillipson, 2000).



However, as Fishman has argued, 'globalization is both a constructive and a destructive phenomenon, both a unifying and a divisive one' (Fishman, 1991: 6). One prime example of a global trend that unites and positively impacts the climate for language and education policy is the movement towards greater recognition of minority language rights.

As Huss notes (1999: 50), there is a clear 'trend in international law towards a greater acknowledgement of the linguistic diversity in nation states'. The United Nations has perhaps been the most powerful language-planning agent in this regard. Indeed, as early as 1966 a general notion of language rights was recognised in the United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Article 27 (in force since 1976) stipulated that:

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 other members of their groups, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language (Huss, 1999: 50).

More recent declarations have tended to give greater emphasis to the state's obligation to support minorities actively. For instance, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities of 1992 requires that:

states shall take measures to create favorable conditions to enable persons belonging to minorities to express their characteristics and to develop their culture, language, religion, traditions and customs, except where specific practices are in violation of law and contrary to international standards (UNESCO, 1992, in Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000: 533).

The most recent of these declarations, and also the most promising, is the draft of the 'Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights', which was accepted in June 1996 in Barcelona and submitted to UNESCO thereafter. According to Skutnabb-Kangas, this declaration is the 'first attempt at formulating a universal document about language rights exclusively' (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000: 544), and in many respects it is more progressive and far-reaching than previous declarations. This document is not without its shortcomings however; for instance, educational language rights, in contrast to cultural rights, are not seen as inalienable and thus are subject to denial by individual states (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000: 544). Further, there is a continued discontinuity and important distinction between the often abstract and unrealistic discussions of 'rights' in political discourse and those rights which have recognised legal status either internationally or nationally (personal communication, R.B. Kaplan, March 2003).

Concomitant with these trends in international law is greater collaboration among indigenous groups across state lines, and with that, increased awareness of similar struggles across a wide range of contexts. There are more than a dozen international organisations working to promote endangered languages and to support indigenous people, including, for instance, the Endangered Languages Fund, the Foundation for Endangered Languages, the Hanns Seidel Foundation, and Terralingua (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000 for detailed overviews). Through

these and other vehicles, indigenous groups from distant nation-states are increasingly in contact with each other. These global trends towards indigenous collaboration and greater international recognition of minority language rights form an important part of the context of the Ecuadorian case.

### *Andean shifts in language and education policy*

The shifts in Ecuadorian language and education policy are also interwoven with currents of change in the Andes, as two of Ecuador's neighbouring countries, Peru and Bolivia, have also seen substantial shifts in language education policy. These policy shifts generally reflect greater recognition and respect for the languages and cultures of indigenous groups, and tend to showcase bilingual intercultural education as representative of this new orientation. In Peru, the most significant reforms occurred in the 1970s, beginning with the officialisation of Quechua in May 1975 under General Velasco. Officialisation in Peru meant that Quichua was stipulated for use at all levels of education (Art. 2), and that Quechua was required for use in all judicial procedures where monolingual Quechuas were involved (Art. 3). In addition, officialisation required that the Ministry of Education be held responsible for developing instruction materials and supporting institutions dedicated to the diffusion of the language (Art. 4) (von Gleich, 1994; also see Hornberger, 1987; Pozzi-Escot, 1988).

In Bolivia, in turn, similar currents resulted in dramatic policy shifts in the 1990s, and specifically, the educational reform of 1994. This reform law calls for bilingual intercultural education for all societal sectors in Bolivia (Benson, in press; UNICEF, 1998), stressing official recognition of all Bolivian languages (*ETARE*, 1993) and the need for mutual respect among all Bolivians (*CEBAIE*, 1998). The accompanying Law of Popular Participation, also in effect from 1994, involves community and indigenous organisations in educational decision-making, sometimes creating new organisations to replace pre-existing ones and decentralising school management (also see King & Benson, 2004).

The Ecuadorian laws of the 1980s are thus clearly embedded in a particular regional context of reform. Minaya-Rowe (1986) has argued that the shifts in bilingual education policy across Andean Latin America are motivated by a shared underlying ideology and common set of goals. These goals include achieving political, economic, and cultural independence in the international community, and integrating the indigenous populations into mainstream society both socially and politically. More specifically, 'to become economically developed, technologically advanced nations, the current Andean Latin American governments feel they cannot do without having a polity – i.e. a national citizenry – which includes all sectors of the population' (Minaya-Rowe, 1986: 468). Luykx (2000) argues that the reforms which have taken place across each of the three main Andean nations have been 'cut from the same cloth', inasmuch as they can each be understood as direct responses to pressure from indigenous organisations and from international donors concerned with promoting more democratic and inclusive educational systems. For Luykx (who draws largely from her work in Bolivia), these policy shifts are part of a 'larger package of "modernizing" state reforms, guided largely by the pressures and criteria emanating from international lending institutions' (Luykx, 2000).

In addition, the similarity in policies can also be traced to the significant amount of inter-Andean cooperation, as professionals and experts from each of these countries frequently serve as consultants for various inter-Andean commissions and projects. A prime example of this sort of collaboration is *Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para los Países Andinos* (Training Programme in Bilingual Intercultural Education for the Andean Countries /S/ (PROEIB)). PROEIB is an internationally funded and organised programme designed to support the consolidation of bilingual intercultural education across the Andes, primarily through the development of human resources (PROEIB Andes, 2002). Although based in Bolivia, large numbers of both the faculty and students hail from other Andean countries. PROEIB has quickly become the epicentre for language policy and bilingual education planning and research across the Andes. PROEIB's next goal is to create an independent foundation in each of the Andean countries. These foundations seek to provide academic services by 2006 and to offer permanent low-cost opportunities for academic study among local populations (Anita Krainer, personal communication, January 2003).

### *Ethnic politics and indigenous schools*

These recent shifts in Ecuadorian language and education policy have also coincided with substantial growth of identity-based political movements in Ecuador and beyond. Ecuador has long been home to one of the stronger indigenous organisations in South America, CONAIE. This political organisation was formed in 1986 and officially recognised by the Government soon after. This recognition united the distinct indigenous groups across the country and allowed for rapid mobilisation of cultural and linguistic resistance (von Gleich, 1992, also see Moya, 1991). As the CONAIE leadership explains, the organisation serves as 'the representative body that guarantees indigenous people the political voice that has too long been denied them, and that expresses their needs and goals within a rapidly changing world' (CONAIE, 1989: 1). CONAIE's goals generally have paralleled concerns of indigenous people throughout Latin America, including land and agrarian rights, local and regional autonomy and self-determination, and legal rights relating to educational and linguistic policies (Stavenhagen, 1992). Within the Ecuadorian context, the struggles along each of these three lines have intersected with dramatic changes on the national scene, including: (1) the Agrarian Reform Laws of 1962 and 1974, which aimed to redistribute massive areas of land, and opened new questions of land rights, identity, and access to other resources; (2) the petroleum boom of the 1970s, which translated into massive state investment into rural sectors, especially in education, communication, electricity, and water; and (3) the fiscal and political crises of the 1990s.

It should also be noted that some of the language and education policy shifts detailed here are embedded in a long history of reform. For instance, in 1953, the Board of Education tried to create a rural teachers' school, which was intended to provide the Indian population with the opportunity to become certified teachers. Nevertheless, the training largely consisted of instruction in the official language, Spanish. In 1964, the *Plan Ecuatoriano de Educación* (Ecuadorian Plan of Education) argued for the importance of integrating the Indian population into

the mainstream; it was believed that teaching quality would improve if it were designed and implemented in order to motivate the socioeconomic integration of the Ecuadorian Indians (Yáñez, 1989: 76).

However, it was not until the 1970s, with the development of a stronger sense of self-identity on the part of some members of the middle class and the increased number of foreign visitors interested in local traditions and cultures, that a broadening interest in indigenous Ecuadorian culture, beyond that traditionally defined by the white elites, began to appear. Certainly the unprecedented step taken by former President Jaime Roldós in 1979, when he delivered part of his inaugural address in Quichua, is one indication of this shift (Schodt, 1987).

The emphasis on creating cultural awareness and a sense of national unification was clearly underlined in the *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo* (1980–1984) (National Development Plan /S/), whose main goals included establishing the National Literacy Plan; informing public administration officials of the basic characteristics of the indigenous population; promoting the rights, significance, and inclusion of the Indian peoples and cultures; and defending national cultural values against foreign imperialism. Similarly, the Law of Education, proposed in April 1983, states as one of its main objectives the promotion and enrichment of Ecuadorian cultural traditions and the preservation of a national identity (see *Ley de Educación*, 2000). Yet despite the many efforts to create national awareness concerning the multicultural and multilingual character of Ecuador, powerful sectors of the Ecuadorian society continue to harbour negative stereotypes and indifference towards the minoritised populations, rejecting all local or national organisations which represent indigenous peoples. Some of these organisations and their educational efforts are discussed in the following paragraphs.

CONAIE emerged on the scene in the late 1980s and continues to play a powerful role in national politics, making its voice heard on numerous issues which are significant not only to the indigenous sectors, but to the entire nation. For instance, CONAIE and other indigenous groups were a major factor in ousting democratically elected, but widely unpopular, President Jamil Mahuad in January 2000. More recently, in January and February 2001, indigenous protest resulted in major presidential reversals concerning transportation, domestic gas, and budgets for organisations created to assist indigenous people (e.g. *Consejo de Desarrollo de las Nacionalidades y Pueblos del Ecuador* (Council for the Development of Nationalities and Peoples of Ecuador (CODENPE) /S/).

In terms of educational policy, CONAIE and other indigenous organisations over the last three decades have worked for language and education reform on two levels. First, as discussed in the following section, indigenous groups demanded policy change regarding language and education at the national level. Second, during the same period indigenous groups began to implement their own native language literacy and education programmes within their communities. Thus, indigenous groups not only pushed to improve their children's educational experience by calling for pedagogical use of a language that was meaningful to their children and for content and cultural orientation that was relevant and self-affirming, but also began employing their languages in new domains. Two prime examples of such educational programmes that are controlled by indigenous groups are *Sistemas de Educación Radiofónica Bicultural Shuar* (Shuar Bicultural Distance Radio Education Systems /S/ (SERBISH)) and

the *Fundación Runacunapac Yachana Huasi* (Indigenous Schooling /Q/ 'Foundation' /S/), each discussed briefly in the following paragraphs.

Among the first of the locally controlled, indigenous education programmes was SERBISH, initiated by the *Federación Shuar* in 1972. The objectives of the SERBISH programme are far-reaching and ambitious, including schooling the entire Shuar population between the ages of 6 and 15; encouraging mutual assistance between regionally dispersed Shuar groups; developing local cultures and ensuring the permanence of the Shuar communities. To this end, the pedagogical theory of the programme emphasises not mixing Shuar and Spanish. The programme begins initially with the Shuar language for content instruction and literacy acquisition in the first years and moves eventually to using both languages for all topics. A guiding principle is to make the school system reflect the realities of Shuar community and cultural life. With 31 radio centres in different communities, *SERBISH* reached 506 students in its first year, and continued to grow. By the late 1980s, *SERBISH* had an enrolment of 4519 students at 187 primary schools and 731 students at 39 secondary schools (Puwáinchir Wajárai, 1989). In 1988 the programme was officially recognised by the Government.

Inspired by the Shuar, and motivated by their own needs, the Quichua of Bolívar province formed their own schools in 1972. The schools were organised by the indigenous and locally controlled, *Fundación Runacunapac Yachana Huasi* (Indigenous Schooling /Q/ Foundation /S/). The goals of the schools are to use Quichua as the medium of instruction; to teach Spanish-as-a-second-language; to enrich the students' cultural identity; and to encourage the children to remain within the family and community (Caiza, 1989). In 1989, there were 17 schools, 30 teachers, and more than 600 children participating in the programme (Caiza, 1989).

Although the academic effectiveness of these and other programmes is difficult to assess, the continued demand for them is a powerful, and probably reliable, indicator of their success within the communities. Moreover, the social impact of these and other similar programmes has been substantial both within the communities and also in the national context. Many of the children who participated in these early programmes became politically conscious of their ethnic identity and went on to become the bilingual school teachers, members of the indigenous intelligentsia, and indigenous political leaders of the present.

Furthermore, the indigenous groups, through their organisation and mobilisation around education, demonstrated, in the words of one indigenous woman, that:

we no longer want to be the object of investigations and experiments; rather, we want to be (and are capable of being) the actors and executors of an intercultural bilingual education that includes our historical, social, political, and cultural reality designed and controlled by us (Cotacachi, 1989: 263).

The schools served as reminders for the national community of the existence of indigenous cultures and languages, and also as testimony to the groups' powers to organise, administer and staff their own institutions. In a similar vein, Moya notes that 'the participation of the indigenous movement in education was – to a certain extent – an act that "educated" the entire population of the content and form of civil

rights, and in particular, the rights of culture and of identity' (Moya, 1991:8). And as Cotacachi observes, 'utilization of the native language as a medium of instruction . . . is a clear political decision on the part of the indigenous population' (Cotacachi, 1989: 255).

Improved local and regional indigenous organisation, increased access to and local control of education, and international support for indigenous demands, allowed the 'political space' and power of indigenous groups to grow significantly (Selverston, 1992). With this increased power came growing challenges to longstanding divisions and ideologies. As Hornberger has observed, while 'language policy and language use reflect the socio-cultural and political-economic divisions of a society, they can also be vehicles for challenging those divisions' (Hornberger, 1995: 189). In the Ecuadorian context, language of instruction was a symbolic vehicle for challenging many of the assumptions about indigenous peoples and languages. And as a result of continued political pressure from the indigenous sectors, significant changes concerning indigenous language education have occurred at the national level.

### *DINEIIB*

The most significant of these changes was the establishment of *DINEIIB*. Although bilingual education gained legal footing in the 1980s, there were few specific programmes and policies in place to support the practice of bilingual education. It was not until it was repeatedly brought to the public's attention that there was a lack of accord between official policy (which mandated bilingual education) and educational practice (which, apart from a few experimental programmes, remained unchanged) that serious reforms were implemented (Moya, 1991). By far the most significant of these was the establishment of *DINEIIB* in November, 1989. As Moya notes, at the time, it was significant that the name of the organisation began first with 'indigenous' rather than 'intercultural' or 'bilingual' (the name of the office has since changed to the *Dirección Nacional de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* (National Directorate of Bilingual Intercultural Education) /S/ or *DINEIB*). According to Moya (1989: 22), 'the creation of *DINEIIB* was a response to pressure on the part of indigenous organisations to have greater voice in decisions concerning education for the indigenous population'. Similarly, according to Selverston (1992), the formation of *DINEIB* was the outcome of a new dialogue process between the newly elected President Borja (1988) and *CONAIE* leaders. In short, *DINEIB* was charged with administering schools in areas in which the population is more than half indigenous, and with guaranteeing the unity, quality, and efficiency of indigenous education throughout Ecuador (*DINEIIB*, 1991).

In the months after the establishment of *DINEIB*, an agreement of technical cooperation was signed between *CONAIE* and the Ministry of Education and Culture that allocated high-level positions within *DINEIB* for *CONAIE* representatives. In collaboration with *CONAIE*, *DINEIB*'s specific functions and responsibilities include developing appropriate bilingual intercultural education curricula; designing education programmes and structures in accord with the needs of the indigenous population; promoting the production and use of didactic materials; and supporting the maintenance and spread of standardised Quichua (*DINEIIB*, 1991). In order to administer the diverse and numerous

indigenous schools in the country, regional directorates were established in each of Ecuador's 22 provinces. The regional directorates are responsible for administering and supervising all indigenous schools within their jurisdiction. The allocation of funds and authority to *DINEIB* marked the first time:

in the educational history of Latin America that a Hispanic government allowed and supported the establishment of an independent educational administration for the indigenous populations, transferring the right to develop culturally appropriate curricula and independent teacher-training and selection methods (von Gleich, 1994: 96).

As noted previously, these shifts in government policy occurred at least in part because they were the most viable political option in response to indigenous organisational pressure (Moya, 1991).

When *DINEIB* was established in 1989, all educational programmes targeted at the indigenous populations fell within its jurisdiction. The most important of these was the experimental *Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural* (Project of Bilingual Intercultural Education /S/ (*PEBI*)), which also operated in Peru (see Hornberger, 1988) and elsewhere in the Andes. Through an agreement of technical cooperation between the Ecuadorian and German Governments, *PEBI* began in Ecuador in 1986 with its first bilingual group of students and added one grade level each year. By 1993, *PEBI* was working in seven Quichua provinces with 53 pilot schools, 175 teachers and 4000 students (*Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural*, n.d.). In addition to promoting fluency in both oral and written Quichua and Spanish, *PEBI* emphasised the importance of the students' own ethnicity and the development of student competence in interacting with other indigenous and non-indigenous groups. When *PEBI* came to a close at the end of the 1993 school year, it left behind a wealth of scholastic texts, technical information, and pedagogical experience.

### *Challenges to implementing indigenous language education*

As von Gleich has suggested, despite a great deal of federal legislation across the Andes designed to protect and promote 'the ethnic and cultural diversity of the nation, this very favorable legal framework still lacks the regulations needed for implementation in the public, administrative, and legal sectors, as well as explanation of imprecise terms such as "zone" and "predominantly"' (von Gleich, 1999: 686). And as recent work by Cotacachi (1997), Haboud (1998), and King (2000) suggests, although bilingual intercultural education is practised in many areas of Ecuador (according to *DINEIB* estimates, there are 2000 bilingual primary schools, 40 bilingual high schools, and six intercultural bilingual pedagogical institutes), it is generally not implemented consistently or effectively (Aguilar & Cabezas, 2002; Krainer, 1999).

The following paragraphs explore some of the reasons why, despite strong federal legislation, years of experimentation, and substantial international support, bilingual intercultural education is still not practised effectively in many regions of the country (see King & Benson, 2004, for further discussion). Key issues include the dearth of qualified teachers; conflicting ideologies concerning the suitability of indigenous languages for school contexts; disparate

definitions and interpretations of interculturalism (and interculturality) and bilingualism, and administrative complications and resource shortages.

A central issue in expanding the use of indigenous languages in education in the region is the training of qualified bilingual teachers (Abram, 1989). In Ecuador, this has long been recognised as a major challenge. For instance, *CONAIE*, *DINEIB*, and *PEBI* have each established intensive, accelerated programmes to train teachers (Yáñez, 1991). However, wide-scale implementation of bilingual intercultural education (BIE) requires a critical mass of trained bilingual teachers, something that Ecuador, despite these and other significant efforts, has yet to succeed in cultivating.

Even where basic training and recruitment issues are addressed, ideological forces potentially undermine use of the indigenous language in the classroom. As Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998) note, there is often disparity between expressed ideals and actual support for indigenous languages, which in their view often results from deeply embedded ideologies concerning the language. Indigenous teachers might sharply recall their own punishment and embarrassment for using their language in school. Bilingual teachers also may harbour doubts about the suitability of the language for academic use, or feel insecure about their own language skills. For instance, among Ecuadorian Spanish-speaking elementary school teachers and principals who opposed bilingual intercultural education, some of the most revealing reasons they gave were that Quichua is useless in daily life, being a 'backward' language with an inadequate grammar and lexicon (Cotacachi, 1997). Other teachers may question, as Luykx does (2000), the assumption that formal school initiatives are key to indigenous language maintenance, and instead believe that focusing on home transmission is more appropriate. Implementation of bilingual education is also complicated by the fact that many parents in some communities are resistant to indigenous-language medium education. Carpenter (1983), for instance, found that in Otavalo, Ecuador – especially among the rural poor – parents wanted their children to be educated in Spanish, many believing that bilingual education would deny students access to social mobility.

Another problematic issue rests in the varying definitions and interpretations of key terms such as *bilingüismo* (bilingualism) and *interculturalidad* (interculturality). Not unlike early formulations of bilingual education policy in the US (Crawford, 1999), legislation in Ecuador provides few specifics concerning how bilingual education should be defined and how Spanish and Quichua should be balanced within and across grades. For instance, *DINEIIB* outlines the primary goal of BIE as 'contributing to the affirmation of the cultural identity of people of Ecuador', altering the relationships and attitudes among peoples and groups, and contributing 'to the development of a process of reflection which is the basis of a sustained and creative dialogue between cultures' (*DINEIIB*, 1991: 25). *DINEIIB* does not specify media of instruction, but rather states that 'the process of indigenous education involves cultivating and recuperating the mother tongue and learning the second language as a means of intercommunication with other cultures' (*DINEIIB*, 1991: 36). According to Krainer (1996), the use of the word 'bilingual' within the Ecuadorian context reflects official recognition of the fact that there are diverse forms of statement and communication within the society. Thus, 'the process of bilingual education supports the teaching and



use of indigenous languages and Spanish in a manner which develops both languages lexically and stylistically with the aim of converting them into multifunctional languages' (Krainer, 1996: 26). From this perspective, 'bilingual' education is concerned not only with the use and instruction of indigenous languages within schools, but with the corpus and status development of indigenous languages as well as Spanish.

Likewise, the meaning of 'intercultural' education is also open to interpretation. Krainer (1996) defines intercultural education as that which not only affirms one's social and conceptual universe, but also permits the selective and critical appropriation of cultural elements of other groups. Haboud (2000, 2001c) argues that interculturality implies relations and interactions between two separate cultures, as well as the political task of constructing an egalitarian society. A further discrepancy concerns to whom 'intercultural' education should be directed. Although the discourse surrounding interculturality and interculturalism in Ecuador suggests that the enterprise involves all groups and must be reciprocal, in practice, it has generally been treated as an issue that is exclusive to the indigenous population as well as one which is limited to classroom contexts and not extended to interactions in wider society (Haboud, 2000, 2001c; Hornberger, 2000). As noted previously, Quichua is not taught to Spanish-speaking students in public schools as a foreign or second language, nor is it ever used as a medium of instruction for this group. Outside of public school, Quichua instruction for Spanish speakers is also extremely limited. For instance, out of 12 universities in Quito, only two (*Universidad Católica* and *Universidad San Francisco*) currently offer Quichua classes as open language classes. Out of the 45 private language institutes in Quito, only one teaches Quichua language and culture (José Maldonado, personal communication, May 2003). Thus, the Ecuadorian educational model has left the actual practice of interculturality squarely in the hands of the indigenous people. Given this imbalance, it is difficult to arrive at the formation of an intercultural society whose members learn to value and respect other cultures and peoples.

Finally, the nature of *DINEIB* and its relationships with the National Government as well as with regional and local directorates also present complicating factors. Initially, *DINEIB* was headed by *CONAIE* leader and linguist, Luis Montaluisa. In 1990, an agreement was signed between the Government and *DINEIB* for support of 800 million sucres (about \$800,000 at the time) for bilingual education services in 1989, and 2800 million sucres (just under \$3,000,000) for 1990. According to *CONAIE* leaders, these funds never arrived and the *DINEIB* 'was only a huge bureaucracy that serves to dissipate the strength of the bilingual education process, while indigenous organizations were excluded from control of the program' (Selverston, 1992). Perhaps in response to such tensions, in 1998 *DINEIB* proposed an addition to the constitution which would codify bilingual intercultural education as a constitutional right (*PROEIB Andes*, 1998). The proposal maintains that indigenous persons constitute 40% of the country's population and, if adopted, would require the state to allocate 30% of the total education budget to intercultural bilingual education for indigenous populations. In addition, the proposal would 'guarantee the technical, administrative and financial autonomy of intercultural bilingual education' (*PROEIB Andes*, 1998: 2). Unfortunately, the economic crisis Ecuadorians have faced

during the last decades has resulted in budget cuts in education and health. This has deeply affected indigenous education and development programmes in general. Nevertheless, given recent changes in Ecuadorian politics (see section that follows) and the presence of indigenous leaders in national political arenas, *DINEIB* anticipates an increase in the number of bilingual intercultural programmes. Furthermore, they expect to be adequately financed while maintaining their administrative, technical and financial autonomy, as the new Government has proposed to increase the budget for social areas to assist the underprivileged of the country (Luis Montaluisa, personal communication, November 2002).

## Language Policy and Planning

We turn now to the language planning channels and mechanisms in Ecuador. As highlighted in the paragraphs which follow, one point of contention concerns the debate over individual vs. collective rights, while another is rooted in the longstanding gap between legislation and implementation.

### Indigenous legislation and legislators

As previously mentioned, according to Article One of the 1945 Constitution, Spanish is the official language of Ecuador, while Quichua and the other indigenous languages of the country are recognised as belonging to the 'cultural heritage' of Ecuador. Although indigenous languages are at least mentioned in the current Constitution, full legal recognition of the pluricultural and multilingual status of Ecuador has long been a central goal of regional indigenous organisations, particularly *CONAIE*. In January 1998, *CONAIE*, in collaboration with other social organisations, presented its proposal for a new constitution to the National Ecuadorian Assembly. *CONAIE* emphasises that the proposed constitution stresses 'unity in diversity' and that *CONAIE* aims 'to form a pluri-national state, but does not aim to divide the state or territories or to create new states within the state' (*CONAIE*, 1989). In essence, *CONAIE*'s goal has been for the linguistic, cultural, and social diversity of the country to be recognised by the Government as well as represented in the country's policies. *CONAIE*'s position has shifted since the last presidential elections in 2002. The newly elected president, Lucio Gutierrez, is supported by several indigenous national and local organisations. Former *CONAIE* representatives have been given important governmental positions. While this has generated strong controversy within mainstream society, it is an unprecedented positioning of the minoritised population within the national sphere. Nevertheless, the challenge remains for this new political elite to overcome the racist and intolerant attitudes of the powerful mainstream society (*El Comercio*, 8 January 2003), as well as to bridge the disagreements and tensions which exist within and across different indigenous organisations.

Such changes are relatively new as it was not until the 1980s, largely due to the pressure exercised by the indigenous organisations, that the Ecuadorian Government began to adopt rhetoric describing the construction of a plurinational, multilingual and multiethnic state with the goal of favoring the underprivileged (*PRODEPINE*, 2002b). Since the 1980s, the indigenous people of Ecuador and

their organisations have significantly increased their participation in the national political arena, and in development and educational programmes, generating profound changes in state politics as well. There are now more than 400 Indian representatives of parishes in different provinces of the country, around 100 working at the municipal level, more than ten in city councils, and at least five in local prefectures (Acosta, 2001). These gains in indigenous legislative power are reflected in new policies: in 1997, Ecuador ratified the International Labor Organisation, Convention number 169, concerning indigenous and tribal peoples in independent countries, and protecting their collective rights; in 1999, the Ministry of Health recognised the National Indigenous Health Directorate, thus affirming the value of ancestral healing practices, and in May 2000, the Government created a special indigenous fund, which was increased in 2001 (León, 2002). In addition, there is current talk of changing the name of the Ministry of Education and Culture to the Ministry of Education and Cultures, in order to recognise publicly the multicultural and multilingual nature of the state.

Further evidence of the shifting climate is evident in legislation put forth by indigenous leaders such as the former national deputy, Nina Pakari, in 2000. Pakari (2000, 2001) proposed a provision to the Constitution concerning the use of ancestral languages at the national level. She proposed the following:

- (1) The citizens and indigenous peoples of Ecuador have the right to use their languages to express viewpoints or demands in public and official acts. The State will provide the necessary means to guarantee mutual understanding (Art. 2).
- (2) Public procedures involving one or more indigenous citizens must guarantee the use of Indian languages (Art. 3).
- (3) In order to guarantee the use of vernacular languages in the official arena, state laws and all judicial norms must be bilingual (in *Castellano* (Castilian / S/) and the corresponding Indian language) (Art. 5).
- (4) Ancestral languages increasingly should be used in public institutions and services, legislatures, courts, mass media, etc. It is expected that the Government grant adequate facilities to enable appropriate translators and translations (Art. 6).

The proposal was a point of contention between those who favour the use of indigenous languages and those who aim to form a homogeneous state united by Spanish. According to Pakari (personal communication, October 2002) it has been impossible to pass any amendments regarding language policies due to congress's lack of interest. However, Nina Pakari and Luis Macas (former president of *CONAIE*) were recently nominated Minister of International Relations and Minister of Agriculture, respectively. It is expected that by holding these important political positions, they will have the opportunity to work towards the enactment of these provisions more directly and effectively (*El Comercio*, 2003).

Pakari's proposed revisions represent extensions of the collective rights delineated in the 1998 Constitution. Their recognition is a focal point for human rights. The collective rights, as set in the 1998 Constitution of Ecuador, establish the following:

- (a) maintenance, development and reinforcement of the indigenous people's identity, as well as their spiritual, cultural, linguistic, social, political and economic traditions;
- (b) preservation and development of their traditional ways of living and exercising authority, as well as their social organisation;
- (c) formulation of projects for the development and improvement of the social and economic conditions of indigenous groups; and
- (d) development of appropriate educational services through the intercultural bilingual educational system (León, 2002: 38).

As Wiley (1996: 107) points out, framing language rights issues from the perspective of either the individual or the group as the locus of rights has implications for how language planning is approached, since individual protections can either supercede or be overruled by those of the group. Various indigenous leaders in Ecuador, including Pakari, have demanded that indigenous collective rights be accepted and respected as a condition to guarantee the indigenous populations' survival and existence.

While one point of contention is based in the debate over individual vs. collective rights, another is rooted in the longstanding gap between legislation and implementation. For instance, while the constitution outlines respect for indigenous languages and rights, official documents concerning development of sustainable projects on behalf of the underprivileged population of the Amazon offer very limited information concerning how such aims might be achieved. The Government's *Plan maestro* (Major Development Plan /S/) (July 1998) devotes only one paragraph to the Indian people residing in the Amazon Basin (*Instituto para el Ecodesarrollo Regional Amazónico*, 1998: 17):

The entire indigenous population of the Amazon is estimated at 120,000 inhabitants grouped into the Quichua, Shuar, Achuar, Siona-Secoya, Cofán, Huaroani, Shiwiar and Záparo peoples. The *difference* between groups is generated by the immigrant population who has previously or recently settled [in the Amazon] . . . (emphasis ours).

The programmes developed by the *Instituto para el Ecodesarrollo Regional Amazónico* (Institute for the Eco-development of the Amazonian Region /S/ (ECORAE)) are devoted to the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable natural resources, the reduction of waste according to the capacity of the ecosystem, and the use of technologies that increase the productivity of the region (ECORAE, 1998: 27); however, little is said about substantial changes for the inhabitants of the Amazonian region. Additionally, statistics often refer to the number of people belonging to a nationality as if this figure corresponded to the actual number of language speakers, despite the fact that people may continue to recognise themselves as members of a specific community or nationality after having lost their native language. This is, for instance, the case of many Quichuas in the southern province of Loja, where indigenous people forcefully defend their Quichua identity although Spanish is their dominant language (Haboud, 1996; King, 2000), or the case of Awa children whose native language is Spanish (see Krainer, 1999).

Another example is found in the 2000–2003 development plan of the present Government, which reiterates the importance of awareness of the country's diversity; the first chapter decrees that the search for national integration must also respect diversity so as to 'recognize the regional, ethnic, cultural and gender differences [of the country] in order to build a nation which is capable of consolidating diversity and playing a leading role in the American continent and the world' (ODEPLAN, 2000: 3). In the same vein, the *Oficina de Planificación Nacional* (Office of National Planning /S/ (ODEPLAN)) outlines the potential of the country based on this diversity: 'the ethnic, cultural and gender diversity are potential sources of change, creativity and diverse and complementary alternatives *vis à vis* the national crisis' (ODEPLAN, 2000: 6). However, despite these official statements, in everyday actions the diversity of the country is still considered to be a problem impeding national progress. The Human Rights Committee (CEDHU) regularly denounces the violation of Indians' basic rights, including those rights stated in the Constitution of the Republic, such as respect for the indigenous languages, customs and traditions; these are not recognised in practice, but rather continually challenged and violated (CEDHU, 1984: 110).

### Literacy policy and implementation

If literacy is understood as the capacity to read and write, Spanish has been the major language of literacy in Ecuador for nearly 500 years, that is, since the conquest (1492) until late in the last century (1980s). All cultures of the Ecuadorian territory prior to the conquest were primarily oral ones; formal literacy skills were introduced as part of the colonisation process. At present, Spanish is the official language of literacy in Ecuador as set by the Constitution and by practice. Indian languages were first used as educational tools in the 19th century due to the difficulties of teaching Spanish literacy to non-speakers of Spanish. In 1945, Indian languages were recognised as part of Ecuador's cultural heritage, and in 1979 (in reforms to the 1945 Constitution) the State accepted the use of Indian languages for literacy purposes. Since then, there have been multiple national literacy programmes, most of them constrained by economic and technical limitations as well as political controversies. This has unfortunately resulted in continuous shifts in the pedagogies and underlying orientations of programmes to the detriment of the potential beneficiaries. Some of these literacy projects are now briefly outlined.

#### *Literacy programmes in Spanish*

A large number of popular Spanish-language literacy campaigns have been implemented in Ecuador in the last eighty years. The most successful and well known of these was the Monsignor Leonidas Proaño National Literacy Campaign, which sought to increase literacy rates in urban and rural areas and to emphasise that formal education is a right of all human beings. Under the slogan *Ponle tu nombre* (Write your name on it /S/), the campaign sought to raise awareness of education and to involve underprivileged sectors of the population such as Indian women.

Although this campaign was limited to literacy in Spanish, official reports praised it for contributing to the 25% growth in literacy rates between 1970 and 1995 (UNESCO, 2002; World Bank Group, 2001). UNICEF and UNESCO main-

tain that the Monsignor Leonidas Proaño National Literacy Campaign has been one of the most significant educational and social events to occur in Ecuador in recent years. Nearly 425,000 people, including 75,000 literacy teachers, registered in *Círculos de Alfabetización Popular* (Popular Literacy Circles /S/). The campaign adopted human rights as its central topic and both the literacy materials and the training plans for the teachers were structured around this topic. The teachers were mostly secondary school students for whom participation in this campaign was a prerequisite for graduation. The campaign was thought of as the start of a movement towards educational reforms. Unfortunately, the majority of the individuals (1.2 million) who did not have access to any of these literacy programmes were concentrated in rural areas, especially in indigenous communities (see Neira, 2002).

More recently, the Board of Education, with support from the United Nations, has opened two websites, *EDUCARECUADOR* (Educating Ecuador /S/) and *EDUCTRADE* (*Proyecto de Reforzamiento de la Educación Técnica en el Ecuador*, Reinforcement Project for Technical Education of Ecuador /S/). The first aims to promote education and culture and to develop a sense of national identity in private and public schools through virtual Internet classes. The second site intends to offer continuous education to future professionals. Unfortunately, a high percentage of the minoritised population has no access to Internet services. (See MEC, 2002 for an analysis of literacy programmes for this decade.)

### *Indigenous literacy programmes*

As noted previously, literacy rates vary substantially throughout Ecuador, generally with lower literacy rates in poorer, more rural, and more indigenous sectors. In the 1980s, efforts were undertaken with a particular emphasis on Quichua speakers and rural areas. The most substantial of these efforts was known as the *Programa Nacional de Alfabetización* (National Literacy Programme /S/). The programme was developed by the Centre for Investigation of Indigenous Education (*CIEI*) at the Pontifical Catholic University of Ecuador in Quito. Although in its inception the programme was to make use of multiple indigenous languages, in practice, only Quichua and Spanish literacy programmes were developed (Krainer, 1996). As designed by *CIEI*, the literacy programme consisted of three phases: (1) literacy development: learning to read, write, and calculate in Quichua; (2) post-literacy development: introduction of Spanish as a second language; and (3) primary education (in areas where schools did not exist) (Krainer, 1996). Because of the prominent role of Quichua in instruction, as part of the development of this programme a unified alphabet for Quichua was established (see the next section on corpus planning).

With *CIEI*, for the first time in Ecuadorian history, there was an interest in developing nationwide indigenous education projects with the active participation of representatives from all Indian nationalities. However, partly due to the difficulty of accommodating all local and national needs at the time, the Government suspended the plan after less than two years of operation. There were numerous intra-institutional disagreements, as well as misunderstandings between *CIEI* planners and local communities. Local indigenous leaders and community officials were generally not included in the decision-making process (Krainer, 1996), and additional problems surfaced when some communities

were found to be Spanish dominant. Tension also arose from the fact that *CIEI* had planned for the initial phase of literacy development to be completed in six months; in reality, this phase extended much longer, in some cases up to two years (Krainer, 1996). As Moya summarised, 'the general opinion of the time was that literacy development should be bilingual, not exclusively monolingual Quichua' (1991: 12). Moya (1989) also notes, however, that despite a limited impact quantitatively (only roughly 20,000 people achieved some level of literacy), *qualitatively* the programme was significant in that many more people – both indigenous and non-indigenous – were made aware of the right of indigenous people to educate themselves in their own language. In addition, the programme helped to dislodge the negative ideologies surrounding indigenous languages (e.g. that they were unsuitable for education or the production of knowledge).

### *Corpus planning*

Literacy planning has also taken place in the form of corpus planning for Quichua. With the technical support of the *CIEI* at the Catholic University of Ecuador, in 1981, representatives of speakers of the different Ecuadorian varieties of Quichua agreed upon a unified variety of Quichua (see also Montaluisa, 1980; in von Gleich, 1994). Quichua language planners, who were mostly Ecuadorian indigenous political and education leaders, made decisions in two key linguistic areas, which together constituted a major step towards the standardisation of Ecuadorian Quichua, known as Unified Quichua, or *Quichua Unificado*.

First, planners attempted to modernise and purify the lexicon, expunging Spanish loan words from the language and replacing them with a regional Quichua term or with a neologism. Second, leaders agreed upon a unified system for writing Ecuadorian Quichua. Although the language had existed in written form for hundreds of years, there was no standard writing system, and its graphic representation tended to be based on Spanish orthography. With 20 consonants and three vowels, the orthography of *Quichua Unificado* differs from Spanish. For instance, Unified Quichua, in contrast to Spanish, does not use the letters *b, d, g, rr, x, e, o*, while including consonants such as *ch* and *sh*.

According to Moya (1989), the debates concerning the unification of the writing system resulted in the adoption of a 'compromise alphabet' which rested somewhere between Quichua and Spanish phonology, with the assumption that incorporation of the latter would facilitate the acquisition of written Spanish. As Moya notes, 'the decision to unify Quichua – at the linguistic level – resulted in the creation of a type of "pan-phonology" for Ecuadorian Quichua in which phonemes existing in all dialects were represented, but phonemes appearing in only some dialects were absent' (Moya, 1989: 14). These decisions were codified in subsequent dictionaries and grammars (e.g. *CONAIE*, 1990; *MEC*, 1982) and constituted a major step towards the nation-wide standardisation of Ecuadorian Quichua. Aims included facilitating the development of Quichua materials, and contributing to the maintenance and even revitalisation of the language. In general, these decisions have been accepted and adopted by the majority of people and institutions that write and publish in Quichua (Moya, 1989). One additional factor supporting the unified system was the use of Quichua in radio broadcasting: 'the announcers, above all, those who have learned to read in

Quichua, began to “speak in Unified [Quichua]”. In other words, the written norm influenced the spoken norm, and the spoken, in turn, influenced the written’ (Moya, 1989: 15).

Although initially various alphabets were proposed based on linguistic, pedagogical, or explicitly political criteria, in the end, the latter prevailed as there was support behind the concept of ‘unification of written Quichua as an instrument of popular education’ (Moya, 1989: 13). The belief was that popular education was the best (and only) means of addressing three central problems: that of land, that of culture, and that of liberty (1989: 13).

As such, the unity of the indigenous population could be translated into the unity of the writing system, and concomitantly, the unity of the writing system offered concrete possibilities as a means of developing capacity within indigenous organisation and developing support among indigenous populations (Moya, 1989: 13; see Luykx, in press, for a contrasting position).

While unified in written form, it was accepted and expected that the regional varieties would continue to vary in their spoken forms (CONAIE, 1990). In practice, however, these goals have proven elusive. For instance, King (1999, 2000) reports that as Quichua materials have been introduced into some Quichua-Spanish bilingual communities in the southern highlands, two distinct Quichua varieties have emerged. The Quichua pedagogical materials promote the nationally standardised variety, i.e. Unified Quichua, which stands in contrast to what is commonly referred to as *Quichua auténtico* (Authentic Quichua /S/), spoken by elderly and rural dwellers. Because children and young adults studying Unified Quichua have not mastered the phonological system or the lexicon of the local variety, they learn not only to read but also to speak Unified Quichua. While the varieties are mutually intelligible to most, there are clashes and gaps in communication between older and younger Quichua speakers; such tensions undermine the use of Quichua and exacerbate generational and social divisions (see King, 2000).

Such tensions have also caused Luykx (2000) to call into question the ideological assumptions underlying current language policies in Andean nations: namely, that standardisation is key to Quechua language revitalisation and political empowerment; that etymological criteria are the best guide for elaborating a standard; and that literacy- and school-based functions are the most crucial to Quechua’s future. Inasmuch as these assumptions conflict with the language ideologies of Quechua communities, the chances of success for these policies are diminished. Rather than focusing exclusively on domains where Spanish is dominant, language planners should address language shift in those domains that constitute Quechua’s stronghold: the home and community (Luykx, 2000).

### Language planning agencies

The main institution devoted to Spanish language planning in Ecuador is the Ecuadorian Royal Academy, which, despite its defence of linguistic purism, recently accepted the incorporation of loan words from Indian languages (especially Quichua) and from foreign languages (mainly English) into Ecuadorian Spanish. (See *El Comercio*, 2003 for recent comments on this topic.) Regarding



indigenous languages, there are no agencies or institutions dedicated exclusively to language planning; rather, as suggested by the previous discussion, corpus, status, and acquisition planning generally take place as by-products of educational and political planning across a wide range of governmental and non-governmental agencies. One example of such an agency is the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), known in Latin America as the *Instituto Lingüístico de Verano* (/S/). According to their current public relations materials, SIL 'is a service organization that works with people who speak the world's lesser-known languages' (SIL, 2002). Founded in 1934, SIL has carried out 'linguistic investigation in 1,320 languages, spoken by 350 million people in more than 50 countries' (SIL, 2002). While this description of general service may be technically accurate, it is also important to note that all resources for SIL's work are provided by Wycliffe International, an organisation devoted to Bible translation. Wycliffe Bible Translators' current goal is 'to see a Bible translation program begun in all the remaining languages that need one by the year 2025' (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2002).

SIL began operation in Ecuador in 1952, authorised by the state to support the investigation of indigenous languages in the country (*DINEIB*, 1994). Initially, SIL primarily operated in the Amazonian region of the country with various indigenous groups, including lowland Quichua; in later years SIL also worked in highland *sierra* regions (Moya, 1989). During these years SIL developed bilingual educational programmes, often with a strong missionary or evangelical component (Cotacachi, 1989; *DINEIB*, 1994), and also created a large body of literature on Ecuadorian indigenous languages, ranging from teachers' guides for instructing Quichua to analyses of phonemes in the Cofan language (SIL, 2002).

Nevertheless, criticism of SIL's methods and objectives grew in the 1970s, and in 1981, after nearly 30 years in the country, the Government rescinded SIL's contract. This was largely due to pressure from indigenous organisations, unions, professionals and intellectual and leftist circles, among others (Moya, 1989). These groups levelled two basic complaints against SIL's activities (Krainer, 1996): (1) that SIL's primary objective was religious conversion, a process which resulted in profound cultural, economic and social shifts among those populations with whom SIL worked; and (2) that the scientific work of SIL was inaccessible and overly linguistic, and that it was the responsibility of the state, not of SIL, to conduct studies of this nature.

Another example of 'indirect' language planning in Ecuador is the *Mision Andina* (Andean Mission /S/). The Andean Mission's goals were to improve the social conditions of the rural population (Cotacachi, 1989). The Mission began its work in 1958 in the province of Chimborazo. In 1964, the Mission was nationalised and placed under the 'National Development Plan' whose jurisdiction included any areas above 1500 metres altitude. In the 1970s, the Mission was integrated into the Ministry of Agriculture. The Mission prepared reading booklets in Quichua on topics including mythology, social relations and the environment. This work was accomplished in the local Quichua dialects of Salasaca, Imbabura and Chimborazo (*MEC*, 1992).

*PEBI* (see previous *DINEIIB* section) was also extensively involved in 'indirect' language planning. *PEBI* made a strong commitment to maintenance and revitalisation of Quichua. One of the project's major objectives was to produce a

complete set of teaching materials in Quichua and Spanish for each of the six years of primary school. In addition, *PEBI* supported the creation of new editions of previously published written grammars of Quichua as well as the publication of the journal *Pueblos Indígenas y Educación* (Indigenous People and Education / S/) as a regional means of communication about educational, linguistic and cultural issues (von Gleich, 1994). *PEBI* also promoted local and regional workshops focusing on terminological adaptation among Quichua-speaking Andean countries (von Gleich, 1994: 97–8). *DINEIB*, *CONAIE*, and the *MEC* have played similar roles as unofficial or indirect agents of language planning. Each has not only published a wide range of pedagogical texts, including grammar(s) and dictionaries, but also has made strategic decisions concerning the allocation of scarce resources to particular language groups or goals.

Abya-Yala is a non-profit, private institution that operates a publishing house and a cultural centre, both of which are focused on indigenous issues in Latin America (Abya-Yala, 2002). Abya-Yala initiated its activities in 1975 and was officially recognised by the Government in 1986. Its goals include rescuing, documenting, and disseminating the cultural values of indigenous peoples; sensitising the wider society to the legal, educational, and territorial issues facing the indigenous population, and promoting academic initiatives to enrich the debate concerning indigenous rights, through publications, conferences, symposia, and research centres.

A number of indigenous institutions of higher education have also been proposed and developed in recent years, each of which potentially impacts indigenous language planning in Ecuador. Among these are the *Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas/Amauta Runacunapac Yachai* (Scientific Institution of Indigenous Cultures, /S/Q/) which has proposed the formation of the *Universidad Intercultural de las Nacionalidades y Pueblos Indígenas del Ecuador Amautai Wasi* (Intercultural University of the Nationalities and Indigenous Peoples of Ecuador /S/Q/) in order to educate future professionals who will work in harmony with nature and with other cultures in areas such as indigenous medicine, indigenous law, education, economics and alternative development (*PROEIB Andes*, 2001). Their complete academic programmes were scheduled to begin in June 2002. Three other universities intend to open by the end of 2002: *Universidad Intercultural* (Intercultural University /S/) led by the Secretary of Education of *CONAIE* and sponsored by the Swedish Government; *Universidad Yachak Huasi* (House of Knowledge) with two branches, one in Otavalo and one in Chimborazo, and *Universidad de la Amazonia Ecuatoriana* (University of Ecuadorian Amazonia /S/) (Fernando Garcés, personal communication, February 2002; see also Haboud, in press).

Despite these and other efforts, various analyses of intercultural bilingual education in Ecuador show that, in general, it has not been extremely effective in reinforcing minoritised languages, and in some cases, may potentially play a role in facilitating language shift (Fernando Garcés, Simeon Floyd, personal communications, November 2002 and January 2003, respectively). For instance, Krainer (1999) reports that in the community of El Troje in Chimborazo, all of the parents and children report Quichua to be their mother tongue, and 62.5% of the teachers claim to know Quichua, but a much smaller number, only 18.8%, use it regularly in school. Similarly, in the Shuar community of San Luis de Inimkis, 100% of the

parents report that they are speakers of Shuar, while only 40.7% of the children have Shuar as their native language; simultaneously, 76% of the teachers know Shuar, but only 15.4% use Shuar in school (1999). These gaps in language use and language transmission have been recognised by both indigenous and non-indigenous experts at the Ministry of Education and *DINEIB* (*DINEIB*, 2002). Their most recent 'strategic plan' for education highlights the previous ineffectiveness and future challenges for intercultural bilingual education to significantly expand use of indigenous languages beyond the familial domain and to adequately address complex issues of cultural identity (*DINEIB*, 2002). Education has perhaps been less successful as a tool for language maintenance in part because of the tendency for both indigenous and non-indigenous people to believe that minoritised languages cannot serve as educational channels (see Haboud, *in press*; Krainer, 1999). Other major influential domains of use are religion and mass media, each of which is briefly discussed in the following sections.

### Language planning and religion

The most recent reformed National Constitution (1998) guarantees the freedom of religion as established in the 1945 National Constitution. However, there is no explicit legal statement concerning the use of any language for religious purposes. In general, Catholicism is the primary religion of the country (*Almanaque Mundial*, 2002) and Spanish is the primary language of religion.

Yet in order to fully understand language and religion in Ecuador it is crucial to note that the multiethnic and multicultural nature of the Ecuadorian society implies a multi-religious reality. As in many places of the world, indigenous people in Ecuador have traditionally venerated nature. Later, with the expansion of larger social groups such as the Incas, new rituals and beliefs were transmitted and shared with dominated groups. The cult of the *Pachamama* (Mother Earth / Q/), *Inti Wiracocha* (Sun and Ocean /Q/) and *Pachacamac* (Creator /Q/) is a demonstration of the cultural influence of the Inca empire on other groups. In addition to these, many other gods and goddesses still exist along the Andes. With the cultural cataclysm induced by the Spanish conquest of America, European divinities and rituals were imposed on the local population. At the present time, ancient rituals worshipping nature still exist, particularly in rural areas of the Andes and the Ecuadorian Amazon, and the language used for such ceremonies varies. Correspondingly, prayers, rituals and the transmission of religious values might take place in Quichua, Shuar or any of the other ancestral languages, as well as in Spanish. Catholicism has long used Spanish and local languages to catechise, although rituals were performed in Latin, which continued to be the language for spiritual communication between priests, people and God in the Western World until the late 1950s. Thus, the religious manifestations in the Americas are syncretic; that is, beliefs, symbols and rituals from the Spanish and the indigenous tradition worldviews converge (Rueda, 1981–1982).

Although Spanish is now the language primarily used for religious purposes, historically Quichua played an important role in the processes of Christianisation by Spanish conquerors and missionaries. Figueroa explains the role of Quichua during the colonial period:

that all priests try, in every case, to introduce the general language of the Inca in the lessons. This language is the most accepted and the easiest to master, as shown by experience, since it is the closest to their [the Indians'] capacity, and the one which in its elocutions, details, and modes of talking, corresponds to their natural languages (Figuerola, 1661: 167–8, in Garcés, 1999: 44).

The Jesuits likewise attempted to use Quichua as a lingua franca within the multilingual region they had conquered. Their goal was to eliminate the other existing languages and to facilitate evangelisation (Uriarte, 1986). The use of Quichua during the colonial period as a means of Christian instruction decreased gradually in favour of Spanish. More recently, studies concerning the development of the Ecuadorian Catholic Church (Botasso, 1991; Hurtado, 1977) demonstrate the impact that the newer progressive theologies have had on the traditional church and on the Indian languages and cultures. Movements such as Liberation Theology have definitely favoured ethnic minorities of the country (Botasso, 1991; Botero, 1991), and one of their approaches has been to adopt Quichua as the language for religious services, with the purpose of encouraging the Indian population to maintain their traditional values. In addition, during the last 50 years several non-Catholic groups, especially those affiliated with evangelical churches (for instance, the Gospel Missionary Union (GMU), the Christian and Missionary Alliance, and *Hoy Cristo Jesus Bendice (HCJB)*), have greatly expanded their memberships. These groups have helped to generate a sort of competition and *de facto* bilingual policy that promotes the use and potential maintenance of indigenous languages (Muratorio, 1981; Ocaña, 1996). Based on a sociolinguistic survey of nine highland provinces, Haboud (1998) reports that although Spanish is the language most widely used for religious purposes, Quichua is widely used as well. Similarly, Floyd (2002) found in three highland communities that Quichua is widely used within religious contexts, especially among evangelical groups. Similar findings are reported among Quichua speakers in urban areas (Haboud, 2001d).

Evangelical groups have translated the bible into all Ecuadorian languages (Grimes, 1999), and the Covington Bible Church reports the translation of the bible into Awap'it as well as the creation of a new church in which the native language is widely used (Covington Bible Church, 2002). According to the *Catálogo de las Organizaciones Misioneras del Ecuador* (Catalogue of Missionary Organisations of Ecuador /S/), there are 35 'cross-cultural missionary' groups that have been licensed to work in Ecuador. Of these missionaries, 30 are active in the country's provinces, and 12 use a vernacular language. There are four Quichua ministers, two Shuar, and six from other ethnic groups (COMIBAM, 2002). Accordingly, internal missionary policies have had an important impact on indigenous languages and have provided *de facto* language planning.

In addition, a small number of Catholic and other Christian churches located in Quito offer services in English and German on a regular basis, and the radio station *HCJB* broadcasts religious programmes in Spanish, English and Quichua. Until recently, the Lebanese-Ecuadorian association, settled in the main coastal city, Guayaquil, had Catholic services in Arabic (Janet Elghoul, personal communication, July 2002).

## Language planning in the media

Spanish is the primary language of all national and regional media. Quichua and other indigenous languages are generally not heard or seen on commercial media outlets in urban or in rural areas. While Spanish-only is the general rule, there are exceptions, the more notable of which are outlined here.

While the national newspapers all appear in Spanish, occasionally bilingual (Quichua/Spanish) supplements in *El Comercio* of Ecuador are included. For instance, when Ecuador was considering dollarisation, a bilingual Spanish-Quichua Sunday supplement entitled *Dolarización/Dolarwan Aylluyarinamanta* (Dollarisation, /S/Q/) appeared in this paper (*El Comercio*, 2000, in Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, in press).

Most popular movie theatres show US films that have been dubbed in Spanish. Yet a few movies have been produced in both Quichua and Spanish by indigenous groups with the support of farmers' and miners' organisations and some regional clubs. One example is *Llujsiy Caimanta* (Get Out of Here /Q/) directed by Bolivian Jorge Sanjinés (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, in press). Moreover, since the 1990s, CONAIE and Abya-Yala have hosted an indigenous film festival that showcases indigenous-directed and written films from across the Americas (*Cuarto Festival de video de las Primeras Naciones de Abya-Yala* (Fourth Film Festival of the First Nations of Abya-Yala /S/)) (Infodesarrollo, 2002). In addition to a week-long exposition in Quito, many of the films were screened in indigenous communities far from the capital. The main goals of the film festival were to support the development of an authentic native audiovisual language and to transmit these new developments among the migrant indigenous and the non-indigenous populations in order to increase the cultural participation of the indigenous peoples nationally and internationally. The festival also offered training workshops about technical and theoretical aspects of film production and broadcasting and allowed participants to exchange experiences about the contribution of audiovisual media to the development of the indigenous peoples.

In addition, there is a growing body of Quichua and indigenous literature too large and diverse to describe here adequately. (See Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, in press, for more detailed discussion of Quichua/Quechua literature across the Andes.) A few notable examples: Fausto Jara (1982, 1994) and María Sisapacari Bacacela (2000) each produced bilingual compilations of stories in Spanish and Ecuadorian Quichua. Popular literature translated into Quichua includes the Ecuadorian Quichua versions of García Márquez's (1981) *Crónica de una Muerte Anunciada* (Chronicle of a Death Foretold /S/), and Saint-Exupéry's classic, *Le Petit Prince* (The Little Prince) (Albó, 1998). Two Ecuadorian resources written entirely in Quichua (though not in Unified Quichua) are a dictionary (Montaluisa *et al.*, 1982) and a grammar (Cotacachi, 1994). Also significant are dictionaries and grammars by Catta (1994), Cole (1982), and Segundo Francisco Lema Guanolema (1997).

From 1993 to 1997, MACAC, a private corporation devoted to bilingual Quichua-Spanish education, published a bilingual review, *Samana Pacha* (Time to Enjoy /Q/), which included scientific and academic articles as well as short stories, jokes and games. Due to financial difficulties, these publications were

offered to students only on a sporadic basis (Consuelo Yáñez, personal communication, January 2003). In addition, Abya-Yala Press has long printed texts in and about indigenous languages, although the number of indigenous language titles has dropped sharply since 2000.

Indigenous languages have perhaps the most visible position across the medium of radio. Although nearly all commercial radio is in Spanish, there are a number of state and private educational and religious programmes or stations which operate in indigenous languages. Perhaps the best known of these is *HCJB World Radio*, which has a longstanding radio transmission in Quichua (dating back to 1932) with an evangelical mission (Albó, 1998: 132). This station produces its programmes to both Quito and the United States, and broadcasts using shortwave from the Voice of the Andes in Ecuador (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, in press). Another significant Quichua radio project was known as the 'Popular Radio Schools of Ecuador', which began in 1964. These schools were aimed at developing literacy skills among the adult Quichua-speaking population and were initiated by Monseñor Proaño, Bishop of Riobamba. However, in these programmes 'the native language was used primarily to raise consciousness among participants; the actual broadcasts were transmitted only in Spanish' (*DINEIB*, 1994: 10).

In spite of the scarce resources and the lack of trained expertise, the Indian nationalities in general look forward to using new technologies and believe they hold great promise. For instance, linguist Consuelo Yáñez Cossío along with members of the MACAC corporation she directs, are currently preparing a Quichua dictionary with 12,000 technical and scientific terms (personal communication, January 2003).

## Language Maintenance

The Spanish spoken in Ecuador embodies much regional and social variation due to the strong indigenous and Afroecuadorian influence (Lipski, 1994). During the colonial and republican periods, the highland Spanish of the upper social classes was shaped by Quichua, due to the contact of both speech communities within the *hacienda* system of large land holdings (see Büttner, 1993; Haboud, 1991; Lipski, 1994; Sánchez-Parga, 1992; Toscano, 1953). More recently, the influence of Quichua on highland Spanish has declined, and many Spanish speakers, consciously or unconsciously, look to Spain for models of correctness and good Spanish (Fierro, 2002). In addition, many Ecuadorians believe the best Spanish is spoken in one of the southern provinces, Loja. Its prestige is attributed to the resemblance this variety is said to have with dialects spoken in Spain and to the relationship between the elite of the city of Loja and European culture. In general terms, however, the parameter determining standard Spanish in Ecuador is the language used in academic institutions and prestigious mass media broadcasting in urban centres like the capital, Quito.

Upper urban social classes set the prestige norm for many of the variable linguistic features. This standard is, of course, influenced by global mass media (e.g. cable television programmes which use Caribbean, Mexican or North American versions of Spanish) and foreign languages, especially English. During the last 20 years, English has had an increasing influence on Ecuadorian

Spanish. Aside from lexical borrowings in both technical and non-technical areas, there is an important influence of phonetic characteristics associated with high status and prestige. For example, a recent study of the production and perception of the phoneme /r/ among middle-class Spanish speakers in the city of Quito showed that they preferred speakers with a more English-sounding retroflex /r/ over a sibilant /r/. Retroflex /r/ is associated with wealthy, high prestige society members, while sibilant /r/ is connected with the speech of uneducated, rural, Indian speakers (FCLL, 2002a).

While such findings reflect some degree of insecurity concerning variation on the part of Spanish speakers, there is no concern about the intergenerational transmission of Spanish. As Spanish is the primary language in most communicative domains, its place in the country is secure. In contrast, speakers of indigenous languages seem to have good cause to worry about the status of their languages and their chances for maintenance in the years to come.

### Indigenous language shift

Language shift and language loss are not new phenomena in Ecuador. However, the manner and speed at which indigenous language loss is taking place in Ecuador is unprecedented. As part of the process of modernisation, Spanish has massively intruded into all regions of the country. As King notes, 'Spanish has made in-roads into seemingly every speech situation, and presently [in many communities], only what might be the traces of former domains are left' (King, 1999: 25).

In general, demographic analysis suggests a significant decrease in the number of speakers of indigenous languages, although the lack of accurate data means that little is known about the specific situation of each community and the cultural impact of these shifts. For instance, reports about the number of indigenous people who paid taxes in 1831 show that at least 50% of the national population was indigenous. Within the highlands, estimates were as high as 75% or even 85% (Gobierno del Ecuador, 1831; in Mills & Ortiz, 1980: 78). By 1880, the estimated indigenous population was 60% (Church, 1881, in Mills & Ortiz, 1980: 125). Seventy years later, the 1950 census reported that 24% of the total Ecuadorian population used Quichua. This percentage included monolingual Quichua speakers as well as bilinguals (Castellano-Quichua and Quichua-Castellano). Other languages registered in the same census were Jivaro (Shuar and Achuar), Cayapa (Chachi) and Záparo, all listed under the category of aboriginal dialects, with no more than 1% of the total population (DGEC, 1954: 6–7; Knapp, 1991: 10). One of the final reports concerning the 1950 census states that the lack of information about Tsa'fiki, Siona, Secoya, and Aingae results from the rejection of the official census on the part of such populations who evaded census takers by moving into other areas (DGEC, 1954: 7). The same document comments that these languages (described as 'dialects') are rapidly being assimilate into Spanish, favoured by the white settlers.

It was not until the 1990 census that a linguistic question was included again ('what language do you usually use at home?') with the intention of determining the indigenous population of the country. The 1990 census reports a total of 362,500 speakers of Indian languages, which corresponds to only 3.75% of the total population (9,648,189) (INEC, n.d.). In contrast, CONAIE reports that at least 30%

of the population are Indians. These inconsistencies result mainly from the high absenteeism of the Indian population in the 1990 census and the lack of precise criteria to determine the ethnicity of the interviewees, on the one hand, and the different parameters used to collect and understand demographic data on the other.

### Quichua

In all the Andean countries, the number of Quechua speakers has declined over time. The percentage of monolingual Quichua speakers in the Andes has decreased from 31% in 1940, to 17% in 1961, and to 11% in 1982, while the percentage of Spanish monolinguals has risen (from 50% in 1940, to 65% in 1961, and to 72% in 1982) (von Gleich, 1992:591, in Hornberger & King, 2000:167–8). Comparisons of the figures found in Ecuador seem to be quite unreliable, as suggested in Table 1 (from 24% in 1950 to 0.49% in 2002, or to 0.3% in 1990). Also, a brief comparison of data reported in 1987 by SIL (Grimes, 1999) concerning two highland provinces (Pichincha and Imbabura) and the recent fieldwork conducted by Floyd (September 2001 – June 2002) in the same two locations shows a decline in the use of Quichua. Except for remote rural areas, Pichincha (the capital region) is no longer a strong Quichua-speaking area where the language is spoken by children and in the home. As for Imbabura, which was considered a highly monolingual Quichua province by SIL, it is now a bilingual (Quichua-Spanish) area (Gómez, 2001; Haboud, 1998).

Despite these rough estimates, the context and status of Quichua varies widely across the Andes, and it is difficult to generalise concerning the vitality of the language (Hornberger & King, 2000). For instance, Hornberger (1988) found that in Puno, Peru, there were clearly defined domains of use for both Quechua and Spanish, while King (1996) suggests that the communities of her study in southern Ecuador, Loja, cannot be considered diglossic. Haboud (1996) also stresses the different patterns shown in each of the 99 communities she studied. In a similar vein, Floyd (Floyd, 2002: 3), after comparing four different rural Quichua communities of Ecuador, concludes, 'the place of Quichua and the factors that affect it vary drastically from place to place'. Likewise, Garcés and Haboud (June, 2002), in recent visits to Salasaca and Ambayata, two communities in the province of Tungurahua, found dissimilar linguistic behaviour. Salasaca is still a vital Quichua-speaking community in which children continue to use the native language as an important means of communication within the family, in playgrounds, on the streets, and in the markets. In Ambayata, in contrast, about 40 children who attend a bilingual intercultural school were unable to hold a conversation in Quichua, although they had greeted the visitors with formulaic Quichua phrases (e.g. hello, how are you?). However, both Haboud (1998) and Floyd (2002) reported that the household, a Quichua domain *par excellence*, is becoming a bilingual space in those communities that are most exposed to the Spanish influence. In short, although it is not possible to offer exact information about Quichua maintenance or loss, there is evidence of increased bilingualism in areas traditionally known as Quichua-only domains.

### Amazonian and coastal languages

The situation of the Amazonian and Coastal languages is similarly complex. These languages and their speakers have not only suffered the impact of colonisation and modernisation, but they are also confronting the presence of rebel



guerillas and government soldiers from the neighbouring country of Colombia. As this is a continuous source of distress for the Indian people, it is not surprising that reports about Awapi't, Aingae, Siona, Secoya and Waotededo show a decrease in population size and intergenerational linguistic and cultural transmission, to the point that monolingual elders, on occasion, have limited communication with their own children. (See Muratorio, 1998, for Amazonian Quichua; Contreras, 1997–1998, for Awa; Ventura, 1995, for Tsachila; and Mirzayan, 1997.)

The case of lowland Amazon Quichua also presents special challenges. Within some traditional Quichua populations the language is being lost because of the influence of foreign institutions (missionaries, non-governmental organisations), the military (Floyd, 2002) and transnational companies. Muratorio (1998), for example, describes the impact of oil companies on language loss, especially among young women from Napo who seem to have shed their cultural values and are instead emulating models of Western soap operas. This has created a profound generational gap with the older women, who are unable to transmit their knowledge and culture. For the younger generations, shifting to Spanish is often not viewed as a problem, but rather as the solution to Indian subordination within a society where Spanish is dominant.

The Záparos have also initiated several activities to stimulate language revitalisation with the help of the few elders who still speak the language. Although culturally distinct from Quichuas, Záparos have shifted to Quichua in recent years. Other non-Quichua communities are also learning Quichua as their second or third language (Richard Salazar, personal communication, July 2002). This suggests that, in the Amazon basin, many of the Indian nationalities potentially confront a situation of double subordination, as their language is dominated not only by the official language, Spanish, but also by Quichua, which has gained regional recognition.

### *Migration, employment and language loss*

Migration is a critical factor in language loss for both highland and lowland groups. The socioeconomic restructuring of Ecuador during the last 40 years, its agrarian reforms (during the 1960s and 1970s), major political, social and geographic changes (e.g. the peace treaty with Peru in 1998), and the image of the city as the place of success and progress, have dramatically increased rural-urban migration. As already noted, there has been a dramatic shift from rural to urban residence: 30% urban in 1950 and 70% in 2002. Ibarra Illanez (1992: 74) found a strong correlation between rates of migration and the size of the land owned by migrants, with urban migration positively correlated with ownership of smaller, unproductive lots. Martinez reports that 81% of the permanent urban migrants own less than 5.5 acres (roughly 2 hectares) (1984: 82).

In most cases and at least for a certain period, migrating means isolation and individual search for success. This introduces the need to learn the dominant language and culture within the demanding context of the city. It is impossible to generalise the outcomes of migration, as each case may develop differently depending on the potential individuals have for negotiation and on their ability to reconstruct their community under the pressures of the new environment. Although migration is clearly linked with language loss, especially among the younger generations, it is likely that those individuals who achieve stability and

a desire to rebuild a particular community may look to language as a means of doing so. (See Haboud, in press for specific cases of Quichua migrants in Quito; see also Herrera, 2002).

The migration of new industries to rural areas has also presented threats for Ecuadorian indigenous languages, and for Quichua in particular. As an example, the increase in the number of flower plantations (a major industry in the country) in previously agricultural land in northern Ecuador is a new source of language and culture loss. Diego Bonifaz, mayor of Cayambe, (personal communication, July 2002) explains that the indigenous people working in such plantations are not allowed to wear their traditional clothes (for safety reasons) and must speak Spanish. The complaints presented by the local indigenous organisation have been unanswered. One of the workers explained that, given the restrictions of the factories and the price of the traditional indigenous clothes, they have decided to wear them once a year for the annual festivities, and occasionally for important celebrations. Regarding the language, the children of these workers, are, at best, passive bilinguals. As Bonifaz points out, 'the[ir] actual living conditions do not leave any margin for changes that could favour the revitalisation of the language'. Teachers of bilingual intercultural schools in the same region mention that the number of first graders who arrive speaking Spanish seems to have steadily increased (Laura Santillán, personal communication, June 2002). Quintero and de Vries (1991) describe a similar situation in the province of Bolívar, where a high percentage of the children attending Quichua-Spanish bilingual schools were native Spanish speakers, although their parents had Quichua as their native language.

### Indigenous language revitalisation efforts

While many events and processes have intentionally or unintentionally undermined indigenous languages, there have been deliberate attempts to facilitate language maintenance and development, and more recently to revitalise use of both 'larger' languages, such as Quichua, and languages with very few speakers, such as Zápara. Some efforts have emerged from individual and family interests and have later turned into community-based projects. Others have been developed through the central Government and national or international organisations. While some of the latter have already been described, there are important smaller-scale educational efforts that deserve our attention. We focus on these here.

#### *Educational efforts*

Outstanding examples of small-scale revitalisation efforts are found in Indian schools of Cayambe (province of Pichincha), thanks to the efforts and inspiration of a Quichua woman, Dolores Cacuango, in the 1940s. Together with the schools, Cacuango promoted the creation of the first national Indian organisation in Ecuador, *Federación Ecuatoriana de Indios* (Ecuadorian Indian Federation /S/ (FEI)), as she was convinced that education could not be separated from overall development, local organisation and language maintenance (Rodas, 1988). In 2001, Dolores Cacuango was nationally recognised as one of the *Ecuadorianos que no podemos olvidar* (Ecuadorians we cannot forget /S/) (Ponce, 2001: 20). Alongside these efforts was the first bilingual newspaper, *Nucanchic Allpa* (Our Land

/Q/), published during the 1930s and 1940s as a channel for defending and organising indigenous people of the country (Ponce, 2001: 86).

Similar, little known efforts continue to emerge. For instance, in Quilapungo, a small community in the province of Cotopaxi, some elders gather their families together every night to talk and sing in Quichua. After six months of fieldwork in the area, Floyd (2002: 5) comments that 'in most families in the area Quichua will survive at least to the next generation, since even the youngest children are currently learning the native tongue'.

Young Quichua speakers from Agato, Province of Imbabura, who are discontented with the intercultural bilingual schools of the area, have decided to teach their own children using both Quichua and Spanish and to focus on their ancestral knowledge (Oscar Santillan, personal communication, April 2002). Groups of migrants in Quito are trying to offer bilingual education in centres that correspond to those in native communities. Unfortunately, much of the success of these programmes relies on student interest in learning their own language (Laura Santillán, personal communication, June 2002).

Quichua migrants in Guayaquil and Quito have also developed strategies to survive culturally in the city. They have not only formed organisations affiliated with *CONAIE*, but are also coordinating with local government officials in order to receive better basic services. Since most of the migrants work as street vendors or in small businesses in populated neighbourhoods, mutual assistance is an implicit rule. Members of the *Universidad Politécnica Salesiana* (Salasaca Polytechnic University) comment that indigenous migrants replicate their community lifestyle which helps reinforce their worldview and native language. Their children also attend a bilingual intercultural school, and their religious services and catechism are performed in Quichua (*El Hoy*, February 2002). These efforts may hopefully turn into effective ways to secure intergenerational transmission and language and cultural maintenance (see also Haboud, 2001d).

Regarding the other minoritised languages in the country, for about 15 years the Tsa'fiki nationality along with the Central Bank in Guayaquil have produced vocabulary lists, mythology books and short stories. With the technical support of linguistics students of the University of Oregon, some Tsafiqui speakers are putting together a grammar, a lexicon and several publications about oral traditions. These, along with their economic, geographic and communal stability, favour the vitality of the language (Alfonso Aguavil and Connie Dickinson, personal communication, June 2001; January 2002; see Calazacón *et al.*, 1995).

The Shuar-chicham and Achuar nationalities have used the educational radio system as a successful tool to communicate in their own language. Federation leaders emphasise the importance of traditional knowledge about forest management, reproduction, healing practices and schooling, which can be better transmitted in the Shuar language: 'the songs sung by the women would not have any meaning if sung in Spanish' (Hendricks, 1991:59). For the Shuar people, leadership, and optimal production are related to speaking ability, so good leaders and women must know their language to communicate and maintain good relationships with the rest of the community, mother earth, and nature. Hendricks underlines the great significance that Shuar place on language as a source of group identification and friendship (Hendricks, 1991: 63), to the point

that speakers of languages other than Shuar are considered potential enemies. For Puwainchir (Federation President, 1987–1988):

language is the most important sign of identity among ethnic groups in Ecuador. Policies that deny the Shuar the right to use their language and promote the expansion of Spanish are sources of domination that the Shuar must resist if they are to survive (in Hendricks, 1991: 66).

The role of the Shuar Federation in language policy and planning has been outstanding. Along with the Salesians, the Shuar centres and their federation created one of the first schools committed to the maintenance of their culture and language in the early 1970s. Another example of the Shuar Federation academic outcomes is a comprehensive dictionary which is:

. . . the result of collective work and [our] battle to preserve the Shuar language and culture. This is everybody's commitment: teachers, leaders, and parents. We all need to defend the Shuar culture and language for our children to be proud of their Shuar identity . . . Our Shuar women talk to the crops and the plants. How can we continue to call them if we forget their names? Would the plants answer if we call them by foreign names? (*Instituto Normal Bilingüe Intercultural Shuar* (Introduction), 1988: xiii).

Given the increased rates of bilingualism, Shuar leaders and elders fear that their native language will be lost, especially in some towns where many children who attend monolingual Spanish schools are fluent speakers of Spanish (Almeida, 2000; Krainer, 1999; Mader, 1994; Stark, 1985).

### *Legislative efforts*

Regarding legislative shifts, in addition to the advancement in the recognition of minoritised languages for official use within their speech communities, Nina Pakari has proposed the creation of new laws and amendments to the existing ones on behalf of vernacular languages (see previous section on 'Indigenous legislation and legislators'). Such linguistic proposals support more general demands concerning public recognition of indigenous individual and collective rights (Pakari, 2000, 2001). As she notes, it is time for the indigenous people to move beyond empowerment to a stage of self-identification, self-determination and self-generation of power (personal communication, June, 2001; see also Haboud, 2001b, 2001d). A young generation of Indian people who are connected to academic circles has shown their interest in both status and corpus planning. Masaquiza (2001: 62–3), for instance, proposes the creation of communicative nets to increase communication with members of all the Indian nationalities, and to enrich the indigenous knowledge with the use of modern resources. Masaquiza also underlines the need to promote the use of native languages in mass media, academic events, written publications and the creation of public libraries. Unfortunately, serious periodicals devoted to indigenous topics (Quichua in particular), such as *Yachaikuna* (Wisdom /Q/), whose editors and authors are for the most part Quichua speakers, have been published entirely in Spanish.

In recent years, some of these young intellectuals have begun working with the Government in order to implement new programmes taking into account the

indigenous worldview. Institutions devoted to national development in different areas include the Indian population, and the country has witnessed the creation of new initiatives whose main goal is to provide assistance to each one of the indigenous nationalities. For instance, *ODEPLAN*, in its 2000–2003 plan, states as one of its important goals the improvement of living conditions of the poor. Poverty impacts 70% of the rural population (i.e. indigenous people). This improvement is meant to be achieved by including minoritised people in national activities, and by providing them with appropriate assistance through national institutions such as *Consejo de Desarrollo de las Nacionalidades y Pueblos del Ecuador* (Council for Development of Nations and Peoples of Ecuador /S/ (CODENPE)) and *Consejo Nacional de Mujeres* (National Women Council /S/ (CONAMU)) (see *ODEPLAN*, 2000; Pachano, 1988).

Some of the governmental strategic actions to reduce social discrimination include establishing informative campaigns about human rights, encouraging intercultural relations through educational and informative campaigns, strengthening all the councils favouring the underprivileged, and placing topics related to Collective Rights in all educational programmes (*ODEPLAN*, 2000:76).

In 1993, *CONAIE* and various indigenous organisations signed an agreement with the Government and the World Bank, 'to work for the development of the indigenous and black nationalities of the country' (León, 2002: 57). As a result, *PRODEPINE*, one of the executive units of *CODENPE*, was created in 1996 with the goal of designing, along with national, local, and non-governmental organisations, projects of development which would incorporate, as a specific strategy, the indigenous peoples' worldview and values (León, 2002: 5). Regarding education, *PRODEPINE* and the *Universidad Politécnica Salesiana* (Salesian Polytechnic University /S/) have offered indigenous people educational programmes in the fields of communication, anthropology, and self-sustainable projects for local development. Although the content of these programmes includes topics related to the cultural values of indigenous peoples, all the classes have been taught in Spanish.

### Recapitulation

In sum, although there have been deliberate efforts towards language status planning, thus far they seem to have had limited impact on language-use patterns and have done little to increase most Ecuadorians' consciousness of the diversity of the country. Nevertheless, some of these projects and, most of all, the visibility Indian nationalities have acquired in public domains have helped minoritised languages, especially Quichua, gain space in the public arena. This has generated mixed reactions on the part of the mainstream society, which typically fears that the country will soon become *indianizado* (indianised /S/) as larger numbers of indigenous people occupy public and official positions previously controlled only by the non-indigenous.

As noted by King (2000) in her study of indigenous language use in the southern province of Loja, the typical pattern of language loss or death is first for the language to disappear from the more public or formal domains, and then later from family domains. However, this pattern is altered in many indigenous communities as Quichua is becoming a public symbol of empowerment. This trend raises important questions about the meaning and impact languages might

have once they move from private to more public domains. Is such symbolic use a symptom of revitalisation or loss? The experience with Quichua and its process of gaining public visibility while losing speakers and functions in intimate domains lead us to believe that once a language is used *primarily* in the public arena, it may be in danger of becoming a symbol rather than a natural medium of everyday communication.

The public or symbolic presence of indigenous languages has not dramatically increased consciousness among non-indigenous sectors of the economic and social inequalities within Ecuador. Rather, in many cases it has generated stronger rejection of Indian nationalities and those affiliated with them. Hendricks points out, in relation to the Shuar communities, 'the attempt to marginalize and repress the Shuar language is part of a larger national paradigm in which everything Indian is devalued' (Hendricks, 1991: 63; also see Becker, 2001).

The ideal Ecuadorian national identity continues to be conceived as homogeneous and uniform. Recently, a group of sociolinguistic students interviewed 100 people in Quito to investigate whether the middle-class population thought the presence of Indian languages and cultures could help create a sense of national identity. Not surprisingly, 80% of those interviewed stated the importance of maintaining the country's cultural heritage, but only 15% mentioned maintaining the country's linguistic and ethnic diversity as important (FCLL, 2002b).

Another major point of concern is that, as in other parts of the Andes (see Hornberger & Coronel Molina, in press), very few intercultural projects have been directed towards the involvement of the *mestizo* population. In 1990, the Ministry of Education demonstrated its commitment to promoting the cultural and historic value of the indigenous languages and cultures among the mainstream society. Multiple proposed changes were put forth by the Ministry concerning the educational curricula that would entail non-indigenous or *mestizo* students learning about pluralism, diversity and human rights (Soto, 1997). However, very few of these recommendations were adopted, and within mainstream society pluralism and diversity continue to be conceived as problematic. As a result, maintenance of minoritised languages, acquisition of dominant languages, preservation of cultural diversity and development of intercultural relations have remained the responsibilities of minoritised peoples.

Attitudes towards minoritised people and their languages continue to be based upon prejudices, forming the basis of the longstanding racism to which minoritised languages and their speakers are subject (Dillon, 2001; Haboud, 1993, 2001a, 2001c). As Hendricks observes (1991: 56):

Ecuador has never had a clearly articulated, comprehensive policy for dealing with its (Amazonian) Indians. Until recently, the country has dealt with the question of indigenous peoples by ignoring their existence, a strategy that is, in effect, a policy of integration. The *mestizo* ideology prodded in development programs claims that all Ecuadorians have an Indian heritage, thus eliminating the 'Indian problem' and rejecting the possibility of a plural Ecuadorian society.

## Conclusion

Throughout this monograph, we have seen how certain language policies were generated at the official level, while others were developed locally or nationally in response to the demands on the part of the minoritised peoples. Indeed, the indigenous political organisations of Ecuador have played a critical role in shaping the country's language and educational policies. Presently, the central question of the Ecuadorian language policy in general (and of literacy policy in particular) is how to find appropriate responses to ongoing demographic, socioeconomic and political changes while maintaining national unity and respect towards the linguistic diversity of the country. At the same time, it is urgent to develop better assessment measures that will yield more accurate data concerning the demographics of the country and the extent and use of foreign languages in educational programmes at the national level.

Regarding policies and legislation, we need to bear in mind that linguistic policies and educational policies, despite their close relationship, are not synonyms. Often, linguistic policies are conceptualised as falling within the realm of education. Consequently, little has been said or done about the use of the Ecuadorian minoritised languages in public domains, such as religion or mass media. As Kaplan and Baldauf observe more generally, 'because the education sector rarely has the outreach or the available resources to impact any sector other than the schools, it is unwise (though it is frequently the case) to assign the entire implementation activity to the schools' (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997: 113).

Furthermore, as we have shown here, while there has been great advancement in terms of legal recognition of minoritised languages and cultures, in practice Ecuador continues to be a fragmented society which favours the use of Spanish and foreign languages, largely denying the existence, needs and value of local vernacular languages and people. The speakers of native languages are still discriminated against, and racism, linguisticism and classism are explicitly and implicitly part of everyday discourse. Indigenous languages and cultures tend to be conceived as national symbols of an ancient past. The nation is willing to accept and even participate in well recognised festivities (e.g. *Inti Raymi* Sun Festival /Q/), but ignores the rights of minoritised languages and cultures on a daily basis.

Although some of the Indian languages, mainly Quichua, are quickly becoming public symbols of power, this does not guarantee language vitality. In fact, as highlighted here, in many communities intergenerational transmission of indigenous languages is threatened as increasing numbers of indigenous households become bilingual spaces.

Another point of concern is the growing number of new urbanised indigenous communities who face the challenges of big cities, globalisation and modernity more directly. Unless these groups proudly identify with their indigenous heritage and find appropriate strategies to maintain their languages, it is unlikely that there will be many positive linguistic outcomes. Potentially, the presence of indigenous officials at the national level will become an indirect source of empowerment and pride for those migrants living in the city, provided of course that they use their languages publicly; if they use Spanish, it may equate success even more firmly with language shift.

In the domain of bilingual intercultural education, Ecuador has been in the forefront of educational programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean; many efforts have been publicly developed and implemented to create and maintain alternative educational projects for and with the indigenous population. Nevertheless, genuine intercultural education will not be achieved unless it becomes a nationwide task; otherwise intercultural relations, interculturality as a practice, and interculturalism as a philosophical principle will remain solely for the Indian people and within Indian classrooms.

As for the use of Indian languages, it is important to develop a strong sense of awareness of the possibility that any language can potentially be used in any communicative domain. Although education has been one of the major means of language maintenance, it is necessary to find ways to move beyond the educational realm, entering public spheres through national radio and television broadcasting, as well as public announcements and administration, including street signs, stamps, official documents, and every possible strategy that could help put into practice official policies. According to Ecuador's indigenous people, this is an era of change, time for a new *pachakutik* (time of transformation /Q/). However, it remains to be seen how these transformations will take shape and how beneficial they will be for the revitalisation and maintenance of the indigenous languages and peoples of Ecuador.

### Correspondence

Any correspondence should be directed to Kendall A. King, Georgetown University, Department of Linguistics, ICC 458, Washington DC 20007, USA (akk25@georgetown.edu) or Marleen Haboud, Department of Linguistics, Pontifical Catholic University of Ecuador, 12 de Octubre y Carrión, Quito, Ecuador. Colegio de Artes Liberales, Universidad San Francisco de Quito, Campus Cumbayá, Cumbayá Ecuador.

### Notes

1. Throughout the paper, /S/ will designate translations from Spanish, and /Q/ translations from Quichua. Unless otherwise specifically noted, translations are those of the authors.
2. *Quechua* refers to the varieties spoken in Peru, Bolivia, and parts of Argentina and Chile; it is also the cover term for all varieties of the language. *Quichua* is used exclusively for varieties in Ecuador and Argentina. The difference in terms has to do with the differing phonological evolution of the language in Ecuador, as compared to the other countries. In the former case, the uvular stop /q/ has been lost, and with it the lowering of the /i/ vowel to /e/ in proximity to the /q/.
3. Also see Reforms to the Law of Education, 15 April 1992, and *Ley de Educación* 25 January 2001 (Art. 29).

### References

- Abram, M. (1989) El papel de las organizaciones indígenas en la educación [The role of indigenous organisations in education]. In E. Lopez and R. Moya (eds) *Pueblos Indios, Estados, y Educación* [Indigenous People, States, and Education] (pp. 309–26). Lima: PEB/PEBI/PERA.
- Abya-Yala (2002) On WWW at [http://www.abayala.org/busqueda.php?FAC\\_CODIGO =](http://www.abayala.org/busqueda.php?FAC_CODIGO=). Accessed 6.2.03.
- Acosta, A. (2001) *Nada Solo Para los Indios* [Nothing Only for the Indians]. Quito: Abya-Yala.



- Aguilar, R. and Cabezas, D. (2002) Sociolingüística: Política lingüística y planificación educativa. [Sociolinguistics: Political linguistics and educational planning]. Unpublished paper, Facultad de Lingüística, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, Quito.
- Albó, X. (1979) The future of the oppressed languages in the Andes. In R. Robins and E.M. Uhlenbeck (eds) *Endangered Languages* (pp. 45–85). Providence, RI: Berg.
- Albó, X. (1998) Expresión indígena, diglosia y medios de comunicación [Indigenous expression, diglossia, and communication channels]. In L.E. López and I. Jung (eds) *Sobre las Huellas de la Voz [About the Footprints of the Voice]* (pp. 126–56). Cochabamba, Bonn, Madrid: PROEIB Andes/ DSE/ Morata.
- Alm, C. (2002) The use of English in the media in Ecuador. Paper presented at Encuentros Lingüísticos [Linguistic encounters], Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, Quito, 8 May.
- Almanaque Mundial (2002) *Ecuador: Editorial Televisa*.
- Almeida, M. (2000) Los shuar y la conquista del bilingüismo [The Shuar and the conquest of bilingualism]. On WWW at [http://www.unesco.org/courier/2000\\_04/sp/doss23.htm](http://www.unesco.org/courier/2000_04/sp/doss23.htm). Accessed 10.1.03.
- Andrade, C. (2002) *Kwatupapa Sapara, Palabra Zápara [The Zápara Language]*. Quito: Abya-Yala.
- Bacacela, M.S. (2000) Ecuador Chinchasuyupi Quichua runacunapac ñaupá rimai. Literatura indígena en los Andes del Sur de Ecuador [Indigenous literature in the southern Andes of Ecuador]. Cuenca: Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana Benjamín Carrión.
- Becker, M. (1998) Achuar [Achuar]. On WWW at <http://abyayala.nativeweb.org/ecuador/achuar>. Accessed 17.11.02.
- Becker, M. (2001) Coaliciones interétnicas en los años treinta. Movimientos indígenas en Cayambe [Interethnic coalitions in the 1930s. Indigenous movements in Cayambe]. *Yachakuna* 1, 76–91.
- Benson, C. (in press) Real and potential benefits of bilingual programs in developing countries. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 5 (6), 303–317.
- Botasso, J. (ed.) (1991) *Política Indigenista de la Iglesia en la Colonia [Indigenous Politics of the Church in the Colonial Period]*. Quito: Abya-Yala.
- Botero, L.F. (1991) La iglesia y el indio en la colonia [The Church and the Indian in the colonial period]. In J. Botasso (ed.) *Política Indigenista de la Iglesia en la Colonia [Indigenous Politics of the Church in the Colonial Period]* (pp. 55–144). Quito: Abya-Yala, MLAL.
- Büttner, T. (1993) *Uso del Quichua y del Castellano en la Sierra Ecuatoriana [Use of Quichua and Castilian in the Ecuadorian Sierra]* Quito: Abya-Yala.
- Caiza, J. (1989) Hacia un modelo de educación bilingüe autogestionaria [Towards a self-determined model of bilingual education]. In E. López and R. Moya (eds) *Pueblos Indios, Estados, y Educación [Indian People, States, and Education]* (pp. 309–26). Lima: Programa de Educación Bilingüe de Puno, El Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural del Ecuador, y el Programa de Educación Rural Andina.
- Calazacón, C., Oranzona, D. and Calazacón, I. (1995) *Cuatro Leyendas Mitológicas de los Tsáchila de Santo Domingo de los Colorados, Ecuador. Tradiciones Orales de los Tsáchila [Four Mythological Legends of the Tsáchila from Santo Domingo de los Colorados, Ecuador. Oral Traditions of the Tsáchila]*. Guayaquil: Programa de Idiomas Vernáculos, Dirección de Programas Culturales, Banco Central del Ecuador.
- Carpenter, L.K. (1983) Social stratification and implications for bilingual education: An Ecuadorian example. In A. Miracle (ed.) *Bilingualism: Social Issues and Policy Implications* (pp. 96–106). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Catta, J.Q. (1994) *Gramática del Quichua Ecuatoriano [Grammar of Ecuadorian Quichua]*. Quito: Abya-Yala.
- CEDHU (1984) *Los Derechos Humanos: el Caso Ecuatoriano [Human Rights: The Ecuadorian Case]*. Quito: Editorial El Conejo.
- Centro Boliviano de Investigación y Acción Educativas (CEBAIE) (1998) *Diversidad Cultural y Procesos Educativos [Cultural Diversity and Educational Processes]*. La Paz.
- Centro de Paternidad Responsable (Centre for Responsible Parenthood) (CEPAR) (2001) Principales indicadores y proyecciones demográficas [Principal indicators and demographic projections]. On WWW at <http://www.cepar.org.ec>. Accessed 24.6.02.

- Cerrón-Palomino, R. (1987) *Lingüística Quechua* [Quechua Linguistics]. Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos 'Bartolomé de las Casas'.
- Chiodi, F. (ed) (1990) *La Educación Indígena en América Latina* [Indigenous education in Latin America]. (México, Guatemala, Ecuador, Perú, Bolivia). Quito: EBI, Abya-Yala.
- Church, G.E. (1881) Report upon Ecuador. Senate Executive Document 69. 49th Congress, 2nd Session. In N.D. Mills and G. Ortiz *Economía y sociedad en el Ecuador poscolonial, 1759–1859*. [Economy and Society in Postcolonial Ecuador] *Revista Cultura* [Culture Review] 17, 71–170. Quito: Centro de Investigaciones y Cultura del Banco Central.
- Cole, P. (1982) *Imbabura Quechua*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- COMIBAM (2002) *Catálogo de las Organizaciones Misioneras del Ecuador* [Catalogue of Missionary Organizations in Ecuador] (pp. 57–116). On WWW at <http://www.comibam.org>. Accessed 8.8.02.
- Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE) (1989) *Las Nacionalidades Indígenas en el Ecuador: Nuestro Proceso Organizativo* [The Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador: Our Organizational Process]. Quito: Tincui/Abya-Yala.
- Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE) (1990) *Ñucanchic Shimi 1* [Our Language 1]. Quito: MEC/DINEIIB/CONAIE.
- Contreras, E. (1997–1998) *Taluk P+NK+H. Libro de Lengua Materna AWAPIT Para el Primer Grado de Educación Primaria Integral Bilingüe Ambiental* [Book of the Awapit Maternal Language for the First Grade of Integrated Environmental Bilingual Education]. Quito: EBI-GT, DINEIB.
- Córdova, W. (1987) *Educación Bilingüe Intercultural en el Ecuador. Informe de una Investigación Sociolingüística en el Área Quichua (1981–1982)* [Intercultural Bilingual Education in Ecuador. Report on a Sociolinguistic Investigation of the Quichua Area]. Quito: EBI.
- Cotacachi, M. (1989) La educación bilingüe en el Ecuador: Del control del estado al de las organizaciones indígenas [Bilingual education in Ecuador: From state to indigenous organization control]. In E. López and R. Moya (eds) *Pueblos Indios, Estados, y Educación* [Indigenous Peoples, States, and Education] (pp. 253–66). Lima: Programa de Educación Bilingüe de Puno, el Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural del Ecuador, y el Programa de Educación Rural Andina.
- Cotacachi, M. (1994) *Ñucanchic Quichua Rimai Yachai/Nuestra Gramática Quichua* [Our Quichua Grammar]. Cuenca, Ecuador: Licenciatura en Lingüística Andina y Educación Bilingüe, Universidad de Cuenca.
- Cotacachi, M. (1997) Attitudes of teachers, children and parents towards bilingual intercultural education. In N. Hornberger (ed.) *Indigenous Literacies in the Americas: Language Planning from the Bottom Up* (pp. 285–98). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Covington Bible Church (2002) On WWW at <http://members.aol.com/covbc/mission.htm>. Accessed 10.6.02.
- Crawford, J. (1999) *Bilingual Education: History, Politics, Theory, and Practice*. Los Angeles: Bilingual Education Services. On WWW at <http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/JWCRAWFORD/HYTCH6.htm>. Accessed 15.7.02.
- Curnow, T.J. and Liddicoat, A. (1998) The Barbacoan languages of Colombia and Ecuador. *Anthropological Linguistics* 40, 384–408.
- Dauenhauer, N.M. and Dauenhauer, R. (1998) Technical, emotional, and ideological issues in reversing language shift: Examples from Southeast Alaska. In L.A. Grenoble and L.J. Whaley (eds) *Endangered Languages: Current Issues and Future Prospects* (pp. 57–116). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dillon, S. (2001) Actitud lingüística frente al Quichua [Linguistic attitudes surrounding Quichua]. Unpublished paper. Quito: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador.
- Dirección General de Estadística y Censo (DGEC) (1954) *Primer censo de población del Ecuador. 1950. Población por Idiomas y Dialectos* [First Census of the Ecuadorian Population. 1950. Population by Languages and Dialects]. Quito: Ministerio de Economía.
- Dirección Nacional de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (DINEIB) (1994) Modelo de educación intercultural bilingüe [The intercultural bilingual education model]. *Pueblos Indígenas y Educación* [Indigenous Peoples and Education] 29–30, 5–142.
- Dirección Nacional de Educación Intercultural Indígena Bilingüe (DINEIIB) (1991) La educación intercultural bilingüe en el Ecuador [Intercultural bilingual education in Ecuador]. *Pueblos Indígenas y Educación* [Indigenous Peoples and Education] 17, 31–67.

- El Comercio* (2000) Dolarización/Dolarwan Aylluyarinamanta [Dollarization] (Special Supplement). 17 April. Quito.
- El Comercio* (2003) Los indios al poder [Indians move towards power] (Special Supplement). Quito. On WWW at <http://www.elcomercio.com/fotos/flash/indigenas/home.html>. Accessed 8.1.03.
- El Hoy* (2002) La comuna se recrea en plena capital [The community relaxes in the capital city]. 17 February. Quito.
- Equipo Técnico de Apoyo a la Reforma Educativa (ETARE) (1993) Reforma Educativa. Propuesta [Educational Reform. Proposal]. *Cuadernos de la Reforma Educativa* [Notes on the Educational Reform]. La Paz.
- Facultad de Comunicación, Lingüística y Literatura (FCLL) (2002a) Percepción y uso de la /r/ en Quito urbano [Perceptions and use of /r/ in urban Quito]. Unpublished class paper, sociolinguistic seminar, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador. Quito, January.
- Facultad de Comunicación, Lingüística y Literatura (FCLL) (2002b) Percepción de la relación lengua e identidad en la copa del mundo [Perceptions of language and identity during the World Cup]. Unpublished class paper. Sociolinguistic seminar (February, 2002). Quito: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador.
- Fierro, G. (2002) Aportes del Quichua al Castellano de la Sierra Ecuatoriana [Contributions of Quechua to Castilian of the Ecuadorian Sierra]. Paper presented at Jornadas de identidad del Municipio de Quito, Quito.
- Figuroa, F. (1960) [1661] Informe de las Misiones de el Marañon, Gran Pará o Rio de las Amazonas [Report on the Missions of Marañon, Gran Pará or Rio de las Amazonas the Amazon river]. In *Historiadores y Cronistas de las Misiones. La Colonia y la República* [Historians and Chronologists of the Mission. The Colony and the Republic] (pp. 137–70). Quito: J.M. Cajica.
- Fishman J. (1991) *Reversing Language Shift*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Floyd, S. (2002) Final report: Quichua and Spanish usage in bilingual indigenous communities. Mimeo. Fulbright Commission.
- Garcés, F. (1999) *Cuatro Textos Coloniales del Quichua de la Provincia de Quito. Estudio Introductorio* [Four Colonial Quichua texts of the Quito province. Introductory Study]. Quito: Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit, GTZ, Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural, EBI.
- Garcés, F. and Alvarez, C. (1997) *Lingüística Aplicada a la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* [Applied Linguistics in Bilingual Intercultural Education] (pp. 137–269). Colección de Antropología Aplicada [Collection of Applied Anthropology]. Quito: Universidad Politécnica Salesiana, Abya-Yala 12.
- Garcés, F. and Haboud, M. (2002) Informe sobre el trabajo de campo de estudiantes del PROEIB-Andes [Report on the fieldwork of PROEIB-Andes students]. Unpublished. Quito.
- García Márquez, G. (1981) *Mushuc Quellca Huañuyta Yachasha Huillarca (Crónica de una Muerte Anunciada)* [Chronicle of a Death Foretold]. Lima and Quito: La Oveja Negra.
- Gobierno del Ecuador (1831) *Exposición del Ministerio-Secretario de Estado Presentada al Congreso Primero Constitucional del Ecuador en 1831 Sobre los Ramos de su Administración* [Exposition of the Ministerial-Secretary of the State Presented to the First Constitutional Congress of Ecuador in 1831 Concerning the Branches of its Administration]. Quito: Imprenta del Gobierno.
- Gómez, J. (2001) La deixis pronominal en media lengua: Comunidades de El Topo y Casco, Valenzuela [Pronominal deixis in *media lengua*: Communities of El Topo and Casco, Valenzuela]. Unpublished thesis, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, Quito.
- González Suárez, F. (1970) [1892] *Historia General de la República del Ecuador* [General History of the Republic of Ecuador]. Quito: Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana.
- Grebe Vicuña, M.E. (1997) Procesos migratorios, identidad étnica y estrategias adaptativas en las cultural indígenas de Chile: una perspectiva preliminar. [Migratory processes, ethnic identity, and adaptive strategies among the indigenous cultures of Chile: a

- preliminary perspective]. *Ethno* 1. On WWW at <http://rehue.csociales.uchile.cl/rehuehome/facultad/publicaciones/Ethno-/grebe1.htm>. Accessed 15.7.01.
- Grimes, B. (ed.) (1999) *Ethnologue. Languages of the World* (13th edn). (CD Rom). SIL.
- Guerrero, P. (2001) Queremos un Ecuador pintado con la luz del Arco Iris [We want an Ecuador painted with the light of a rainbow]. On WWW at <http://www.cultura.com.ec/>. Accessed 25.6.02.
- Guevara, D. (1972) *El Castellano y el Quichua en el Ecuador [Castilian and Quichua in Ecuador]*. Quito: Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana.
- Haboud, M. (1991) Distribución del Uso del Quichua y Castellano en el Ecuador [Distribution of the use of Quichua and Castilian in Ecuador]. Unpublished report. Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe. Quito.
- Haboud, M. (1993) Actitud de la población mestiza urbana de Quito hacia el Quichua [Attitudes of the mestizo population of urban Quito towards Quichua]. *Pueblos Indígenas y Educación [Indigenous Peoples and Education]* 27–8, 133–67.
- Haboud, M. (1996) Quichua and Spanish in the Ecuadorian Highlands: The effects of long-term contact. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Oregon.
- Haboud, M. (1998) *Quichua y Castellano en los Andes Ecuatorianos: Los Efectos de un Contacto Prolongado [Quichua and Spanish in the Ecuadorian Andes: The Effects of Long-term Contact]*. Quito: Abya-Yala.
- Haboud, M. (1999) Tensión, balance y poder en el quichua de la Sierra ecuatoriana [Tension, balance and empowerment of Quichua in the Ecuadorian Highlands]. Paper presented in the World Conference about the Language of the World. UNESCO-Inguapax, PROEIB-Andes. Cochabamba, Bolivia.
- Haboud, M. (2000) Interculturalidad y sordera visual [Interculturality and visual deafness]. Mimeo. Universidad Politécnica Salesiana.
- Haboud, M. (2001a) Lenguas extranjeras para los minorizados ecuatorianos [Foreign languages for minoritized Ecuadorians]. Opúsculo 20. Photocopy. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, Quito.
- Haboud, M. (2001b) Investigación sociolingüística. Más allá del empoderamiento [Sociolinguistic research: Beyond empowerment]. Opúsculo 21. Photocopy. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, Quito.
- Haboud, M. (2001c) Interculturalidad y sordera visual [Interculturality and visual deafness]. Opúsculo 22. Photocopy. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, Quito.
- Haboud, M. (2001d) Andean women: Tradition, identity and the challenge of globalization. Unpublished paper presented at Georgetown University, Georgetown, Washington DC.
- Haboud, M. (2003) Políticas lingüísticas en Ecuador: Entre éxitos, fracasos y esperanzas [Language policies in Ecuador: Between success, failure and hopes]. Unpublished paper presented at IV Jornadas internacionales sobre indigenismo americano, Madrid.
- Haboud, M. (in press) Quichua language vitality: An Ecuadorian perspective. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. Special Issue on Quechua sociolinguistics, edited by K. King and N. Hornberger.
- Hamelink, C. (2000) Human rights: The next fifty years. In R. Phillipson (ed.) *Rights to Language: Equity, Power and Education* (pp. 62–6). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Hendricks, J. (1991) Symbolic counterhegemony among the Ecuadorian Shuar. In G. Urbam and J. Sherzer (eds) *Nation-states and Indians in Latin America* (pp. 53–71). Austin, TX: University of Texas.
- Herrera, L. (1999) La representación de la ciudad en relatos de migrantes indígenas [The representation of the city in stories of indigenous migrants]. Unpublished paper presented at Jornadas Andinas de Literatura Latinoamericana, Cusco.
- Herrera, L. (2002) La representación de la ciudad en relatos de migrantes indígenas [The representation of the city in stories of indigenous migrants]. Unpublished paper presented at Jornadas Andinas de Literatura Latinoamericana, Cusco.
- HESD (Higher Education Systems Database) (2003) Ecuador: Education System. International Association of Universities/UNESCO and the International Centre on

- Higher Education. On WWW at <http://www.usc.edu/dept/education/globalized/wwcu/background/Ecuador.htm>. Accessed 20.5.03.
- Hornberger, N. (1987) Schooltime, classtime, and academic learning time in rural highland Puno, Peru. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 18, 207–21.
- Hornberger, N. (1988) *Bilingual Education and Language Maintenance: A Southern Peruvian Quechua Case*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Hornberger, N. (1991) Extending enrichment bilingual education: Revisiting typologies and redirecting policy. In O. Garcia (ed.) *Bilingual Education: Festschrift in Honor of Joshua A. Fishman* (vol. 1) (pp. 215–34). Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hornberger, N. (1995) Five vowels or three? Linguistics and politics in Quechua language planning in Peru. In J.W. Tollefson (ed.) *Power and Inequality in Language Education* (pp. 187–205). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hornberger, N. (2000) Bilingual education policy and practice in the Andes: Ideological paradox and intercultural possibility. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 31 (2), 173–201.
- Hornberger, N. and Coronel-Molina, S. (in press) Quechua language shift, maintenance and revitalization in the Andes: The case for language planning. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. Special Issue on Quechua sociolinguistics, edited by K. King and N. Hornberger.
- Hornberger, N. and King, K.A. (2000) Reversing Quechua language shift in the Andes. In J. Fishman (ed.) *Can Threatened Languages be Saved? Reversing Language Shift, Revisited: A 21st Century Perspective* (pp. 166–94). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Hurtado, O. (1977) *El Poder Político en el Ecuador [Political Power in Ecuador]*. Quito: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador.
- Huss, L. (1999) *Reversing Language Shift in the Far North. Linguistic Revitalization in Northern Scandinavia and Finland*. Studia Uralica Upsaliensia 31. Uppsala, Sweden: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.
- Ibarra Illanez, A. (1992) *Los Indígenas y el Estado en el Ecuador [Indigenous People and the State in Ecuador]*. Quito: Abya-Yala.
- INEC (2001) VI censo de población [Sixth population census]. On WWW at <http://www.inec.gov.ec>. Accessed 3.2.03.
- Infodesarrollo (2002) Boletín de prensa sobre el IV festival de cine y video [Press bulletin about the fourth festival of film and video]. On WWW at <http://listas.ecuanex.net.ec/listas/listasinfo/infodesarrollo>. Accessed 2.8.02.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos (INEC) (n.d.) *Resumen Ejecutivo del Censo de 1990 [Executive Summary of the Census of 1990]*. Quito: INEC.
- Instituto Normal Bilingüe Intercultural Shuar (1988) *Chicham Nekatai. Diccionario Comprensivo Castellano-Shuar [Comprehensive Dictionary of Castilian-Shuar]*. Morona Santiago: Editorial SERBISH.
- Instituto para el Ecodesarrollo Regional Amazónico (ECORAE) (1998) *Plan Maestro Para el Ecodesarrollo de la Región Amazónica Ecuatoriana [Teaching plan for the Eco-development of the Ecuadorian Amazonian Region]*. Quito.
- Jara, F. (ed.) (1982) *Taruca: Ecuador Quichuacunapac Rimashca Rimaicuna. La Venada: Literatura Oral Quichua del Ecuador [The Deer: Oral Quichua Literature of Ecuador]* (trans. F. Jara and R. Moya.) Quito: Consejo Provincial de Pichincha.
- Jara, F. (ed.) (1994) *Challi Chuzalungu Pachamanta: En los Inmemoriales Tiempos del Pícaro Chuzalungo [In the Unforgettable Times of Mischievous Chuazalungo]*. Cuenca, Ecuador: Universidad de Cuenca, Facultad de Filosofía, Letras y Ciencias de la Educación, Licenciatura en Lingüística Andina y Educación Bilingüe.
- Kaplan, R. and Baldauf, R. (1997) *Language Planning: From Theory to Practice*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Katz, E. (2000) Individual, household and community-level determinants of migration in Ecuador: Are there gender differences? Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Los Angeles, CA.
- King, K.A. (1996) Indigenous politics and native language literacies: Recent shifts in bilingual education policy and practice in Ecuador. In N.H. Hornberger (ed.)

- Indigenous Literacies in the Americas: Language Planning from the Bottom Up* (pp. 267–84). The Hague: Mouton.
- King, K.A. (1999) Inspecting the unexpected: Language corpus and status shifts as aspects of language revitalization. *Language Planning & Language Problems* 23, 109–32.
- King, K.A. (2000) *Language Revitalization Processes and Prospects: Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- King, K.A. (in press) Language policy and local planning in South America: New directions for enrichment bilingual education in the Andes. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Special Issue on Bilingual Education in South America, edited by A.M. Mejia.
- King, K.A. and Benson, C. (2004) Indigenous language education in Bolivia and Ecuador: Contexts, changes, and challenges. In J. Tollefson and A. Tsui (eds) *Medium of Instruction Policies: Whose Agenda? Which Agenda?* (pp. 241–261). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- King, K.A. and Hornberger, N. (eds) (in press) *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. Special Issue on Quechua sociolinguistics.
- Knapp, G. (1991) *Geografía Quichua de la Sierra del Ecuador [Quichua geography of Highland Ecuador in the Mountains of Ecuador]*. Quito: Abya-Yala.
- Krainer, A. (1996) *Educación Intercultural Bilingüe en el Ecuador [Bilingual Intercultural Education in Ecuador]*. Quito: Abya-Yala.
- Krainer, A. (1999) El rol de la educación intercultural bilingüe y el mantenimiento de las lenguas indígenas en Ecuador [The role of bilingual intercultural education in the maintenance of indigenous languages in Ecuador]. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Vienna.
- Kugel, S. (2002) The Latino culture wars. *New York Times* (City section) 24 February.
- Lannak, J. (1999) The founding of Colegio Menor San Francisco de Quito. *Journal of Education* 181 (1), 17–37.
- La reafirmación indígena [The indigenous reaffirmation] (n.d.) On WWW at <http://www.eurosur.org/guiadelmundo/recuadros/ecuador>. Accessed 20.12.02.
- Lema Guanolema, S.F. (1997) *Gramática del quichua [Quichua Grammar]*. Quito: Abya-Yala.
- León, M.G. (2002) La educación como derecho cultural y colectivo: Estudio del Proyecto PRODEPINE del Banco Mundial [Education as a cultural and collective right: Study of the PRODEPINE Project of the World Bank]. Unpublished BA thesis, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador.
- Ley de Educación (2000) On WWW at [http://www.iadb.org/sds/ind/ley/ecuador/ecuador\\_menu.htm](http://www.iadb.org/sds/ind/ley/ecuador/ecuador_menu.htm). Accessed 2.1.03.
- Library of Congress (1989) Ecuador: A country study. On WWW at <http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/ectoc.html>. Accessed 14.3.02.
- Lipski, J. M. (1987) The Chota Valley: Afro-Hispanic language in highland Ecuador. *Latin American Research Review* 22, 155–170.
- Lipski, J.M. (1994) *Latin American Spanish*. London: Longman.
- Lucas, K. (2002) Indígenas amazónicos luchan por su supervivencia [Amazonian indigenous people fight for their survival]. On WWW at <http://www.rebelion.org/ecologia/lucas080701.htm>. Accessed 16.7.02.
- Luykx, A. (2000) Diversity in the new world order: State language policies and the internationalization of Quechua. Paper presented at the 2nd Spencer Early Career Institute in Anthropology and Education, Chicago, IL.
- Luykx, A. (in press) The future of Quechua and the Quechua of the future: Language ideologies and language planning in Bolivia. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. Special Issue on Quechua sociolinguistics, edited by K. King and N. Hornberger.
- Mader, E. (1994) Deviance, conflict and power in Shuar-Achuar society. Unpublished lecture held at the third EASA Conference.
- Martinez, L. (1984) *Pobreza Rural y Migración en Ecuador Agrario [Rural Poverty and Migration in Agricultural Ecuador]*. Quito: Editorial El Conejo.
- Martinez, R. (1995) *La Educación Como Identificación Cultural [Education as Cultural Identification]*. Quito: Abya-Yala.

- Masaquiza, M. (2001) La política de preservar el Kechwa [The politics of preserving Quichua]. *Yachaikuna* 1, 56–63.
- Mejeant, L. (2001). Culturas y lenguas indígenas del Ecuador [Indigenous cultures and languages of Ecuador]. On WWW at <http://icci.nativeweb.org/yachaikuna/1/mejeant.pdf>. Accessed 1.7.02.
- Mejia, A.M. de (2002) *Power, Prestige and Bilingualism. International Perspectives on Elite Bilingual Education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Mills, N.D. and Ortiz, G. (1980) Economía y sociedad en el Ecuador poscolonial, 1759–1859 [Economy and society in postcolonial Ecuador, 1759–1859]. *Revista Cultura* [Cultural Review] (pp. 71–170). Quito: Centro de Investigaciones y Cultura del Banco Central.
- Minaya-Rowe, L. (1986) Sociocultural comparison of bilingual education policies and programmes in three Andean countries and the United States. *Journal of Multilingual Multicultural Development* 7, 465–77.
- Ministerio de Educación y Cultura (MEC) (1982) *Caimi Ñucanchic Shimiyuc-Panca* [Our dictionary]. Quito: MEC/PUCE.
- Ministerio de Educación y Cultura (MEC) (1992) Ley No. 150 de 15 de abril de 1992 [Law Number 150 of 15 April 1992]. Quito: Ministerio de Educación y Cultura.
- Ministerio de Educación y Cultura (MEC) (2002) Hacia un Ecuador que lee y escribe: 'Minga nacional por la lectura y la escritura'. El país frente a la década de la alfabetización de naciones unidas (2003–2012) [Towards an Ecuador that reads and writes: 'National minga for reading and writing'. The country in the decade of the United Nations literacy programs (2003–2012)]. On WWW at <http://www.mec.gov.ec/>. Accessed 8.1.03.
- Mirzayan, A. (1997) Endangered languages in Lowland Ecuador. On WWW at <http://physics.colorado.edu/mirzayan/EndLangEcuador.html>. Accessed 2.6.02.
- Montaluisa, L.O. (1980) El vocabulario general de la lengua Quichua para el Ecuador [General vocabulary of the Quichua language of Ecuador]. *Revista de la Universidad Católica* [Journal of the Catholic University] 25, 99–119.
- Montaluisa, L.O. (1998) Plan de fortalecimiento de las lenguas y la educación de las culturas indígenas del Ecuador. Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe. [Plan to strengthen the languages and the education of the indigenous cultures of Ecuador]. Mimeo. Quito.
- Montaluisa, L.O., Muenala, F., Viteri, F. and Haboud, M. (1982) *Caimi Ñucanchic Shimiyuc-Panca*. [Our dictionary]. Quito: Ministerio de Educación y Cultura / Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador / ILL-CIEI.
- Moya, A. (1997) *Ethnos. Atlas Etnográfico del Ecuador* [Ethnicity. Ethnographic atlas of Ecuador]. Quito: Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural (EBI).
- Moya, R. (1979) Estructura del poder y prestigio lingüístico en Toacazo [The structure of linguistic power and prestige in Ecuador]. *Lengua y cultura en el Ecuador* [Language and Culture in Ecuador] (pp. 129–96). Otavalo: Instituto Otavaleño de Antropología.
- Moya, R. (1989) Políticas educativo-culturales y autogestión: El caso de Ecuador [Educational and cultural politics and self-determination: The case of Ecuador]. In E. López and R. Moya (eds) *Pueblos Indios, Estados, y Educación* [Indigenous Peoples, States, and Education] (pp. 289–307). Lima: Programa de Educación Bilingüe de Puno, el Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural del Ecuador, y el Programa de Educación Rural Andina.
- Moya, R. (1991) Un decenio de educación bilingüe y participación indígena: Ecuador [A decade of bilingual education and indigenous participation: Ecuador]. *Pueblos Indígenas y Educación* [Indigenous Peoples and Education] 17, 7–29.
- Muratorio, B. (1981) *Etnicidad, Evangelización y Protesta en el Ecuador. Una Perspectiva Antropológica* [Ethnicity, Evangelization, and Protest in Ecuador. An Anthropological Perspective]. Quito: CIESE.
- Muratorio, B. (1998) Indigenous women's identities and the politics of cultural reproduction in the Ecuadorian Amazon. *American Anthropologist* 100, 409–20.
- Muysken, P. (1979) La mezcla de Quechua y Castellano. El caso de la 'media lengua' en el Ecuador [The mix of Quechua and Castilian. The case of 'media lengua' in Ecuador]. *Lexis* 3, 41–56.

- Muysken, P. (1981) Half-way between Spanish and Quechua: The case for relexification. In A. Highfield and A. Valdman (eds) *Historicity and Change in Creole Studies* (pp. 52–78). Ann Arbor: Karoma.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1993) Elite closure as a powerful language strategy: The African case. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 103, 149–63.
- National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ) (2001) *Latinos in the United States*. Washington, DC.
- Neira, S. (2002) Country Report. On WWW at <http://www.literacyonline.org/sltip/country/ecuador.htm>. Accessed 15.7.02.
- New York Times (2002) Colombians, fleeing war, make a slice of ecuador their own. *New York Times* (3 November).
- Niño-Murcia, M. (1988) Construcciones verbales del Español andino: Interacción Quechua-Española en la frontera Colombo-Ecuatoriana [Verbal constructions in Andean Spanish: Quechua-Spanish interaction on the Colombia-Ecuador border]. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Michigan.
- Ocaña, J.C. (1996) Theoretical perspectives on Latin American indigenous development, with reference to a case study of Cebadas, Ecuador. Unpublished MA thesis, Oregon State University.
- Oficina de Planificación (ODEPLAN) (2000) *Plan de Gobierno 2000–2003. República del Ecuador* [Government Plan 2000–2003. Republic of Ecuador]. Presidencia Constitucional del Dr Gustavo Noboa Bejarano. Quito: Vicepresidencia de la República.
- Ortiz, G. (1992) Las tareas inconclusas de nuestra historia, a propósito de la plurinacionalidad y el movimiento indígena [The unfinished work of our history, plurinationality and the indigenous movement]. In E. Ayala (ed.) *Pueblos Indios, Estado y Derecho* [Indian Peoples, the State, and Rights] (pp. 85–128).
- Pachano, S. (ed.) (1988) *Población, Migración y Empleo en el Ecuador* [Population, Migration, and Employment in Ecuador]. Quito: Instituto Latinoamericano de Investigaciones Sociales (ILDIS).
- Pakari, N. (with Legislative Representatives) (2000) Proyecto de Ley para el uso de los idiomas ancestrales del Ecuador [Legal project for the use of ancestral languages in Ecuador]. Unpublished. Quito.
- Pakari, N. (with Legislative Representatives) (2001) Propuesta al proyecto de Ley orgánica general de educación [Proposal for the project of a general organic law of education]. Unpublished. Quito.
- Parker, G.J. (1963) Clasificación genética de los dialectos Quechuas [Genetic classification of Quechua dialects]. *Revista del Museo Nacional* [Journal of the National Museum] 32, 241–52.
- Phillipson, R. (ed.) (2000) *Rights to Language: Equity, Power and Education*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Ponce, J. (ed) (2001) Ecuatorianos que no debemos olvidar [Ecuadorians that we must not forget]. *El Hoy* [Today] (Special edition, January). Quito: EDIMPRES.
- Pozzi-Escot, I. (1988) La educación bilingüe en el Perú: Una mirada retrospectiva y prospectiva [Bilingual education in Peru: A retrospective and prospective look]. In L.E. López (ed.) *Pesquisas en Lingüística Andina* [Puzzles in Andean Linguistics] (pp. 37–79). Lima-Puno: CONCYTEC-UNA-Puno-GTZ.
- Programa de Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas y Negros del Ecuador (PRODEPINE) (1998) *Tríptico Informativo*. [Informative Handout]. Quito.
- Programa de Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas y Negros del Ecuador (PRODEPINE) (2002a) *Plan Operativo* [Operating Plan]. Quito.
- Programa de Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas y Negros del Ecuador (PRODEPINE) (2002b) *Síntesis Ejecutiva* [Executive Synthesis]. Quito.
- Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para los Países Andinos (PROEIB) Andes (1998) *Novedades. Boletín informativo* [Novelties. Informative Bulletin] 23–24 (January–February). Cochabamba, Bolivia: Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para los Países Andinos/Universidad Mayor de San Simón/Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ). On WWW at <http://www.proeibandes.org>. Accessed 30.3.02.



- Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para los Países Andinos (PROEIB) Andes (2001) *Boletín informativo* [Informatative bulletin] 49 (January–February).
- Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para los Países Andinos (PROEIB) Andes (2002) On WWW at <http://www.proeibandes.org/programa.html>. Accessed 30.3.02.
- Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural (PEBI) (n.d.) Informational brochure. Quito: PEBI.
- Puwáinchir Wajárai, M. (1989) La Federación de centros Shuar y el problema educativo en la region Ecuatoriana [The Federation of Shuar centers and the educational problem in the Ecuadorian region]. In E. López and R. Moya (eds) *Pueblos Indios, Estados, y Educación* [Indigenous People, States, and Education] (pp. 289–307). Lima: Programa de Educación Bilingüe de Puno, el Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural del Ecuador, y el Programa de Educación Rural Andina.
- Quintero, M.E. and de Vries, L. (1991) El Quichua: Lengua materna de los Quichuas? [Quichua: Mother language of the Quichuas?] *Pueblos Indígenas y Educación* [Indigenous Peoples and Education] 20, 39–63.
- Ramón, G. (1993) *El Regreso de los Runa* [The Return of 'the Runas']. Quito: COMUNIDEC.
- Ricento, T. (2000) Historical and theoretical perspectives in language policy and planning. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4, 196–213.
- Rodas, R. (1988) *Crónica de un sueño* [Dream Chronicles]. Quito: Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit GTZ, Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural EBI, Ministerio de Educación y Cultura.
- Rueda, M. V. (1981–1982) *La Fiesta Religiosa Campesina. (Andes Ecuatorianos)* [The Religious Peasant Festival. (Ecuadorian Andes)]. Quito: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador.
- Saint-Exupéry, A. de (1989) *Auquicu. (El Principito)* [The Little Prince]. Quito: EBI and CEDIME.
- Salazar, E. (1981) The Federation Shuar and the colonization frontier. In N.E. Whitten (ed.) *Cultural Transformations in Modern Ecuador* (pp. 589–613). Urbana: Univeristy of Illinois Press.
- Sánchez-Parga, J. (1992) *Presente y Futuro de los Pueblos Indígenas. Análisis y Propuestas* [The Present and Future of the Indigenous Peoples. Analysis and Proposals]. Quito: Abya-Yala.
- Schodt, D.W. (1987) *Ecuador: An Andean Enigma*. London: Westview Press.
- Silverston, M. (1992) *The 1990 Indigenous Movement in Ecuador. Politicized Ethnicity as Social Movement*. Papers on Latin America No. 32. Columbia University: Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies.
- SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics) (2002) On WWW at [www.sil.org](http://www.sil.org). Accessed 18.3.02.
- SIISE (Sistema Integrado de Indicadores Sociales del Ecuador) (2002a) *Definiciones del SIISE (1997–2002)* [Definitions of the Integrated System of Social Indicators of Ecuador (1997–2002)]. On WWW at <http://200.24.215.221/siise/ayudas/glos910u.htm>. Accessed 7.8.02.
- SIISE (Sistema Integrado de Indicadores Sociales del Ecuador) (2002b) On WWW at <http://200.24.215.221/siise/ayudas/fuen0cz2.htm>. Accessed 30.3.02.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2000) *Linguistic Genocide in Education – or Worldwide Diversity and Human Rights?* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Soto, I. (1997) Educación de adultos y bilingüismo. El caso ecuatoriano [Adult education and bilingualism. The Ecuadorian case]. In *Pueblos Indígenas y Educación* [Indigenous Peoples and Education] 37–8, 69–80.
- Stark, L. (1985) Indigenous languages of lowland Ecuador. In H. Klein and L. Stark (eds) *South American Indian Languages, Retrospect and Prospect* (pp. 157–93). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Stavenhagen, R. (1992) Challenging the nation-state in Latin-America. *Journal of World Wide Affairs* 45, 420–39.
- Telecentros (1998) Red de comunicación electrónica para comunidades indígenas de la Amazonía ecuatoriana [Electronic communication for indigenous communities of the Ecuadorian Amazon]. On WWW at [http://www.redes-comunitarias.apc.org/ecuanex\\_project/informes1/html](http://www.redes-comunitarias.apc.org/ecuanex_project/informes1/html). Accessed 15.11.02.

- The World Bank Group (2001) Country reports. On WWW at <http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/External/lac/lac.nsf/093e674928c454fb852567d6006b0cda/2d26104a2ccefcd01852567dd0066c2e6?OpenDocument>. Accessed 14.1.03.
- Toscano, M.H. (1953) *El Español en el Ecuador* [Spanish in Ecuador]. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (*Revista de Filología Española* Año LXI).
- UNESCO (1992) *Workshop on Human Rights and Languages*. Pécs, Hungary, 15–16 August 1991, Final Report. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (2002) Statistics Division. On WWW at [http://unstats.un.org/unsd/mi/mi\\_results.asp?row\\_ID=658](http://unstats.un.org/unsd/mi/mi_results.asp?row_ID=658). Accessed 14.1.03.
- UNICEF (1998) *Propuesta de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* [Bilingual Intercultural Education Proposal]. Project document. La Paz: UNICEF.
- United Nations (1996) *World Economic and Social Survey 1996*. New York: United Nations.
- Uriarte, M. (1986) *Diario de un Misionero de Maynas (1750–1770)* [Diary of a Missionary from Maynas (1750–1770)]. Iquitos: Instituto de investigaciones de la Amazonía Peruana.
- US Department of State (1998) *Background Notes: Ecuador, November 1998*. Released by the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs.
- Ventura, M. (1995) En el camino. Los Tsachila en el complejo étnico de la selva occidental del Ecuador [On the road. The Tsachila in the ethnic complex of the western jungle of Ecuador]. In A. Alvarez., S. Alvarez, C. Fauría and J. Marcos (eds) *Primer Encuentro de Investigadores de la Costa Ecuatoriana en Europa. Arqueología-Etnohistoria, Antropología Sociocultural* [First Encounter of Investigators of the Ecuadorian Coast in Europe: Archeological-Ethnohistory, Sociocultural Anthropology] (pp. 433–65). Quito: Abya-Yala.
- Vickers, W. (1989) *Los Sionas y Secoyas. Su Adaptación al Ambiente Amazónico* [The Sionas and Secoyas. Their Adaptation to the Amazonian Environment]. Colección 500 años [500 years collection] No. 9. Quito: Abya-Yala, Movimientos Laicos para América Latina.
- Vitadello, A. (1988) *Cha'palaachi. El Idioma Cayapa. Tomo 1. Miscelánea Antropológica Ecuatoriana* [The Cayapa Language. Volume One. Miscellaneous Ecuadorian Anthropology]. Serie Monográfica 5. Guayaquil: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, Sede de Esmeraldas. Museo del Banco Central del Ecuador. Editorial Abad.
- von Gleich, U. (1992) Changes in the status and function of Quechua. In U. Ammon and M. Hellinger (eds) *Status Changes of Languages*. New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter.
- von Gleich, U. (1994) Language spread policy: The case of Quechua in the Andean republics of Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 107, 77–103.
- von Gleich, U. (1999) El impacto lingüístico de la migración: ¿Desplazamiento, cambio o descomposición del quechua? [The linguistic impact of migration: Displacement, change, or decomposition of Quechua?] In S. Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz, C. Arellano Hoffmann, E. König and H. Prümers (eds) *50 Años de Estudios Americanistas en la Universidad de Bonn. Nuevas Contribuciones a la Arqueología, Etnohistoria, Etnolingüística y Etnografía de las Américas* [50 Years of Americanist Studies at the University of Bonn. New Contributions to Archeology, Ethnohistory, Ethnolinguistics and Ethnography of the Americas] (pp. 679–702). Bonn: Anton Saurwein.
- Vries, L., de (1988) *Política Lingüística en Ecuador, Perú y Bolivia* [Linguistic Policies in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia]. Quito: Centro de Documentación e Información de los Movimientos Sociales del Ecuador (CEDIME), Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural (EBI).
- Washington Post* (2000) South Americans are coming to the US in record numbers! *Washington Post* (29 November).
- Wiley, T. (1996) Language planning and policy. In L. McKay and N. Hornberger (eds) *Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching* (pp. 103–47). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wycliffe Bible Translators (2002) On WWW at <http://www.wycliffe.net/>. Accessed 15.3.02.
- Yáñez, C. (1989) *La Educación Indígena en el Área Andina* [Indigenous Education in the Andean Area]. Quito: Abya-Yala.
- Yáñez, C. (1991) The implementation of language policy: The case of Ecuador. *International Review of Education* 37 (1), 53–66.

**Glossary of acronyms**

CEP	<i>Corporación de Estudios y Publicaciones</i> (Corporation for Studies and Publication)
CEBAIE	<i>Centro Boliviano de Investigación y Acción Educativas</i> (Bolivian Centre for Educational Research and Activity)
CEDHU	<i>Comisión Ecuménica de Derechos Humanos</i> (Ecumenical Committee for Human Rights)
CEPAR	<i>Centro de Paternidad Responsable</i> (Centre for Responsible Parenthood)
CODENPE	<i>Consejo de Desarrollo de las Nacionalidades y Pueblos del Ecuador</i> (Council for Development of Nations and Peoples of Ecuador)
CONAIE	<i>Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador</i> (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador)
CONAMU	<i>Consejo Nacional de Mujeres</i> (National Council of Women)
COMIBAM	<i>Catálogo de las Misioneras del Ecuador</i> (Catalogue of Missionary Organisations of Ecuador)
DGEC	<i>Dirección General de Estadística y Censo</i> (General Statistics and Census Office)
DINEIB	<i>Dirección Nacional de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe</i> (National Directorate of Intercultural Bilingual Education)
DINEIIB	<i>Dirección Nacional de Educación Indígena Intercultural Bilingüe</i> (National Directorate of Indigenous Intercultural Bilingual Education)
ECORAE	<i>Instituto para el Ecodesarrollo Regional Amazónico</i> (Institute for the Eco-development of the Amazonian Region)
ETARE	<i>Equipo Técnico de Apoyo a la Reforma Educativa</i> (Technical Support Team of the Educational Reform)
FCA	<i>Federación De Centros Awa</i> (Federation of Awa Centres)
FCLL	<i>Facultad de Comunicación, Lingüística y Literatura</i> (School of Communication, Linguistics and Literature)
FEI	<i>Federación Ecuatoriana de Indios</i> (Federation of Ecuadorian Indians)
GMU	Gospel Missionary Union
HCJB	<i>Hoy Cristo Jesús Bendice</i> (Jesus Christ Blesses Today)
ITPE	<i>Instituto Teológico Pastoral del Ecuador</i> (Pastoral Theological Institute of Ecuador)
INEC	<i>Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos</i> (National Institute of Statistics and the Census)
MEC	<i>Ministerio de Educación y Cultura</i> (Ministry of Education and Culture)
ODEPLAN	<i>Oficina de Planificación Nacional</i> (Office of National Planning)
ONAZE	<i>Organización de la Nacionalidad Zápara del Ecuador</i> (Organisation of the Zapara Nationality of Ecuador)
PEBI	<i>Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural</i> (Bilingual Intercultural Education Project)
PRODEPINE	<i>Programa de Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas y Negros del Ecuador</i> (Development Programme for Indigenous and Black People of Ecuador)

PROEIB	<i>Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para los Países Andinos</i> (Training Programme in Bilingual Intercultural Education for Andean Countries)
PUCE	<i>Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador</i> (Pontifical Catholic University of Ecuador)
SERBISH	<i>Sistemas de Educación Radiofónica Bicultural Shuar</i> (Shuar Bicultural Educational Radio System)
SIISE	<i>Sistema Integrado de Indicadores Sociales del Ecuador</i> (Integrated System of Social Indicators for Ecuador)
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
UNIDAE	<i>Universidad de la Amazonía Ecuatoriana</i> (University of the Ecuadorian Amazon)

### The Authors

**Kendall King** is Assistant Professor of Linguistics at Georgetown University in Washington, DC. She has held previous posts in Multilingual Multicultural Studies (NYU) and at the Centre for Research on Bilingualism (Stockholm University). She received her PhD in 1997 from the University of Pennsylvania. Her research interests include language loss and language revitalisation processes and their relationship to educational programmes and practices. Recent publications include articles in the *Journal of Child Language Development*, *Language Problems and Language Planning* and *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, and a book, *Language Revitalisation Processes and Prospects: Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes* (2000).

**Marleen Haboud** is Assistant Professor of Linguistics and Andean Anthropology at the Pontifical Catholic University of Ecuador, and *Universidad San Francisco de Quito*. She has worked for Ecuadorian sociolinguistic, literacy and education projects. She received her PhD in 1996 from the University of Oregon. Her research interests include language contact, language vitality, intercultural education, and language, identity and culture. Publications include articles in the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *Typological Studies in Language*, *Pueblos Indígenas y Educación*, *Winak*, *CEPAR*, *Debates en Antropología*, *Catholic University of Perú*, and *Catholic University Reviews*, and a book, *Quichua y Castellano en los Andes Ecuatorianos, los Efectos de un Contacto Prolongado* (Quichua and Spanish in the Ecuadorian Andes: The Effects of Long-term Contact) (1998).