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The Cultural Foundations for the Development of a Kichwa Language Program
at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes in Quito City, Ecuador

BY

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
Language, Literacy and Sociocultural Studies

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico
December, 2013

*Kay wawakuna kuri wawakuna mari kan, kinti sami wawakuna mari kan,
chaymanda kay wawakunaka uchilla yuragukunashna juyashpa, viñachinami
kapanchik.*

These small children are the children of the Sun, the children with the hummingbird spirit. Because of this, we have to raise them with love as if they were very small trees (*Maigua* Grandfather, personal communication, March 17, 2012).



Chuquiragua, the Ecuador National Flower

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to the Creator, to my ancestors, to my community, to my parents, to my relatives, to my family, and to my *mashi*.

This study is to honor the Kichwa Indigenous leaders from Ecuador who are peacefully resting in peace in *Pachamama's* sacred womb. They fought constantly in the defense of our collective rights, our self-determination and sovereignty. They worked in the recovery of our Mother Earth and in getting a decent life and a culturally appropriate education for all Ecuadorian Indigenous children and youth.

This work is dedicated to all Indigenous children from Ecuador and abroad who deserve to live proudly and freely with their cultural identity and languages. They must enjoy a happy and secure future framed in equity, respect, and tolerance.

This document is dedicated to Puesitús Indigenous Peoples as recognition of their effort and endurance while living in Quito City. In the 1950s, these Indigenous brothers and sisters left their community in the Chimborazo Province and migrated to the city for better living conditions and education.

This paper is also a special offering for the Indigenous Women's Network on Biodiversity from Latin America and The Caribbean, who, despite the limitations, are continuously defending the rights of *Pachamama*, the Mother Earth, and the cultural diversity including the languages.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Tukui shunguwan pagui mi nipani tukuilla mamakuna, taitakuna, wambrakuna, wawakuna, ñukaman paykunapak makikuna karashkamanta.

With my heart I would like to thank the Creator and my ancestors for giving me the courage and the perseverance to initiate and conclude my university studies and write this dissertation as the final requirement for my doctoral degree. This was a journey of learning, teaching, and flexibility to understand and include an intercultural perspective on this academic paper. This dissertation was made through the *minga*, a collective effort, and with the use of the sacred circle that allowed me to include diverse voices and perspectives of Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples who were supporting my life as an international doctoral student at the University of New Mexico since 2006.

The elders of my community requested that I further my studies to find simple and practical solutions for our language and culture loss. They asked me to accomplish this mission with honesty and humility and to use my doctoral degree for the benefit of Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador and abroad. They trusted my resilience and capacity to deal with difficult situations while achieving a higher education, because they have trained me to be a warrior since my early childhood.

As a Kichwa Indigenous woman, I have a mission to achieve for the benefit of my community and other Indigenous Peoples who may need my support. The Creator, the *Pachamama*, my ancestors, and life gave me the opportunity, the clarity, and the endurance to write this dissertation about the cultural foundations to develop a Kichwa language program at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes in Quito City, Ecuador. In my circle of life, I met this community in 1997, and since then we have developed and nurtured a true

friendship that allowed us to work side by side in different projects for social justice. This dissertation is one of those projects made to overcome the Kichwa language loss through a bottom up process by exercising our right of self-determination and our collective empowerment. The President of Alejo Saes Indigenous organization, who is the founder of El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes, together with his family, accompanied me during the entire process of my research and validation of this dissertation to ensure the inclusion of real data and to care for my safety.

During my doctoral studies, I was blessed to have the guidance of Indigenous spiritual elders from Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia, Guatemala, and the United States. Every day they made sure that I was correctly following the Indigenous protocols and writing a paper that reflected the reality of Kichwa Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador. This spiritual support guided me to carry out this research with respect, simplicity, and honesty.

The members of my dissertation committee assisted me in understanding the complexity of the academic writing and dissertation production. Following the Kichwa cosmo-vision where a man and a woman must work together, this committee was composed of four distinguished professors; three were Indigenous and one non-Indigenous. To all of them, my deepest thanks for helping me to conclude this study - in particular to my chair for her time and patience and to my Indigenous co-chair who guided me in an Indigenous way as our elders do in Ecuador and in The Andes. He gave me spiritual counseling about my prayers, offerings, and ceremonies. He encouraged me to look carefully for the core of my Kichwa Epistemology, to understand the western academic framework, and to advance in every step of this research and dissertation with

decision, goodwill, and respect. In times of struggle, I always felt his support, solidarity, and kindness. I will forever remember his wise words that “I just needed to cross the street to get my final degree.”

Several professors and institutions from the University of New Mexico who are trying to improve the conditions of life of minority students provided me with the necessary financial resources to cover university fees, the research and dissertation costs, and my basic living expenses and also gave me their moral support. Many brothers and sisters, Indigenous and non- Indigenous from over the world, offered their hand and support in numerous ways. Each of them helped me to advance in my career according to their abilities. All of them have my everlasting thanks.

Every day my beloved parents taught me to serve others with my heart, with compassion, and respect. They believe that education gives people freedom. They blessed me and my family and prayed for our physical and spiritual *Sumak Kawsay*, (plenitude of life) before, during, and after the conclusion of my doctoral studies.

My husband and my son accompanied me from the beginning to the end of this educational journey. We prayed, laughed, and cried together during these years. As a family we tried with our heart to understand and face the cultural shock and prejudices. José and Curi were patient and respected my moments of silence and my lack of time for them.

Indigenous Women from over the world put their faith in my career and believed in my capacity as a woman. They made a permanent circle of prayers and protection for me and my family.

My deepest thanks go to all the people who believe in the capacity and intelligence of Indigenous Peoples and women who just need to have equal opportunities to enjoy a more human and intercultural life.

The Cultural Foundations for the Development of a Kichwa Language Program at
El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes in Quito City, Ecuador

BY

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study was concerned with the Kichwa values to develop a Kichwa language program for Indigenous children from birth to five-years old from El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes in Quito City. The parents of these children come from the Puesitús Indigenous community located in Chimborazo Province in the south of Ecuador. In the 1950s, these Indigenous Peoples migrated from their community to the city due to the lack of good living conditions and education. During the migration process, they left their *Pachamama*, the Mother Earth, and gradually began to lose their culture and language, as they were forced to learn the dominant culture and language, Spanish, for survival.

These migrant families supported each other in the city through social networks and in new types of jobs - the men in construction and women at the market selling produce. In this new urban environment, the first Puesitús families that moved to the city suffered the discrimination and racism from Mestizo society. Being aware of these social problems, they organized and founded organizations, cooperatives for savings, and Indigenous schools for their children. In 1996, Puesitús Peoples came together to create

El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes in Quito City for very young Indigenous children to attend while their parents were busy working in different places.

Grandparents and young parents were aware that their very young children were not learning the Kichwa language and were interested in teaching the language to children through Kichwa culture and values. The Puesitús Peoples selected twelve members of the community to participate in this study. My co-participants were young parents whose children attended El Centro and whose grandparents give the cultural views from both generations. Grandparents were interviewed first considering that they had the knowledge and memories of the fundamentals of Kichwa culture from their original community and are still speaking the Kichwa language. The information obtained from young parents' interviews and direct observations of grandparents' interviews was compared for similarities and changes of these Kichwa values throughout the years.

The Kichwa values that are still practiced in the community and in the city are the following:

- Respect for *Pachamama*, Mother Earth,
- Respect and greeting for elders,
- Give a helping hand and support,
- Reciprocity and solidarity,
- The *minga*, collective work,
- Use of Kichwa language,
- To wake up early,
- To respect the meals schedule,

- The spoken word, the story telling, and
- Respect for sacred places, for the sacred circle, for Chimborazo Mountain, and for the *chuquiragua* flower.

Puesitús Peoples are also practicing and teaching the Kichwa mandates:

- *Ama Shua*, (Not to rob)
- *Ama Llulla*, (Not to lie)
- *Ama Killa*, , (Not to be lazy), and

The Kichwa principles:

- *Shuk Shungulla*, (One Heart)
- *Shuk Makilla*, (One Hand)
- *Shuk Yuyailla*, (One Thought).

According to the sovereign decision of Puesitús Indigenous Peoples, these Kichwa cultural foundations will be used as the framework to develop a culturally appropriate Kichwa curriculum based on the significance of *Pachamama*, Mother Earth, as she is the principal basis where life and cultural diversity occur. This curriculum, together with new teaching materials and methodologies, would be practical resources to teach the Kichwa language and culture to very young children of El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes, The future Kichwa language program would have the participation of the elders as teachers, young parents, and the whole community. The collective challenge would be to speak again the Kichwa language all the time and everywhere to keep our language alive and vital.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION	1
Location of Ecuador.....	5
History of Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador	6
Statement of the Problem.....	12
Significance of the Study	18
Theoretical Framework.....	19
The Socio-Cultural-Historical Theory	20
The Pedagogy of the Oppressed	28
The Indigenous Epistemology	31
CHAPTER II LITERATURE REVIEW	35
Who are the Indigenous Peoples?	35
The Kichwa Epistemology.....	39
Kichwa Indigenous Calendar for Production and Spirituality	46
Kichwa Indigenous Values and Economic Relationships	55
Kichwa Indigenous Spirituality	58
Kichwa Indigenous Ceremonies during the Agricultural Cycle	63
<i>Jahuay Huagra</i> Hymn.....	65
What is an Indigenous Child and What is a Kichwa Child?.....	68
Socialization in Early Childhood	73
The Significance of Indigenous Languages.....	85
Indigenous Language Loss	89
Learning an Indigenous Language as a Second Language	100

The Role of a Language Nest.....	110
Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador and Migration	115
CHAPTER III METHODOLOGY	121
Participatory Action Research	121
The Design of the Study	126
Research Ethics	128
Validity in Participatory Action Research: Evaluating Quality.....	130
Research Questions.....	134
Field Setting	136
Profile of Participants	142
Puesitús Protocol.....	143
Methods of Data Collection	144
Methods of Analysis	157
My Position as a Researcher	158
Avoiding Bias	165
Study Limitations.....	165
CHAPTER IV HISTORY OF PUESITÚS COMMUNITY	170
Migration of Puesitús Indigenous Peoples to the City.....	177
CHAPTER V FINDINGS	193
The Vital Importance of <i>Pachamama</i>	201
Life in the Puesitús Community	205
Life of Puesitús Indigenous Peoples in Quito City.....	207
Day of a Kichwa Child in the City.....	208

Evening Time.....	208
The Importance of the Market in Puesitús Peoples’ Lives	213
Kichwa Indigenous Values in the Community	216
Kichwa Indigenous Values in the City	222
The Use of Kichwa Language in the Community	230
The Use of Kichwa Language in the City.....	231
The Use of Kichwa Language at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes	236
The Circle of Life, Solidarity, and Support in Quito City	238
Kichwa Children’s Play	247
Kichwa Children’s Play in the Community	248
Kichwa Children’s Play in the City	255
CHAPTER VI DISCUSSIONS, OTHER FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS, REFLECTIONS ON KICHWA LANGUAGE LOSS, POSSIBLE ACTIONS TO SOLVE KICHWA LANGUAGE LOSS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS	260
Other Findings and Implications.....	261
Reflections on Kichwa Language Loss.....	268
Possible Actions to Solve Kichwa Language Loss.....	275
Conclusions and Recommendations	277
Additional Recommendations.....	284
LIST OF FIGURES	xv
LIST OF TABLES	xvii
APPENDIX A: KICHWA GLOSSARY	289
REFERENCES.....	292

LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Chuquiragua</i> Flowers	iii
Figure 1. Map of Ecuador	6
Figure 2. Map of Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador	9
Figure 3. Map of Indigenous Languages from Ecuador	12
Figure 4. Fundamentals of Kichwa Culture	41
Figure 5. <i>Pachamama</i> , Mother Earth, by Brazo, L.....	42
Figure 6. Some of the Products that Kichwa Indigenous Peoples Raised	49
Figure 7. Andean Universe	50
Figure 8. Kichwa Terraces and Platforms.....	53
Figure 9. Crop of Maize, Beans and Squash.....	55
Figure 10. Kichwa Ceremony in Ecuador.....	59
Figure 11. Sacred Mountain and Sacred Stone	61
Figure 12. Sacred Plants	62
Figure 13. Kichwa Ceremony	64
Figure 14. Kichwa Epistemology	67
Figure 15. Kichwa Child Learning	83
Figure 16. Kichwa Garden.....	88
Figure 17. Cycle of Participatory Action Research	128
Figure 18. CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School.....	137
Figure 19. El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes' First Home 1997	141
Figure 20. El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes.....	142
Figure 21. Photos at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes.....	156

Figure 22. Puesitús Community.....	177
Figure 23. Annual Puesitús Feast.....	192
Figure 24. Themes of the Study	195
Figure 25. Kichwa Cycles.....	205
Figure 26. \$1 Plastic Bag of Apples	209
Figure 27. Schedule of Observed Families	212
Figure 28. Selling Beans and Peas on the Street.....	214
Figure 29. Puesitús Peoples’ Life before and after the 1950s.....	226
Figure 30. Main Entrance to El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes	236
Figure 31. Whirling Circle.....	247
Figure 32. Indigenous Toys	254
Figure 33. Kichwa Indigenous Children Working in Agricultural Activities	282
Figure 34. Painting by Sixtus and Susan Garcia Dominguez, Ansulala’	288

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Activities Happening during the Cycles of Agriculture and Life	46
Table 2. Native Languages from North America and Speakers	93
Table 3. Definitions of Societal Level Language Change Processes.....	94
Table 4. Immigrants’ Generations and Language Shift	97
Table 5. Participants.....	146
Table 6. Interviews with Grandparents.....	148
Table 7. Interviews with Young Parents.....	151
Table 8. Direct Observations at Young Parents’ Home.....	154
Table 9. Schedule of 3-4 Year Olds at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes	237
Table 10. Model for a 3-4 Year Old Kichwa Child Curriculum Research and Development Foundation.....	283

Chapter I

Introduction

We¹ need to raise our children with a new way of thinking. We have to teach them our Indigenous roots, the elements of our identity. We have to give them the basis to understand clearly the cultural and political meaning of being Indigenous. It is the time for our elders, for our grandmothers to teach all of us our language again, our culture, our *Kawsay*, life. All of us need to speak proudly our beautiful language, our *Sumak Shimi*. The shame to speak it, the fear to recognize our indigeneity needs to be erased from our minds and hearts. We are still here. We are still alive. And we will be Indigenous now and forever. Therefore, we need to teach our culture, our language to our little ones, to young parents and youth to revive our cosmo-vision, our ways of being, feeling, and acting (*Mashua* Grandfather, personal communication, September 7, 2012).

As an Indigenous woman from the Kichwa² nation of Ecuador, I³ have reflected upon the historical, socio-economic, and political factors that obligated me, in some ways, to change my identity. I am very aware of the importance of having one's own language and culture, but I am also conscious of how quickly the Kichwa Indigenous communities from Ecuador are losing their Indigenous languages. Having personally

¹ As an Indigenous person I included myself as the researcher within this research, from a community based protocol it is appropriated to say we.

² In this paper the word Kichwa will be written in the standardized writing with k and w, Kichwa.

³ As an Indigenous person I included myself as the researcher in this research, from a community based protocol it is appropriated to say I.

experienced the process of losing our Kichwa language, I have made a commitment to identify the reasons our Indigenous languages are being lost and to determine the most functional strategy needed to recover, revitalize, and maintain our languages and culture in Ecuador. I am blessed to be one of the few Indigenous individuals to pursue doctoral studies at the University of New Mexico and feel a great commitment to write this dissertation on a topic that will be useful for my community and other Indigenous Peoples⁴.

This study was concerned with the rapid Kichwa language loss affected by several factors, such as migration and its consequences. Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador have been forced to immigrate to larger cities in Ecuador, such as Quito, Guayaquil, and Cuenca due to socio-economic factors such as lack of land, land erosion, poverty, unemployment, and means for survival. In this process of migrating from rural areas, many other Kichwa Peoples in their 50s or younger have also lost some of their cultural knowledge. This is especially true for those who have migrated to cities and who have been forced to learn Spanish and the Mestizo⁵ culture. This was also the case for the Puesitús Indigenous Peoples who immigrated from the south of Ecuador to Quito City, moving from a rural community to an urban area. In Quito, children attend the CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School, and very young children attend El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes⁶. These two institutions are located inside the San Roque market in Quito City and are administered by the Indigenous organization Alejo Saes.

⁴ Indigenous Peoples, their mention in plural with the letter s after people was accomplished after several years of negotiations between Indigenous Peoples and the United Nations System. I am using these terms interchangeably.

⁵ Mestizo is a person who has a mixture of Indigenous and Spanish blood.

⁶ Alejo Saes an Indigenous leader (1866-1909) from Chimborazo Province, Ecuador.

This Participatory Action Research was conducted with the co-participation of Puesitús Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador who in the 1950s migrated to the city. This relocation has caused the gradual loss of Kichwa language and culture as people have had to learn the dominant culture and language of their new place of living, Spanish. In the city, these migrant Indigenous families work in construction and markets trying to survive. To overcome the new situations and problems in Quito City, Puesitús Peoples organized and created cooperatives, organizations, and schools for the education of their children. Concerned with the lack of safety for Kichwa children from birth to five years, the Puesitús community organized a type of day care named El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes in 1996. Approximately 100 small children are cared for by *cuidadoras* (caregivers) Monday through Friday from 8 a.m. to 2 p.m. at the CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School in El Centro in an historical building of the XVI century

The grandparents of these young children are concerned with the lack of Kichwa language teaching at El Centro and at home due to the busy schedule of young parents. Therefore, these elders and young parents have decided to teach the Kichwa language and culture to small Kichwa children who are attending El Centro Infantil. With this objective in mind, the Puesitús community made the commitment to recover, with my assistance, the Kichwa cultural foundations to teach these young children through several appropriate cultural activities. Consequently, the cultural foundations of the Puesitús Indigenous community have been examined with the purpose of gaining insights for the curricular and cultural foundation toward the development of a robust Kichwa Language Program at this Centro Infantil.

The process of this study was a journey that combined western and Indigenous knowledge and protocols to work with co-participants within a frame of mutual respect and understanding. According to my elders' and parents' teachings, before writing the proposal for this dissertation and during the whole research process from beginning to end, I visited a medicine man or woman periodically to ask for his or her advice, to pray, make offerings, and participate in Indigenous ceremonies in order to ask the Creator's permission and the guidance of my ancestors to write a helpful document with and for my Indigenous brothers and sisters from Ecuador who trusted me and had faith in me to improve life for our children through culturally appropriate teachings. Since 2010, I have carefully followed all of these wise recommendations and my dreams here in New Mexico and in Ecuador. During these years, I have respected the time, rhythm, and ways of working, protocols and codes of ethics from Ecuadorian Indigenous Peoples in trying to empower them through the inclusion of their voices in this document.

Culture has an intrinsic relationship with language. Most research on the Indigenous Peoples of Ecuador has been compiled by non-Indigenous researchers. In the Ecuadorian case, the investigators are mostly foreign; therefore, the written documents are located in different places within Ecuador and abroad and are unknown to the Indigenous Peoples who were the informants. It is difficult to find documents about Indigenous Peoples in one central place in Quito City or even to locate these records in a library in Ecuador. Generally speaking, this information was not easy to access, and it was necessary to travel to each library in Ecuador to search for them.

There are very few documents written about Indigenous children, family and community education in Ecuador (Chiriap, Guamán & Yáñez, 2006; DINEIB, 2007;

Ramírez & Vaca, 2008), most of which are unknown by the Ecuadorian Indigenous communities. Therefore, the written documents, written by non-Indigenous scholars, are kept in non-Indigenous offices at the funders' offices, and few copies are distributed to Indigenous organizations. These organizations do not have the time to read these long papers; therefore, many times these written documents, Master's and Doctoral dissertations, remain unknown and kept in locked archives (*Maigua* Grandfather, personal communication, March 8, 2012).

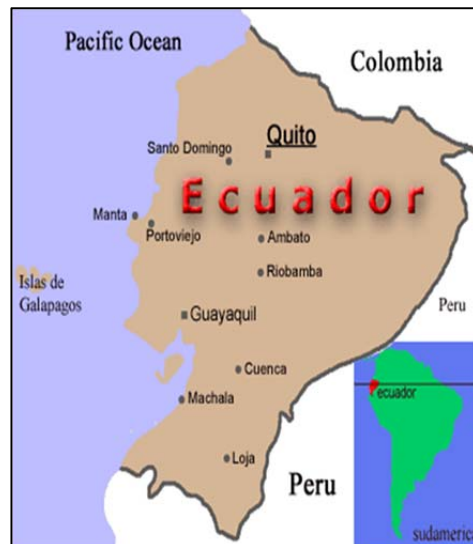
Despite the many negative circumstances facing Kichwa culture, our ancestors had the courage, intelligence, and creativity to transmit our cultural elements orally from one generation to the next. While this generation is still alive, we are continuing to practice our cultural ways and to survive within this globalized world. This was the basis of the commitment to work collaboratively with the parents of El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes and the elders to write about the Kichwa culture and language and to identify some of the primordial cultural elements that are at the core of our worldview. These elements will be used later as a foundation for several activities, such as the design of a culturally appropriate curriculum for a Kichwa Language Program at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes.

Location of Ecuador

Ecuador is located in South America between Colombia to the north and Peru to the south. The country has four geographic areas: the Coast, the Highlands, the Amazon region and Galápagos Islands. It has 14 million inhabitants; 45% are Indigenous Peoples and 5% are African-Ecuadorians (CODENPE, 2010).

Figure 1.

Map of Ecuador



Source: Atlas del Ecuador (2011)

History of Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador

Before the Inca's arrival in Ecuador, this territory was occupied by:

- *Pastos, Quillacingas, Caranquis, Cayambis, Panzaleos and Puruháes* in the Center-Northern Highlands and by
- *Cañaris and Paltas* in the Southern Highlands.

According to Moya (1997) and Pérez (1969), before the Incas arrival in Ecuador, there were diverse Indigenous groups with their own culture and languages:

- *Pasto*
- *Quillancinga*
- *Caranqui*
- *Cayambi*
- *Coaquier*

- *Tasafiqui*
- *Panzaleo*
- *Murato*
- *Esmeraldeño*
- *Manteño*
- *Guancavilca*
- *Palta*
- *Cañari*
- *Puruhá*
- *Jívaro*
- *Tukano*
- *Cofán*
- *Záparo*
- *Raera*
- *Bolona* and others.

When Inca Túpac Yupanqui arrived in Ecuador, he found the Indigenous Peoples from Ecuadorian Highlands already speaking the Kichwa language, but it was a different dialect. The Kichwa language was a second language in Ecuador during the Inca period and the colonial time.

The Kichwa language was used only in the Ecuadorian Highlands for inter-regional business that brought together the merchants from Ecuador with others from remote areas. Such was the case of *Chincha* Valley in Peru. According to Holm (1978) and Murra (1978), for instance, the *mullu* (beads) made with *Spondylus* shell, an important product with ritual

value used in the fertility ceremonies in the whole Andean region, was taken from Ecuador to *Pachakamak*, the most important powerful center for ceremonies in Peru. Axes made with copper and silver known as *tumi* were brought from Peru to Ecuador, and are considered by Holm as money. Axes were used for rituals of birth, marriage, and death. These axes had been found in several tombs in the South of Ecuador (Moya, 1997).

In the places conquered by the Incas, the Kichwa language or *Runa Shimi* from Peru, which was only spoken by the elite, priests, and *mindalaes*, (merchants), was imposed as the official language. The other Indigenous languages were also spoken, and different dialects of Kichwa were created. This Kichwa expansion in Ecuador was stopped by the Spanish conquest. Nevertheless, due to the variety of languages spoken in Ecuador, the Spaniards carried out evangelization of the Indigenous Peoples in Kichwa.

When the colonial system was consolidated, Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador saw the Kichwa language and the institutions with Inca characteristics as the fundamental basis for their identity and survival. Later, the bilingualism in Kichwa language with another Indigenous language was displaced by Kichwa-Spanish bilingualism. Finally, Spanish was imposed as the main language in Ecuador, thereby displacing the vernacular languages and marginalizing the Kichwa language.

Within the colonial system, the formal education for Indigenous Peoples was forbidden; only the *caciques*' children attended special schools, because *caciques* were the mediators in the conquest and domination process. Other Indigenous Peoples learned Spanish while they were working as domestic servants at Spaniards' homes. Spanish had only an instrumental function (Moya, 1997).

In some cases these Indigenous Peoples maintained their economic and political autonomy but shared the Kichwa language. Such was the case of the *Pastos Peoples* located in the actual province of Carchi and the Nariño Department in Colombia, who formed a local ethnic unit, a *cacicazgo*. The *Pastos* were numerous, spoke the *Pasto* language, and were divided into *Pastos* from the north and *Pastos* from the south. They were an agricultural society, mainly for sustaining their own community, and used their agricultural over-production (including cotton) for commerce through the *mindalaes* - people who traveled to different places for business purposes. Living in the actual provinces of Imbabura and Pichincha, the *Caranquis*, *Cayambis* and *Puruháes* were united and formed a *señorío étnico*, an ethnic unit. Four Indigenous regional *señoríos*: *Caranqui*, *Cayambi*, *Chochasquí* and *Otavalo* located north of Ecuador, made a political coalition to resist the Inca invasion (Moya, 1997).

Figure 2.

Map of the Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador



Source: Atlas del Ecuador (2011)

From the time of the Spanish conquest until contemporary times, Ecuadorian Indigenous Peoples have had to overcome social and economic problems in order to survive. Today most of the Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador live in the Highlands, in the Amazonian region, and in the Galapagos Islands (*Maigua* Grandfather, personal communication, March 10, 2013). Several Indigenous nations occupy the ancestral lands, territories, and waters with their own systems of education, health, customary laws and governance. Different Indigenous groups co-exist within each nation. For instance, in the Coastal region there are:

- *Awá,*
- *Chachi,*
- *Epera,*
- *Tsáchila,*
- *Manteña,*
- *Huancavilca* and
- *Puná* Peoples.

Within the Kichwa nation, there are groups living in the Highlands:

- *Karanki,*
- *Natabuela,*
- *Otavalo,*
- *Kitukara,*
- *Panzaleo,*
- *Chibuleo,*
- *Salasaca,*

- *Waranka,*
- *Puruhá, Cañari* and
- *Saraguro.*

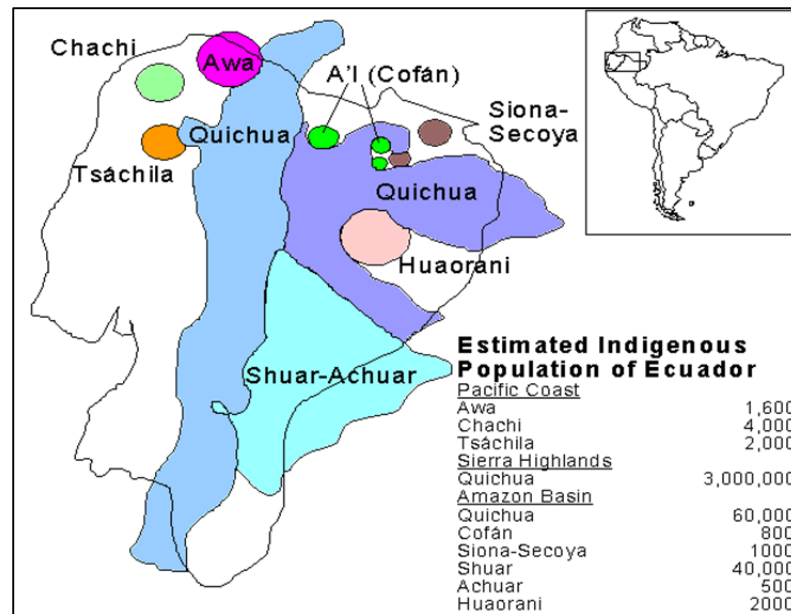
And in the Amazonian region:

- *Cofán,*
- *Secoya,*
- *Siona,*
- *Huaorani,*
- *Shiuiar,*
- *Zápara,*
- *Shuar,*
- *Achuar* and
- *Kichwa.*

Ecuador has 12 different Indigenous languages with the majority of the speakers from the Kichwa and Shuar nations. This study is related to Puesitús Indigenous Peoples from the Puruhá- Kichwa nation.

Figure 3.

Map of Indigenous Languages from Ecuador



Source: Atlas del Ecuador (2011)

Statement of the Problem

The Kichwa language is one of the Indigenous languages from Ecuador that has been used since the time of our ancestors and passed orally from one generation to the next. The Spaniards came to America in 1492 and then to Ecuador and attempted to dominate Indigenous Peoples. They tried to destroy all of our cultural elements, such as ancestral lands, agriculture, watering techniques, sacred places, and the role and function of art. This oppression also changed much of the structure of the family, its roles, values, and reciprocity. Indigenous ceremonies, dances, chants, and music were prohibited as well as the languages, and Spanish was imposed as the dominant language and culture. Indigenous Peoples were forced to deny our ancestral roots, to forget our heritage languages, and to adopt the Spanish culture in order to be considered human beings.

After the conquest and new Republican era of Ecuador, the Indigenous Peoples' life remained the same. We were considered as an obstacle to the country's development; therefore, the government and Ecuadorian society did not respect the Indigenous Peoples' identity and cultural diversity and tried to transform us into Mestizo people. We had to hide their values, ways of being, and ceremonies and adopt the religious syncretism and the Spanish culture in order to survive (Cañizares, 2006). Today, the Ecuadorian Constitution recognizes the Kichwa and Shuar as official languages. It is also trying to modify the Indigenous Education System with the goal to offer a quality education. These educational changes are being accomplished without the full and effective participation of Indigenous teachers and local authorities from the communities (M.A. Guamán, personal communication, August 5, 2012).

The Kichwa language was considered by the Mestizo people, and the Indigenous Peoples themselves, as *Yanga Shimi*, a language without any value even in the 1950s. This perception gradually changed with the political work of the National Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities from Ecuador, CONAIE, which is the national umbrella for all Ecuadorian Indigenous Peoples. This confederation began a national political campaign in the 1960s to gain respect for the Indigenous Peoples' education and land rights. CONAIE asked the Ecuadorian government to provide Indigenous children with a culturally appropriate education, including the use of Indigenous languages, trained teachers, appropriate materials, and sufficient funds to sustain an Indigenous education system. Finally, on November 9, 1988, after several years of negotiation, the National Direction for Intercultural Bilingual Education, DINEIB, was officially created. Ecuador was the first country within South America to have this kind of institution. Bilingual

education was referred to teaching both in Spanish and in one of the Indigenous languages while also incorporating the Indigenous culture in the schools.

The new Ecuadorian Constitution adopted in Montecristi City in 2008 recognized the Kichwa and Shuar Indigenous languages as official languages of Ecuador alongside Spanish after several meetings and negotiations. Article 2, Title I states that “Spanish is the official language of Ecuador, while Spanish, Kichwa and Shuar are the official languages for inter-cultural relations. The other ancestral languages are for the official use of Indigenous Peoples in their home territories in accordance with the law. The State will respect and encourage their preservation and use.” Article 57 cites 21 articles related to the collective rights of Indigenous Peoples, including the right to education, language, and culture (Constitución Nacional del Ecuador, 2008).

In working with Indigenous languages, it is important to note that Indigenous Peoples are dealing with the maintenance and revitalization of language and culture as a goal of self-determination and collective human rights. These rights are observed in the National Constitution and within other international legal instruments, such as the United Nations Declaration for Indigenous Human Rights⁷. Indigenous groups in Ecuador have continuously fought to have our cultures and languages respected and used. A concrete example is that of the Puesitús community at San Roque Market in Quito City where I began a cooperative project in 1998 and consistently had to deal with these type of issues.

As an Indigenous professional and doctoral student, I have had experiences that have impacted my life and choice of dissertation topic, including working with the

⁷ The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is one international instrument adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2007 after almost 30 years of negotiations. Articles 3, 13 and 16 are related to Indigenous languages.

CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School in the urban site of El Mercado de San Roque in Quito City, Ecuador in 1998. In the 1950s, parents of the students of CEDEIB-Q School immigrated from the Puesitús community south of Quito City to the capital of Ecuador. They were forced to abandon their rural communities due to the lack of land (90% land erosion) and extreme poverty (Peñaherrera & Costales, 1957) and came to Quito looking for a better life, for better economic conditions, and educational opportunities for their children. They settled in San Roque, a neighborhood within Quito City, close to a large food market where many of them established fruit and vegetable stands. When these parents first arrived, they were monolingual in Kichwa and then, because of exclusion, racism, and economic necessity, felt forced to learn Spanish, the dominant language. In this transitional process, these Indigenous brothers and sisters stopped using the Kichwa language, changed their Indigenous clothes, cut their long hair, and began speaking Spanish to appear more Mestizo. They understood that they had to speak Spanish for survival, even though they were sad about hiding their culture and denying it. This historical pain has been carried on from one generation to another, and “it is still a part of our Peoples’ hearts and memories” (*Yana Putuc* Grandmother, personal communication, August 5, 2012).

I became acquainted with this community in 1998 when I was hired by the Tierra de Hombres Foundation to conduct a study on the bilingualism of Spanish and Kichwa in the CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School. Being aware of Kichwa language loss, UNICEF and other educational institutions had been making financial investments for about five years to teach the Indigenous students in Spanish and in Kichwa. UNICEF was willing to invest this money for five years. At the end of the fifth year in 1998, I was asked to study

the bilingualism of the children in this school. Several meetings were held with the teachers, parents, and students to discuss the status of Spanish and Kichwa. The study showed a predominance of Spanish and the rapid loss of the Kichwa language. Other results uncovered the generational pain over the language and cultural loss that the Puesitús community has carried for centuries caused by the Spanish conquest and by the exclusion and racism towards Indigenous Peoples during Republican and contemporary times.

During one course of doctoral studies in 2008, a case study was completed regarding the perception and use of Kichwa language with Indigenous Peoples who are living abroad and for whom the cultural significance of the Kichwa language was important. It was clear from the many comments that Kichwa remains as an important element of Indigenous Peoples' identities:

Kichwa is my life. It is part of my roots. I grew up with it, and I always will be a Kichwa person.

Kichwa is my native language. It is my natural language.

We must not forget that Indigenous Peoples had spoken Kichwa for centuries. There is a millenary culture in this sense...There are big Indigenous communities in Imbabura Province who are speaking Kichwa from ancestral times.

Kichwa is my maternal language that I inherited from my ancestors (J.R.

Males, personal communication, March 14, 2008).

Participants in this case study also stressed the “natural method” of teaching and learning the Kichwa language from elders and women:

I learned Kichwa with my grandparents and parents. I did not begin writing it. I began speaking it, using it. My grandparents liked to speak with me about beautiful things with much affection. It will be necessary to work with the elders to rescue their natural way of teaching things. Only then we will be able to learn Kichwa again without any problem (O. Sinchico, personal communication, March 2, 2008).

Work with the CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School has been ongoing since 1998. In March 2009, interviews were conducted at this school with six students - four girls and two boys - and ten parents - six women and four men. It became clear that immigration from Cotopaxi and Chimborazo Provinces to Quito City was a big influence in the loss of Kichwa due to Indigenous Peoples needing to use the dominant language, Spanish, in the city.

The Kichwa Vitality Survey was carried out in June 2009 in the same school and at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes (that is functioning in the same site as CEDEIB-Q School). Results indicated that the elders were still speaking Kichwa for counseling, during celebrations, and market were not teaching Kichwa to their children and were not using Kichwa as a family language. Furthermore, grandparents were talking with their grandchildren (who were attending El Centro Infantil) mostly in Spanish.

Over 100 Indigenous children from birth to five years were receiving sporadic access to Kichwa, but given that Kichwa was not being used as a family language, it was not known what children were learning about Kichwa culture at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes. Grandparents and young parents wanted the children to learn their heritage language and their culture; however, much of the language and culture may have been

forgotten by Indigenous young parents due to migration. Therefore, in order to develop a culturally appropriate Kichwa language program for very young children, parents, teachers, and local authorities needed to remember or identify collectively what Kichwa values, beliefs, and worldviews were relevant to establish which values, beliefs, and cultural practices were appropriate to be taught to very young children who are living in the city.

The findings from the interviews and the Kichwa language survey were given to the Puesitús community, who requested my assistance in recovering the Kichwa foundations by developing a Language Program to maintain and revitalize the Kichwa Language at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes. The findings from the interviews, the Kichwa language survey, and the request from the Puesitús community provided the motivation for this study to develop a culturally and linguistically appropriate early childhood program that reflected the values and beliefs of the Kichwa Peoples.

In order to accomplish this task, important questions needed to be answered - questions that may have been lost to some of the younger parents whose children attended El Centro Infantil. After several meetings with the community, it was decided to work with the grandparents first and later with young parents in this community to study Kichwa beliefs and expectations for young children.

Significance of the Study

The Ecuadorian Indigenous languages are recognized by the State of Ecuador and by the new National Constitution. However, having this political framework and having a System of Indigenous Bilingual Education has not installed the use of spoken Kichwa language. It is still limited (DINEIB, 2007; *Yana Putuc* Grandmother, personal

communication, April 3, 2012). The limited use of the Kichwa language and the findings of a study on “Bilingualism of Ecuadorian Indigenous Children” carried out in Quito, Ecuador in 1998 at CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School included such findings as:

- The predominance of the Spanish language,
- The embarrassment to speak the Kichwa language, and
- The historical pain due to the loss of cultural identity.

These results were motivation to understand the reasons limiting language use and determine possible actions to revive and revitalize the Kichwa language.

The goals of this study were:

- To identify the cultural foundations of Kichwa Puesitús Peoples and
- To promote the use and the revitalization of Kichwa language with very young children.

Through a Participatory Action Research Methodology, the whole community, including parents, elders, teachers, children, and local authorities worked and learned together. By examining the causes of language and culture loss, an understanding of values and beliefs of this community were developed. The results of this study would serve as the foundation for a collective design of a culturally appropriate curriculum, materials, and early childhood teaching methodologies for Kichwa language.

Theoretical Framework

Theories supporting the main goal of making the socio-cultural situation of the co-participants of this study visible were the main goal of this project. The actual socio-economic and political circumstances of Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador and the lingering negative impacts and consequences of the Spanish conquest were given

consideration. Additionally, the reflexive process used in this study was added to the theoretical framework; therefore, Socio-Cultural-Historical Theory, Freire's theories of the Oppressed and the Kichwa Indigenous Epistemology were used. These theories provided a foundation to:

- Better understand the factors that influence language and cultural learning,
- The painful process of losing them,
- The reasons and efforts to revive and revitalize these cultural elements, and
- The role of Indigenous views in learning naturally and holistically that can form a framework for more effective Kichwa language learning.

Socio-Cultural-Historical Theory

The Socio-Cultural-Historical Theory of Lev Vygotsky assumes that human development must be understood in, and cannot be separated from, its social, cultural-historical context and personal factors (Tudge & Scrimsher, 2003). The interactions with other persons in the environment stimulate development processes and cognitive growth. The characteristics and the knowledge learned from other people help children to transform their experiences and reorganize their mental structures. According to this theory, learning and development are associated with and intricately tied to their context. The learners' thinking and the change of concepts is transformed by the way the learners interact with persons, objects, and institutions in the world (Schunk, 2008). The social environment is critical for learning and social interactions to transform learning experiences. In this process of learning, the cultural elements (such as the Sun, the Moon, Water, and Fire), the language, and social institutions coordinate the influences on

development (Bruning, Schraw & Ronning, 2004). Within socio cultural contexts, culture and identity need attention because they are intrinsically related.

Development happens within a context that is influenced by historical, economic, social, and cultural factors. Culture refers to “behavior patterns, beliefs, values, convictions, languages, knowledge and the arts, traditions, institutions, ways of life and all other products that are passed on from generation to generation” (The Fribourg Declaration, 2007, p. 5; Santrock, 2003, p. 15). Factors in the influence of internalization of culture and language include:

- The composition and role of family,
- The cycle of life,
- Roles,
- Interpersonal relations, Communication,
- Discipline,
- Religion,
- Health and hygiene,
- Food and schedules for eating,
- Dress and personal appearance,
- History and traditions,
- Education,
- Work and play,
- Time and space,
- Beliefs about natural phenomena and nature,
- Art and music, and

- Expectations and aspirations, among others (Saville-Troike, 1978).

Culture is not static and is the result of the collective effort of the people who contribute to the creation of cultural processes, which contribute to the creation of a people. Each generation uses and practices the culture inherited from past generations. At the same time, they revise and change it, thereby enriching and revitalizing the cultural diversity of its expression (Cajete, 1994; Mamani, 2008; Montaluisa, 2008; Rogoff, 2003).

For this study, for instance, it was important to find out:

- What made a Kichwa Indigenous child Kichwa?
- What is the core of Kichwa culture?
- What are the common cultural elements shared in the countryside and in the city among Kichwa Indigenous Peoples today?

Ethnicity is based in cultural heritage, national characteristics, race, religion and language. It is essential in the development of an identity, which is the sense of membership in an ethnic group based on the sharing of culture, language, religion, customs, values, history, and race (Santrock, 2003).

According to Vygotsky (1978), the efforts of individuals are not separated from the activities in which they engage and the kinds of institutions of which they are a part. Young children absorb social knowledge through various interactions with adults and others interactions that take the children to the process of *internalization* that helps them acquire their self-identity within a social world (Romero, 2008). Romero argues that the culture provides children the tools for thinking through their interactions with more skilled partners in the Zone of Proximal Development, ZPD. In these interactions in this zone of complex thinking, children participate in activities that would be impossible for

them alone, carrying out independent thinking and transforming the cultural tools for thought for their own purposes. In the Zone of Proximal Development, a teacher and learner, adult/child, tutor/tutee, model/observer, master/apprentice, expert/novice work together on a task where the learner is aided in achieving the assignment due to the level of difficulty (Vygotsky, 1978) through guided participation and the sharing of cultural tools and cultural interactions to produce cognitive change in the learner (Bruning et al., 2004; Cobb, 1994; Rogoff, 1986).

Language is the core of the culture (Rogoff, 2003; Saville-Troike, 2006). In children's language development, adults play a crucial role, because they are the mediators who introduce children to higher levels of functioning with a supportive scaffolded setting where an expert assists a learner through simple to more complicated activities (Otto, 2010; Saville-Troike, 2006). Children learn particular values and specific intellectual skills in accordance with their culture and what they are taught on a daily basis (McDevitt & Ormrod, 2007).

The socialization of very young children involves teaching them the language and the cultural fundamentals so they can be ready to face modern circumstances of life. In this early socialization, the child's language is learned with the support of family, grandparents, relatives, and members of the community. The goals of socialization come from people's cultural knowledge, from the transmission methods so that next generations have essential competencies to function adequately (Ogbu, 1981). Socialization is an interactional display to a child of expected ways of thinking, feeling and acting (Ochs, 1986; Wentworth, 1980). The study on early socialization by John and Beatrice Whiting carried out in six different societies concluded that the socialization

practices have different techniques, goals, and expectations in each society and that children are socialized in the way our parents socialized us (O'Neil, 2002-2011). Today researchers also consider reciprocal socialization where parents socialize children and children socialize parents (Maccoby, 2002). Socialization will be expanded in the Literature Review.

The Socio-Cultural-Historical Theory development is linked with environment, historical, economic, and social contexts, culture, identity, and relationships. It is important then to consider that people's identity, status, and values are influenced by macro-social factors:

- Global and national status of the first language (L1) and second language (L2),
- Boundaries and identities,
- Institutional forces and constraints,
- Social categories, and
- Circumstances of learning whether this is formal, informal, naturalistic or instructed (Saville-Troike, 2006).

It is important to examine these macro-social factors and how they have impacted the Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador. The original Indigenous social and political institutions were reorganized according to the Spanish system, as the Spanish language had official status. Kichwa was learned and used by the priests to convert Indigenous Peoples to Christianity and was considered the most important tool in the consolidation of the conquest. When the invasion was concluded, then Spanish became the dominant language (Guevara, 1972; Haboud, 1998).

The racist attitude towards the Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador during the conquest did not change with independence. During the Republican period in the 1830s, living conditions for Indigenous Peoples remained the same or worsened. Although there were new people in power, the new authorities remained convinced that Indigenous Peoples were not human beings but viewed as animals, as beasts, or as small children without soul (Chela, 2002; A.M. Guacho, personal communication, August 10, 2012; Yumbay, 2007).

The new Ecuadorian elite wanted to assimilate the Indigenous Peoples into the Mestizo's culture for the benefit of the nation. The formal education system was controlled by the church and reserved only for the rich, primarily creoles and Mestizos. This situation changed slightly with the Liberal Revolution (1895) when Eloy Alfaro increased education for marginalized people after receiving the support for his troops from Alejo Saes, an Indigenous leader from Chimborazo Province, Ecuador (Albornoz, 1988; Chela, 2002).

The conquest and then the colonization influenced Indigenous Peoples' identities forcing them to change their ways of life, to speak a new language, and to live in different settings. Therefore, the identity, the traditional clothes, the languages and the beliefs were changed or denied. Centuries passed after the Spanish conquest, and Indigenous Peoples continued to suffer while fighting daily for their survival. Between the 1830s through the 1950s, Indigenous Peoples lived under inhumane circumstances being overworked in the fields of the church and landlords and were denied their human rights.

Due to the lack of socio-economic opportunities, Indigenous Peoples began to organize, creating and strengthening Indigenous organizations. The *minga*, communal work, and the oral tradition played an important role in the communications among the communities. From the 1940s to the 1950s, several Indigenous organizations were created, such as FEI, (Indigenous Federation from Ecuador), CONACNIE, (National Confederation of Peasants and Nationalities from Ecuador), and ECUARUNARI (Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador). In the 1950s, Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador through CONAIE reclaimed their right to Indigenous education and their lands. In 1988, after negotiations with the National Government, the National Directional for Intercultural Bilingual Education (DINEIB) created a system to attend to the needs of Indigenous education. From the 1950s until today, Indigenous Peoples have been very active in the political arena at national and international levels in order to be recognized as people and be respected and treated humanely.

Because of this constant struggle, the Ecuadorian Indigenous Peoples today are contributing to the nation's development. Some are working at governmental offices and gaining recognition for their rights. Others are participating in projects that are related to Indigenous lands, resources, and traditional knowledge. Since the 1950s, Indigenous Peoples have been using and practicing our cultures in intercultural programs for education, health and nutrition, food security, land demarcation, etc. Consequently, cultural revitalization has taken place in a holistic way at least for some years. From the time of conquest until now, Indigenous languages from Ecuador were, and still are, considered languages of minorities, despite the fact that they represent 45% of the Ecuadorian population. Due to socio-economic, cultural, and political reasons, for many

Indigenous Peoples the heritage language has become the second language, while Spanish is the first language.

The Indigenous languages have been used gradually at schools and colleges. Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples are learning and using Indigenous languages in public and private spaces such as on the street, on the bus, at school, at meetings, and at church. The Intercultural Bilingual Education system is trying to develop bilingualism for students in both Spanish and one Indigenous language. Though there have been some positive achievements in education, we continue advocating in getting the deserved respect for our lives and basic human rights. We defend our rights by using the National Constitution and international instruments, such as the United Nations Declaration for Indigenous Human Rights and Convention 169 that is also related to Indigenous Peoples. Today, even with the existence of a bilingual education system, Spanish is the dominant language, and the Indigenous languages are in a subordinate role, despite the fact that the National Constitution recognizes the cultural diversity and different languages of the country.

The Socio-Cultural-Historical Theory of Lev Vygotsky's framework aided in comprehending the relationship between development and knowledge in early socialization within a cultural environment and conditions and how identity, status, and values are influenced by macro-social factors. This theory also allowed for an understanding of the historical, socio, economic, and cultural factors that have had a negative influence in the whole life of Kichwa Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador. Being part of a minority group, we were forced to learn the Spanish language and culture, and

as a result of this new learning the Indigenous knowledge was put aside and the Kichwa language was less spoken.

The Pedagogy of the Oppressed

The Pedagogy of the Oppressed gives people the opportunity to re-discover themselves through a reflexive process and to develop a collective consciousness about their lives and their relationships to the world (Freire, 1975, p.16). This process considers the fundamental existence of unequal relations in society. There are people with economic and political power, which are the oppressors, and oppressed people, who are at a disadvantage. The oppressed, after becoming aware of their problems and constraints, begin dialogue with others who are in the same position with the goal of remedying their situation. This thinking allows them then to take practical and decisive actions by gaining their social justice and freedom through the process of dialogue-reflection- action and finding the solution to their problems.

The Spaniards' process of conquering the Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador in 1492 was destructive and painful (Cañizares, 2006). The political, economic, and religious Spanish power was used against Indigenous Peoples who were considered wild people, people without soul, and beasts. Indigenous Peoples had to obey and follow whatever laws and processes were imposed on them to the detriment and loss of their languages, cultures, and epistemologies. For the conquerors, the gold, silver, land, and richness had more value than the human beings. The Spaniards took Indigenous treasures and land by violating human rights and the rights of Mother Earth. During the conquest, women were sexually abused, men worked in the mines and textiles without rest or food, the medicine men were killed, the ceremonies were forbidden, and almost the entire

Indigenous structure was changed. Nevertheless, the essence of who we are and our traditional knowledge was kept in the souls of our ancestors and elders, and was transmitted orally from one generation to the next (Cajete, 2011; Chela, 2002; De la Torre & Sandoval, 2004; Mamani, 2008; Ramírez, 2008; Terán, 2010).

The Indigenous Peoples were the first inhabitants and owners of these lands, territories, and resources. We had and still have our ways of thinking, feeling, and living and their own systems of administration and governance. More than five centuries have passed since the conquest of their ancestors. Indigenous Peoples have become conscious of our exploitation and oppression, aware of marginalization, exclusion from society, racism in the cities, poverty, and lack of respect (Mamani, 2008; Ramírez, 2008).

Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador began to have meetings where we analyzed their situation and problems and shared our fears, doubts, and hopes. We became aware of our real constraints and real life conditions (Chela, 2002; Freire, 1975; Mamani, 2008). Consequently, we united and together sought the best alternatives to overcome this oppression that caused us to lose our culture and land.

One of the “generative ideas” in the 1950s was to overcome domination by recovering Indigenous ancestral lands taken by the Church and landlords (Cañizares, 2006; Freire, 1975, p. 61). The land issue was important for Indigenous Peoples, because the land is considered as a Mother. “She is the *Pachamama* who is sacred and gives the life to all beings on her. She has a cultural meaning, and she is the basis for development our culture and life” (*Mashua* Grandmother, personal communication, February 27, 2012).

In the process of land recovery, the loss of culture and Indigenous languages also become visible. Therefore, the Indigenous fight was for recovering our ancestral roots, culture, and values too. During the process of bringing back our culture, Indigenous Peoples recognized and accepted the value of our culture and language, which increased our self-esteem - like a rebirth of our culture.

The National Direction for Intercultural Bilingual Education was created in 1988 in Ecuador to generate Indigenous education that would be culturally appropriate as a result of Indigenous reclamation. Awakening from this oppression, Indigenous Peoples faced several obstacles and legal actions from the Ecuadorian governments. We were forced to become the poorest of the poor. Despite the positive achievements, today the Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador and the world still need to be aware of the gradual oppression that is being practiced against us. This is why we are still fighting to have their rights respected at national and international levels.

Through the past five centuries, Indigenous Peoples have been creating and developing numerous strategies to overcome the effects of the colonial and modern oppression. Some are successful, such as the theoretical recognition of our cultures and languages as is the case of the National Constitution of Ecuador that recognizes the existence of the cultural diversity in their country. Other times we are still defending our genetic resources and traditional knowledge, our system of education, health, nutrition, housing, etc. The Government of Ecuador transferred the System of Indigenous Education to the Hispanic Education System through a decree in 2011. This decree almost erased the whole Indigenous education system that was created and developed in

the last decades through the efforts and sacrifices of Indigenous leaders, teachers, and communities (E. Chiza, personal communication, September 6, 2011).

The Pedagogy of the Oppressed will offer a democratic frame for the Puesitús community that is now working to regain their Kichwa language and culture. Being united, conscious, and strengthened, this community can now analyze, understand, and accept its loss of language and culture and look for solutions according to their situation and needs avoiding the modern ways of conquest, the division among us, the manipulation and the cultural invasion in our cultures, the modern disparities, racism, and exclusion (Freire, 1975, p.193). This will be a time for Kichwa culture and language revitalization and their re-flourishing as a fact of social justice, self-determination, and freedom.

We are no longer what you forced us to be. We have everything: the eyes, heart, and willpower to fight for our rights. We shall defend what is ours. We know what we have to do. We know that both you and we have our own dignity and values. It is time to look at each other face to face to live as equals. It is time to learn from one another, to live in harmony with *Pachamama* (Paraguayan Indigenous thought, as cited in Learning Wisdom and the Good Way to Live, 2004, p. 267).

The Indigenous Epistemology

Epistemology is the “philosophical science of the nature of knowledge and truth” (Runes, 1980, p. 94 as cited in Meyer, 2003, p.77). According to Dancy and Sosa (1993, p.27, as cited in Meyer, 2003, p.77), it responds to the questions “What is knowledge?” and “How do we know what we know?” Epistemology is the study and practice of

knowledge. It allows Indigenous Peoples to gain awareness of who we are as a people (Cajete, 1994; Meyer, 2003; Wilson, 1996). Epistemology includes entire systems of knowledge and relationships with the cosmos among people and with the environment. Indigenous Epistemology refers to our cultures, worldviews, times, languages, stories, values, beliefs, spiritualities, and our places in the cosmos (Cajete, 1994; Wilson, 1996). Consequently, the Kichwa Epistemology will be the framework for this pioneering study that will help us in re-encountering the Kichwa cultural fundamentals to develop a Kichwa language program for Puesitús early childhood.

In the frame of our epistemologies, Indigenous teachings are prepared in a holistic context through mutual and reciprocal relationships between social groups and the natural world (Cajete, 1994). The process of Indigenous education has been recreated and reintroduced to our Peoples through different ethnic methods such as:

- Testimonies,
- Art,
- Storytelling,
- Celebrating survival,
- Remembering,
- Revitalizing,
- Connecting,
- Reading and writing,
- Representing,
- Gendering,
- Envisioning,

- Reframing and restoring,
- Returning,
- Naming and renaming,
- Protecting,
- Networking,
- Creating,
- Negotiating,
- Discovering, and
- Sharing.

These cultural activities are helping us “decolonize our minds and souls and finally, proudly live, feel and act as Indigenous Peoples” (Smith, 1999, p.142).

The crucial goal of Indigenous Peoples is to have a clear, knowledge, understanding and free practice of our Indigenous epistemologies with pride to achieve our internal “in-powerment” for coming “back to our collective Indigenous power” (Cajete, 2011, p. 324-325). The Tohono O’odham have said, “When all the people see the light shining at the same time and in the same way,” a group can truly progress on the path of knowledge (Cajete, 2011, p. 341). Indigenous Peoples are developing holistic education for life that originates in our hearts by putting our traditional ways of the past in the context of today. “It is time for an authentic dialogue to begin to collectively explore where we have been, where we are now, and where we need to go as we collectively embark on our continuing journey to that place that Indian Peoples talk about” (Cajete, 2011, p. 343).

It is hoped that by utilizing Kichwa Epistemology the Indigenous Peoples might recover our natural way of teaching, as well our socialization process, our culture, values, protocols, and languages so that small children, as well as their young parents, can regain their culture. Of course, very young child may not be able or should not be expected to achieve all Kichwa cultural elements at a very young age.

Indigenous Peoples are the agents of transformation of our own social reality. Recovering and practicing our epistemologies is going to give the enjoyment of our collective *Sumak Kawsay*, (plenitude of life) with pride, freedom, security, and harmony (Cajete, 2011; Chela, 2002; Mamani, 2008; Ramírez, 2008; Terán, 2010).

Indigenous Peoples would need to decolonize our mind, our way of thinking, seeing and reacting towards our ancestral knowledge. We shall have new attitudes to see, accept and use again our knowledge, our sciences. It is urgent to see our ancestral roots and cultures with other eyes, with other ears to listen to the music and the beauty from the past that has been in front of us all the time (Lumbreras, 1994).

Chapter II

Review of Literature

This chapter will include background information on the Indigenous Peoples by describing the Kichwa Epistemology, which will examine beliefs about children as well as Kichwa socialization, the development of a second language, and several efforts of language revitalization.

Who Are the Indigenous Peoples?

No definition of Indigenous Peoples has actually been established, although several attempts were made by the United Nations, NGOs (Non-Government Organizations), countries, and Indigenous organizations. Finally, the necessity of self-recognition by the Indigenous Peoples themselves to define what and who Indigenous is was recognized. In 1997, José R. Martínez Cobo, the Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, gave descriptions of the concept of Indigenous Peoples in his Study on the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations. He offered a working definition of “Indigenous communities, Peoples and nations” that reads:

Indigenous communities, peoples, and nations are those which, having an historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop, and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and their ethnic identity as the basis

of their continued existence as peoples in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions, and legal system (Martínez Cobo, 1997).

This historical continuity may consist of a continuation for an extended period reaching into the present of one or more of the following factors:

1. Occupation of ancestral lands, or at least of part of them;
2. Common ancestry with the original occupants of these lands;
3. Culture in general or in specific manifestations (such as religion, living under a tribal system, membership of an Indigenous community, dress, means of livelihood, lifestyle, etc.);
4. Language (whether used as the only language, as mother-tongue, as the habitual means of communication at home or in the family or as the main, preferred, habitual, general or normal language);
5. Residence in certain parts of the country or in certain regions of the world;
6. Other relevant factors.

On an individual basis, an Indigenous person is one who belongs to these Indigenous populations through self-identification as Indigenous (group consciousness) and is recognized and accepted by these populations as one of its members (acceptance by the group). This preserves for these communities the sovereign right and power to decide who belongs to them without external interference.

In this regard, Article 8 of the United Nations Declaration for Indigenous Peoples Human Rights states that:

Indigenous Peoples have a collective and individual right to maintain and develop their distinct identities and characteristics, including the right to identify themselves as Indigenous and to be recognized as such (Workshop on Data Collection and Disaggregation for Indigenous Peoples, New York, January 19-21 2004, p.2).

Based on national and international meetings of Indigenous Peoples and on personal experience, Indigenous Peoples are the first inhabitants of the land. We were here prior to the creation of the State; therefore, we are the ancestral owners of territories, lands, and waters and owners of the natural resources that are on the face, surface, and below the surface of *Pachamama*, Mother Earth. Indigenous Peoples have customary laws, our own systems of government, education, health, housing, spirituality, cosmologies, art, and ways of living.

For Kichwa Indigenous Peoples, land is sacred. It is a living being. All her elements are interconnected. The earth is our Mother, and the plants, animals, rivers, stones, the water, the Sun, the Moon... all living and non-living beings are our brothers and sisters... (A. Maigua, personal communication, March 30, 2006).

Land is the fundamental base for developing our lives and culture within a framework of harmony, reciprocity, and solidarity towards achieving the *Sumak Kawsay*, (the plenitude of life), the well-being of Mother Earth, *Pachamama*, and of men and women. She is vital for the existence of men and women and for the development of our ceremonies and belief systems based on the Cycle of Life and the Cycle of Agriculture. The centrality of land for Indigenous Peoples was recognized by the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues at its Seventh Meeting in New York:

Land is the foundation of the lives and cultures of Indigenous Peoples all over the world. This is why the protection of their rights to land, territories, and natural resources is a key demand of the international Indigenous Peoples' movement and of Indigenous Peoples and organizations everywhere. It is also clear that most local and national Indigenous Peoples' movements have emerged from struggles against policies and actions that have undermined and discriminated against their customary land tenure and resource management systems, expropriated their lands, extracted their resources without their consent, and led to their displacement and dispossession from their territories. Without access to and respect for their rights over their lands, territories, and natural resources, the survival of Indigenous Peoples' particular distinct cultures is threatened... They depend on such rights and access for their material and cultural survival. In order to survive as distinct peoples, Indigenous Peoples and their communities need to be able to own, conserve and manage their territories and resources (Kipuri, 2009, p.54).

Indigenous Peoples contribute to cultural diversity through the practice and maintenance of different cultures, visions, and languages, despite the historical factors that have threatened our survival. Oral history is fundamental for Indigenous Peoples. Knowledge is orally transmitted from one generation to another by the elders, who are the live books of our communities. When the conquerors came to our territories, they nearly destroyed our entire system of life and culture, inflicting a different way of life full of suffering, exploitation, and sadness caused by the stealing of our lands, the imposition of a new culture and languages, and the silencing of our ways of being. We

the Indigenous Peoples were obligated to forget and deny our ancestral roots and identity (Chela, 2002; Mamani, 2008; Ramírez, 2008; Terán, 2010).

The Kichwa Epistemology

Due to socio-economic and political reasons throughout history, Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador were obligated to forget and deny our cultural identity. As a result of this denial, we carry an accumulated historical pain, fear, resentment, confusion, alienation, and lack of knowledge and shame to practice our Kichwa culture (Chela, 2002; Mamani, 2008; Ramírez, 2008; Terán, 2010). In order to recover our ways of being Indigenous, we will have to “remember” (Meyer, 2003, p. IX) the practical and holistic teachings and values of our ancestors, elders, and women. We will need to find again our paths to all of our connections and relations with humans and our *Pachamama*, Mother Earth, to recover the balance lost between humans and Mother Earth.

The fundamentals of the Kichwa culture are based on five key interconnected elements that are taught and practiced since childhood until death. These are:

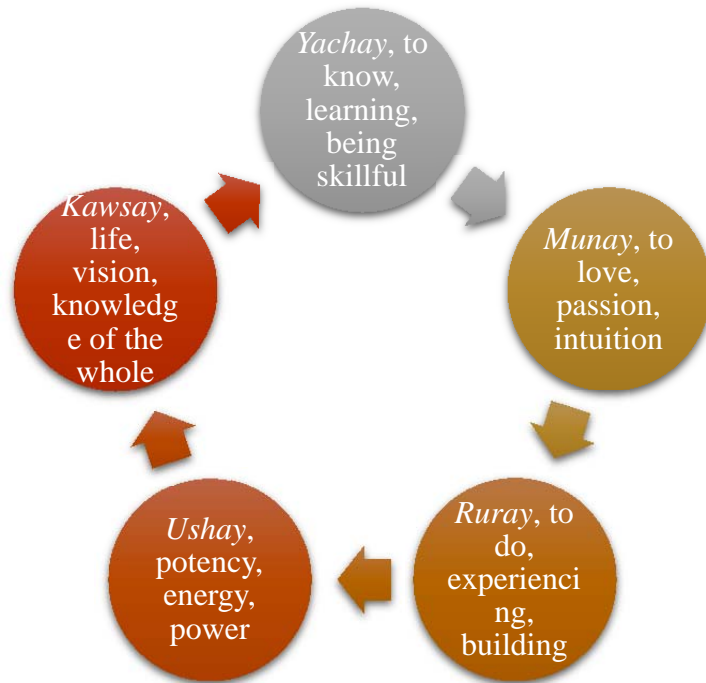
1. *Yachay*, (To know),
2. *Munay*, (To love, desire, to achieve),
3. *Ruray*, (To do),
4. *Uushay*, (To be able, physical and spiritual capacity to do something), and
5. *Kawsay*, (Origin of life and life).

Yachay refers to knowledge, the act of knowing, various degrees of knowledge linked with the capacity to observe, epistemology, understanding diverse world visions, and the restoration and revaluation of ancestral knowledge while respecting the wisdom of other cultures. *Munay* signifies affection, the passion that moves one to action, emotions, the

efforts one makes for something, friendship, falling in love, and the capacity to support others without manipulating and the capacity to think with the heart. *Ruray* means doing, to produce, to generate, to experiment, to implement, to create, to develop, to promote, to manage to do something, to make, to realize, to build and to train oneself. *Ushay* is energy, power, various levels of power, vitality, decision-making capacity, capacity to govern, capacity to lead and orient, capacity to exercise sovereignty. *Kawsay* represents life, living well, (on our ancestral lands, territories and waters and exercising our right to self-determination), well-being, simplicity, (living with the basics and not desiring superficial and luxurious means), harmony (in balance between men, between men and the Mother Nature), inspiration, silence, (there are times that Indigenous Peoples do not need to talk, just listen, for example, during children's counseling), knowledge of the whole, freedom, and network of relations (A.M. Guacho, personal communication, March 10, 2013; García, Lozano, Olivera & Ruiz, 2004).

Figure 4.

Fundamentals of Kichwa Culture



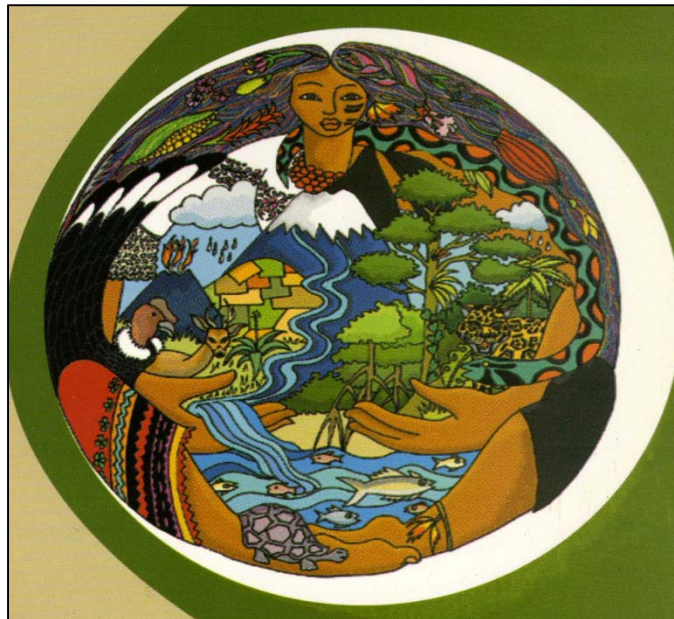
Source: García et al. (2004)

Kichwa Epistemology refers to all cultural elements, seen and unseen, that Kichwa Peoples practice on a daily basis. According to Chela (2002), Mamani (2008), Montaluisa (1990, 2008), and Ramírez (2008), the land is the fundamental base for Kichwa Indigenous Peoples to develop life and culture in order to carry out the activities and different ceremonies within the Indigenous calendar and throughout the *wata*, (year). The year has the Cycles of Life and Agriculture.

For Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador, the *Pachamama*, Mother Earth, is the mother who gives life to human beings, animals, plants, and all beings. She is the foundation for the development of life and culture. ...The land is our mother. She is not merchandise. She is an integral part of our life, and she is our past, present, and future... (A.M. Guacho, personal communication, March 15, 2012).

Figure 5.

Pachamama, Mother Earth, by Bravo, L.



Source: CONAIE. (2006)

Land and communal territory were and still are some of the most important cultural elements for the Kichwas. For Indigenous Peoples, the land was and still is a mother and a teacher. Our ancestors gave thanks to her for her protection and food through different ceremonies carried out during the agricultural cycle. In the past, “the resources were used rationally and only the necessary resources were used” (Montaluisa, 1990, p. 29). For Indigenous Peoples’ ancestors, Mother Earth was sacred. This is why rituals for

fertilization were offered to her with chants, songs, prayers, and offerings in recognition of her capacity for reproduction and fertility. Mother Earth, or *Pachamama*, in the Ecuadorian Highlands is divided into two halves: *Hanan* (High) with high and cold lands and the *Hurin* (Low) with subtropical lands and valleys. The space between these two halves is the *Chaupi* (Half, center). Each half has several micro climates and products. For instance, the *Hanan* space is appropriate to cultivate

- Grains such as: lima beans, beans, *chocho*;
- Tubers such as potatoes, *mellocos*, *ocas*, and *mashua*;
- Cereals like *quinua*, and
- Pasture and straw land.

The *Hurin* space is good for maize, fruits, and trees for wood. Each of these halves also has specific animals. In the *Hanan* there are sheep, llamas (in small numbers), rabbits, fox, wolves, and birds, and in the *Hurin* half there are also sheep, pigs, guinea pigs, and hens (Moya, 1981, 1997).

Time and space compose an integral concept of *pacha* for Kichwa Indigenous Peoples, which translates to land, time, and space. Knowledge of the world and the universe is integrated and organized. Indigenous belief is symbolized with the existence and action of two binary properties: cold (-) and hot (+). For instance, in biological reproduction the woman's organs are cold, and the man's are considered hot (Montaluisa, 1990; Ramírez, 2004).

The world and its elements are divided into two parts forming a binary system. For Indigenous Peoples, it is important to be aware of the concept of land, time, and space and the relationships between land, Indigenous Peoples, and the universe. Within this universe

exists the concepts, the relationship, and the interaction between high/low, hot/cold, negative/positive, day/night, up/down, man/woman, etc. Life happens on the *Pachamama*, Mother Earth, and Indigenous Peoples consider themselves part of her. In the Kichwa cosmology, man and woman are opposites and complements at the same time (Montaluisa, 1990; Ramírez, 2004; Terán, 2013).

There is a vital balance between the “*Hanan*” (High) and “*Hurin*” (Low). Within this cultural context, maize is considered hot, adapted to low lands. It is always grown together with beans, which are cold. Potatoes are cold; in order to achieve heat it is necessary to turn over the land where potatoes are planted to receive the sun’s heat (Montaluisa, 1990; Ramírez, 2008).

Kichwa Indigenous Peoples conceive the *huata*, cyclical year. At the beginning of each year, knowledge is present as an experience from the past and as a genesis for a new process. The cycle has a link with the past and a projection for the future. Indigenous time runs spirally within, while the binary parts (hot/cold, high/low) run constantly during its cycle of existence. The Cycle of Life and Agriculture are a unique and primary time where the biological, social, and economic barriers disappear (Montaluisa, 1990; Ramírez, 2008). Time is circular representing the beginning and the continuation of life.

Within the Kichwa Epistemology there are several categories for *pacha*, (time). For instance, *Kallari Pacha* means the past and the beginning. *Ñaupá Pacha* indicates in front of, traces recent past, before and after. *Kunan Pacha*, refers to now, present, present time. *Sarun Pacha* means to go, to become, immediate future. *Shamuk Pacha* signifies something that will come, after, and future.

The life of *Pachamama* and of humans occurs within the Cycles of Life and Agriculture, which are periods of time in which some things or activities are repeated that relate from the past, but there are also distinct happenings that put us in front of the new and the unknown. Therefore, the past guides our daily life.

The Cycle of Life has a close relationship with the Agro-Ecological Cycle. Social, economic, and political activities of the community are organized annually according to the agriculture calendar (Montaluisa, 1990; Ramírez, 2008). Each phase working the land ends with ceremonies that revere God giving His offerings of music and *chicha* (drink). *Pawkar Raymi* is celebrated in March, which is the period of flowers and the collection of the first unripe products. The *Inti Raymi* ceremony is celebrated in June after harvest time to give thanks to Father Sun. In August the *Chacra Yapuy Quilla* (the month for land preparation) Indigenous Peoples sing the “*haylli*” songs while men and women are working on the *barbecho*, the fallow land (Alumnos de la Tercera Promoción de LAEB, 1996).

Within the Cycle of Agriculture and the Cycle of Life there are several activities that occur at the same time due to the relationship between the humans and Mother Earth.

Table 1.

Activities Happening during the Cycles of Agriculture and Life

Agro-Ecological Cycle	Life Cycle
Land Preparation	Marriage and Pregnancy
Plantation	Birth
Plants Growing	Development
Flowering and Maturing	Maturing
Harvest	Elderly and Death

Source: Terán, Y. (1996). Secretaría Técnica del CDPIE

Kichwa Indigenous Calendar for Production and Spirituality

According to Guamán Poma Ayala (a Chronicle of the Indies, XVI Century) and Lozano (1997), the Kichwa calendar was organized from two perspectives: a production process and a spirituality process that includes the Indigenous ceremonies. Consequently, many activities were carried out every month:

- January, *Capac Raimi*, was nominated *Camac Quilla*. The land was prepared for planting.
- February, *Paucar Varai* - The land was plowed.
- March, *Pacha Pucui Quilla*. First products began to grow, llamas were well fed, and first animals were born. The *Pawkar Raymi* Ceremony was performed in this month.
- April, *Inca Raimi* - The Inca, the principal authority, rested this month. The products continued to ripen and the llamas recovered their health.

- May, *Hatun Cusqui* also called *Aymuray Quilla*, was the harvest month. Communities were visited to share maize, potatoes, and llamas owned communally.
- June, *Huacai Cusqui*, was the resting month from the harvest. Time to celebrate the *Inti Raymi* ceremony to honor the Sun with several offerings of gold and silver objects.
- July, *Chacra Ricui Chacra Cunacui Chacra Uarcum* -. This month was for visiting and to distribute lands for the communities. It was also the time for curing sick llamas.
- August, *Chacra Yapui*, was to plow the land. The Inca danced the *Haylli Agrario*. Indigenous Peoples sang the “*haylli*” songs while men and women worked on the *barbecho*, to leave a piece of land fallow. Thanks were given for the sun, the moon, and other divinities.
- September, *Coia Raimi*, was the month of the Queen. Ceremonies were performed for the moon and prayers to call the rain. It was the month to plant maize.
- October, *Uma Raimi*, held big celebrations. One black llama (animal) helped men to plead for rain. Plantations and animals were cared for.
- November, *Aia Raimi*, celebrated dead people and ancestors. Vegetables and fruit were planted to take advantage of the rain.

- December, *Capac Inti Raimi*, praised the Sun. Potatoes, *ocas*⁸, *quinua*⁹, *chocho*¹⁰ were planted, and some fruits were harvested.

Today, the Kichwa calendar is more flexible and changes from one region to another. The agricultural cycle depended on:

- The altitude,
- Different seasons for different plants,
- The beginning of summer and winter,
- The different agriculture activities during the year,
- The natural indicators for agriculture, and
- The traditional feasts that marked the beginning and the end of each agricultural activity.

The feasts of *San Francisco*, *Virgen del Quinche* and *Virgen del Rocío* determine the planting time for September, October, and November. The feasts of *Semana Santa*, *Corpus Christi*, *San Juan*, and *San Pedro* indicate the harvest time for the months of April, May, June, and July.

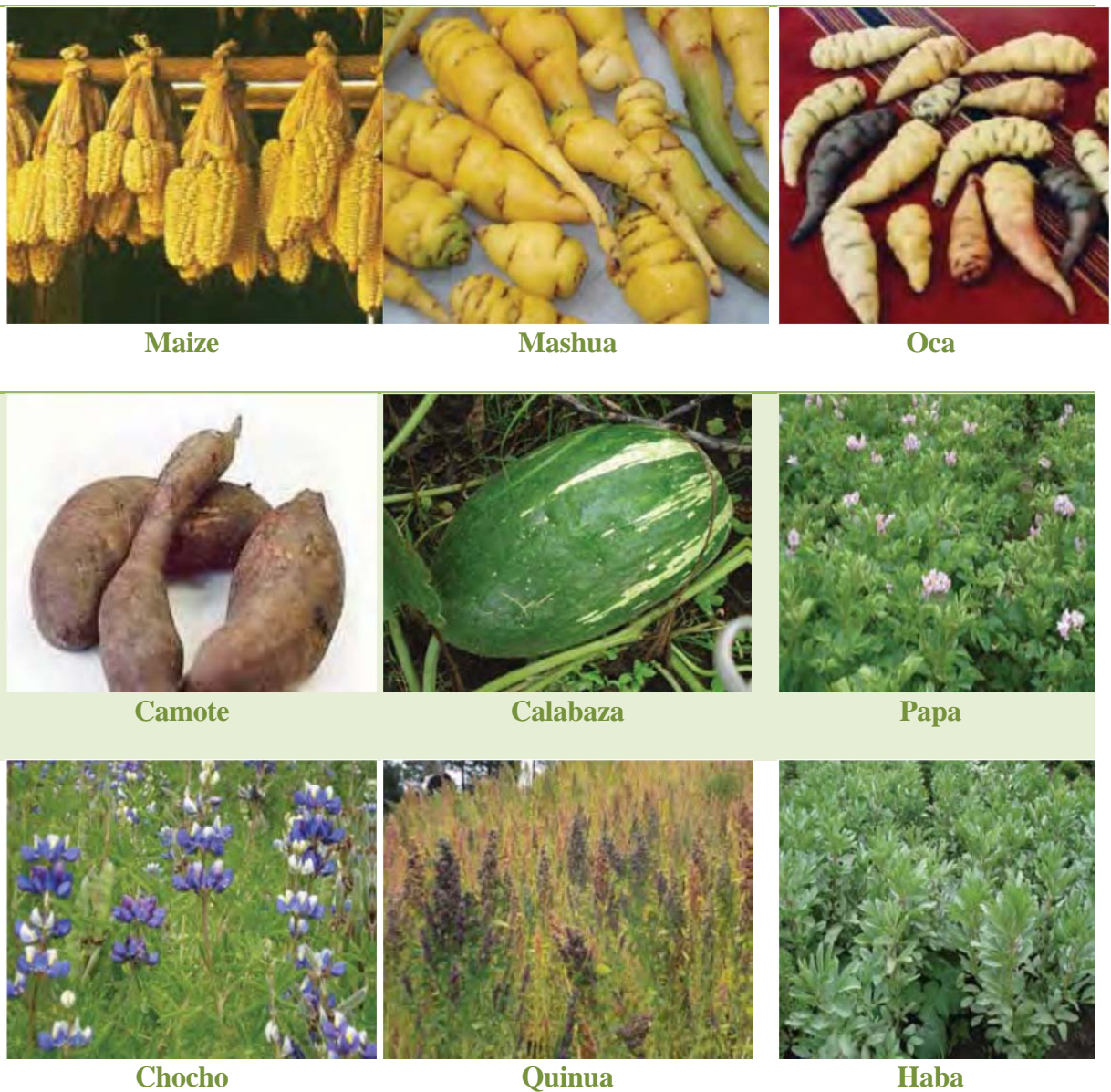
⁸ Type of potatoes

⁹ Indigenous tiny cereal

¹⁰ Indigenous cereal used as food and repellent for insects

Figure 6

Some of the Products that Kichwa Indigenous Peoples Raised



Source: Suquilanda, M. (2006)

The Kichwa cosmo-vision is based on a harmonic relationship between humans and Mother Nature. *Pachakamak* is the supreme creator of the universe, the administrator of life, and moves and transforms humanity. He is present in Mother Earth, in the sacred

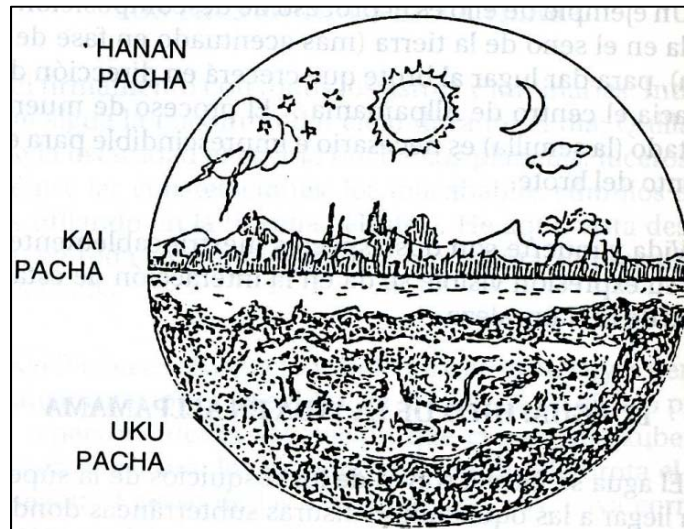
places, in the sun, the moon, and the stars, in the mountains, within the communities, and within each culture. He is present in the *Jahua Pacha* (Upper World), in the *Kai Pacha* (The Earth), and within the *Uku Pacha* (Lower World). *Pachakamak* has a close relationship with his wife *Pachamama*, who gives life to all her beings. She is the center of the family. She includes time and the space (Montaluisa, 1990; Ramírez, 2008; Tatzo, 1996).

In the Kichwa and Andean universe, there are the following worlds:

- *Jahua Pacha*, which is the sky where the sun, moon, stars, etc. are living;
- *Kai Pacha* where the jungle, the wind, the water, the rocks, the mountains, the plants, the animals, and the humans are; and
- *Uku Pacha* - the subsoil where different spirits live.

Figure 7.

The Andean Universe



Source: Tatzo, A. (1996)

Pachakamak and *Pachamama*'s strength allows both of them to keep Man, Woman, and Nature together. In the Kichwa culture, all beings are male and female. All nature is animated and personified. The mountains, animals, trees, and plants are active in real life, and their acts intermingle with man's daily acts. Everything is related; the network of ties and connections is vital. Water, earth, fire, and air are the elements of life, the combination of which is found in life, in the *runa kawsay*, (man's life), in the communities, and in their cultures (Montaluisa, 1990; Ramírez, 2008, Tatzo, 1996).

Knowledge was and still is transmitted orally from one generation to another. Children learned by doing, by observing, by being with their parents and grandparents, by having a direct relationship with the environment, and listening to the conversations of their elders. Because of their shared living with Mother Nature, Kichwa Indigenous Peoples gained knowledge of the components of nature through direct experience, which was used to organize daily activities. Natural indicators were the guides in these activities. The moon, for example, influenced fertility, sexuality, and healing. There were some birds that announced the rain, good and bad periods for agriculture, hunting and fishing. In the past, each activity had an appropriate time (Montaluisa, 1990; J.R.T., personal communication, April, 3, 2012; Terán, 2013).

Each community knew about a variety of plants and animals, depending on its geographical region. According to each environment, Kichwa Indigenous Peoples cultivated important plants for the group such as coca, potato, maize, and yucca from which they prepared drinks and made tortillas. They also stored some products for long period of times to be used when needed. In the past, Indigenous Peoples from Bolivia were the creators of the dry potato after experimenting with genetic mixing of some sour

and poisonous potatoes (Montaluisa, 1990; Ramírez, 2008). In this way they were able to develop potatoes with good flavor. Today the potato is one of three products that is most consumed on Earth together with maize and wheat. Kichwa Indigenous Peoples also cultivated *quinua*, a very small cereal that the astronauts are willing to plant in outer space (Montaluisa, 1990, p. 2).

Our ancestors had a solution for most of the problems concerning agriculture, food production, survival, and Mother Earth's preservation and sustainability. If the soil was located in inclined fields, they built up terraces and platforms. They planted also in dry lands through systems of watering (Montaluisa, 1990; Ramírez, 2008). The main concern of Indigenous Peoples from The Andes was crop cultivation, improvement, harvest, and storage. They domesticated numerous vegetables and generated important agriculture and hydraulic progress. Our ancestors developed an effective Indigenous permaculture through appropriate land and water use and community planning that considered the well-being of Mother Earth and man (Diver, 2002).

Figure 8.

Kichwa Terraces and Platforms



Source: Montaluisa, L. (1990)

Traditional knowledge of Mother Nature helped Indigenous Peoples solve certain problems, such as white frost that would damage the crops and kill some animals. When the Indigenous Peoples knew that white frost was coming, they burned wood and with the smoke and fire they tried to warm up the environment to avoid damage to the crops.

Irrigation channels were constructed to overcome drought.

Animals were classified in two categories: those that could be eaten and those that could not. In agriculture, certain crops were planted together, which were associated with the cultivation of various products in the same area in order to avoid impoverishing of the soil.

Associated crops allowed for better use of space and the harvesting of several products. In the same portion of land, cereals, tubers, legumes, and vegetables were planted. These crops could be interspersed or associated. For example, in one small space there were furrows of maize and beans together with potatoes; between furrows there was

some *quinua*. The *chocho* (small cereal) was planted around the whole parcel as a protector and insect repellent. In the associated plantings, two or more species were cultivated at the same time in the same space. The most popular associations were:

- Maize associated with climbing beans,
- Maize interspersed with lima beans,;
- Maize interspersed with peas,
- Maize associated with beans and *achogcha* (vegetable),
- Maize associated with *chocho* (cereal),
- Maize interspersed with *quinua* (cereal),
- Maize associated with beans, lima beans, *quinua*, pumpkin, *zambo* (type of squash), and *chocho*;
- Potatoes interspersed with maize,
- Potatoes interspersed with quinoa, and
- Potatoes interspersed with lima beans.

These traditional pairings of particular crops with others provided needed nourishment for the land. Legumes, for instance, improved the soil by producing nitrogen. Beans, nitrogen producers, were planted with maize, which needed nitrogen. The associated crops allowed the Indigenous Peoples to have a varied diet almost the whole year; the agriculture production was highest with crop rotation. There were also other fertilization techniques such as:

- The *barbecho* or fallow - after harvesting deep ditches were dug to let the land rest for one or two years;

- The technique of *majadeo* or *majeo* used the *guano* and llamas droppings as fertilizers for poor lands.

Figure 9.

Crop of Maize, Beans and Squash.



Photo by J. M. Ecuador 2011

Kichwa Indigenous Values and Economic Relationships

Kichwa values have been retained through sources and economic relationships. Since childhood, we have learned and practiced ancestral values to gradually learn how to be a good person. These teachings and traditions were carried out by mothers and elders orally preferably, early in the morning and during the day. The Home and Mother Nature have been the living books where children studied values and responsibilities in order to discover their mission in life. For Kichwa Indigenous Peoples, it is important to grow up following ancestral values to be able to serve the family, the *ayllu* (family), and the whole community with humility and generosity. These principles taught us to respect and understand men, women, children and elders, how to take care of them and give them any

kind of support when needed. These values also taught us to respect and preserve all elements that are on Mother Earth and to use her resources moderately so the next generations would also have resources for their survival. Among these values were:

- Harmony and balance,
- Generosity,
- Respect,
- Courage,
- Wisdom,
- Humility,
- Honesty,
- Respect for elders and women,
- Regard for children as sacred,
- Respect for the given word,
- Mutual support and reciprocity (give to receive),
- Solidarity,
- Care for one another,
- Gratitude,
- Self-reliance,
- Respect for others' choices,
- Accountability to the collective,
- Humility in the sacrifice for the collective,
- Harmony with nature,

- Recognition of powers in the unseen world, and
- Stewardship of the earth, among others (Cajete, 2011; Chela, 2002; De la Torre & Sandoval, 2004; Mamani, 2008; Ramírez, 2008; Terán, 2010).

Kichwa Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador are always aware of the needs of their family and community. The president of the community is responsible for knowing all the families and their circumstances. For instance, if someone is ill and needs to be taken to the doctor or needs money to buy medicine, if an elder needs help at home or in the field, if a widow needs help to work the crops, if the ditch needs to be cleaned, if the school house needs some work, etc. This is why we also practice economic relationships of solidarity to care for one another and to sustain the lives of our families and communities. For example, the *minga*, is communal work to accomplish a collective benefit, such as an agricultural activity to prepare the soil, to plant, to clean the crops, to harvest and to store the overproduction, house construction, or in the preparation of a feast.

The *maquipurarina* is another practice where people come together to achieve something for a group of relatives, godparents, friends or neighbors. The *makimañachina* refers to the help given for quick or short periods of time when someone requires assistance to finish an activity. The *ranti-ranti*, is the exchange of an endless chain of values, products, and periods of work. If a *Hanan* community (Upper) produces potatoes and gives the first harvested potatoes to one *Urin* community (Lower), this has to be reciprocated by *Hanan* community giving the beans from its land.

The *uniguilla*, which is the exchange of products, animals, and handicrafts from different ecological niches, allows the families to have a variety of products for their

daily food throughout the whole year. The *uyanza* consists of making donations to relatives, godparents, and friends to contribute to their personal, familiar and social development. In this concept, a person who has a new house has the obligation to share their used items with another with fewer resources. The *chukchina or chalana* is an activity where people in real need pick up the remaining products in the fields when the harvest is finished. The *P'aina*, is a short-term activity like washing dishes, cleaning a house, washing clothes, and putting fertilizer on the land. The payment would be a meal, a new dress, or a portion of grains. The *wakcha karana* activity is carried outside of the cemetery to share prepared food among the relatives and friends of the deceased person every Monday or Thursday (De la Torre & Sandoval, 2004; Yáñez del Pozo, 2003). All of these economic activities support the community's well-being and food security.

Kichwa Indigenous Spirituality

Mother Earth, *Pachamama*, is the mother that fertilizes the seeds and gives her produce for humans and all beings from nature. For Kichwa Indigenous Peoples, all the economic, political, social, and spiritual activities are internally articulated. All the happenings, services, and feasts have a spiritual side. Kichwa Indigenous spirituality has its roots in the myths, rites, stories, legends, fables, language, and customs that are cultural roots that create the Kichwa cosmo-vision. Indigenous spirituality is communitarian and is based on solidarity and reciprocity. It has the following mandates:

- *Ama Shua*, (Do not rob),
- *Ama Quilla*, (Do not be lazy), and
- *Ama Llulla*, (Do not lie).

These Kichwa mandates are followed in order to raise honest men who like to work. It also has the following principles:

- *Shuk Shungulla*, (One Heart),
- *Shuk Yuyailla*, (One Thought), and
- *Shuk Maquilla*, (One Hand).

These Kichwa principles call for the unity of Kichwa Peoples.

Figure 10.

Kichwa Ceremony in Ecuador



Source: IUCN Workshop on Traditional Knowledge, Quito City, 2006

Mother Earth, *Pachamama*, and all her beings are animate, with gender and humanity. Mountains could have several shapes: mountains with lines like the thunderbird, irregular shaped mountains or mountains with a big stomach. The mountains also could have family; therefore, there are father, mother, and baby mountains. Mountains are sacred places with magic and spiritual experiences. In the middle of the mountains the *yachacs* (spiritual people) celebrated their rites and gave their offerings. In the *páramos*, very high

lands, there are *Yaya Rumi* or father stones that are big stones with a small stone in the center called *Rumi Shungu*, and they could have children. The mountains distribute water for humankind, animals, and plants. The *chuzalungu*¹¹ like to live in the mountains, and his preferred victims are women with whom he has sexual relationships. The *supay*, devil lives in the ridges of the mountains where bad things happen and where men and animals may suffer accidents. The ridges of the mountains, rivers, small rivers, and caves of the mountains can bring sickness and death. Many offerings with chickens, guinea pigs, eggs, cigarettes, liquor, oranges, bananas, bread, and flowers were made in order to keep away the bad spirits

The *huacas* were places to offer candles, animal fat, and skins praying for health and to ask for grains and animals for food. They were places for spiritual meetings. Today, some of these *huacas* are still visited.

The top of the mountains and the community's entrance were sacred places, especially the corners, the critical points of a road where the travelers used to place their offerings called *apachitas* for the *huacas* and *apus*, (gods). The *apachitas* were colorful stones and herbs from very cold and high places. The mountains and hills were considered sacred places, such as the case of *Imbabura*, *Cayambe*, *Cotacachi*, *Chimborazo*, *Cotopaxi*, and *Tungurahua* Mountains. Rivers, caves, streams, fountains, stars, the sun, the moon, lakes, trees (like *Kishuar*, *Pinllu*, *Huantuc*, *chuquiragua* flower), and animals were sacred too.

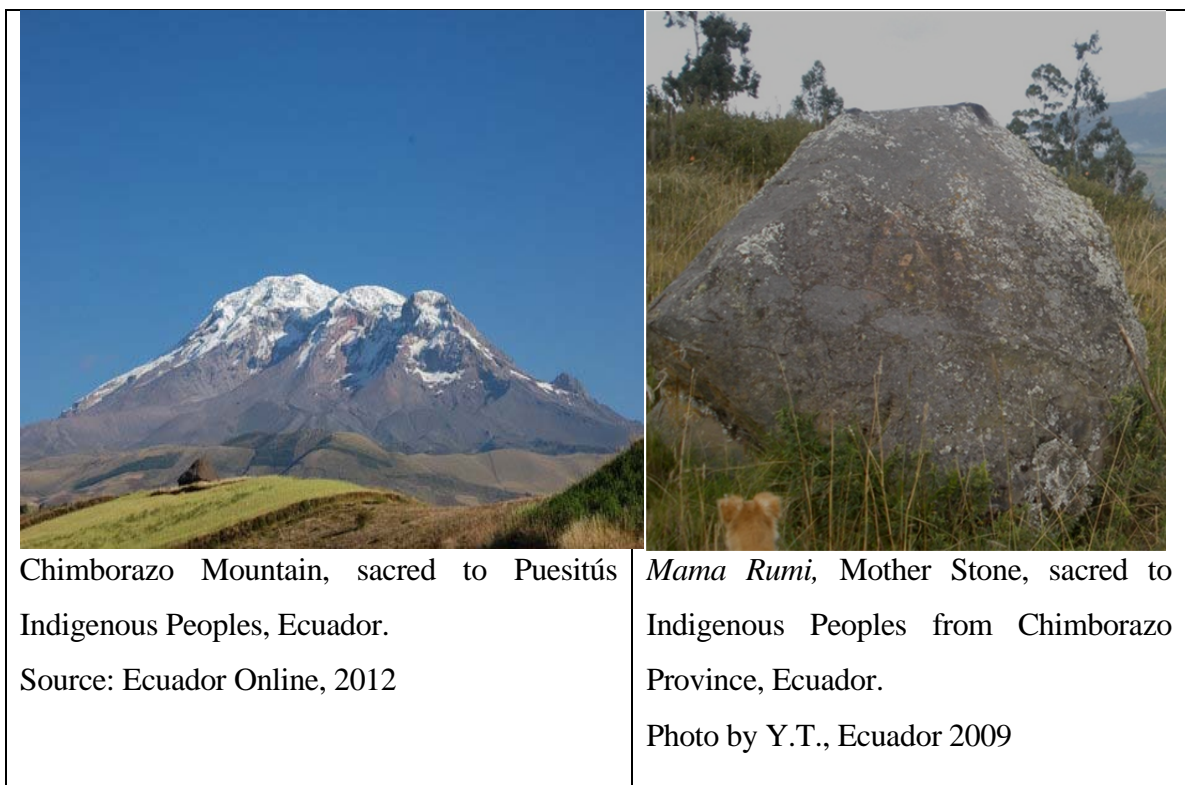
Indigenous elders prayed at the waterfalls, at the rivers, and at sacred places during the hunting and fishing time between 4 a.m. to 6 a.m., at midnight, before work, during

¹¹ Small man with a long penis

disease, droughts and feasts. They prayed asking for strength, for longer and healthy lives, for rain and enough water and secure food for all (A.M. Guacho, personal communication, April 3, 2013). The shamans and Indigenous Peoples visited these places to pray and to leave offerings to deceased children, to purify their bodies, and to have more strength. Today, several of these places are still in use.

Figure 11.

Sacred Mountain and Sacred Stone



In the Kichwa culture, *Pachakamak*, *Pachamama* and sacred trees were venerated. For instance: the *Pinllu* was the tree of wisdom, and the *Sauco* tree was the tree of the soul. Candles, flowers, and bread figures were deposited at the base of the *Kishuar* tree of God. Kichwa Peoples placed offerings in pairs at the base of the *Pinllu* tree and priests offered

masses for it. This tree had long life and is still venerated in the whole Highland regions.

The *chuquiragua* plant is medicinal, and for Indigenous Peoples from Puesitús it symbolizes endurance, resistance, and strength (Males, 1985; *Mashua* Grandfather, personal communication, March 18, 2012).

Other cultural elements that take part of the Kichwa spirituality such as the maize which is an important plant for daily food and for rituals. It is considered feminine and symbolizes the productivity and the abundance of the Mother Earth. Water is used in the ceremonies to purify the soul and to give energy to shamans and participants on ritual fights held every month of June in the plaza of the community. Elders interpret dreams every day early in the morning to know their messages or guidance for our daily activities.

Figure 12

Sacred Plants

	
<p><i>Pinllu</i> Tree, sacred to Kichwa Indigenous Peoples from Imbabura Province, Ecuador Photo by Y.T., Ecuador 2008</p>	<p><i>Chuquiragua</i> Flowers, sacred to Puesitús Indigenous Peoples, Ecuador Photo by J.M, Ecuador 2011</p>

Kichwa Indigenous Ceremonies during the Agricultural Cycle

The Agriculture Cycle in the Kichwa Highlands began with planting during the months of September, October, and November and ended with the harvest in April, May, June, and July. The ceremonies were and still are the following:

Land Preparation: The land fertilization ceremonies performed in the past used ceramic miniatures of women called *Venus de Valdivia* (representing a pregnant woman or women with big breasts) as well as powder of maize pollen and *Spondylus* shell. During planting today, the women cure and bless the land with chants and beverages made from maize and yucca. They make offerings of food such as potatoes and roasted guinea pigs. During the sowing time, the women offer *chicha*, a drink to *Pachamama*, Mother Earth and drink some of it themselves. Then they sing to the seeds to fertilize them. Men prepare the land, and women drop the seeds into the holes that are ready to receive the seeds.

In the Highlands during *Pawkar Raymi*, the flowering time with the first harvest of unripe products, a special dish called *fanesca* (made with several grains, cereals, tubers, vegetables, and fish) was and still is prepared to be shared with relatives, neighbors, and friends (February and March). At this time the *Tumarina* Ceremony is also performed when Indigenous women gather wild flowers and water from different slopes. These flowers are mixed with water, and the elders wet the crown of people's heads to thank Mother Earth for her produce and to purify the body to be ready for flowering. The elders, women, and children are responsible for this ancestral ceremony. This was and still is a time to receive parents' and godparents' advice, which is given very early in the morning at 4 a.m. After the counseling, we are asked to take a bath with cold water and eat a hot soup made with lamb or beef, potatoes, and corn.

Figure 13.

Kichwa Ceremonies

	
<p><i>Tumarina</i> Ceremony made by Kichwa Indigenous Peoples from Agato Community, Imbabura Province, Ecuador Source: Otavalos on Line, 2012</p>	<p><i>Pawkar Raymi</i> Ceremony done by Kichwa Indigenous Peoples from Peguche Community, Imbabura Province, Ecuador Source: Otavalos on Line, 2009</p>

During harvest time in June, Kichwa Indigenous men and women celebrate the *Inti Raimi* Ceremony to honor the Father Sun by singing the *Jahuay* song to recognize the generosity of Mother Earth. Preparation for harvesting was eight days in advance. The *paqui*, who was an elder, had the role of guiding the whole harvest work. He prayed to *Pachamama* and then began to cut the first barley while singing the *Jahuay Inti Yaya* song in honor of Sun. The *paqui* offered *chicha* (beverage) to *Pachamama*; he also drank *chicha* and then offered it to the rest of the helpers in the harvest. The food was blessed at lunch time, and the *Jahuay Gallo* was sung. When *Jahuay Huagra* was sung in the afternoon, it meant strength and the end of the work. The harvest was finished with songs and joy.

The following song is an example of *Jahuay Huagra* where the *paqui* prays to the Sun and the mountains asking for people's strength to begin and conclude the harvesting happily. The *Jahuay* is the hymn of thanks for the *Jahua Pacha*, Upper World, for giving us the necessary produce (Peñaherra & Costales, 1957, p. 221):

The Paqui:

<i>Inti apu yaya</i>	[God Sun]
<i>Apuchic tucuy rurac.</i>	[The maker of everything]
<i>Chimburazu,</i>	[Chimburazu,]
<i>Carihuayrazu,</i>	[Carihuayrazu,]
<i>Igualata,</i>	[Igualata,]
<i>Cubillín,</i>	[Cubillín]
<i>Cullanes,</i>	[Cullanes]
<i>Cundurazu</i>	[Cundurazu]
<i>Sumac astaycuna</i>	[Beautiful gods]
<i>Ñuca runata,</i>	[To me the man]
<i>Ñuca rigracunaman</i>	[To my arms]
<i>Sinchiyachi</i>	[Give strength]
<i>Cay punllapi</i>	[Today]
<i>Cayta tucuchingapac</i>	[To finish this]
<i>Tucuylla ayllucuna,</i>	[All the families]
<i>Hurata, janacta</i>	[From low and highlands]
<i>Singunacuchun,</i>	[Staggering]
<i>Asishun, cusilla</i>	[Laughing, with joy]

<i>Chaycachic,</i>	[Until then]
<i>Tucuylla,</i>	[Everyone]
<i>Caparishunchic...!</i>	[Let us shout...!]
The Chorus:	<i>Jahuay...jahuay...jahuay</i>

Kichwa Peoples have also the *Kuya Raimi*, Feast for Wives or Queens (September) and *Kapak Raimi* or *Warmi Pascua* to honor the growing of the crops (December). Kichwa *raimis* (feasts) also have a close relationship with the movement of the Sun, with the equinoxes (March 21st and June 21st) and the solstices (September 21st and December 21st) (Anrango, 2006). These ceremonies are very important for Indigenous Peoples lives, because they are special occasions to meet and to practice solidarity, reciprocity, and reaffirm the love, care, and thanks for *Pachamama* according to the cosmo-vision of each community.

Kichwa Indigenous Peoples had and still have our own models of life that are holistic, integral, ecological, and sustainable. We have our systems of governance, education, health and nutrition, spirituality, housing, codes of conduct, protocols, Indigenous legends, myths, songs, stories, games, different arts, and cultural symbols that care for human beings and *Pachamama*.

Figure 14.

Kichwa Epistemology



Source: Terán, Y. (2013)

What Is an Indigenous Child and What Is a Kichwa Child?

In the United States in the Cochiti Pueblo, every child is considered a “sacred trust” whose self-identity and cultural reality construction is the responsibility of the family and the community when he or she is born (Romero, 2003, p. 148; Romero-Little, 2010). The Lakota People also consider their very young children as sacred blessings and “holy ones” who came from a woman who has the power of creation (Medicine, 1985, p.27). These children guarantee the continuation of Lakota people. Within the Navajo family the “children are wealth” (Begay, 1983, p.13), and the family is happy to have a new child who receives care, affection, and attention from the parents, siblings, and relatives. Before birth, the mother may have a Blessing Way ceremony for having a painless birth. The new baby is blessed with corn pollen and the prayers are given silently asking for his or her physical and mental development. After birth, the child is placed on a cradleboard to strengthen its back with his head facing the fireplace to have the soft spot of the head heated to be properly shaped (Begay, 1983).

In Mexico there is a study of the role of the language in the socialization process of Mayan children from Zinacantan. In this community, the infant’s development is defined by the *ch’ulel*, soul arrival, and is expressed with communicative, social, and motivity signals. There are three different moments in this process. In the *ch’abal to xch’ule* - from the birth time to four months, the child does not yet have soul. From 4 to 18 months, *Ta xtal xa xch’ulel*, the child has a soul and understanding. Finally, in the *oy xa xch’ulel* stage from 18 months to 4 years, the child has a soul, understanding, and speech (De León, 2005).

There are very few studies about Kichwa early childhood in Ecuador (Ramírez, 2004; Ramírez & Vaca, 2008). While its meaning is immersed in the oral tradition of Indigenous Peoples, there is not a written meaning for a Kichwa child (Montaluisa, 1990). However, there is some information that in Ecuador among the Shuar Indigenous Peoples of the Amazonian region there are rituals for parents' purification to ensure the physical and emotional development of the new children. They planned their pregnancies so as to ensure the well-being of a new child. Consequently, children are conceived so they can be born during the months (October to May) when there is an abundance of crops (Chiriap et al., 2006).

In the Andean and Kichwa cosmovision, the word *Runa* refers to both man and woman. In the cycle of life, the *kari*, (man) and the *warmi*, (woman) are referred to differently according to their age. *Chayra wacharishka wawa* refers to a newborn child. *Wawa*, *uchilla wawaku*, is used for children from birth to adolescence. *Kuytsa* represents girls who have had their first menstruation and *wamra* for the boys whose voice is changing. *Sawarishka* refers to married men and women, and *Wiksayuk warmi* when the woman is pregnant. *Ruku taita* means grandfather and *ruku mama* for grandmother. *Uchilla wawaku* is the essence of the life, the continuation of Kichwa Indigenous Peoples. He or she represents also the good side of the life and the future with hope and the connection with the family and the community (L.M. Maigua, personal communication, April 3, 2012; Ramírez, 2004; Terán, 2011; Yáñez del Pozo, 2003).

The life of a Kichwa *uchilla wawa*, (very small child) happens within the *ayllu*, the family, which is the biological and cultural base for the young child's development. The relationship among the nuclear family and the extended family give the *uchilla wawa*

the elements and values for their identity and cultural identification. The new child and the family also live in a geographical space, the *llakta*, where several cultural activities related to the cycle of life (marriage, birth, development, maturity, elderly) and the cycle of agriculture (land preparation, plantation, plants growing, flowering, harvesting) happen. In this context, the *uchilla wawa* learns to love his native land, to have a feeling of belonging to the community, and to learn how to be a Kichwa child. This includes the cultural values, the language, the protocols, the kinships, the meaning and guide of the dreams, and to respect the whole being of the *Pachamama*. In the child's development, the relationship between *runa-wawa-ayllu-ayllu llakta*, (man-woman-child-family-community) (Ramírez, 2004) plays a crucial role in developing "rich children, rich in potential, strong, powerful, competent and, most of all, connected to adults and other children" (Moss, 2010), children with a strong personality based on renewed ancestral values and attitudes to face modern life with confidence and hope (DINEIB, 2007; J.R. Males, personal communication, April 10, 2012).

Kichwa *uchilla wawa*, (small child) needs the care and protection of the family and from the Ecuadorian government. Therefore, there are national and international instruments that recognize the rights of early childhood. For instance, the National Constitution of Ecuador in Article 57.14 cites:

Desarrollar, fortalecer y potenciar el Sistema de educación intercultural bilingüe con criterios de calidad, desde la estimulación temprana hasta el nivel superior, conforme a la diversidad cultural para el cuidado y preservación de la identidades en consonancia con sus metodologías de enseñanza y aprendizaje (Constitución Nacional del Ecuador, 2008).

To develop, strengthen and potentiate intercultural bilingual education with quality criteria from the early stimulation until the superior level in conformity with the cultural diversity to take care and preserve the identities in accordance to their teaching and learning methodologies (National Constitution of Ecuador, 2008).

Since July 2003, the Code for Children and Adolescents in Ecuador also is working to decrease the exclusion and inequity of Indigenous Peoples, whose children and adolescents live in extreme poverty and are excluded from education and basic social services. Fifty-percent of Indigenous children under the age of five are undernourished in Ecuador (UNICEF, 2005).

The international Convention on the Rights of the Child in Article 30 says:

In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of Indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is Indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practice his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language (The Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989).

Article 27.1 of the 169 ILO Convention (International Labor Organization of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, 1991) cites:

The programs and the education services for interested pueblos shall be developed and applied in cooperation with them to respond to their particular needs, and they shall refer to their history, knowledge and techniques, their values system and their social, economic and cultural aspirations.

The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples has several articles related to education. Article 14.3 says:

States shall in conjunction with Indigenous Peoples, take effective measures, in order for Indigenous individuals, particularly children, including those living outside of their communities, to have access when possible, to an education in their own culture and provided in their own language.

Generally speaking, the very young children in Ecuador were invisible until the 1990s. The study on child labor conducted by UNICEF in 1996 of Indigenous and non-Indigenous children in Ecuador made their life conditions visible. At that time, there was a prolonged, strong discussion of the cultural practice of daily activities of small Indigenous children, as the western perspective regarded children working in fields as a violation of these children's right to enjoy their life playing or resting (M.A. Guamán, personal communication, August 5, 1996). Soon after, the *Comunidad Andina de Naciones*, CAN, promoted the goal of Education for All, including education for very small children.

In 1997, the DINEIB from Ecuador began an ethnographic study of the life and experiences of small Indigenous children from their time of conception to five years of age. As a result, a curriculum was developed in cooperation with the families, local authorities, and communities (DINEIB, 2007); a pilot study was developed in Chimborazo Province with some communities. A new study of the Ecuadorian education of Indigenous children from birth to eight years was also undertaken in different Indigenous communities and educational institutions (Ramírez & Vaca, 2008). However,

very little is known about the results of these two studies related to Indigenous childhood in Ecuador, and access to these documents is very restricted.

Socialization in Early Childhood

Socialization is an interactional display to a child of expected ways of thinking, feeling, and acting (Becker, Geer, Huges & Strauss, 1961; Ochs, 1986; Wentworth, 1980). The social interactions are themselves sociocultural environments (Wentworth, 1980, p. 68) where children participate to internalize and gain performance competence in those socially defined contexts (Leontyev, 1981; Vygotsky, 1978). Children are active participants in the process of socialization, as they organize the socio-cultural information observed from the context and content of other's actions, and are also themselves active socializers of others in their environment. Through these social interactions, children learn to recognize and create (with others) a perspective and to relate this framework (and elements within contexts) to one another (Nelson, 1981). Socialization must be understood as the genesis and developmental process of personality in inter-dependency with the social and material environment transmitted by society (Dietter & Klaus, 1990, p. 30).

The socialization process is related to the past and current state of "knowledge," and all other aspects of the community world like beliefs, speaking, acting, thinking, and feeling, the organization of environments, and the series of activities for communication, artifacts, and technology. Socialization refers also to the position of the novices in the roles of interactional participants to learn specific communicative and common habits and skills that depend on the context of situation and culture (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011).

For example, the community method of handling seeds may differ depending on the Indigenous group.

According to Yáñez del Pozo (2003), there are three different spaces for children's socialization. The first space is the social and ethnic organization and the general frame where the whole life of a person happens. Each society develops its own life proposal. Indigenous families organize the management of the resources and products according to their own logic. This means the management for subsistence and not for accumulation, through the integration of its own resources and others coming from distinct parts. The second space for socialization is the family and the community with their reciprocity and affinity networks. Within the family, children grow up, become educated, and learn the culture. Within Kichwa Indigenous communities, there are roles and responsibilities, relationships of reciprocity and redistribution (share with others), obligations and human rights, and ancestral knowledge that is transmitted orally from one generation to the next. The third space is the Indigenous school that must "complete" the community memory and consciously take again each community experience, value, culture, and languages.

Children's development is a collaborative outcome of their involvement with others who guide them by communicating what, with whom, in which style, genre and code children should display knowledge, express emotions, actions, build relationships, etc. Children become speakers of languages and speakers of cultures too by:

- Using several contexts of cultural beliefs (*Inti Raymi* Ceremony),
- Social reproduction (the networks),
- Personhood (values to be a good person),

- Emotions, (appropriate cultural sentiments, Knowledge (about Mother Earth and for life),
- Human development (steps, phases), and
- Sociality (relationships).

These contexts were given to children through language and different daily activities (Rogoff, 1990, 2003; Terán, 2013).

Indigenous and non-Indigenous children everywhere learn by observing and listening in on activities with adults and other children. This keen watching and listening with intense concentration and initiative is the anticipation of children's participation when they are ready to help in shared activities. This *intent participation* will help children effectively learn their first language and the necessary cultural elements for their life. The goal of this intent participation is to assist children in learning the important skills and ways of their communities through their engagement of a shared endeavor, in mature activities with experienced and novice people. This kind of participation is seen in many Indigenous communities. If children are integrated into the community settings, they will have the opportunity to observe and listen to the ongoing activities (Rogoff, Paradise, Arauz, Correa-Chávez & Angelillo, 2003).

Children are present in whole activities carried out by their caregivers (Désalmand, 1983; Whiting & Edwards, 1988). Children also learn through social “niches” of human development - how knowledgeable persons of social groups support the transition of novices into social and cultural competence (De Leon, 1998; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Rogoff et al., 2003). There are preferred bodily habits to organize the communication between infant and others such as:

- Being carried on their mother's back,
- Being nested in front or facing the caregiver,
- Being swaddled, and
- Being placed in a cradle (De León, 2011; Ochs, Solomon & Sterponi, 2005; Takada, 2011).

The environment influences language socialization. For instance, open places with extended families promote engagement between children and others, while closed spaces with smaller nuclear families may result in dyadic face-to-face interactions (De León, 2011; Schieffelin, 1990; Solomon, 2011).

Language is the key and the heart of the culture (Hinton, 2001), a “powerful socializing medium due to its close relationship with issues of identity, culture, relationships, and aspirations” (Schieffelin & Ochs, as cited in Kouritzin, 1999, p.15). The transmission of knowledge and needs is accomplished through socialization and is also linked with the affective domains, tone, and organization of society. Culture is built through socialization of language. In the socialization of Indigenous children, participation in the community's daily activities is the customary teaching method in which children learn by doing and not by memorization. During the socialization process, Indigenous children receive care, love, and teachings from parents, grandparents, older siblings, caregivers, spiritual leaders, and the community (Romero, 2004; Terán, 2010).

The uniqueness of languages, governments, social patterns, and cultural elements of each group must be kept in mind. These components have developed various forms of children's socialization into the beliefs, values, and practices that will help maintain the culture and prepare children to assume their roles and responsibilities in adulthood

(Romero, 2004). In Cochiti Pueblo, for example, an important step in socialization occurs through one ceremony used to give a Keres name to an infant following the maternal clan's lineage and through the baptismal ceremony to welcome a newborn into the community. Family and community are intricately linked to serve as a context for children's socialization through ceremonies, dances, and songs performed during the Indigenous calendar. Parents, grandparents, and siblings are the main socializers of Indigenous children who are learning about important things, such as respect, gender specific language, and speech modeling (Romero, 2004). Adults' responsibility is to teach children to feel and be competent, responsible, and compassionate people inside and outside of their communities (Romero- Little, 2010).

In Jemez Pueblo, the project "Becoming Jemez: The early childhood of Jemez children" was carried out with the participation of parents and grandparents. Through a Participatory Action Research and use of Photo voice and digital cameras, they documented what the Jemez children should be learning, the settings and occasions of teaching, the methods and approaches, those responsible for teaching, people's beliefs about children, and the adult's role to ensure the teaching of these traditional cultural elements for being a Jemez child through their socialization in the earliest years of their lives (Romero-Little, 2010).

There are different early socialization strategies and methods such as:

- Local theories of child rearing,
- Shaming in front of others when the child does not want to dance,
- Telling a story to teach values such as obedience and responsibility,
- Jokes about small animals and their slow way of waking,

- Politeness routines to greet the elders properly,
- Active participation in daily activities,
- Engaged observation and listening from the mother's back, and
- Imitation of agriculture activities pretending the planting of seeds (Hymes, 1974; Ochs et al., 2011; Romero-Little, 2010).

For example, in Gusii, Kenya fear and punishment were used to control children, and the Taira people from Japan used parental praise and the withholding of praise. The Tarong from the Philippines used teasing and scaring (O'Neil, 2002-2011), while within the Kaluli teasing and shaming is part of the learning process. For the Kwara'ae, teasing is always playful. In White, Black, and Mexican-American working-class conversations, teasing happens while speaking with very young children. In the aforementioned societies, teasing is a vital component in the development of the child's communicative competence and serves to defuse a conflict (Ochs, 1988). Within the Zinacantan children from Mexico, mothers make jokes that provoke infants' irritation and reactions that help them learn to overcome conflict and gain strength (De León, 2005)

Language is learned within the environment of the family and the community. The Kwara'ae children from Western Samoa learn the language through the routines of calling out and repeating. They call out, for example, to locate a missing person, to seek identification of other persons who are working nearby, to ask polite questions, or to tease someone who passes on the path. *Lia* is one of the basic distracting routines to help the child to stop crying. The child is taken to the door in a caregiver's arms, as she points to a bird or a flower. While chanting *lia*, "look", in a low to middle pitch voice, the caregiver describes the object and encourages the infant to repeat its name. A second

routine refers asking a child different questions about a missing parent. The third routine suggests calling out to the parent in an entertaining style. These three different techniques direct the infant's attention outside of themselves, calming the infant and engaging them in speech activity (Ochs, 1986).

The Hawaiian children learn through their observation and participation in the Hawaiian family, *ohana*, and in the community practices such as learning *hula*, making rope out of *hau*, carving stones for *ulumaika*, chanting or storytelling about life and traditions. Through the use of language, the young children from the Plains Indian nation of Oklahoma learn the various extended relations, especially their connections with elders. In Samoan societies, young children acknowledge the hierarchical relations, the core of their social and cognitive worlds through language (Ochs, 1988). The young children and adults from native villages in Alaska learn through daily activities such as hunting, fishing, and berry picking (Romero, 2008). The mothers of Japanese children teach them the group values of empathy and conformity (Clancy, 1986). The Manus children from New Guinea learn about life through their relationships with the water (Ramírez & Vaca, 2008).

The Huaorani Indigenous children in Ecuador receive raw material to hold, feel, and touch while people around them do other activities like make pots, carve, or weave (Rival, 1996). The artifacts are made while chanting, bringing together “vocal artistry” and “technical artistry” (Ingold, 1993, p. 463 as cited in Rival, 1996, p. 162). These two activities are inseparable, and through them children learn myths, histories, poetry related also to their environment, chants, attitudes, and values that are part of the Huaorani culture. Mexican families socialize their children using counseling, discipline, and

respect (Valdés, 1996). Kichwa children learn how to prepare the land and about the seeds and planting from their mother's back. They are prepared for real life and circumstances through communication, repetition, questions, and love. The key strategy in the socialization of Indigenous children is "teaching by doing," by participating, supported by the affective domain. Children observe adults and are thus taught through example (Romero-Little, 2010).

Romero-Little (2010) states that the cultural formation of very small children is crucial; this is the time when the family gives the children the tools for culture and language and the necessary know-how to function with success and harmony at home and the community. In Ecuadorian Indigenous communities, boys and girls learn different things at different ages. They learn how to cook food, care for their minor siblings, care for their animals, clean their homes, wash clothes, agriculture work and how to shepherd. There is no punishment during the first years of learning if the children do not fulfill their responsibilities. Indigenous children learn activities according to their geographical situation and under the care and attention of an adult, a caregiver, or an older sibling. Consequently, children will learn issues related to agriculture, animals, textiles and the cultural aspects related to these areas. Kichwa adolescent girls learn the domestic activities including spinning from their mothers. Boys learn how to use tools for agriculture from their fathers.

In many Ecuadorian Indigenous families, socialization of children still takes place in a natural way, especially those families living in rural areas where the influence of television and external factors is still minor. Parents, grandparents, and relatives use the native language all the time for all daily activities. Fortunately, in the countryside there

are plenty of opportunities to interact and learn languages and culture together by activities, including using Mother Earth as a living book and as a pedagogical resource, as well as listening to the elders' wisdom. In this way, Indigenous Peoples beginning in childhood learn the ways and skills for life (life by learning), different agriculture techniques (e.g., how to select the seeds), ways of sowing, to hunt, to fish, to store and preserve products, to make clothing, instruments and artistic expressions.

Kichwa Peoples combine theory with practice. Children learn by doing and experimenting, as we still live where the river, the mountains, the plants, and the animals are abundant. Consequently, it is natural to teach our children holistically referring to all beings of Mother Earth. Kichwa small children learn to sow the land by observing, dialoguing and helping their parents. Community life is practiced in early childhood when children hunt and fish in groups. Men, women, children, youth, and elders work in the *mingas*, collective social work, to satisfy a necessity and as a process of communication and to foster relationships.

In *Runa Kawsay*, (Indigenous life), mothers carry very young Indigenous Kichwa children on their back so the children can observe and learn cultural elements for being a good person for the future service of the family and the community. Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador practice an integral socialization process in which children are exposed to all activities and the use of language. From their mother's back, children are listening and observing how to greet an elder, how to say good bye, how to treat one another, the different social and gender roles to be a male and female in the Indigenous community (Medicine, 1985), and the community protocols, such as how to behave during ceremonies.

Children are socialized with respect, love, and patience. They are taught everything about our past and present history and also learn our culture, language, and values, such as the respect for parents, elders, and friends, and the need for respectful salutations for the elders and grandparents. Children are taught to follow the mandates of *Ama Shua*, (Not to rob), *Ama Llulla*, (Not to lie) and *Ama Killa*, (Not to be lazy). We also teach them to work with joy, not to disrespect or judge people, and to pray daily. Children also know about the respect for food and the schedule for eating, avoiding excess and waste of food, and respecting the feasts and ceremonies. They also learn to maintain the temperature of their body. For instance, if the weather is cold, it is important to keep the head and feet warm. If the weather is hot, it is necessary to drink cinnamon tea with blackberries and brown sugar without ice. Children participate and learn attitudes, gestures, and words. While the mother is spinning, serving food or drink, *chicha*, the father is speaking with other people or participating in the *mingas*. The small children observe and the older siblings are playing.

Figure 15.

Kichwa Child Learning



Source: Montaluisa, L. (1990)

Parents and elders teach children respect and love for *Pachamama*, to treat the plants, animals, mountains, rivers, and forests with respect, love and consideration, and to talk with them because they are living beings. The parents and elders teach children the development of a harmonious relationship between people and Mother Earth. Through daily activities, small children are taught Indigenous art, such as music, dance, ceramic, textiles, jewelry, and poetry that are created based on the community's life and calendar. They observe and also participate in cultural activities, in meetings, in community work, during times of life and death, in happy and sad moments where dance and music are present. All these artistic manifestations demonstrate the close relationship between Man and Mother Earth, *Pachamama* (Chela, 2002; Montaluisa, 1990; Ramírez, 2008).

Although these Indigenous learning experiences differ from those of mainstream children, Indigenous children are provided with many rich and meaningful opportunities for the acquisition of cultural symbols (Benjamin, Pecos & Romero , 1997), cultural literacy, the competencies, and knowledge (Romero-Little, 2010) and intellectual traditions vital for the perpetuation of their culture, for the development of their personal and collective identities, and for ensuring their bilingual and bicultural competence beyond their cultural worlds (Blum Martinez & Pecos, 2001; Romero, 2008). The most important socialization process is to teach children in their early life “how they are related to the people in their world and what kind of obligations they have as members of a family or community” (Wong-Fillmore, 2000, p.2). Very young children must learn early “the tapestry of social, cultural and religious relationships” (Romero, 2008).

Children’ socialization process suffers the consequences of immigration. For instance, Qin’s study (2006) of the immigration of Chinese families to the United States found immigrant children gained proficiency in English while losing their native language slowly. Parents and children developed a parallel dual frame of reference or “double lens” and kept comparing their experiences in the United States with those in their original country (Gibson, 1987; Ogbu, 1987; Suárez-Orozco, 1989 as cited in Qin, 2006, p. 173). Parents had the tendency to compare the behaviors of their children with those children living in China or with their own growing up experiences, while migrant children compared their parents with American parents that allow more communication, freedom, and less control. The parallel dual frame of reference plays an important role in the acculturation gap of the parents and children that make them see life and values from different perspectives, even being in the same home and country. For example, the role of

showing respect to relatives and friends in China has a different meaning than in the United States where it is understood as the respect for privacy. Because of this difference in meaning, there is a lack of communication, disrespect, and misunderstanding.

The Significance of Indigenous Languages

For this study it is important to understand the nature and significance of Indigenous languages as they are intrinsically tied with our cultures.

The language is part of our culture. It is part of our life. This is why people without culture and language are like a tree without roots. With the Kichwa language, we can express who we are, our thinking, feeling, and being (S.Q., personal communication, March 19, 2012).

Indigenous language is part of Indigenous heritage that is transmitted orally from one generation to the next. Language is an integral component of cultural identity; it is a medium for communication and a repository of traditions, traditional knowledge, and connection with the land, history, and stories, which in many cases are only recorded in the elders' memories. Language is the vehicle for praying, singing or storytelling, and may express the values of men and women and their roles and means of exercising power (Flores, 2008; Mamani, 2008; Montaluisa, 2008; Settle, 2008; Tauli-Corpuz, 2003). It classifies objects, places, concepts, events, properties, and relationships. In language knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, science, technology and the ancestral cosmo-visions forged during hundreds of years is expressed (Mamani, 2008; Montaluisa, 2008). Mother tongues are used at home, in the community, neighborhood, and cultural spaces (Fishman, 1994; Mamani, 2008; Montaluisa, 2008; Terán, 2010).

Language is fundamental to understand values, beliefs, ideologies, and other intangible aspects of culture (Kipuri, 2009). Languages are associated with culture: greetings, laws, literature, proverbs, dreams, jokes, wisdom, symbols, metaphors, and kinship. Among Indigenous Peoples, a song, story, or medicinal knowledge has a reciprocal relationship and connection with particular human beings, animals, plants, and places (Cajete, 1986). Languages are tied to the land and to a safe and healthy environment. If an environment is not safe, the number of speakers will decrease, and consequently, the use of language will also diminish, placing that language in danger. Such was the case in Thailand in the late 1970s when the two hydroelectric dams located at River Kwai flooded two Ugong villages and the inhabitants were relocated. This broke down the unity of the village and had an impact leading to a decrease in the number of speakers. The Ugong language was inundated within other languages, while many of its speakers were interspersed in Thai villages (Nettle & Romaine, 2000).

For the Permanent Forum (2008) and Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD, 2008) biological, linguistic, and cultural diversities are inseparable and reinforce one another. A presenter for the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO, 2008), as well as the CBDs (2008), linked language to food systems, lands, territories, and water (CBD, 2008; FAO, 2008). Language has a close relationship with traditional knowledge, ecosystems, ecological processes, and vulnerable ecosystems. Indigenous languages embody cultural concepts linked to Indigenous Peoples' survival and reflect a deep knowledge regarding the composition and management of ecosystems that are imperative in this day and age. This knowledge could help recover and save human lives and could aid in promoting food and water security for the world. Therefore, when an Indigenous

language dies, the traditional knowledge also dies, resulting in losing the lessons and the wisdom to protect and sustain the most vulnerable and biologically diverse ecosystems of the world.

The Indigenous languages are ancestral and unique and were spoken before the conquerors' presence and continue to be a rich heritage that exists nowhere else (Flores, 2008; Mamani, 2008; Montaluisa, 2008; Settle, 2008; Tauli-Corpuz, 2003). Indigenous languages are the core of Indigenous identity. They are fundamental to understanding values, beliefs, ideologies and other cultural aspects of a specific people (art, music, theater, dance, etc.), and are a determinant for participation, access to knowledge, leadership, and depth of understanding.

They are unique because they represent a microcosm complete with its own linguistics, worldview, spirituality, ethos, and community of speakers. They are vulnerable because they exist in the macrocosm of the English language and its awesome ability to displace and eliminate other languages. (Richard E. Littlebear, as cited in Gina Cantoni Editor, 1996, p. xiv).

Figure 16.

Kichwa Garden



Photo by J.M., Ecuador 2011

An example from the Kichwa language serves to underscore the knowledge that is inherent in the language. When Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador's Highlands speak about *chakra*, garden, we are referring to a piece of land for planting. Garden also refers to associated crops of maize, beans, and squash; the land rotation and its periods of rest; the preparation of land; seeds and the role of Indigenous women in the preparation of seeds. The word garden is related to ceremonies, the *minga*, the collective work of the family and community in the garden, and social relationships of solidarity; chants, special beverages such as *chicha* that are made of several types of maize. The word *chakra* not only refers to the land, it also includes the activities and people involved in gardening. It is a holistic concept for the Kichwa language, culture, and speakers (Terán, 2010). Language is often linked to lands or regions traditionally occupied by Indigenous Peoples. It is, therefore, an essential component of individual and collective identity, which consequently provides a sense of belonging and community.

Indigenous women and elders play an important role in the preservation of Indigenous languages and culture in rural and urban areas. We are the cultural pillars who generate traditional knowledge and transmit it orally from one generation to the next. We teach the language and cultural elements to our children the whole day while carrying out our daily activities at home, at fields in the countryside, or in the city. We transmit the cultural values to very small children who in the future will be also parents. If they are immersed in the Indigenous culture, they will have enough cultural fundaments to educate their children as Indigenous loving and respecting Mother Earth and all her beings.

Women are the guardians of the community and the ones who must lead initiatives for social change. We are concerned with our lives and also with the community's life. We are nurturers, givers, and leaders who are working for a better quality of life (Chuchryk & Miller, 1996, p. 4 as cited in Kenny, 2004, p. 6). Indigenous elders also teach the language and culture, because they have accumulated knowledge and wisdom to educate the community in a holistic way, particularly the very small children and youth (L.M. Maigua, personal communication, March 20, 2012).

Indigenous Language Loss

What is lost is no less than the means by which parents socialize their children; when parents are unable to talk to their children, they cannot easily convey to them their values, beliefs, understandings, or wisdom about how to cope with their experiences. They cannot teach them about the meaning of work or about personal responsibility or what it means to be a moral or ethical person in a world with too many choices and too few guideposts to follow...Talk is a crucial link

between parents and children. It is how parents impart their culture to their children and enable them to become the kind of men and women they want them to be...When parents lose the means for socializing and influencing their children, rifts develops and families lose the intimacy that comes from shared beliefs and understandings (Wong-Fillmore, 1991b, p. 343).

Language loss occurs when people cease to use and speak their native language due to historical, socio-economic, political, and personal reasons. Language loss is a universal problem, and the linguistic universe is so fragile. Languages don't exist without people; a language dies with its last speaker. On November 5, 1995, the last speaker of the Kasabe language died. On October 8, 1992, the Ubykh language in a Turkish village died. In 1987 the last native speaker of Cupeño in California died, the Catawba Sioux in 1980, and the Wappo in 1990 (Baker, 2006). There are over 6,000 languages in the world, and according to Krauss (1992) 50% of them are considered "endangered languages" and could be extinct within 100 years (Hinton, 2000). There are several reasons for the decrease in the use of languages, such as Indigenous Peoples being governed by speakers of a different language and immigrant minorities who undergo a language shift voluntarily or involuntarily as part of their assimilation to the new country or city (Hinton, 2000).

Sometimes a language shift, which is the displacement of one language by another, is a "voluntary, conscious decision" (Hinton, 2000) in order to avoid the marginalization from the economic and political mainstream. When a government chooses a different language for political purposes for schooling, the Indigenous languages take "low status," and they are seen as "inferior" (Wong-Fillmore, 2000;

Hinton, 2000). There are also prejudices against “foreign” languages (Hinton, 2000; Saville-Troike, 2006) in the United States or in other countries like Ecuador. However, language shift is involuntary, even when a family still uses the threatened language at home (Hinton, 2000). The dominant language used at school makes the children use more and more of the dominant language (Wong-Fillmore, 2000) even at home and to the sorrow of their parents.

Language loss happens throughout the world. One or more Australian Indigenous languages are dying every year despite the fact that there were about 250 languages before the European contact. In the United States in 1492 (Columbus’ arrival), there were about 300 languages spoken, and only 175 are spoken today (Nettle & Romaine, 2000). A language survey administered in 1962 in North America found the existence of 79 American Indigenous languages with most of the speakers over the age of 50. There were 51 languages with less than 10 speakers; 35 languages had between 10 and 100 speakers. Only six languages - among them Navajo, Cherokee, and Mohawk - had more than 10,000 speakers (Nettle & Romaine, 2000).

Krauss (1992, 1988) stated that in the next 100 years 20% to 50% of the languages are likely to die or become perilously close to death. Wurm (2000) estimated that 50% of the languages in the world are already endangered. The U. S. Summer Institute of Linguistics has calculated that in the year 2000, 417 languages could be classified as nearly extinct (few elderly speakers alive). Krauss (1995) estimates 90% of mankind’s languages will become extinct. Ten percent safe is based on:

- a). 50% of the world’s languages are no longer being reproduced among children,
and

b) 40% are threatened or endangered due to economic, social and political change (Baker, 2006).

Languages are under different situations. Some have a small number of speakers, others big numbers but may still be in danger. Such is the case of the Kichwa language that is spoken by 8 to 12 million Indigenous Peoples in 6 countries of South America (King, 2001; Romero & McCarty, 2000) where there are communities with elderly speakers and communities with few young speakers. Moreover, there are communities with people who understand the language but are not able to speak the language, others who use the majority and minority languages, and those who are monolingual either in the majority language or minority one (Nettle & Romaine, 2000). Languages can be categorized by their level of endangerment, such as:

- Languages that are still spoken by all generations but with the decrease of children learning and the reduction of language use in domains;
- Languages that are not been learned at home;
- Languages that are only spoken by a few elders, and
- Dead languages because of the total lack of speakers (Hinton, 2001).

According to Krauss (1988), from 6,000 languages worldwide nearly half or more are moribund, which means that only adults speak them without teaching these languages to their children (Romero & McCarty, 2000).

Krauss classifies the native languages from North America in the following way:

Table 2.

Native Languages from North America and Speakers

Class	No. of Languages	Spoken by
A	34	All generations, including young children
B	35	Parental generation and older
C	84	Grandparental generation and older
D	57	Very elderly, often less than 10 people
Summary	210	<i>84% have no children acquiring the language as a mother tongue</i>

Source: Krauss, M. (1988)

According to Nettle and Romaine (2000), language death has become part of a human rights struggle and is closely tied to the usurpation of Indigenous lands, the destruction of Indigenous habitats, and the involuntary incorporation of Indigenous Peoples into the lower-class margins of the larger society. Language choice is part of the right of Indigenous Peoples to their own land, to autonomy, and to cultural and economic self-determination (Hinton, 2000).

The sociology of language contributes to the comprehension of language issues, because it examines the interaction between two aspects of human behavior: use of language and the social organization of behavior. The existing patterns of social organization in language use and behavior will explain why and how this pattern changes

or remains stable (Fishman, 1972). In any speech community, there are definite norms of language and behavior that encompass the speech varieties and the interactions among speakers who have roles and obligations to accomplish. Speakers also have roles and statuses according to their role in the community with identities and purposes within the networks of the community (Fishman, 1971).

Hornberger and King (1997, p. 300) cited definitions of societal level language change processes, such as:

Table 3.

Definitions of Societal Level Language Change Processes

Language Shift	The gradual displacement of one language by another in the lives of the community members. This occurs typically where there is a sharp difference in prestige and in the level of official support for the two (or more languages) concerned (Dorian, 1982 p. 46).
	Simply means that a community gives up a language completely in favor of another one (Fasold, 1992 p. 213)
Language Death	Occurs when a community shifts to a new language totally so that the old language is no longer used (Fasold 1992: p. 213).
Language Maintenance	The community collectively decides to continue using the language or languages it has traditionally used (Fasold 1992p. 213).
	The effort to counteract slippage in number of speakers and to guarantee the expansion of a repertoire already attained, (Marshall 1994: 24).
	The continuation of an ancestral language tradition (Brandt and Ayoungman 1989: 43).

	Instances where members of a speech community are trying to <i>revive</i> a fluency which already exists; as well as instances where people want to strengthen existing competence and expand the uses to which knowledge of the language can be directed” (consisting of) “deliberately planned activities which result from conscious decision making about local language needs and possible ways to resolve them (Leap 1981: 211).
Language Revival	The adding of new domains, even before absorbing speakers of another language (Marshall 1994: 24).
	The giving of new life to a dead language, or the act of reviving a language after discontinuance and making it the normal means of communication in a speech community (Paultston, Chen, and Connerty 1993: 276).
Language Revitalization	Imparting new vigor to a language still in limited use, most commonly by increased use through the expansion of domains (Paultston, Chen, and Connerty 1993: 276).
Language Reversal	Assistance to speech communities whose native languages are threatened because their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively with fewer and fewer users or uses every generation (Fishman 1991:1).
	Attempt to foster, to attain, to assist a particular language in culture content and pattern (Fishman 1991:1).
	Turning about of present trends in a language (Paultston, Chen, and Connerty 1993: 281).

Generally speaking, “the first language loss” refers to restricted minority language acquisition within a majority language environment. It can also refer to a lack of first language development, delayed first language development, or a progressive loss of

previously acquired language ability (Verhoeven & Boeschoten, 1986, as cited in Kouritzin, 1999). For Native Peoples, language loss is forever, because they are unique in that they are only spoken by certain Indigenous Peoples (Crawford, 1995). Over several generations, families and communities use the majority language more often and succeeding generations learn to a lesser extent the minority language of their ancestors (Extra, 1989; Folmer, 1992; Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992, as cited in Kouritzin, 1999).

The table below shows how migration has taken immigrant people to language shift, particularly to English, the main language. This process is similar to what happened to Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador who moved from the rural communities to big cities and later abroad. The first generation of Indigenous immigrants from Ecuador arrived to Quito city speaking Kichwa only. The second generation of Indigenous immigrants used the Kichwa language and were forced to learn the Spanish for survival reasons. The third generation of Indigenous immigrants learned Spanish as the first language with or without knowledge of Kichwa language. The fourth generation of Indigenous immigrants is monolingual in Spanish. After some years, the Kichwa language is used less and Spanish becomes the dominant language.

Table 4.

Immigrant Generations and Language Shift

Immigrants First Generation	Begin monolingual in the minority language
Immigrants Second Generation	Develop bilingually: the minority language and then shift to the majority language during the schooling period
Immigrants Third Generation	Learn English as the first language with or without some knowledge of the minority language
Immigrants Fourth Generation	Monolingual in the majority language

(Adapted from Appel and Muysken, 1987; Grosjean, 1982, as cited in Harres, 1989 and in Kouritzin, 1999).

Wong-Fillmore (1991a, as cited in Kouritzin, 1999) claims that language shift is not happening more slowly across several generations; now it occurs suddenly between two generations, and this is not allowing the continuation of the relationships with the families, parents, communities, and cultures. Other scholars argue that there is an accelerated language loss and a shift toward English in the United States in immigrant children, and families are proceeding more rapidly than ever before (Crawford, 1995; Wong-Fillmore, 1991a, 1991b; Hinton, 1999; Kouritzin, 1999; Portes & Hao, 1998).

Language loss and shift have a close relationship with social, cultural, economic, and political pressures that interrupt a particular function, giving the opportunity for

another language to take its place (Flores, 2008; Mamani, 2008; Montaluisa, 2008; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Settle, 2008; Tauli-Corpuz, 2003).

Due to land deterioration and erosion and the decrement of land extension in the 1950s, “there was an important migratory increment countryside-city in such a way that in 1990, 55% of the national population had moved to cities, particularly to Quito and Guayaquil” (Haboud, 1998, p.55). Ecuador suffered the greatest impoverishment of Latin America in the period 1995-2000; the number of poor people increased from 3.9 to 9.1 million. “This impoverishment increased international immigration from Ecuador to the United States, Spain and Italy” (ALER, 2003; Sandoval, 2004, p.111). Many Indigenous families from Chimborazo came to Quito, the capital of Ecuador, because in a big city they could find jobs, ways to survive, and provide better education for their children. Indigenous families arrived in Quito thinking they would be in the city only for a short period of time. However, the longer they stayed, the harder it became to leave, so they decided to stay in the city forever changing their status from “temporal migrants to permanent migrants” (Haboud, 1998, p. 96).

These migrant Indigenous families selected the same neighborhoods where other Indigenous Peoples were already staying. In this way, they felt more secure due to the racism and exclusion of the Mestizo society. These families were obligated to learn the dominant language, Spanish, in Quito to be used in public spaces, while the Kichwa language was left to be spoken “within more intimate relationships” (Haboud, 1998, p. 105) at home. They began to work in construction and in domestic service but especially selling fruits and vegetables at El Mercado de San Roque, where after many years of

struggle they were able to create two Indigenous schools to serve the migrant Indigenous children living in Quito.

The decline of linguistic diversity in the world is linked with the world political economy which invades and takes over the territories of Indigenous Peoples, threatens the ecosystems in which they live, wipes out their traditional means of livelihood, and (at best) turns them into low-caste laborers in the larger society in which they must now live on the margins (Hinton, 1999).

Demographic, historical and political factors, socioeconomic changes, immigration, globalization, school and western education systems, and media influences have contributed to language and culture loss. This has led to a language shift, unstable bilingualism in some cases, or mono-lingualism in the dominant language (Fishman, 1972). For example, when Indigenous communities from Ecuador migrated from rural areas to urban areas, they arrived monolinguals in one Indigenous language but were forced to learn Spanish, the dominant language of Ecuador. In this process, they began to shift from Kichwa to Spanish, using Kichwa language less. Many Indigenous Peoples speak a contact variety of Spanish with certain Kichwa features; they do not speak a standardized Spanish, because they have not had access to that Spanish variant. Kichwa language is not spoken in all contexts; therefore, many Indigenous Peoples also speak more reduced levels of Kichwa.

One of the obvious signs of language loss is a decline in the number of speakers coupled with younger generations that prefer to speak the dominant languages (Crawford, 1995; Mamani, 2008; Ramírez, 2008). Other signs include the loss of past domains, where the language was secure, and a significant increase in the number of parents who

do not teach the language to their children. Indigenous language domains were in the home and the community in the past, where languages were taught with respect, affection, and patience, by the elders. Languages were spoken freely throughout the day's activities, including while hunting, fishing, planting, pottery making, spinning, weaving, embroidering, cooking, washing clothes, singing, dancing, and praying.

Learning an Indigenous Language as a Second Language

Indigenous Peoples are aware of the rapid loss of our first languages. Consequently, at present we are making numerous efforts to relearn the Indigenous languages as a Heritage Language, the language of our Kichwa ancestors and families. However, this issue deserves more analysis and the development of cultural and linguistic policies. Nicoladis and Grabois (2002) contend that a child's first language can be fragile, sometimes with negative consequences - for instance, the negative relationships of migrant children with their parents and grandparents (Wong-Fillmore, 1991a). Children who have multilingual experiences could be taken to "subtractive bilingualism," because the speakers of a subordinate group learn the dominant language as a second language (Lambert, 1980; Seville-Troike, 2006) or to "semi-lingualism," language use deficit due to the lack of opportunity to learn and use the new language (Grosjean, 1985; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981). Then they can also lose partially or totally or develop insufficiently the first language.

In one study carried out in Bolivia with Aymara Indigenous students, it was reported that they were getting confused and lost, because they were told in different instances at school that they were speaking badly (Luykx, 1996, p.253). When these students attended a Native Language class, they were also told that they spoke poor

Aymara as well. These experiences made the students feel linguistic “shame” as one male student said:

The girls are ashamed to say they can speak Aymara. That is, in class they deny they can speak it well, or they just don’t talk. But when they leave class, in the dorm, say, or in the street, they’ll be talking with their friends, all in Aymara. I don’t know. It’s a big problem, one that hurts the person himself, hurts our own class. We’re denying our own culture. If we know something, I have to say so...But I think it’s also a product of how they’ve taught us ever since grade school...how they mold one’s character to despise what is our own (Luykx, 1996, p. 254).

Considering the rapid loss of Indigenous languages, which means the loss of whole cultures and knowledge, several countries according to each circumstance and depending upon each unique language situation have been developing programs to revive, to revitalize, and to maintain their Indigenous languages (Bell, 2008; Hinton, 2000; Lasimbang, 2008; Mamani, 2008; Ramírez, 2004; Romero & McCarty, 2000).

A language cannot be saved by singing a few songs or having a word printed on a postage stamp. It cannot even be saved by getting “official status” for it or getting it taught at schools. It is saved by its use (no matter how imperfect) by its introduction and use in every walk of life and at every conceivable opportunity until it becomes a natural thing, no longer labored or false. This is a period of struggle and hardship. There is no easy route to the restoration of a language (Ellis and Mac a’Ghobhainm, 1971, as cited in Nettle & Romaine, 2000, p. 176).

A number of programs and activities have been developed towards halting the Indigenous language loss and towards learning the native languages as Second Language. In this regard, any language program should start with the diagnosis of the language to assess the situation of where the language is, its vitality, and what needs to be done, when, how, and with whom. Every country or community has to review the problems and decide which alternative is appropriate for its linguistic reality. Whatever language program is used, it needs to pay attention to the appropriate pedagogic aspects to meet the needs of the learners (Nicholas & Lightbown, 2008). It should also involve the whole community, because language and cultural loss are a common issue, to empower it, to give the learners the sense of ownership, to allow the community the exercise of self-determination (Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2008; Sims, 2004).

There are a variety of programs working at different levels with learning activities inside and outside the classrooms. Some programs follow the immersion teaching method, which involves using the Indigenous languages at all times both at school and at home. This may include, for example, being in the countryside for one week and sharing life with Indigenous Peoples and trying to use the languages in all activities done at the community level (Hinton, 2000; Lasimbang, 2008; Settee, 2008;). Other programs emphasize the orality and fluency of a language, while others are trying to teach speaking and writing at the same time according to the circumstances and community decisions (Bell, 2008; Lasimbang, 2008; Olsen, 2008; Sims, 2004).

All revitalization programs are working with the available resources and trying to attend to the needs of their communities. There are several types of approaches for language revitalization:

- School-based programs,
- Programs for children outside the school (summer programs, after school programs),
- Adult and family language programs,
- Documentation and material development, and
- Programs at home (Hinton, 2001).

Language maintenance and revitalization activities take a number of forms throughout the world, such as:

- Language program planning to develop appropriate activities according to the community reality,
- Language documentation to preserve the languages,
- Research foundations for language planning,
- Programs to design cultural contents and curricula,
- Assessing and credentialing native-speaking professionals to carry out a work with quality,
- Indigenous languages planning with respect to context and issues, and
- Constraints and possibilities on cross-cultural perspective suitable for each community, (Fishman, 1972; McCarthy & Zepeda, 2006).

These maintenance and revitalization language activities need to be decided according to the language circumstances and needs of each community and the available human and technical resources.

Planning is important for a strong maintenance and/or revitalization program, because it helps the community assesses the health of the language (Hornberger, 1997;

Sims, 2004); establish realistic goals, methodologies and strategies; develop long term-goals; determine the future of the language; coordinate the work; and reduce rivalry.

The following examples will illustrate various recovery programs to keep the language and culture alive. In 1994, Cochiti Pueblo used a federal grant to develop long-term language revitalization goals within the community, to develop an integrated revitalization plan, and to build the community's capacity to direct and carry out its own recovery plan (Blum-Martinez & Pecos, 2001). Several meetings were held to analyze the language and culture situation allowing all participants to speak and remember sadly the events (the construction of the dam, the western education) that forced them to shift to English and use the Keres language less. For over 30 years, there were no young native speakers of Cochiti Keres (Romero-Little, 2010).

In 1996, the first pilot program for children and youth was carried out. It has taken nearly 20 years to achieve the Keres language renewal efforts and the understanding and awareness of the community of the importance to speak Keres to children and young adult learners. Several activities were employed, including a daily hour-long language class for tribal employees, the "language nest" that serves children from birth to three years old, and weekly Keres language classes for Cochiti elementary, middle, and high schools students. These school-based classes were taught to small groups of students by Keres speakers using games, dramatizations, and chants. Teachers helped students become fluent in speaking Keres (Romero-Little, 2010; Y. Terán, personal observation, March 9, 2010).

A dozen Indigenous communities of Native speakers in California created new situations for learning languages, such as implementing master-apprentice programs.

Here the elders work with young people for months or years through collaboration in daily activities and the use of the heritage language for communication (Hinton, 1995, 1998).

The Wampanoag language did not have speakers but was restored by Jesse Little Doe Biard and her work at the small communities near Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts. Biard had a dream about speaking Wampanoag language again and decided to recover it with the support of the Linguistics Department of Massachusetts Institute of Technology where she received her Master's degree in linguistics and language pedagogy. Working with Ken Hale, she completed the grammar and a compilation of the Wampanoag-English dictionary that aided in gaining fluency in this ancient language. Educational programs, community events, and retreats were developed to bring back the cultural heritage and language. Baird's work gained the support of many scholars, including Noam Chomsky, and she was the recipient of the 2010 MacArthur "Genius" Award for her work. The "We Still Live Here" documentary was produced to record this language restoration project (Makepeace, 2011).

The Piegan immersion school founded in 1987 serves Blackfeet children of Montana from kindergarten to eighth grades. Today, the students are able to speak in Piegan and perform well in mainstream schools demonstrating the success of the school whose students two decades ago did not speak Piegan as a first language.

The School for Teacher Leaders in Alaska collaborated with teachers, teacher aides, and elders in the co-creation of a cultural curriculum. For several years they taught the Indigenous Yup'ik language, culture, and social relations based in Mathematics and Science. Teachers researched and videotaped this knowledge at everyday fish camps

where the activities are traditionally held. The elders also provided the content for the curriculum on trapping, hunting, the geometry for parka- making, and traditional storytelling (McCarty, 1998).

One of the school-based program models used for maintaining and revitalizing languages was the creation of the first *Te kohanga Reo*, Language Nest, by the Maori People of New Zealand. This program was established in 1982 in the Wellington district through the Department of Maori Affairs for children from birth to five years (King, 2001). In 1984 in Hawaii, the Organization of Language Nests also created *Punana Leo*, Language Nests, which are total immersion schools for children from two to five years (Wilson & Kamana, 2001). Very small children are taught the language and culture by the elders who are speakers of the native language.

Other resources are being developed worldwide for the recovering, revitalization, and implementation of Indigenous languages programs. These include:

- Dictionaries,
- Local publications,
- Radio programs,
- Media programs,
- Appropriate teacher training in teaching methodologies,
- Recovery of cultural artifacts from museums and cultural institutions,
- Revival of ceremonies, songs, dances, poems and dramatizations.

Additionally, there is the use of sacred sites and adequate protocols and consideration of the holistic relationship between Mother Earth's elements that help us remember and practice our Indigenous epistemologies. All of these strategies can lay the basis for and

play a critical role in recovering, maintaining, and revitalizing Indigenous languages (Cajete, 2000; McCarty & Zepeda, 1999).

Some Latin American countries are teaching language through cultural activities, including activities that demonstrate how to use rainwater, how to prepare a traditional dance, how to greet an elder, how to prepare food, how to hunt and fish. Other approaches include the use of media materials and recent technology (Bennet, 1999). Some programs emphasize the orality of the language, as is the case of the Keres language in the Acoma and Cochiti Pueblos of the Southwestern United States, while others place more emphasis on writing, as is the case in Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia (Blum-Martinez & Pecos, 2001; Montaluisa, 1990; Ramírez, 2008; Sims, 2004; Terán, 2010). In Ecuador, language teaching is done in both oral and written form.

South American language studies programs have been created at universities in linguistics and socio-linguistics, such as at the Universidad de San Marcos in Peru and the Universidad de Cuenca in Ecuador. Often times, the government allocates a small budget for Indigenous Education, which is spent entirely on administrative needs, with no resources to improve the use of Indigenous languages, as is the case of Ecuador, Bolivia and Asia (Lasimbang, 2008; Mamani, 2008; Montaluisa, 2008). In Ecuador, 45% of the population is Indigenous, and only 2% of the national budget is allocated for Indigenous education. The National Intercultural Bilingual Education Direction survives thanks to international cooperation funding and local NGOs that work on Indigenous issues. Generally speaking, in the Ecuadorian case, teaching languages at urban and rural Indigenous schools has failed due to the use of western methodologies (vocabulary, morphology, phonology, syntax, and discourse), which do not consider teaching the

language through the culture, do not have enough well-trained teachers, do not have the support of a culturally appropriate curriculum, lesson plans and pedagogic material, and do not have the community participation and support.

Being aware of Kichwa rapid language loss, the Peguche community from Ecuador in February 2012 began to work with the *Runapacha* Foundation and Otavalo University on the design and production of the *Kichwa Sisari* Program to recover the Kichwa language through the utilization of technology like Facebook and Twitter. During the *Pawkar Raymi* ceremony, several language activities were performed, such as the program called *Kichwashun*, “Let us be Kichwa Peoples.” This program had the goal to create consciousness and pride in the value of culture and language. The local television channel and radio featured a series of talks about the Kichwa language, including language loss in the world. For instance, Kichwa’s current situation, models of linguistic revitalization, language and identity, language and spirituality, and language corpus were described to listeners. It also presented thought of Kichwa recovery and strengthening. These talks were produced with the participation of spiritual Indigenous leaders, Kichwa teachers, professionals, the director of the Kichwa Language Academy, (ALKI) and the director of the Institute of Sciences and Ancestral knowledge of Ecuador, (ICSAE). The common theme was that language is the soul of the culture, and it is the tool to communicate with all *Pachamama*’s beings. One elder mentioned that the seed of the Kichwa language and culture has been sleeping under the soil, waiting for the time to come out again to give its new fruits. It is the responsibility of the whole community to work together to ensure the fruits’ *sisary*, (flowering once again).

Kichwakay was a community party where all participants were dressed with traditional clothes, spoke in Kichwa language, and ate traditional food. For the first time, Kichwa was spoken during *the rumpapi pukllana*, soccer games. The Indigenous artist Robert Mirabal from Taos Pueblo, New Mexico participated in the *Pawkar Raymi* Ceremony in Peguche. In his performance, he sang and danced with a seven-year old Kichwa boy. The boy sang in Kichwa, and the artist called to the community to love the Kichwa language and culture and to keep it alive (Y. Terán, personal observation, February 18, 2012).

The local authorities from Peguche community in Ecuador made the political decision to teach the Kichwa language at the Indigenous daycare *Mushuk Muyu* (New Seed) run by the government with the collaboration of mothers who are Kichwa speakers. The director of this daycare said that small children until the age of five are able to learn more than two languages. That is why they are teaching in Kichwa and Spanish at this daycare. The representative of Otavalo University mentioned that 4 years ago UNESCO included Kichwa among the languages in danger of extinction and that the full revitalization of Kichwa language could be reached in 50 years. (Diario El Comercio de Quito, 19 de Febrero del 2012).

The study of these language initiatives reveal key commonalities:

- Alternative ways to language proficiency are effective.
- The time spent in learning the heritage language does not impede the learning of the majority language.
- The acquisition of a heritage language as a second language would take from five to seven years.

- The heritage language immersion programs strengthen the relationships between children, adults, and the community.
- The transfer of literacy abilities is complex (transfer the first language abilities to the majority language).
- Additive bilingualism enhances achievement and equity.
- The success of language policies is tied to the Indigenous Peoples sovereignty.
- There is a right to speak and teach children their mother tongue (Romero & McCarty, 2000, Saville-Troike, 2006).

The Role of a Language Nest

A firm grounding in the heritage Indigenous language and culture from a particular tribe is a fundamental prerequisite for the development of culturally-healthy students and communities...and thus is an essential ingredient for...educators, curriculum and schools (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008, p. 941).

This dissertation is focused on finding the necessary cultural foundations for the development of a Kichwa language program at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes in Quito City, Ecuador. This center serves children from one month to five years. Therefore, it is important to consider in the Literature Review the concept of a language nest to better understand its possible role in developing languages abilities with very small children. In Ecuador very little is known about language nests.

A language nest is an educative space where children from birth to five years are totally immersed in their native language, especially in those Indigenous communities where the original language is no longer the maternal language (King, 2001; Meyer & Soberanes, 2009). Alarmed by findings from the National Maori Language Survey of

1995 that there were 10,000 to 20,000 Maori fluent speakers (representing 4% of the total Maori population over the age of 16) in New Zealand compared to 70,000 in 1970, the Maori Peoples decided to work on language issues to decrease the danger of losing their language and to revive the *te reo* Maori language. The decision to develop a language nest was also considered given only a few Maori children were growing up with their native language as their first language. Only the people over 40 years of age were able to speak the Maori language.

In 1982, the first *Te kohanga Reo*, Language Nest, was opened by New Zealand's Maori People in the Wellington district through the Department of Maori Affairs where the elders, speakers of Maori language cared for children from birth to five years of age. At this early childhood language immersion program, children were able to hear the Maori language and grow up speaking Maori. Competent language speakers from ages 40 and above transmitted the language to children and grandchildren (King, 2001).

The philosophy and curriculum of the language nest was based on the *whanau* concept, the traditional family formed by parents, grandparents, relatives, teachers, and other socializers of Maori children. The curriculum also included the philosophy of child rearing and pedagogical teaching styles consistent with the way Maori children are reared. The values and principles relating to others and care for children were also connected to *whanau* (Harrison, 1998, as cited in McCarthy, 1998). The environment for the pre-school classroom, the type of culturally appropriate activities, and the people and interactions were taken into consideration also (Farquhar & Laws, 1991 as cited in McCarthy, 1998). The concept of *whanau* related to *Kohanga Reo* is based on involvement and organization of the traditional family and local authorities plus the

obligation of speaking Maori all the time and everywhere to keep the Mori language alive. This has increased self-esteem among Maori parents and encouraged them to select the best schooling options for their children (Ka'ai, 1990, as cited in McCarthy, 1998).

The language nests in New Zealand emphasize cultural elements for their program and organization. Maori language nests teach cultural practices and beliefs and goals for children related to food, cleanliness and respect, greetings, roles and responsibilities such as *whakapapa* (the formal way of salutation that shows the family and community relationships), *whhanaungatanga* (the community relationships and support), and *tuakana/teina* (the elders' role and responsibilities for small children) (Meyer & Soberanes, 2009). The curriculum focuses on the socialization of children to guide their participation in the Indigenous community and to be prepared for school work in English and Maori to avoid the future erosion and loss of language skills. Committed parents are responsible for the continuation of these types of programs, including bilingual programs for primary schools and community schools that use the Maori language and cosmo-vision. The New Zealand government allocates funding for the language nests, which also receive contributions from parents. By 1988, there were 521 language nests with an enrollment of 8,000 children (Fleras, 1989). Today, there are 600 Maori language nests. Since 1982, the language nest is an option for the Maori language revitalization for early childhood.

The language nest also was adopted in Mexico and in the United States because of its success in recovering culture and language with very small children. In 1980 in Hawaii, there were few native speakers of the Hawaiian language; therefore, a language program modeled on Maori Language Nest was initiated with the aim of teaching the

language to children to keep it alive. In 1984, the Organization of Language Nests opened the '*Aha Punana Leo*, Nest of Voices in Hawaii. These are total immersion schools for children from two to five years of age. The immersion Hawaiian pre-schools focused on strengthening the Hawaiian *mauli* (life force) through the exclusive use of the Hawaiian language and the creation of the cultural learning context with home, community and the 'ohana, extended family, activities (Wilson & Kamana, 1998 as cited in McCarthy, 1998). The Punana Leo's curriculum, program activities, classroom activities, and parent involvement was based on Hawaiian language, *honua*, culture, beliefs, values, and behaviors (Lokepa-Guerrero, 2008). The *Kula Kaiapuni Hawai'i* surrounding environment school included all the members of the 'ohana and the community, because they play an important role in raising child.

According to Wilson (1998), the key factor in the renaissance of Hawaiian language was bringing the language into children's socialization at home:

My wife, Kauance Kamana...and I were in the position to establish a Hawaiian speaking home in...preparation for the birth of the first of our two children. Ours became the first Hawaiian speaking household outside Ni'ihau in almost 50 years (Wilson, 1998, p. 131, as cited in McCarthy, 1998).

Wilson and Kamana, together with other families, created the '*Aha Punana Leo* pre-school supported by parents' paid tuition and labor and administered by a parent committee. Parents also attended languages classes at the pre-schools. They lobbied the state to have Hawaiian medium primary schools that in the 1980s was extended to grade six and to high school (McCarty, 1998).

Communicative and behavioral Hawaiian fluencies were achieved, along with personal self-confidence and a view that Hawaiian must be the normal language for daily interaction. An added result was the interconnection among the group of young parents who were using Hawaiian at the language nest and at home. Activities were developed to involve the families. For example, families were invited to talk to their children in Hawaiian during a fieldtrip to the supermarket.

Small children are now being invited to sing in Hawaiian at public malls (Wilson & Kamana, 1998, as cited in McCarthy, 1998). The children who participated in the program became fully proficient in the language and full participants in the cultural life of their community. They became engaged at the elementary, high school, and college (Romero-Little, 2010).

... A full education system in Hawaiian thus will exist, but it must be strengthened and enlarged to the point where education through Hawaiian is widely available and includes the whole family, as at the Punana Leo (Wilson, 1998, p.134, as cited in McCarthy, 1998).

Today the Punana Leo instructs children entirely in Hawaiian. In Hawaiian-medium elementary schools until fifth grade, children are educated in Hawaiian when English is introduced as a subject through Hawaiian; students also learn a third language (Kamana & Wilson, 1996, as cited in McCarthy, 1998).

Other Indigenous communities such as Cochiti in the United States and Oaxaca, Mexico that are facing the same language loss problem have also created language nests (Benjamin et al., 1997; Meyer & Soberanes, 2009). The concept of language nests is unknown in Ecuador and should be deeply analyzed to understand their philosophy and

goals in order to decide whether this is an appropriate way to socialize our Indigenous infants and children. One of the main challenges would be the recognition of the cultural value and importance of our culture and languages and to work collectively on the revaluation and revitalization of our languages based primarily in our cultural roots. As one of the Kichwa Ecuadorian elder said:

Within the new *Pachakutik*, new women era, this will be the time to see and live our culture through our heart...to love it, to speak our languages daily with pride...we need to mold the mind, soul and body of our little ones by giving them our Kichwa cultural foundations and principles ...We must water and nurture their beautiful and innocent spirits with patience, love, and care...The mothers are the principal pillars in this cultural raising and awakening. We are the ones who will make our *Kichwa Kawsay*, Kichwa life, flourish again vigorously and forever (*Mashua* Grandmother, personal communication, March 14, 2012).

Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador and Migration

Since this study is about Indigenous children whose parents migrated from the south to the capital of Ecuador, Quito City, I will refer now to Indigenous Peoples who migrated from their original communities to the cities. There are urban Indigenous Peoples in large cities within the country and abroad. Immigration at national and international levels cause culture and language changes and language shift and loss. The immigrants left their original environment to occupy a new place where life situations are different and complex. In these new countries, they are considered as inferior. In the United States, for instance, there are strong prejudices against “foreign” languages.

Immigrants' language shift is either voluntary, when immigrants freely choose to learn the dominant language, or involuntary when immigrants are obligated to learn a new language as part of their assimilation to the new country (Hinton, 2001).

Since the 1950s, Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador changed their original ways of living based on agriculture and handcrafts. They began migrating from their Indigenous communities of the central and south Highlands towards the coast with the aim of improving their living conditions. The Indigenous land in the center and south of Ecuador was overused. Therefore, people were obligated to move from their communities to Quito and Guayaquil. Kichwa Indigenous Peoples particularly from Otavalo began to travel to Quito City to sell their handicrafts at Savoy Inn, Colon, and Quito Hotels. Then Otavalo Peoples started traveling to Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, the United States, and Europe to perform and sell Indigenous music and handicrafts.

Since 2000, the national and international immigration of Ecuadorian Indigenous Peoples incremented due to the lack of employment; the country's national money, the Sucre, was replaced by the American dollar; and the bankruptcy of the national banking system. Today there are about two million Ecuadorian people outside of Ecuador. Hundreds of them decided to change their original citizenship and become citizens of the United States or Europe, especially those from Spain and Italy, or to have dual citizenship (Z. Cotacachi, personal communication, October 29, 2003; Hidalgo, 2004; Y. Terán, personal observation, May 5, 2007).

The percentage of poverty and the lack of opportunities in Ecuador and Latin America is high. As stated earlier, between 1995-2000, the number of poor people increased from 3.9 to 9.1 million (Sandoval, 2004). That is the reason immigrants cannot

consider issues related to their safety and do whatever they can to chase the "golden dream" abroad (A. Chiza, personal communication, October 29, 2003). In 2001, more than 200 Indigenous and non-Indigenous men, women, and children died on the Ecuadorian coast trying to reach the United States. They were sent by the *coyoteros* in small boats whose conditions were calamitous. Immigrants traveling through countries like Mexico, Guatemala, Central America, and Bolivia are in serious danger. If they don't pay the money demanded by the *coyoteros*, they are abandoned to their luck without documents and money and the women are sexually abused (Diario El Comercio, Marzo, 2003).

There are few studies about the migration of Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador. In the year 2003, I was requested by a group of Ecuadorian migrants who live in New York City to write a small report based on their testimonies to be delivered to the hands of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who was a Kichwa Indigenous lawyer. This report was compiled to assist the Government of Ecuador to know first-hand information about the real life conditions of Ecuadorian migrants and to find solutions to improve their life abroad. These testimonies uncovered the following first-hand information.

Otavalo Indigenous Peoples of the Northern Highlands of Ecuador first immigrated to cities like Guayaquil and Quito then traveled abroad to Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, then the United States and Europe (Spain and Italy). In the United States, they are more concentrated in New York, Chicago, and the state of Pennsylvania. The migration began with men devoted to the sale of handicrafts on small and large scales. The sale of these goods enabled the men to invest in land and to construct large buildings on the main street of Otavalo City and to buy cars and household appliances.

Very few resources were allocated to improve education and protect the culture (A. Chiza, personal communication, October 30, 2003).

As a consequence of male migration, women were staying at home with children and grandparents. This changed, however, due to economic need and debts. Now there is the immigration of both men and women, with the aggravating circumstance of the abusive *coyoteros*, who charge large amounts of money to help Indigenous Peoples and Mestizos to cross the borders. In the provinces of el Cañar and Azuay in the south of Ecuador, for instance, the *coyoteros* act shamelessly by visiting the communities house to house offering their services. According to some complaints received by immigration organizations, it is not unusual for the *coyoteros* to charge \$18,000 for passage to the United States. Half of this money is paid in the second contact and the other half during the journey. With the hope of improving their lives and seeking new horizons, the immigrants sell their lands and thus acquire a debt that never ends. The *coyoteros* have a network within which are the *chulqueros*, money lenders, who are ready to provide or loan money for traveling abroad with high interests and using houses and real estate as the guarantee for the borrowed money.

Immigration has negative consequences inside and outside of Ecuador such as:

- Abandonment and or loss of ancestral land,
- Family disintegration,
- Deterioration and loss of cultural roots,
- Loss of values and identity, and
- Enormous debts incurred with the *coyoteros*.

There are empty buildings, which are called “ghost-homes” in Ecuador Indigenous communities, where only women and children live, with fathers and children or communities with children and grandparents. Often the children lack affection, warmth, protection, guidance, and care. Teen pregnancy, alcoholism, drug abuse, and suicide have increased, because young people lack a sense of belonging and life purpose (M.A. Guaman, personal communication, June 24, 2003).

Another negative consequence is that people who remain in Ecuador often become dependent on the money sent from abroad and therefore do not look for employment. Abroad, the confused immigrants are suffering from new and unknown diseases such as diabetes, high cholesterol, stress, depression, and poor nutrition. Many do not have access to basic health services, work, or decent housing.

The Ecuadorian immigrants work abroad without any kind of security; they are often abused and their rights are violated due to the lack of a legal status. If they have the opportunity to rent a room or apartment, these sites are usually overcrowded and are unhygienic and unsafe. Due to lack of space, immigrants even sleep “in shifts” (Y. Terán, personal observation, May 5 & October 29, 2003). In Europe there are people living in cars and in vans and collect water in plastic containers to be used for bathing or cooking. Immigrants have testified that Indigenous women give birth to their children in these cars in Italy in totally inhumane conditions. In Spain, for instance, many women work indoors as maids to obtain food and a place to live and endure daily sexual harassment from the heads of family or their sons for whom they work (R. Poaquiza, personal communication, September 14, 2013; M.R. Cotacachi, personal communication, October 30, 2003).

Because of immigration, families are divided and parents are separated; often fathers are in the United States and mothers in Europe. Children who are left behind often have psychological, spiritual, and mental health problems. There are immigrants in prison with little possibility of defense, because the courts use a strange and alien language, as was the case of an Indigenous prisoner in New York who was sadly asking the court to please bring him a *quena*, wind musical instrument from the Andes, and to let him play it before dying. Or another case where Indigenous parents lost the custody of their infant daughter, because they did not understand the questions in English and responded to them in Kichwa language. In this case, the court did not provide translation services. The immigrants are obligated to work in whatever activity they can find, because they have to pay debts to cover their expenses in the United States and also send money to Ecuador each week or month for the maintenance of their family. One Indigenous elder had this to say:

To stop being abused and to avoid suffering abroad with few possibilities of succeeding, perhaps it would be better to return to the *Pachamama*, to reconnect with her, to be nourished by her, to regain internal and spiritual balance. Perhaps the time is coming to seek for physical, mental, and spiritual well-being rather than money (*Mashua* Grandfather, personal communication, August 10, 2012).

Chapter III

Methodology

Participatory Action Research

This section will explain the methodology selected for this study that involves Indigenous Peoples from the Puesitús community who migrated from the countryside to the capital of Ecuador and whose children are attending El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes and the CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School in Quito City.

Before choosing the culturally appropriate methodology, a great deal of time was spent analyzing the necessity for this research, whether or not its goals were reachable, and the potential future benefit to the community. Knowing the language situation of the Puesitús community that is based in Quito City, Ecuador, the significance of the Participatory Action Research Methodology and its achievements was explained: This methodology would allow the community to analyze their problems and look for solutions through their full and effective participation, perspectives, needs, and empowerment. The community agreed to proceed; however, as an Indigenous researcher from a different Indigenous community, there was a continuous challenge to respect and follow the community's Indigenous protocols and beliefs, not mine. The Puesitús community has been the subject of research several times by national and foreign researchers, but it has never received any results. Because of this, they felt disrespected and used; therefore, in this research there was a great need to ensure their trust and co-participation in the whole process. We had common problems related to language and culture loss. From this understanding, it was critical to be positioned as a friend and companion to work together in the study of our mutual concerns. I have known this

community since 1997 and had been assisting them on several projects. In some ways I could be considered an insider due to our close relationship. However, I also could be seen as an outsider, because I am an Indigenous sister from the north of Ecuador, even though I also speak the Kichwa language.

Participatory Action Research assists people to understand facts and seek solutions after determining their priorities and aids in understanding the points of view of the participants constructed from their daily life (Alasuutari, 1995, as cited in Kenny, 2004, p. 18; Smith, 1999). Participatory Action Research Methodology was used to understand people's experiences and perspectives, while at the same time seeking a solution to a commonly perceived problem (Lewin, 1938; Lewin and Lewin, 1942; Lewin, 1946; Lewin, 1948, as cited in Stringer, 2004). Participatory Action Research is a cyclical, dynamic, and collaborative process to address social issues affecting people's lives. By planning, acting, observing, and reflecting, people move towards taking the social action necessary. Social action may be needed to overcome problems of assimilation, segregation and discrimination, to assist in resolving issues, and to initiate change and study the impact of those changes (Lewin, 1938; Lewin and Lewin, 1942; Lewin, 1946; Lewin, 1948, as cited in Stringer, 2004).

Participatory Action Research is "the systematic collection of information that is designed to bring about social change" (Bodgan & Biklen, 1992). It is "a form of collective self-reflective inquiry undertaken by participants in social situations in order to improve the rationality and justice of their own social or educational practices, as well as their understanding of these practices and the situations in which these practices are carried out" (Kemmis & McTaggart, 1988). For Reason and Bradbury (2001), Action

Research is a participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowledge, deriving practical solutions, working face to face on mutual concerns, involving the entire organization, and getting individual persons and their communities to flourish.

For Mac Isaac (1995), there are four steps in the process of Action Research:

- Plan,
- Act,
- Observe, and
- Reflect.

This process is circular where the problem is re-assessed and the process begins another cycle. Action Research focuses on:

- Change,
- Reflection,
- Participation,
- Inclusion,
- Sharing,
- Understanding,
- Repetition,
- Practice, and
- Community (Stringer, 2004).

Participatory Action Research is used in real situations with its primary focus to solve real problems. It is inside the Research Paradigm of Praxis, which is the art of acting upon the conditions faced in order to change them, where the theory and praxis are

needed, because knowledge is derived from practice and practice is informed by knowledge. This is the cornerstone of Action Research (O'Brien, 1998).

The Participatory Action Research cycle consists of collecting data, analyzing the data, communicating outcomes, and taking action. It uses the social principles in which the inquiry methods are democratic, participatory, empowering, and life-enhancing. This process of investigation provides information, understanding, and the development of a sense of togetherness. The process also provides the basis for effective relationships, the development of a high degree of motivation, empowerment to act in new ways, and in building democratic learning communities.

The working principles of Participatory Action Research include the key principle of establishing *relationships* to avoid problems in arriving at solutions. *Communication* is also a central principle to keep all participants informed and in harmony with the different activities involved. The *inclusion* principle is to ensure the presence of all people that were and still are affected by the researched problem. Finally, the principle of *participation* ensures people's engagement in the project, gaining empowerment, and the sense of ownership and accomplishment.

Winter (1996) cites some principles to be considered in Participatory Action Research, such as making sure that the relevant persons have been consulted and the principles for the study are accepted in advance by all. Participatory Action Research puts people that dialogue together and in this way creates productive relationships to generate a sense of community through perspective sharing, the negotiation of meaning, and the development of activities produced collectively. Therefore, the appropriate methodology for this study was Participatory Action Research to allow all the participants to:

- “Learn by doing” (Gilmore, Krantz & Ramírez, 1986),
- Identify the problem related to Kichwa language loss in very young generations,
- Recover important cultural knowledge about child rearing lost through the language, and
- Develop a strong outside foundation for the development of solutions.

The development of this work remained visible and open to suggestions, maintained confidentiality, ensured that all decisions were collective, and provided equal access to information for all participants. This Participatory Action Research ensured that the thinking, views, words, and hopes of the Indigenous co-researchers became the basis for the decisions. Together we worked towards the recovery of the Indigenous epistemologies and pedagogies as the cultural foundations for the future development of a Kichwa Language Program for very young children. The analysis of the Kichwa language problems, themes, and findings involved a collective search for solutions needed to revitalize the language through a communal perspective, empowering and giving ownership. As a consequence of this Participatory Action Research, we learned together and were able to develop a solution for the problem of language and culture loss.

The right of the community being investigated must actively reflect Native commentary and assessment throughout all phases of research. Traditional leadership in the consultation process is vital in the establishment and recognition of local expertise and is essential to complete the preferred role as a co-investigator in the design strategy and structure for research (Webster & Nabigon, 1993, p. 2, as cited in Kenny 2004, p. 11).

Participatory Action Research helped avoid disparities in Latin America, including Ecuador, to transform the current model of development to give the oppressed and marginalized Indigenous Peoples the opportunity to become “beings for themselves” (Freire, 1975, p. 55). According to Stavenhagen, ethno development of the Indigenous Peoples in Latin America means a complete reversal of government Indigenous policies that have been followed up to now by most governments. A newly arisen militant brand of Indigenous social movements demands a reaffirmation of Indigenous cultural values and re-evaluation of the position of Indigenous Peoples within the social structure (Stavenhagen, 1986; Engle, 2010, p. 183). This ethno development will bring a new time, a new *Pachakutik* (*Pacha* means time or land and *kutik* the return.). For Jacobsen (1993) *Pachakutik* signifies “the Andean notion of a turning point of cosmic dimensions and the beginning of a new era through which what was below would be on top and vice versa.” For Albo (1979) *Pachakutik* has the meaning of “revolution” (as cited in Becker, 2011, p. 1-2). Indigenous Peoples deserve change, rebirth, and transformation, a return in time and the coming of a new era (Becker, 2011).

Design of the Study

The circle is sacred for the Kichwa Peoples. It is the beginning and the continuation of life, a safe space where everyone has the right to be and participate. In the sacred circle, everyone has a place and a voice and the right to participate in a democratic manner, because everything is related and interconnected within the circle. The relationship between Man and *Pachamama*, Mother Earth, is holistic. Consequently, the sacred circle was used in the design of the study to visualize the steps of the participatory

research on The Cultural Foundations for the Development of a Kichwa Language Program at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes, in Quito City in Ecuador.

The circular cycle of Participatory Action Research can be seen in the following graphic, which is culturally related to Indigenous Peoples' thinking and being. The circle allows for flexible time and repeated revisions to reach a common understanding of the issues and solutions. In this study, the co-participants and I worked together on the study's design, collection of data, analysis of the data, and the reflection of the outcomes and decisions/actions taken. Because of the circular process of Participatory Action Research, there was an opportunity to review the information and outcomes at every step allowing for corrections, additions, changes, and suggestions in order to achieve a true understanding of the issues and conclusions that reflect the real aspirations of the co-participants.

Figure 17.

Cycle of Participatory Action Research



Source: Stringer, E. (2004)

Research Ethics

Participating Indigenous brothers and sisters from the Puesitús community who live in Quito City live under severe conditions. Nevertheless, after learning how to survive in urban settings, they are interested in recovering and maintaining their cultural elements such as the Kichwa language. Being aware of their socioeconomic and political situation, their safety was ensured at all levels as well as an open understanding to sensitive community issues including ethical considerations to protect the well-being and interests of the co- participants. Investigators are not always aware of the potential harm that may come to research study participants (Horowitz, 1970; Milgram, 1963). Ethics

and methodology go hand in hand (Sieber, 1992). Each Indigenous community has its own protocol and ways of participating. To guarantee the correct use of the protocol, matters of confidentiality, care and sensitivity, permissions, informed consent, validity in action, credibility, prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, participant debriefing, member checks, transferability, dependability, confirmability, validity, and participation were considered (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

All co-participants used pseudonyms they chose themselves. For young families, the pseudonym refers to traditional and meaningful colors such as *Puka*, Red (representing warriors and war); *Yana*, Black (referring to the past); and *Killu*, Yellow (gold). The pseudonyms for the grandparents are related to different types of potatoes, such as *Yurac Putuc*, White Potato; *Yana Putuc*, Black Potato; and *Mashua*. The pseudonym for the director is *Huaila*, green (referring to deceased people in war), and for the founder and president of the organization *Maigua*, purple (the most beautiful flower of The Andes). In this way, women, men, young parents, and elders participated in this study, which allowed for a complete circle for this research with the inclusion of all voices. It was necessary to keep the anonymity of the co-participants, because some of their information was highly confidential. The material shared in this study was collected with the participants' permission. The collected data from the interviews, direct observations, and Literature Review was stored securely in a locked cabinet in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Permission for this research was given by the president of Alejo Saes Indigenous Organization, the director of the CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School, and the director of El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes. Several meetings were held in Quito City to share the research

project with the Puesitús community. After each session, questions were answered to clarify or to provide more information. According to our Indigenous protocol, permission was given orally; however, for our mutual safety, two letters of permission were received – one from the CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School and one from El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes. Each co-participant was informed of the nature and purpose of this study

- To determine if they would like to participate,
- To ask permission to record the information they provided,
- To assure them of the confidentiality of their information,
- To advise they could withdraw at any stage and have their information returned.

The co-participants provided oral formal consent after being informed of the study and having their doubts eased.

Validity in Participatory Action Research: Evaluating Quality

Without validity there is not truth, and without truth there can be no trust in a text's claims to validity... Validity becomes a boundary line that divides good research from bad research, separate acceptable (to a particular research community) research from an unacceptable research... (Scheurich, 1992, p. 1, 5).

Due to the lack of objective measures of validity for qualitative research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest ways of establishing trustworthiness in order to ensure the truthfulness or adequacy of a research project. Trustworthiness involves procedures for attaining credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Special attention was paid to trustworthiness, because it was imperative not to destroy the faith and hope that this Ecuadorian Indigenous community put in this research and in my support and

guidance. Consequently, prolonged visits were held that gave an understanding of the context and cultural knowledge of the co-participants. It also helped reaffirm and strengthen relationships of trust with the co-participants that allowed me to gain insider knowledge and to establish adequacy, accuracy, and appropriateness of research materials. A second interview was conducted with the grandparents in order to obtain more information about two questions related to Kichwa children.

The triangulation involved the use of different sources, methods, and perspectives to corroborate, elaborate, or illuminate the research problem and its outcomes and actions. The themes from the interviews, direct observations, and documents formed the basis of the Kichwa cultural foundations. In the debriefing, we reviewed the appropriateness of the procedures of the research and clarified the ways of describing and interpreting events. It was also the time for catharsis when participants were able to deal with their emotions and feelings. Necessary time was taken to talk more about particular issues, to cry, and to finally pray in a circle to release the generational pain. It was a time for collective healing. During the debriefing, one of my colleagues, *mashi*, participated with the co-participants' permission. She wrote short notes or words to remember the participants' inputs during the debriefing time.

Although the community and co-participants of this study trusted my work as a community leader, close friend, and as a professional, last August and September 2012 I presented to them the collected data for the Literature Review and the data from interviews carried out in February and March 2012 for their comments, corrections, and suggestions. In our conversations, the papers shown were written in English. The content of every page was explained for their knowledge and reactions. They were very pleased

and made several corrections on dates and facts and added new information to complement what was already in the document. During this time, the community decided what type of document (written or video) they wished to receive and how they would like to receive it. They chose to have either a PowerPoint or a three-minute videotape related to Kichwa values found in this study instead of having a long document that would not have any impact on the community, as the co-participants do not read English.

Further efforts were made to include negative, positive, or different thinking to ensure the consideration of all possible perspectives and to avoid the interpretation of only powerful people's views. In the transcriptions, the voices of young parents and grandparents were included, as well as the voices of men and women and some authorities whose language and terminologies were used to frame and describe their experience. Endeavors were made to preserve the way of speaking in Kichwa and in Spanish or a mixture of both; nothing was changed, although it was a challenge to translate to English.

Co-participants had frequent opportunities to review and analyze the raw data and reports to ensure adequate and accurate representation of their voices, concerns, perspectives, and experiences. The co-participants were free to contact me at any time while I was in Ecuador or in New Mexico to discuss the research and/or other community issues.

Concerning transferability, this study provided detailed information about the context and findings to help other interested people assess if this study is applicable to their situation. This report resulted in several pieces of cultural information that the co-participants would like to share with other Indigenous communities in Ecuador and

abroad, if requested. The results of the study could be replicated to different educational programs and projects concerning Indigenous Peoples and culture at local, national, regional, and international levels.

For the validity purposes, the engagement of the participants in the process of collecting and analyzing data is important. Engaging directly the people the study will take into account issues as emotionality, caring, subjective understanding, and relationships in research (Lather, 1993; Olesen, 1994; Olesen & Myers, 1999).

The co-participants constantly checked the material in which they were involved. They participated in the entire research process to ensure the validity/trustworthiness of the study and to ensure the effective change and action to resolve the investigated issue of the cultural foundations of Kichwa culture, demonstrating in that way the validity of the research and the future benefit for the whole community.

From the Kichwa Indigenous Peoples' point of view, the validity of this study will be given by the community. If this study properly collected the various voices and views of the co-participants, then altogether these voices will contribute globally to the recovery of Indigenous language and culture. The legitimacy of the solution of the language loss problem throughout the years will be also taken into consideration. This validity will be assessed according to the effectiveness in developing an increase of Kichwa speakers and to combat or decrease the cultural loss through adequate and practical cultural programs that would be created and based on the remaining cultural elements of Kichwa Peoples that were found in this research.

The validation for Kichwa Indigenous Peoples is accomplished throughout life by demonstrating to the community if you are a good or bad person with physical and spiritual achievements obtained for the benefit of the whole community. In the process of validation, you can demonstrate how much you love and care for your family, your community, and Mother Earth, *Pachamama*. “Indigenous Peoples do not validate the things or facts on a piece of paper or in a laboratory; we validate our actions throughout the circle of life by serving and helping the people and by being a good person with a good heart and soul” (Kuna Elder, personal communication, February 9, 2012).

Research Questions

The community had four meetings in February and March 2012 to analyze the problem of language loss and to work on the formulation of the primary question and the sub-questions for this study.

Issue: Very young Kichwa Indigenous children from El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes located in the urban San Roque community in Quito, Ecuador are not speaking the Kichwa language on a daily basis. Consequently, the Kichwa language is at risk of being lost in this generation. Grandparents continue to use Kichwa among their own generation. However, their children, the parents of these children, only use the language sporadically. As a result, the children do not have sufficient exposure or opportunities to use the language. Both parents and grandparents have expressed concern and wish to find a solution. In particular, the grandparents are losing close relationships with their grandchildren. The consequences of this loss are not only personal but are also cultural, as the values, teachings, and beliefs that are a part of the Kichwa culture could be lost as well.

Problem: Very young Kichwa Indigenous children are not learning and speaking the Kichwa language, and their parents have either only a passive knowledge of the language or are hesitant to use Kichwa in front of more fluent speakers. This impedes communication with elders who wish to pass on their knowledge of the culture.

During the previous meetings of the Puesitús community, there was an awareness of the importance of recovering the cultural values of Indigenous Peoples for this study. They recognized that elders are the ones who still have language and cultural information that is gradually being lost since the migration period to urban places. It was decided to work with elders first and then with young parents in order to compare the information obtained from both groups. Therefore, considering the aforementioned problem, the following questions were asked of grandparents in the context of their community at Chimborazo Province:

The primary question was: What made a Kichwa child, Kichwa?

Sub-questions included:

- What was a Kichwa child?
- How were Kichwa children from birth to five years in your community in Chimborazo Province cared for?
- What should a Kichwa child know and be able to do at different ages?
- What is expected of them?
- Who took care of them?
- Has this changed? If so, when did this change and how has this changed?
- How did you teach (do teach) the Kichwa language, culture, and language to your children?

- How should Kichwa children learn these things?
- Who should teach them and when should they teach them?

The same questions were asked of young parents in the context of Quito City.

Field Setting

The Indigenous co-participants selected El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes as the setting for this research with the goal to allow the continuation of the project and the relationship with the Puesitús community that started in 1998 with a diagnosis on bilingualism at the CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School. In consideration of the special request from the community and according to the methodology used in this study I will include, in this part, some historical facts of both educational centers.

This pre- school operates in the same building as the CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School - an urban center located at El Mercado San Roque in Quito City, Ecuador. It serves 100 Indigenous children between the ages of birth to five years, whose parents are immigrant Indigenous Peoples from Chimborazo and Cotopaxi Provinces from the South of Ecuador. This center has seven Indigenous *cuidadoras*, *caregivers*, two cooks, one coordinator, and the director - all Kichwa speakers. It is operating thanks to the financial support of the Ecuadorian government and the parents of the young children who attend the center and additional support from abroad (*Maigua* Grandparent, personal communication, February 17, 2012)

The CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School was established in the 1990s by the Alejo Saes Indigenous Organization to serve the educational needs of this community. The school is located at El Mercado de San Roque where most of the students' parents work

either selling vegetables or carrying produce for buyers. Initially, this school only served children in grades 1 to 6.

Figure 18.

CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School



Photo by V.C., 2012

CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School is located in Quito City.

This center is housed in the colonial building of the former Colegio Central Técnico (Central Technical School) close to the El Mercado de San Roque marketplace. The complex was created as a merger of two Indigenous schools: Escuela Bilingüe Chimborazo and Escuela General Alejo Saes. These two schools were functioning in Quito at different locations and were created to serve the immigrant Indigenous Peoples of Ecuador. Both schools were operating legally and had the appropriate legal status.

Chimborazo School was created in 1986-1987 by the legal “*Runacunapac Yuyay*” Association of Independent Workers (Spanish abbreviation “ATIRY”) under the

guidance of Indigenous leaders such as José Antonio Guapi Obando, Vicente Curichumbi, Pedro Mayanza, José Guamán Morocho, and others. The school started at the former Colegio Central Técnico near the El Mercado de San Roque marketplace where the association was also located. This new school had volunteer Indigenous teachers José María Atupaña and Marco Barahona and Franco Chacaguasay, José Guapi Chafla, and Agustín Peñafiel as community teachers to work on literacy.

The Alejo Saes Educational Center pre-school was created in 1989-1990 by the Kichwa Indigenous Association of Quito under the Indigenous leadership of Dr. Juan Illicachi, Melchor Lema, Ezequiel Lema, Rafael Guamán, Manuel Illicachi, and others. Initially this center was located in the El Panecillo neighborhood where the Inti Raymi School lent its classrooms to this new center. The first volunteer Indigenous teachers were Manuel Illicachi, José María Atupaña, Leandro Yuquilema, María Illicachi, Pedro Gusñay, and José Paucar.

These two Indigenous schools in Quito decided to merge and create El Centro Experimental de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe Quito (Quito Experimental Intercultural Bilingual Education Center - CEDEIB-Q), with the goal of strengthening the intercultural bilingual education system. To create this center, an alliance was made between the Indigenous Associations Alejo Saes, ATIRY, Colta Guamote, and Estibadores de Tigua, thereby forming El Movimiento de Organizaciones Indígenas de Quito (Quito Indigenous Organizations Movement - MOIQ) under the Indigenous leadership of José María Atupaña, Cayetano Guamán, José Antonio Guapi Obando, Ricardo Paza, and Irma Gómez, who were the representatives of the above-cited associations. This Indigenous Movement applied to the Dirección Provincial de

Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (Provincial Intercultural Bilingual Education Service - DIPEIB-P) in 1993-1994 for the official creation of CEDEIB-Q. The agreement for the creation of this center for immigrant Indigenous Peoples was finally signed after several meetings and fulfillment of the technical, pedagogic, and legal requirements.

In 1993-1994 the Center began to teach at the primary level. The first teachers appointed for CEDEIB-Q were the ones who funded this educational institution: Leandro Yuquilema, José Guapi, José Paucar, Franco Chacaguasay, and Fanny Bastidas. The first director was the teacher Manuel Illicachi G. In the beginning, the center was working in the same space occupied by the ATIRY Indigenous Association, but later, realizing that the former Colegio Central Técnico had several empty abandoned spaces, the teachers and students decided to use them in order to continue with the planned education project. The classes began within an uncomfortable environment: classrooms without walls. To develop better spaces, the center made its first contacts with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to request financial cooperation. A group of young people helped the community to contact Tierra de Hombres Foundation from Italy, the branch in Quito City that donated the funding to make the first arrangements to have separate classrooms and defined educational spaces.

With the support of Tierra de Hombres Foundation, DIPEIB-P, the Municipality of Quito, and CEDEIB-Q. A *Comodato*, (the lending of the building) for 25 years was signed between these two institutions on October 31, 2000 by retired General Paco Moncayo Gallegos, the former Major of the City of Quito. Currently, the center has 280 students, 6 teachers with a permanent position, 2 with a temporary employment contract, and 2 teachers with a *bonificación*, stipend of 50 American dollars per month. The center

is in the process of developing levels eight, nine and ten of Basic Education with onsite and semi-onsite modes.

In the 1990s the concern of this community turned to the young children ages birth to five years who were often “placed in cardboard boxes as a way to safeguard the children while their mothers were busy with work at San Roque market” (M.J. Pukuna, personal communication, March 6, 1998). These small children often endured exposure to rain, wind, excessive sun, and were continually crying out in hunger. Several times children were lost or killed by the trucks that delivered merchandise to El Mercado de San Roque marketplace. Mothers of lost or dead children cried, but the market’s authorities did nothing to prevent these accidents and deaths nor to denounce this kind of human rights violation” (M.J. Pukuna, personal communication, April 3, 1998). These accidents happened almost every day, so several meetings were held starting in 1994 under the leadership of one elder of this community to discuss the issue of better care for these infants and toddlers. The Comité de Padres de Familia (Parents Committee) decided to open a daycare center for these children. In 1997 the parents arranged one room in the CEDEIB-Q School building to receive 70 children (C. Guamán, personal communication, March 6, 1998).

Figure 19.

El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes' First Home 1997



Photo by V.C., 2012

Hygiene conditions at the daycare center were terrible, because there was no bathroom, appropriate kitchen, or faucet with drinking water. The only positive thing was that children were together inside a room secure and safe, eating from time to time, and playing under the care of two volunteer mothers. Today the center has the name of El Centro Infantil *Alejo Saes* and is functioning on the second floor in the same building as the CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School. The Centro has comfortable classrooms, *cuidadoras*, caregivers for each class, medical attention, food service, and a balanced menu. Nevertheless, the center still needs pedagogic materials, music, instruments, equipment, an appropriate curriculum, and methods for developing the teaching of Kichwa language and culture.

Figure 20.

El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes



Photo taken by T.T., 2012

Profile of Participants

During the period of 2010–2012, I had the opportunity to meet six times (March 2010 to August 2012) with the Indigenous community of CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School and El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes. After receiving IRB approval for my dissertation in February 2012, I flew to Ecuador to initiate my study. At that time, the community stressed the importance and the urgent need of working with the Kichwa language issues to create a suitable Kichwa language program for the small children that are coming in on a daily basis to El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes.

The co-participants for this study were selected in Quito City by the elders of the Puesitús community according to their protocol taking into consideration who was available and had the time to participate and the interest and level of responsibility of the potential participants. However, the co-participants needed to comply with certain criteria, for instance, that young parent participants should have small children at El

Centro Infantil Alejo Saes, live in Quito City, and the elders would be the grandparents of these young children.

The community selected 14 co-participants; however, this number was reduced to 12, as 1 grandmother was widowed and 1 grandfather was at the same time the president of the Alejo Saes organization. The 12 co-participants included 3 young mothers, 3 young fathers who are 20-25-years old, 3 grandmothers, and 2 grandfathers (60-70-years old), the director of El Centro (40-years old), and the founder of the Alejo Saes Indigenous Organization (65-years old), who is also the President of the Alejo Saes organization).

Puesitús Protocol

Before initiating the interviews, direct observations, and meetings, proper Indigenous protocols were followed, such as:

- Contacting the president of the community in advance to discuss the first steps of this study and the involvement of the community,
- Showing respect for the elders and the community members at all times,
- Not asking too many questions,
- Not writing in front of Puesitús Indigenous Peoples, and
- Taking presents and food for the participants.

The president of the Alejo Saes organization was always willing to assist, contact the co-participants, and accompany me during the interviews, observations, conversations and visits to the Puesitús community in Chimborazo Province. He was concerned for my safety and made sure that this study was accomplished according to the community goals of Kichwa language maintenance and revitalization.

In reference to oral tradition, Brayboy and Deyhle's (2000) reference was kept under consideration that too much questioning is impolite and a sign of disrespect (Basso, 1979; Lamphere, 1977), rather that answers would come naturally through reflective conversations. "Don't ask questions. We will tell you what you need to know" (Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000, p, 167). Therefore, it was decided not to ask questions and instead use the "reflexive" interview in which questions resulted from a conversational style (Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000).

Methods of Data Collection

Qualitative research methods were used for this study, because they aided in understanding **how** things happened rather than **what** happened. Taylor and Bogdan (1984, as cited in Kenny, 2004, p. 20) stated:

Qualitative Research is a specific way of approaching the empirical world. In the broadest sense, qualitative research is research that produces descriptive data: people's own written or spoken words and observable behavior.

Five different methods were used to collect the necessary data following the appropriate protocols, times, and working rhythms of the Indigenous co-participants in order to avoid any misunderstanding, doubt, fear, or lack of trust. For instance, young mothers were interviewed on Mondays, the day when they rest and do not work at the market. Direct observations were performed at night after the mothers finished working at the market. Prepared food was offered to share with the co-participants and their relatives at every visit. I had to be ready to help them with their activities at home like washing apples, packing cereals, cooking, etc., respecting the time they decided to talk or share information.

Methodology is important because it frames the questions being asked, determines the set of instruments and methods to be employed, and shapes the analysis...

Indigenous methodologies are often a mix of existing methodological approaches and Indigenous practices (Smith, 1999, p.143, as cited in Kenny, 2004, p. 18).

Five methods were used to collect data:

1. Visit to the Puesitús community at Chimborazo Province for observations and to receive testimonies from the elders;
2. Interviews with grandparents, young parents, the Director of El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes, and the President of Alejo Saes Indigenous Organization;
3. Direct observations at the young parents' houses to see the Kichwa language use at home, at a classroom of small children 3-4 years old at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes, and at El Mercado de San Roque;
4. Review of historical documents related to Kichwa Indigenous Peoples and the Puesitús community; and
5. Journal written notes of the interviews, direct observation, and testimonies.

1. I visited the Puesitús community on February 2012 accompanied by the President of the Alejo Saes organization and four Puesitús community members who are living in Quito City. Additionally, one Indigenous person from the north of Ecuador was invited to assist. We traveled from Quito to Riobamba City for five hours. In Riobamba we rented a truck to reach Puesitús community and bought some food for elders. This visit was made to obtain the testimonies and information from elders and community members to reconstruct the history of Puesitús. We stayed at the community for one day from 5 a.m. to 6 p.m. On Sunday all the elders and some community members came to talk; seven

elders and four middle-aged people gave their testimonies. I listened to them carefully to be able to write notes on my journal later.

Open-ended interviews were conducted, keeping in mind that in the interview process participants are in control of what information is relayed and how it is expressed (Fetterman, 1998, p. 57). Interviews should “place the interviewee at ease, acknowledge the value of the information, and reinforce continued communication” (Fetterman, 1998, p. 57). Before interviewing these 12 Indigenous co-participants, the problem was discussed for some time.

Table 5.

Participants

Young Parents 20-25 Years Old	Children 3-7 Years Old	Grandparents 60-70 Years Old	Additional Information
Mother Father <i>Puka Family,</i> Red Family	<i>Rumi</i> , Stone Son 7-years old <i>Sisa</i> , Flower Daughter 4-years old <i>Inti</i> , Sun Son 3-years old	Grandmother Grandfather <i>Yurac Putuc</i> , White Potato	Live in the same house but in separated rooms
Mother Father <i>Yana Family,</i> Black Family	<i>Killa</i> , Moon Daughter 4-years old <i>Kindi</i> , Hummingbird Son 3-years old	Grandmother (widow) <i>Yana Putuc</i> , Black Potato	Live in the same house

Mother Father <i>Killu Family,</i> Yellow Family	<i>Urku</i> , Mountain Son 7-years old <i>Kallpa</i> , Runner Son 6-years old <i>Sara</i> , Maize Daughter 4-years old <i>Wayra</i> , Wind Son 3-years old	Grandmother Grandfather <i>Mashua</i> , (Type of potato)	Lives in the same house but in separated rooms
		Grandfather <i>Maigua</i> , purple	President of Alejo Saes organization
		<i>Huaila</i> , green (Man, 40 years old)	Director of El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes

In keeping with the cultural norms, the grandparents were the first interviewed, because the elders have the cultural knowledge that was practiced in the Puesitús community in Chimborazo Province. This information was later compared with information from the young parents living in Quito City.

Table 6.

Interviews with Grandparents

Grandparents	Age	Meeting Place	Meeting Time	Additional Information
<i>Yurac Putuc</i> grandparents, White Potato grandparents	65-years old	Meeting room of El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes	February 17, 2012 from 9 a.m. to noon	Live in Quito City for several years. Had 5 children: 1 girl, 4 boys. One died recently during an assault. Grandfather works in construction; grandmother stays home caring for their very small grandchildren.
<i>Yana Putuc</i> grandmother, Black Potato grandmother	62-years old	Meeting room of El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes	February 24, 2012 from 9 a.m. to noon	Used to live in Puesitús community. Has 3 children: 2 daughters, 1 boy. First daughter died. Widow living in Quito caring for the house and her grandchildren.
<i>Mashua</i> grandparents, (Type of potato)	62-65-years old	Meeting room of El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes	February 29, 2012 from 9 a.m. to noon	Have 5 children: 1 girl and 4 boys. All are married. Have great desire to recover the Kichwa language, culture, and values being lost in the city.

Grandparents were informed orally of the questions and asked if they needed more clarification. They requested the questions be repeated several times. During each interview to a couple of married grandparents, they responded to the questions in Spanish together and not individually. While speaking, they made pauses to rest and to ask me if I was fine. According to Indigenous protocol, nothing else was asked, and the physical appearance of the interviewees were not described. They gave the information that they believed was needed.

Each interview was conducted face-to-face at the El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes meeting room for three hours during the morning. With the co-participants' permission, the seven interviews were audio-taped and later transcribed. Other times when audiotaping was not possible due to the noise or the interviewee's desire to not be recorded, careful notes were written and reviewed immediately after each interview to retain all possible information.

The primary question for the grandparents was: What made a Kichwa child, Kichwa?

The sub questions included:

- What was a Kichwa child?
- How were Kichwa children from birth to five years in your community in Chimborazo Province cared for?
- What should a Kichwa child know and be able to do at different ages?
- What is expected of them?
- Who took care of them?
- Has this changed? If so, when did this change and how has this changed?

- How did you teach (do teach) the Kichwa language, culture, and language to your children?
- How should Kichwa children learn these things?
- Who should teach them and when should they teach them?

When the interviews were concluded, conversations continued regarding other community issues related to land and water. Later grandparents were offered a traditional lunch of corn, beans, potatoes with beef, and chicken. We ate together laughing and making plans for the future. Before leaving, a small present was given to each person.

While listening to the audio tapes of the grandparents' interviews several times, it was discovered that the grandparents had not answered the primary question: What made a Kichwa child, Kichwa? nor the first sub-question: What was a Kichwa child? The president of the Indigenous organization Alejo Saes was contacted to arrange a second meeting with the five grandparents, including the President, for March 7, 2012 from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. in a hotel at Old Town in Quito City to have a conversation about these two questions. Grandparents spoke among themselves regarding what made a Kichwa child, Kichwa and what was a Kichwa child. Later, they shared their thoughts about these two questions, which were audiotaped. When the interview was concluded, the grandparents were invited for lunch. We were together for two hours. During that time, we laughed and spoke more about community concerns. After lunch they were thanked again with respect and said "until another day" in Kichwa language, *ashtakashkaman mashikuna*.

Interviews were then conducted with the young parents on Mondays of February and March 2012 in the same meeting room of El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes. Monday is

the day when the young mothers rest from their work at the market and attend to pending family and community issues.

The same questions were asked as had been asked of the grandparents but in the context of Quito City.

Table 7.

Interviews with Young Parents

Young Parents	Age	Meeting Time	Additional Information
<i>Puka</i> Family, Red Family	20–25-years old	Monday, February 27, 2012 from 9 a.m. to noon	Left Puesitús community when they were children. Have 3 children: 1 son at CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School, 1 son and 1 girl who attend El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes. Husband could not come due to his work, but he was interviewed later at his house August 2012.
<i>Yana Yana</i> Family, Black Family	20–25-years old	Monday, March 5, 2012 from 9 a.m. to noon	Mother came alone because husband did not get permission from work. He provided answers later at his house on August 2012. Have 2 children: 1 boy and 1 girl who attend El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes. Grandmother is widowed and lives with this young family.

Young Parents	Age	Meeting Time	Additional Information
<i>Killu</i> Family, Yellow Family	20–25-years old	Monday, March 12, 2012 from 9 a.m. to noon	Mother came to El Centro Infantil alone. Husband was interviewed at his house on September 2012. Have 4 children: 2 sons who are students at CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School and 2 small children: 1 son and 1 girl attending El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes.

The interview with the Director of El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes was conducted on February 16, 2012 in his office from 9 a.m. to noon. He is 40-years old and is known in this study by the *Huaylla*, green pseudonyms. In the past I collaborated with him on several projects for Indigenous education. He said that he would give the answers at once, assist with the information that he believed was appropriate, and stressed that his information was not for public knowledge. This person was nominated as the director of El Centro Infantil because of his initial goodwill of working for the benefit of the community. According to Indigenous protocol, not too much was asked, and notes were written after the interview. The president of the Alejo Saes Indigenous organization, who is a person who works permanently for the progress and benefit of the whole community, was present for all interviews in order to guarantee my personal and physical well-being because the site for research was located in a dangerous area.

3. The third method for data collection was the direct observation at the home of the young parents whose small children attend El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes. The goal was to

observe their daily activities and the use of Kichwa language at home. Participant observation helps “to describe what goes on, whom or what is involved, when and where things happen, how they occur, and why” (Jorgensen, 1989, p. 12). In previous meetings, the co-participants asked me to stay in their homes one night until the following morning to observe their routines with their children during dinner, bedtime, waking up in the morning, breakfast time, and the use of Kichwa language as they get ready to take children to school and to El Centro Infantil. I accepted their invitation considering our long friendship and mutual trust. However, the observation was quite complicated and a delicate issue, as these families are very humble and the community is located in a dangerous neighborhood.

Learning by observation is a key element in Kichwa epistemology. Six young parents were observed at their homes for one night in August and September 2012 to be immersed in the research setting and be part of the participants’ daily life to become familiar with their situation and with their worldview.

Before starting these direct observations, the President of the Alejo Saes organization was contacted for his guidance and advice on this issue. He visited the previously selected families to remind them of the research and my presence at their homes for one night. The schedule for the visits was decided by what was a suitable time for the families. I was strongly advised to be simple, humble, and ready to help the people at home and to avoid questioning, writing, and taking pictures. These Indigenous families were observed following the Indigenous protocol to show them respect and consideration. Usually they clean the house to receive visitors. They were asked in a respectful way just to continue their normal life and rhythm and not to change anything. I

reminded them that I am also Indigenous. Each observed family received one roasted chicken with potatoes and some bread and drinks to be shared during the dinner and breakfast. Help was offered to the family in cooking, in taking care of children, or other home activity. These young families are known in this research by different pseudonyms referring to Indigenous colors.

Table 8.

Direct Observations at Young Parents' Home

Young Parents	Age	Observation Place	Observation Time	Additional Information
<i>Puka</i> Family, Red Family	20–25-years old	San Roque neighborhood in their home	August 20-21, 2012	<i>Yurac Putuc</i> Grandparents live with them but in separate room.
<i>Yana Yana</i> Family (Black Family).	20-25-years old	San Roque neighborhood in their home	August 27- 28, 2012	<i>Yana Putuc</i> Grandmother is widowed and lives with her son's family.
<i>Killu</i> Family, (Yellow Family)	20–25-years old	San Roque neighborhood in their home	September 5-6, 2012	<i>Mashua</i> Grandparents live in the same house but in different rooms.

Since these families live in a dangerous neighborhood, I was asked to meet the president of the Alejo Saes organization at 6 p.m. at San Francisco Church in the center

of Quito City so he could take me to the young family's house. For the three observations, the *Yurac Putuc*, grandfather, picked me up on time, and later we went by bus to the San Roque neighborhood. I acted calmly following him silently and with respect. We arrived at the home at 7 p.m. I was asked to have a seat and informed that his wife, daughter, and the older grandchild who is seven-years old were at the market or at the street selling produce.

During September 2012, there was also the opportunity to observe directly at El Centro Infantil a room of small children 3-4-years old who are able to walk and speak by themselves. These observations were discussed in previous meetings and agreed upon by the grandparents and young parents. The goal of observing them was to know if the Kichwa language was being taught to these very young children, for how long, how, with what type of didactic materials, and if the Kichwa language learning goes hand in hand with the Kichwa culture. These observations were performed on August 15, 27, 30, 2012. The director of El Centro gave permission to observe this classroom three times from 7 a.m. to 2 p.m. He asked these observations be made in silence - no talking to small children, to the caregiver, or to her assistant.

Figure 21.

Photos at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes

	
<p>3-4 year old Children at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes Pho by T.T. September 2012</p>	<p>Numbers in Kichwa Language at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes Photo by T.T. September 2012</p>
	
<p>Working space at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes Photo by T.T. September 2012</p>	<p>Sleeping space at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes Photo by T.T. September 2012</p>

4. The fourth method was collecting archived data focusing on the history of the Poesitús Peoples and the region. Written documents related to the Alejo Saes community history and immigration process were reviewed by non-Indigenous researchers. I was asked respectfully numerous times by the community to reconstruct their history, because

Puesitús Peoples wanted a better understanding of the time of *haciendas*, farms, and needed to collect data from their recent past. With that purpose, several libraries in Pichincha and Chimborazo Provinces in Ecuador were visited, as well as seven elders in the Puesitús community to gather the necessary information.

5. In order to keep accurate information, a journal was kept in which notes and impressions of each meeting, interview, or observation were kept. These notes contained data that could not be written in front of the co-participants out of respect to them.

Methods of Analysis

The collected data should be interpreted in the correct way with the direct participation of the people about whom the researcher is writing (Brayboy & Dehyle, 2000).

The process for this research was established in the frame of collaboration and trust keeping in mind that Indigenous Peoples accomplish any work in a communal and cooperative manner. Consequently, culturally speaking as an Indigenous researcher, I could not analyze the data without the input of the co-participants. Local voices were included to understand the socio-cultural context.

Considering the research questions and the Participatory Action Research methodology framework, the data obtained from the interviews and participants' direct observation was analyzed and organized into broader themes (Maxwell, 2005, p. 96). Completed interviews were transcribed in order to understand the type of data collected and what was missing or unclear. All audio tapes were played several times and transcriptions were reviewed (Maxwell, 2005, p. 96), as well as notes from the observations and journal. Words and phrases that were repeated frequently such as

Pachamama, Mother Earth, land, circle, solidarity, support, Kichwa language, loss, respect, elders, very small children, children's play in the community and in the city were noted. These words and phrases led to topics that were at the center of the interviews and observations. The following themes began to surface:

- The vital importance of *Pachamama*, Mother Earth;
- Life in the Puesitús community and in the city;
- Kichwa Indigenous values in the community and in the city;
- The use of Kichwa language in the community, in the city, and at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes;
- The circle of life, solidarity and support in the city; and
- Children's play in the community and in the city.

There were also recommendations and impending actions to increase the use of Kichwa at all times through the future development of a Kichwa Language Program for early childhood from El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes. In August 2012, the co-participants reviewed and made several corrections to these themes in Quito City. The findings from the direct observations carried out last August were also reviewed and corrected by the co-participants in February 2013. They also requested use of the circle to show the daily schedule of young parents.

My Position as an Indigenous Researcher

As a Kichwa Indigenous person from Ecuador, I have first-hand experience regarding the limitations in the learning process when this is accomplished in a language that is not your own. Since my childhood, I have been concerned with cultural issues, particularly those related to the recovery of our ancestral cultural roots and identity. I

worked in several ways in Ecuador on both formal and informal projects to address the recovery of Indigenous cultures and languages. Since 2006 as a doctoral student at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, I have been reading articles from Indigenous and non-Indigenous authors related to language issues. From these readings, it was discovered that there is more than one way to recover or to teach a language. Each community needs to make an assessment of the current language situation to be able to design an effective plan. That plan must successfully respond to the needs of the community concerned with language revitalization, maintenance, and use to increase the number of Indigenous language speakers.

All of the aforementioned factors and previous experience in the field of Indigenous education and culture and my readings and field observations and participation in public hearings worldwide allowed me to carry out this study with respect and understanding in order to identify the cultural foundations of the Kichwa Peoples. These cultural foundations may be critical in the development of a Kichwa Language Program at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes in Quito City, Ecuador.

I have been working with CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School since 1998. In some ways, I could be considered an insider, since I am an Indigenous person from the Highlands of Ecuador. At the same time, I am an outsider because I come from a Kichwa community from the north of Ecuador and have never lived in the south. The fact that I am a doctoral student studying abroad is another reason that I may be seen as an outsider.

I was aware of my position in relation to the research co-participants and the appropriate cultural ways to carry out this study with respect to following the community protocols and decisions. Thus, I was careful during the process and remained flexible and

ready to correct any issue in order to show respect for the community at all times. It was important to always remember that the worldviews and perceptions of reality may differ from one culture to another (Leininger, 1995).

I also kept in my mind and soul that this study would be a step to change the colonized vision of ourselves. In this regard, Wilson (1996) refers to the recovery of Indigenous knowledge with the essential goal of decolonization, which demands auto criticism, self-reflection, and rejection of being victims. Wilson interviewed one elder who guided the research on past stories that were videotaped and translated from Dakota to the English language. It is fundamental to consult our Indigenous sources and use Indigenous methods of research such as storytelling, remembering, naming, representing, gendering, restoring, returning, networking, discovering, sharing, and so on to serve to decolonize Indigenous Peoples (Smith, 1999). In any research involving Indigenous communities, it is necessary to carefully build mutual trust and understanding, reciprocity, responsiveness and responsibility, and the respect for community decisions concerning written documents, sacred ceremonies, and respect for the given word, consent, and acting in good faith (Medicine, 2001).

Attention was paid to my physical appearance; therefore, I wore old, clean and simple traditional clothes, avoiding expensive clothes and gold jewelry to prevent any social class difference and disrespect. Attention was also paid to the appropriate protocol when speaking with young parents, elders, very young children, caregivers, and community authorities. They were greeted respectfully in Kichwa language by saying, *“Imanalla Kangui ruku tayta? Alli punlla mamaku, alli punlla taitaku, Alilla chu canguichi?* [How are you, grandfather? Good morning, dear mother. Good morning, dear

father. Are you fine?]

The co-participants were guided to think critically about their lives to find solutions from their reality and views. Consequently, we felt ownership of the solutions and empowered, because we developed a comprehensive inclusive bottom-up project that was all-encompassing where all social actors were able to participate with their expertise and knowledge.

Consideration was also given to Lomawaima (2000) and Drees (2001) as cited in their articles on Ethical Guidelines for Research concerning the importance of Indigenous Peoples having a Code of Ethics for researchers to follow the community protocols to preserve and protect their knowledge. Indigenous Peoples must be considered as co-participants of any research from beginning to end, from the design to the collection of data. Indigenous communities' codes for research must be respected and followed step by step, and results must be returned to Indigenous communities and kept in their archives and repositories. In 1993 Indigenous Peoples at the meeting in New Zealand wrote the Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples in which they recommended Indigenous Peoples develop a code of ethics that external users must observe when recording (visual, audio, written) traditional and customary information. Generally speaking, the academic setting does not have a defined space for Indigenous research. We have to make the space and look for other creative alternatives to state our Indigenous knowledge in a scientific way too. Research must be done by Indigenous researchers who should maintain "native" the entire time (Medicine, 2001).

All our Indigenous claims, including the one concerned with research on Indigenous communities, should be accomplished in the frame of the Declaration of

Indigenous Peoples Rights in the exercise of our right to self-determination as Article 31 states:

Indigenous Peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies, and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games, and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect, and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions (UNDRIP, September 13, 2007).

Before going to Ecuador in January 2012, I dreamed for several nights about one of my Indigenous teachers. He was standing by a mountain carrying tobacco in his hands; his hair was white and his face was very gentle. During one of our meetings, I asked my teacher about the meaning of this dream. He asked me about the stage of my research and advised me to participate in an Indigenous ceremony to ask permission for any future study and guidance to carry out an appropriate Indigenous research. Together with my husband and my son, we went to a Sweat Lodge in Albuquerque where I followed my teacher's recommendations and prayed with my heart. After the ceremony, I traveled to Ecuador in February 2012 keeping in mind the recommendation to behave appropriately to avoid any problem with the Ecuadorian co-participants in this study.

According to the mandate of the elders of my community and keeping in mind the collective well-being of Indigenous Peoples, I pursued this study following my elders'

and parents' teachings. I made offerings to the Creator and to *Pachamama*. I participated in Indigenous ceremonies to ask the Creator's permission and the guidance of my ancestors to produce a useful and culturally significant dissertation. I also fasted from time to time, prayed day and night, and followed my dreams about the structure, the content, and the appropriate way to write this dissertation in order to comply with the academic requirements as well as the community's needs. All the cultural counseling and advice constituted the framework for this study and helped to keep and strengthen my ancestral roots, my identity, and my indigeneity despite being abroad for several years.

I arrived in Ecuador February 14, 2013 and the next day visited the same elder with whom I had a dialogue before writing my dissertation proposal. As is the custom, I offered him, flowers, candles, fruit, eggs, and tobacco. We prayed together; he blessed me and gave counsel while he was breathing deeply and crying. He said the following in profound concentration:

The life for Indigenous Peoples is full of obstacles, challenges and suffering...

The most important fact is to know why you are writing this paper, for whom you are doing this document, if this is going to help our people or not... If the reason is clear, if that is for our benefit, then go ahead... You will face problems and delays here in Ecuador and abroad... Be calm, be flexible... Try to understand and accept whatever happens... Everything happens for a reason... You will be short of money... Just pray with faith, with hope... and you will get the support from people who you do not know yet... Do not get upset... Do not lose your strength... Walk step by step.... Walk... Do not fly... Walk with confidence, with love, with compassion and respect... Be humble all the time... Write about the

truth, about our problems, our concerns, but be cautious. Be careful too... You still have several things to do... It seems that your way to get the degree now is short; however, to walk towards your final goal you will need to be disciplined and to work hard following your community mandate... Do not overwork. Pay attention to your family, parents, and community, to your studies and to yourself... Care and love yourself... Pray every morning and night. Give offerings to the Creator... You will be a doctor, a person with both Indigenous and Western knowledge. Remember this... You need to use that degree for our well-being, for our service. That service will be done with honesty, humility, and love... After getting your title, your degree, then your main challenge will be to continue to be a woman full of good feelings, honest, sincere, and simple... Knowledge is power, but humility is wisdom... The Creator will bless you and guide you to be a wise, knowledgeable woman in the end... Before presenting your thesis, go to another ceremony, and when you finally get your degree also give thanks to the Creator, to our ancestors and give thanks with your heart to your parents, family, community, elders, teachers, advisors... Do not forget to give thanks to all the people who helped you in sad and critical moments and also to those who discouraged you, because they gave you the impulse to continue in your studies... When you have the degree in your hand and soul, then come to see me again... You will be acknowledged as a good or bad person by the community by your actions (Kichwa Elder, personal communication, February 15, 2012).

This cultural guide was my light and hope during research time and dissertation writing. It gave me strength and the courage to continue in this intercultural western

academic path with hope, clarity, respect, and understanding. During the research process, I was flexible with time in order to correct any issues or mistakes. Of supreme importance was to show the co-participants my consideration for the community at all times by respecting the given word, their consent.

Avoiding Bias

To avoid any bias on this research one *mashi*, friend, offered support during the whole process and reviewed the thesis chapters. This *mashi* helped avoid making assumptions and incorrect beliefs about this Indigenous community. Due to the simple fact that this *mashi* is also an Indigenous person from Ecuador, I was always reminded of how Indigenous things are in Ecuador. This community's reality may be different in several ways from my own community, which is located in the north of Ecuador, and even from my own life. This *mashi* made it clear to see the facts in the real dimension and to include all voices accurately with respect, caution, and transparency.

Study Limitations

It is very important for the Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador to have face-to-face conversations on a regular basis. Limitations in finding financial resources for this research did not allow travel as was previously planned. Therefore, any time available for travel to Ecuador to work on this research needed to be spent speaking with the co-participants about the study to refresh our minds to be on the same page and be able to continue with the next steps of this research. This is the appropriate cultural way to approach an Indigenous community in Ecuador to show respect to the community and knowledge of its cultural protocols. In dealing with Indigenous Peoples, it is necessary to have patience and respect for their time and rhythm of working. Being away from

Ecuador, it was not easy to gather data by telephone or via the Internet. The expected cultural way of working together involved face-to-face meetings to gain a mutual understanding of the process.

Most of the time Indigenous Peoples do not like to be audio recorded, video recorded, or photographed. Understanding that also taking notes during an interview was frowned upon, notes were made immediately after each interview. The co-participants are busy people, and I had to accept that fact and receive with gratitude their time, answers, and help. The young parents, for example, did not get permission from their jobs to attend the interviews; therefore, they responded to the interview questions during the direct observation done at their home. For the observations at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes and at participants' homes, I had to be extremely careful and cautious. The co-participants are humble and hard workers. I did not want to offend them in any manner. Therefore, I made the meetings, the interviews, and the direct observations during previously established schedules according to their time preference and availability. I needed to be flexible with the times and schedule changes due to personal or political situations and other unforeseen incidents in Ecuador that changed the timeframe for conducting this study.

It was necessary to travel to the community of Puesitús in the Chimborazo Province in southern Ecuador to obtain first-hand information and some written documents. This involved time, energy, and finances, as the bus terminal is located outside of Quito City, and the Puesitús community can only be reached by truck due to its altitude. Additional funds were used for transportation, food, and hotel for my companions (members of the community who are living in Quito City) and to buy presents for the community elders.

Moreover, I had to deal with the jealousy of some Ecuadorian Mestizo academicians who did not like meeting with an Indigenous doctoral student and researcher.

To gather the data for this study and to work in its validation, it was necessary to travel to Ecuador three times to acquire the input of the co-participants to ensure that their voices were being properly included. In addition, other factors were considered, such as:

- Availability of travel funds and the variation of ticket prices, depending on the season and time of travel;
- Compensation for all co-participants for their time, since they took time off from work to be a part of this study; and
- Compensation for my *mashi* for her time and assistance on this research project.

Because of a lack of financial resources, the research equipment could not be purchased. Interviews, all notes from the observations and data analysis were transcribed manually without any technical support. Inter and intra-lingual transitions in transcriptions required much time and intellectual energy. The nature of this task had inherent difficulties. Several days were spent on the translation of data from the interviews and observations, as the co-participants spoke in Kichwa and in Spanish. Since this language is not their first language, the translation was very complex because they began to speak in the first person (I) and immediately changed to first person plural (we). They also omitted the subjects and spoke in a circular way without pauses. Respect was always given to their way of expressing their views in the translation process. Much time was spent in the translation from Spanish or Kichwa into English in order to keep the

original way of Puesitús Peoples' speaking. During these hours of working, there was opportunity to put my feet on the earth and remember that we the Ecuadorian Indigenous Peoples always speak in the plural. The translation was a challenge, learning and returning to my roots.

Family, relatives, and friends were concerned for my safety during the research process, because the setting for the research is located in a dangerous neighborhood. They called my cell phone from time to time to make sure I was safe. It is a long distance from the place where I was staying in Quito City to the place of the study. Travel by taxi was required across the city to save time and to arrive promptly for meetings, interviews, and observations. There were occasions when I was called for a meeting during the weekend at 7 a.m. I was there ahead of time, but sometimes the participants did not appear. I waited for several hours and then returned home to wait for their call to explain the reasons for not attending the meeting. Extra money was expended for taxis and to recharge my cellphone to be prepared to contact the community and the co-participants. This was the only way to reach them.

Another limitation of this study was the attitude of the director of El Centro Infantil who did not allow development of friendship or a dialogue with the caregivers and small children. The director believes El Centro Infantil is working well; therefore, there were scant opportunities to discuss and study more about Indigenous language programs in the country and abroad, such as the Language Nest or the issue of learning an Indigenous language as a second language with grandparents and young parents.

Despite the fact that I had a doctoral grant, a lot of time was spent in finding more financial resources to cover academic and life essentials. Economic needs, family and

community concerns and responsibilities added a lot of pressure and took many days that could have been used writing the dissertation. A long period of time was dedicated to the corrections and revisions of this dissertation, as English is my third language, and I had to follow a non-Indigenous framework. Additional funding was finally secured to cover the costs of the revision, editing and formatting of this dissertation. With the cooperation of friends, a videotape will be produced in the future on Kichwa values found in this research that the community would like to receive as the final product of this study.

Chapter IV

History of Puesitús Community

This chapter presents information about the Indigenous Peoples from the Puesitús community of Ecuador who migrated from their original community to large cities of Ecuador and abroad where they struggled to survive and maintain their Indigenous culture, despite the negative influence of several socio-economic factors. In our initial meetings, the community reiterated their desire to have their own history reconstructed and recovered from their perspective. They wanted me to collect the data and write about facts that marked their lives, such as the role of the “*haciendas*,” farms, the landlords, the Catholic Church, and immigration. First-hand information was secured from elders and selected written information from old books that were difficult to read, as they were in poor physical condition and difficult to locate in the libraries in Ecuador.

The Puesitús Indigenous Peoples had the urgency to know who they were in order to capture an historic perspective to aid them in understanding their present life situation. This viewpoint would also assist in guiding the future by bringing positive elements from the past to the present. The community wanted to rewrite their history based on their testimonies of life. Every possible effort was made to achieve this request. Information was gathered from books, from the elders and their testimonies to write this section. Coming from an oral tradition, it was quite difficult to find literature about this community. Nevertheless, researchers from abroad and Ecuador were found who had worked with leaders of this community in the past. The elders offered information regarding foreign researchers who had made films and documentaries about the

community and had written articles about the history of the Puesitús population.

Unfortunately, no member of the community knows where to find any of these materials.

A collective decision was made to visit the community in the Chimborazo Province in February 2012 to gain a better understanding of the Puesitús community. I was accompanied by the president of the Alejo Saes Indigenous organization and four leaders of the community who lived in Quito City. A Kichwa person from the north of Ecuador also came to assist in this one-day visit. We traveled from Quito to Riobamba (125 miles) by bus for five hours and then proceeded from Riobamba to Puesitús by truck due to the remoteness of the area and the altitude where the community is located,

This visit afforded the opportunity to speak with some of the elders and gain insight into the history of Puesitús and to also learn the names of other elders who had information related to the community. Very little information was found at the Riobamba Library and few articles in the libraries in Quito City making it difficult to collect all the information needed to rewrite this history. Additional information was found in different libraries and interviews were conducted with those people who were knowledgeable about their community's history. After the information was collected and written, the community revised and corrected the history in a meeting in August 2012. At that meeting, they also decided to add some photography, for instance one of the Catholic churches built under the guidance of Monseigneur Proaño, who was the defender of Indigenous Peoples from Chimborazo Province. We are aware that the history of the community needs to be improved and completed, but for now they are thankful and agreed it needed to be included. This was a wise decision that conforms to Participatory Action Research Methodology used for this research.

This study concerns the cultural elements of the Kichwa Indigenous Peoples that would be used later as a foundation for several activities, such as the design of a culturally appropriate curriculum for a Kichwa Language Program at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes. The grandparents and young parents of these very young children who attend this Centro are originally from the Puesitús community, from the Puruhá ethnic unit that is part of the Kichwa nation.

In the pre-colonial times, the Puruhá Indigenous Peoples had only one “*cacique principal*,” Don Gaspar Tique, who organized the cultivation of maize, potatoes, *mellocos*, tuber, and *quinoa*, small cereal (Salomon, 1981, p. 281). The Puruhá Indigenous Peoples had specific regions to produce certain products under the control of different groups. For instance, there was an Indigenous group who lived in nearby Ambato City that was responsible for growing maize; another group cared for the llamas. The maize and the llamas were the tribute for the Incas. There were also three groups of people especially responsible for cotton, coca crops, and salt production that were known as “*Kamayujkuna*” (Salomon, 1981, p. 294; Yáñez del Pozo, 2003, p. 46). Before the Incas’ arrival to Ecuador, the Puruhá Indigenous Peoples spoke the Paraguay and the Inga language. They venerated the Chimborazo mountain (the male) and the Tungurahua (female mountain) (Costales, 1990; Pérez, 1969).

The Puruhá Peoples also suffered with the consequences of the Spanish conquest. They had to learn a new culture, a new language, and lost their ancestral lands taken by the Spanish and later by the Mestizo people and the Church. The main goal of the Spanish period was to convert the Ecuadorian Indigenous Peoples to Christianity. With this purpose in mind, the Spanish delivered into the *encomenderos* hands the necessary

resources, such as the Indigenous lands together with the Indigenous Peoples who were living there as the ancestral owners of these lands. The *encomenderos* were responsible for the administration of these lands and to convert the Indigenous Peoples to Catholicism. With the Independence of Ecuador from the Spanish Crown, the lands and the Indigenous Peoples that were under the control and ownership of the *encomenderos* were taken by the Ecuadorian Mestizo landlords and the Church. These landlords gradually also gained control of the remaining free Indigenous communities that were outside of their properties. In this illicit way, the landlords increased the extension of their territory and the number of Indigenous Peoples. With these possessions, landlords created the *hacienda*. When everything was under control, landlords gave the Indigenous Peoples a small piece of land for planting (*huasipungo*), a few presents, and some money in advance. Therefore, Indigenous Peoples had to work forever for the *hacienda* to pay the received goods that afterwards became debts. Indigenous children inherited these debts. With the two agrarian reforms in the second half of the 20th century, this labor relationship was broken. The landlords received the best lands for agriculture, and the Indigenous Peoples received lands of *cangahua*, dry and hard land that was not good for planting. Consequently, because of the lack of quality agricultural land, Indigenous Peoples were obligated to occupy the lands on the *páramos*, very high lands (R.T., personal communication, February 16, 2012).

Until the 1950s, the Puesitús community was a large *hacienda* (farm) located at Licto and Flores Parish of Riobamba County in the Chimborazo Province. From that time, the Indigenous Peoples from this *hacienda* called themselves Puesitús Peoples. The Puesitús *hacienda* was the property of the Augustinian priests from 1843 to 1889. After

1889, the ownership of this land was in the hands of different families. In 1915, Aurelio Cordovez became the owner of this farm. From 1915 to 1920, Ezequiel Merino and his family were the owners. Later it was the property of the Baldeón family until the 1950s (Carrasco & Lentz, 1985, p. 89; Marchán, 1986, p. 201-521; Yáñez del Pozo, 2003, p. 49). From the 1940s to the 1950s in Ecuador, the Indigenous Peoples' property was in the hands of the *hacendados*, landlords, and in the hands of the Church. These territories were effectively robbed from Indigenous Peoples by asking them to put their fingerprints on a blank paper as evidence that Indigenous Peoples sold their lands.

Many Indigenous families lived nearby or on the Puesitús *hacienda* as indentured servants for survival reasons in the 1950s working in the fields for the owners, as well as planting products such as potatoes, *mellocos*, small tubers, lima beans, and maize on small parcels of land for their survival. Indigenous Peoples from the Puesitús farm were obligated to work for the *hacendados*, landlords, as domestic servants to pay the debts that their grandparents and parents had incurred many years before. Parents and children had to work on this farm for several years to pay or to decrease the amount of these debts – debts that never ended and on the contrary were inherited by the children.

Indigenous parents received a very small salary, a few cents of a Sucre, for a whole week of work. On the other hand, the Mestizo local authorities, those who were living nearby the Puesitús *hacienda*, also forced the Puesitús Indigenous Peoples to comply with certain social obligations throughout the year, such as paying for feasts and other social activities (*compadrazgos*, godfathers, and *priostasgos*, the responsibility to carry out a feast) costing them a lot of money. There was also a network of Mestizo people that together with the priests threatened the Indigenous Peoples to carry out these

feasts. When they lacked money to pay for these obligations, the network of *chulqueros*, money lenders, was ready to make loans to Indigenous Peoples with high interests. Among the members of this network were the *chicheros*, alcohol sellers, who were located near the church at the plaza ready to sell drinks to Indigenous Peoples, who before the time of the *hacienda* never used to be drunk in such a way.



In March 2012, I had the unique opportunity to participate in a historical meeting held in Quito City where older Indigenous leaders from Ecuador (80-90 years old) gave their testimonies of life for the Indigenous youth. One elder from the Chimborazo Province said in tears:

Our poor parents were in permanent debt because of all these *fiestas*, feasts. I still do remember clearly how the local authorities and the priests came to our homes to remind us when it was our own turn to offer the feast. The *chulqueros* and *chicheros* also were part of this oppressive network. Despite the fact that we did not have even enough food for our daily sustenance, our parents and grandparents had to make every effort to carry out these feasts. They were obligated to look for loans that made them and their children slaves of the landlords, the church, the *chulqueros* and *chicheros*. We the Indigenous children grew up being conscious of this exploitation of our parents; therefore, while we were working at the *hacienda* or with the *chicheros*, we took advantage to continue speaking Kichwa language and to also learn Spanish and learn how to read and write. All these Mestizos in our area spoke Kichwa language fluently, and from that fact we decided to learn their language too. We became literate while working for the *chicheros* to pay our parents 'debts, but we had to pay them for teaching us

nothing. The debts never decreased; on the contrary, the amount of the debts was getting higher. When we were young, we organized to kick these money loaners and the alcohol sellers out of our community, because we wanted to stop these violations and to have our peoples sober and free of debts and slavery. We realized that our parents were expending a lot of money to give food and drinks to Mestizo people who had nothing to do with our community. We had to work hard to help our people to understand that nothing bad was going to happen to them if they refused to make the fiesta and that the Creator was not going to send any punishment to our people either... This way of thinking was not easy to change, because our people were full of fear... fear of the authorities, fear of the church, and fear of not being able to go to heaven when they died if they did not celebrate the feast in the honor of a saint or virgin... The landlords, priests, and their friends did not like us to be at school, to become educated; they said that the Indigenous Peoples did not need it. Throughout our life we had to fight every day to gain the respect from the Mestizos and to be seen as persons, as human beings... Our life was and still is full of pain, full of new challenges; however, during the time of the *haciendas* we were united. We had a common goal to work on the recovery of our land, culture, and education... We always fought for our collective *Sumak Kawsay*, plenitude of life, and to also protect and preserve our *Pachamama*... (Kichwa Elder Testimony, March 23, 2012).

Figure 22.

Puesitús Community

	
<p>Entrance to Puesitús Community Photo courtesy of RMI, Ecuador 2011.</p>	<p>Sign of Puesitús Community Photo courtesy of J.M., Ecuador 2012.</p>
	
<p>Catholic Church at Puesitús Community Photo by J.M., 2012.</p>	<p>General view of Puesitús Community Photo by J.M., Ecuador 2012.</p>

Migration of Puesitús Indigenous Peoples to the City

Like others, the Puesitús Indigenous Peoples, the focus of this study, had to migrate because of unjust land tenure. Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador organized and fought to recover their ancestral lands from the landlords' and Church's hands in the 1950s-1960s. In the second half of the 20th Century, there were two Agrarian Reforms. Landlords benefited from these reforms, because they received large portions of land that

were cultivated for agriculture, while in 1976 there were only 850,000 hectares to be shared among 64,000 Indigenous families. The modernization of the countryside in Ecuador in the 1970s worked only for a small group of businessmen. Indigenous Peoples who were owners of small pieces of land did not receive credit or technical assistance during this time of modernization (Jaramillo, 1983). Furthermore, Indigenous land lost its value because it was only *cangahua* (hard land), which is inadequate for agricultural purposes (Yáñez del Pozo, 2003).

Indigenous migration in the 1970s from the countryside to the cities of Ecuador was a direct consequence of the problem of land tenure, land erosion, and poor living conditions. It was also connected with the need for Indigenous manual labor in the cities where the modernization and industrialization was happening. According to Velasco (1985), Ecuadorian Indigenous Peoples' migration is classified following three criteria:

1. The duration,
2. Urban, and rural destiny, and
3. The migrants' condition.

In the duration category, the migration could be definitive (colonization, urbanization) or temporary (periodic, occasional, and daily). In the second criteria, there is the migration from the countryside to the city, from the countryside to a small city, from small or medium city to a big city, from city to city, from countryside to countryside, and from city to countryside. For example, Puesitús Indigenous families migrated from Chimborazo Province to the nearby town Riobamba and later to Quito, a large city. The third classification refers to the "formal and informal occupation" in the city. The work of the whole family of Indigenous Peoples from Chimborazo was carried

out in Quito City. This is why this movement cannot just be called migration. A better term is workforce mobilization (Yáñez del Pozo, 2003, p. 60).

Indigenous Peoples from Puesitús and other communities from Chimborazo, Cotopaxi, and Tungurahua Provinces from the south of Ecuador made the decision to migrate from their communities to big cities of Ecuador for two main reasons:

1. Endless debts with the landlords, the continuous work without decent pay and debts to the Mestizo's network incurred for funding various feasts; and
2. Erosion of the land and scarcity of land suitable for cultivation for survival.

Men from Puesitús and other communities traveled to the *Ingenio San Carlos* sugar factory on the Coast of Ecuador to find work. Later they moved to the port of Guayaquil to work at rice plantations or carrying rice bags on their backs. The first group of Indigenous migrants to the Coast suffered limitations and several problems, such as the lack of a place to sleep or to take a bath. However, they had a secure salary and the opportunity to save money for their family's sustenance and for buying land, as during the 1960s the *haciendas* were divided into small parcels and sold. These first migrants had the advantage of buying these pieces of property and began to recover their Motherland, *Pachamama* that for so many years was in the hands of Mestizo families like Merino and Baldeón. They were also keeping their prestige as Indigenous Peoples for whom the land is a traditional indicator for identity and cultural belonging.

These Indigenous Peoples who migrated to the Coast were considered "temporary migrants," because they worked only from June to December cutting sugar cane. Once the crop was harvested, there was no reason to stay, so they returned to their community to rest and work their own crops of potatoes, *ocas*, tuber, and barley and to assist other

Indigenous brothers and sisters who had migrated with their crops (Carrasco & Lentz, 1985, p. 108).

Men and boys were the first to leave the community in the resettlement process. At the age of 9 or 10-, boys were on their way to the Coast or to big cities, with the help and support of the older migrants, to earn money to assist their parents. This responsibility continued until they married, when their wives were the one receiving the wages.

It was important for the new migrants traveling to the Coast to know the working address of their relatives and the role of social networks in securing recommendations and finding a job (Carrasco & Lentz, 1985, p. 12). The first generation of migrants blazed the trail and altered the destiny of the migrants that followed. Their experiences assisted others in finding jobs working in sugar, rice, or banana plantations or selling products at the street or at the market or carrying heavy packages or working in constructions.

The migrants arrived at the Coast being monolinguals in Kichwa. They did not speak Spanish, so they were exploited by the owners or administrators of the plantations. Therefore, they had to learn Spanish rapidly or at least to talk a “*chaupi lengua*,” half Kichwa and half Spanish (Carrasco & Lentz, 1985, p. 12). They also had to change their cultural values and ways of living in order to survive. For instance, they decided to cut their long hair, since while sleeping with chickens they contracted head lice and did not have water to wash their long hair every day. Short hair was easier to keep clean. They did not use their ponchos or their traditional hats while working because of the heat. Nevertheless, in the place where they slept, they still spoke the Kichwa language.

There was another group of Indigenous Peoples from Chimborazo Province who wanted to be free of debt from the Mestizo people, since they “were obligated to carry out feasts until the 1970s” (Carrasco & Lentz, 1985, p. 67). In the 1950s, they decided to migrate to Quito City, the capital of Ecuador. In this big city the new migrants received the help of their relatives, the first migrants, and went to live in el Panecillo, San Roque, Toctiuco Alto, and La Libertad - the same places where the other migrants were already living. These neighborhoods were outside of the center of the city where the rent was cheapest and still had small green spaces (Yáñez del Pozo 2003).

The migrant Indigenous Peoples in Quito were discriminated against all the time. They were insulted at the government offices, at school, and in the street. Racism in the 1960s was a critical issue; usually the peasants and minorities were excluded and treated badly everywhere (Yáñez del Pozo, 2003). The Indigenous migrants in the city did not have a secure job. Consequently, they had and still are working in different places. Men worked in construction loading and carrying products and heavy items on their backs or shoulders. In March 2012, I had a meeting with the director of El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes. I was at the San Roque market at 6 a.m. very early in the morning to be on time for this meeting. While waiting, I had the opportunity to observe the relationship between one Indigenous man in his 50s and a Mestizo woman who sold different products in the market. He carried heavy loads on his back ten times from one truck to the stall where the woman sold these products. He was tired and sweating a lot. When he finished carrying her things, he informed the woman that he had completed the job. She was very rude with him and instead of giving him thanks for his help, she threw a 50 cents piece at him. In a very humble way, he asked her to pay a little more because he had done a good job for

her, but instead of giving him more money she insulted him badly (Y. Terán, personal observation, March 24, 2012).

During the day, the newer migrants to Quito City worked and still work in the same places where older migrants work, and at night they studied to gain better opportunities. By combining the community and city styles of organization, a new leadership was developed to overcome the complex difficulties of the city “taking into account the experience of their predecessors” (Carrasco & Lentz, 1985, p. 115).

In the past, the Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador had strong social organizations, such as the *Cabildo* that was formed by a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer and commissions for agriculture, health, education, roads, etc. There were roles and responsibilities to be accomplished for the collective benefit of the communities and the well-being of Mother Earth. The *minga*, communal work, and the values of reciprocity and solidarity were practiced on a daily basis. This particular characteristic helped them live in rural and urban places throughout this time. The community developed strong cultural values that aided in the survival of the individuals and the group. During the Indigenous migration process, these values have been the strength to continue fighting for Indigenous life and existence. Among these values are:

- Mutual help;
- Solidarity;
- Consideration of the community as the center, the mother, the origin, the being that stays forever;
- Respect for the family and the individual;
- Strength to protect from adversity;

- Spirituality and mythical ancestors;
 - Strong social cohesion;
 - Respect for authority;
 - Land ownership;
 - love and respect for Mother Earth, *Pachamama*;
 - Defense of unprotected people; and
 - Central importance for other values that have no relationship with money
- (Costales, 1997).

According to Costales (1997) and Tocagón (1997), when Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador migrated from their rural communities to big cities such as Guayaquil, Quito, Riobamba, and Cuenca, they were obligated to live with new values that were in conflict with their community values. In the cities there was a lack of land and natural resources, because they had to rent a room where there was no land available for agriculture. The family is seen as a financial unit of production where everyone has to work to contribute economically for the daily expenses in the city. Indigenous Peoples in Quito had to understand the importance of private property instead of the collective as it was in the community. Due to the different urban lifestyle and multiple occupations, work was not performed communally but individually. There was not much time to be together during the day; therefore, the individual was and continues to be isolated.

In the cities there was also competition and a great need for monetary resources in order to survive. There was also no support or network of solidarity in the cities, which is the opposite way of living in communities. Indigenous Peoples lived under circumstances of unequal sharing of properties, because in the city they had to rent a room, and violence

and despotism from the Mestizo society and state control existed because they were sellers at the street, which is forbidden. Furthermore, they were forced to learn the Spanish language and culture and to forget the Kichwa language and cultural values. What was more stressful for Indigenous Peoples was the imbalance in the relationship between people and the environment: *Pachamama* was being overused for economic reasons.

Nevertheless, in the city Indigenous Peoples found better opportunities for their children's education and for improving their living conditions. Being united, they were able to face all the new problems "using the past organizational experience of their community" (Carrasco & Lentz, 1985, p. 54). Aware of the different problems that the migrants from Chimborazo were facing in Quito City, the Foundation of Indigenous Children and Family, FUNFIG, was created in July 1994 by Indigenous professionals from Chimborazo Province in the center of Quito City. The goal of this foundation was to rescue the cultural values, the language, music, and traditional clothing of Indigenous Peoples from Chimborazo Province. In the education field, they requested volunteers to help the Indigenous students with math, English, and music classes to overcome their failure in these subjects. The idea of these professionals was to prepare young students for other careers like medicine and engineering and also to send them to study abroad so they could learn English and French. They wanted to prepare new professionals to serve their native community (Tocagón, 1997). A course of dressmaking was also offered for youth to help them improve the quality of the clothes they sold. They also created the association *Runacunapac Yuyai* (Yáñez del Pozo, 2003). Consequently, the Puesitús Indigenous Peoples organized themselves and created several organizations until the final

creation of Alejo Saes Association to obtain a better education for children of migrant families from Chimborazo, Cotopaxi and Tungurahua Provinces. This associations created the CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School and later El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes, among others, through collective work, the *minga*.

Alejo Saes (1866-1909) was an important Indigenous leader born in Licto, Chimborazo. In 1884, he led a rebellion against *diezmos* - *the 10% of their agricultural crops that Indigenous Peoples were obligated to offer the church*. In 1895, Saes joined Eloy Alfaro's liberal revolution. As a reward for his support to the revolution, Alfaro granted Saes the rank of General of the Republic. Saes convinced Alfaro to create laws in favor of Indigenous Peoples (Albornoz, 1988, p. 41).

Indigenous Peoples in the cities needed some time to understand, to learn and live with the values that were individual and not collective. Unfortunately, many Indigenous Peoples from Chimborazo Province had migrated to big cities looking for a better life and education for their children. However, the reality was different from what they had in mind; therefore, they suffered a big cultural shock and had difficulty getting work. The permanent Indigenous migrants who were already living in the city immediately tried to support and accommodate the members of their family, relatives, and friends. There was a network of solidarity and mutual assistance for survival to aid the newcomers who had arrived in the city. In this way, the community values and culture were reproduced within an urban setting (*Maigua* Grandfather, personal communication, March 30, 2012; Tocagón, 1997).

Puesitús Indigenous Peoples from Chimborazo Province came to work in the markets of the historic center of Quito City and settled around the market areas where the

living conditions were very precarious without potable water, electricity, or indoor plumbing, green spaces, etc. In the 1950s-1960's, Indigenous migrants decided to live around the market, because it was close to the area where the women worked. Low rents were also available.

New migrants stayed living in the market area where they found some support to live in Quito. The Chimborazo migrants worked at San Roque Market selling clothes, fruits and vegetables. Indigenous women often were and still are selling fruits or vegetables in the street or at San Roque market located in the center of Quito. They bought big packs and boxes of seasonal produce from the larger producers (intermediaries) at the wholesale market at El Mercado Mayorista and then would clean and repack the fruit and vegetables to re-sell at several markets in the city. For instance, they sold fruit either from the Highlands or from the Coast such as oranges, bananas, papayas, peaches, mangos, guavas, grapes, and strawberries. On other occasions, they sold onions, carrots, radishes, tomatoes, beans, peas, potatoes, and lemons. Other women sewed clothing. Men worked as carriers at the markets and the children as shoe shiners after school or during the holidays. When some of these migrants earned enough money working in Quito, they invested in land to build a house in the neighborhoods of La Ecuatoriana, San Carlos, and in the Historical Center far away from the center of the city but with natural and green surroundings so important for the Puesitús Indigenous Peoples well-being (*Mashua* Grandmother, personal communication, March 30, 2012).

These Indigenous Puesitús women from immigrant families were *purishpa jatukkuna*, street vendors, “*vendedoras ambulantes*,” small business people or construction workers. After school, the children also had to help their parents work.

Around and within the San Roque Market, food stands were set up to sell prepared food similar to that cooked in their community. Some of these small restaurants were owned by Indigenous Peoples. The Indigenous migrants from different communities came to these places to have meetings, to share their concerns and experiences, to discuss their problems, and to organize their work in the city.

Indigenous migrants faced two major problems in Quito City: the lack of official sales permits and the working conditions of women and children. The sales permits had to be renewed every year and required a fee and additional documents. Women and children typically worked in the streets with heavy traffic. The dangers of the traffic plus pollution were coupled with the women's inability to communicate in Spanish (*Mashua* Grandmother, personal communication, March 30, 2012; Yáñez del Pozo, 2003, p.43). In the urban areas, these Indigenous Peoples learned forcibly to “*rodar*” (Carrasco & Lentz, 1985, p. 116), which literally means “to roll” or learning with suffering to overcome the obstacles in the city, a new and strange place. This process of rolling gave them the strength to continue living in this new location where they had several limitations, such as a lack of land and a natural environment. Their well-being, *Alli Kawsay*, depended on how well they learned to *rodar*, to face and solve the problems in the city.

Being conscious of the possibilities for change, these migrant Indigenous Peoples decided to stay in Quito City as “permanent migrants” (Carrasco & Lentz, 1985, p. 109). Nevertheless, they still went back to the Puesitús community at least once a year to celebrate their annual feast in August or to participate in important community activities. Children, youth and elders, women and men took time to be together again to cook, to play, to sing, to dance, to share good and bad news, and to discuss and decide how to

continue supporting the community's existence in the countryside and in the city. In this return to Puesitús, they regained their status as Indigenous Peoples and recovered and strengthened their sentiment of belonging to this community where they still had small portions of land (Carrasco & Lentz, 1985; *Mashua* Grandfather, personal communication, March 30, 2012; Yáñez del Pozo, 2003).

The Indigenous Peoples from Chimborazo, Cotopaxi, and Tungurahua Provinces who were living abroad, returned to their native communities in the south of Ecuador from Italy, Spain, Mexico, Venezuela, the United States, etc. every February to celebrate the *Pawkar Raymi* Ceremony, the flowers and unripe products ceremony. Abroad they worked hard the whole year to save money to be spent back in Ecuador on food, drinks, and musical groups during the ceremony in which the whole community participated. This return to Ecuador gave them the opportunity to reconnect with *Pachamama*, Mother Earth, with their relatives, to gain social prestige and moral support and strength to go back again to their new places of residence (Y. Terán, personal observation and communication at Quito Airport, February 14, 2012).

Although Puesitús Indigenous Peoples were no longer living in their community, these migrant families still sent money from the cities where they were living for the Indigenous local authorities from Puesitús (*Cabildo*: president, vice-president, secretary, treasure and different coordinators) for their sustenance, for administrative matters, and for community maintenance (clean a road, build a new house). The elders and the families who remained in the community took care of the houses and worked the land. These migrant families proudly said, "I have land in my community, and my aunt or my relative is taking care of it" (*Mashua* Grandfather, personal communication, September 7,

2012). Anthropologists refer to this relationship as the Archipelago and the Islands (Salomon, 1981, p. 294; Yáñez del Pozo, 2003, p.45). The Archipelago is the original Puesitús community, and the islands are the urban settings outside the community where the migrant families are now living. The money that these families sent to the community on a monthly basis was a moral obligation of all Puesitús Indigenous Peoples to maintain the life of the community and its inhabitants, despite their physical absence.

Puesitús Indigenous Peoples lived in two realities: one in Quito City where they moved from one job to another selling produce, fruit, and working in construction, the other in the rural community of Puesitús where they still had relatives, their houses, and small pieces of land, *pequeños pedacitos de tierra*. In the city they created foundations, organizations, schools, a daycare, and a women's association. In the community they had their communal house, playground, Catholic Church, and local authorities to whom they gave financial and moral support. Some Puesitús Peoples returned from Quito City to their community for three or four months to work their land, plant crops, and to harvest. They also assisted in fixing roads or other communal property through the practice of *minga* (communal work). In this way, they maintained their social relationships and their tie to Mother Earth. Puesitús Indigenous Peoples were responsible in Quito City for the well-being of their families, while the community leaders were responsible and had the support from their people who migrated to the cities (*Mashua* Grandfather, personal communication, March 30, 2012; Yáñez del Pozo, 2003).

Even living in a big city, the elders still had a close link with the land. Puesitús Indigenous Peoples said that “Without land, we are nothing” (*Yana Putuc* Grandmother, personal communication, August 27, 2012). *Pachamama*, the Mother Earth, has a vital

importance in the life of Puesitús Indigenous Peoples. Today the elders and young generation are working together to buy a farm near Quito for crops, to produce milk products, and to divide the earnings among members of the Cooperative. The objective is to take small children to the farm to teach them the cultural meaning and role of the land and to teach them to make cheese, yogurt, and to process milk. “We got this idea considering that our Indigenous children sometimes ignore from where and how some products that we eat daily come to the table of our family” (*Mashua* Grandfather, personal communication, September 5, 2012).

In the case of the Puesitús Indigenous Peoples who live in Quito, the values of reciprocity and solidarity are still alive. Meetings are held and community problems are discussed and collectively solved at the CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School through the assigning of responsibilities and roles by the community committee. Women and men work together using their experience gained in the city and from their networks of friends. Every task is achieved through the *minga*, collective work, and support from other Indigenous Peoples and some Mestizos. Indigenous parents are invited to meetings orally or through written messages sent home with students. The communal ways and unity are practiced at these meetings, usually held on Mondays.

Centro Infantil Alejo Saes was founded in a communal effort to attend to the needs of infants, children, and working mothers. The CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School is the preferred place to discuss and solve cultural, political, land, or human rights issues with others where the community life is revived and maintained (*Mashua* Grandfather, personal communication, February 16, 2012). Despite the painful process that all migrant Indigenous Peoples go through in the cities, their values, attitudes, and community inter-

actions do not disappear from night to day. These values are reformed or re-adapted in the urban spaces still allowing for a close link with the community and the ability to practice reciprocity and strengthen social and family relations. The land is the core of all these relations. When there is no land, the social relations become weak. For this reason, younger permanent migrants to the cities do not have the desire to buy land at the community. It is more useful for them to buy land near the city and to remain in the cities (Costales, 1997).

After overcoming the initial challenges, generally speaking, these permanent Indigenous migrants from the Puesitús community, who live in two worlds (Carrasco & Lentz, 1985), are now eager to recover their culture and language, their ways of thinking, feeling, and acting. They want to teach their cultural foundations to their very small children with the goal to have Indigenous children bilingual in Kichwa and in Spanish and any other language, if that is possible, to be prepared to live in an intercultural society. In this respect, one young mother said:

The times have changed... I do remember the suffering of both my parents when we first came to this city. But now it is slightly different. Therefore, we need to teach our small children our language, culture, and roots. It is important to know both cultures, the Kichwa and the Spanish. They need Spanish to survive in the city and Kichwa for being and living as an Indigenous person... That is the reality and we cannot deny it (Young Mother from *Puka* Family, personal communication, February 27, 2012).

Figure 23.

Annual Puesitús Feast

	
Mass at Annual Puesitús Feast, Ecuador 2011 Photo courtesy RMI	Traditional Dance at Annual Puesitús Feast, Ecuador 2011 Photo courtesy RMI
	
Traditional Dance at Annual Puesitús Feast, Ecuador 2011 Photo courtesy RMI	Closing the Annual Puesitús Feast, Ecuador 2011 Photo courtesy RMI

Chapter V

Findings

This study concerns the cultural foundations in developing a Kichwa Language Program for El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes in Quito City with the goal to find solutions for Kichwa language loss. Puesitús Peoples are aware that very young Kichwa children are not learning and speaking the Kichwa language and that their parents have either only a passive knowledge of the language or are hesitant to use Kichwa in front of more fluent speakers. This impedes communication with elders who wish to pass on their knowledge of the culture.

During previous meetings held in February and March of 2012, the community discussed the importance of recovering Kichwa cultural values. They recognized that the elders still have this cultural information, but it is being gradually lost due to the community migration period to urban places in the 1950s. They decided to work with the elders first and then with young parents in order to compare information obtained from both generations to gauge the changes or maintenance of some Kichwa values.

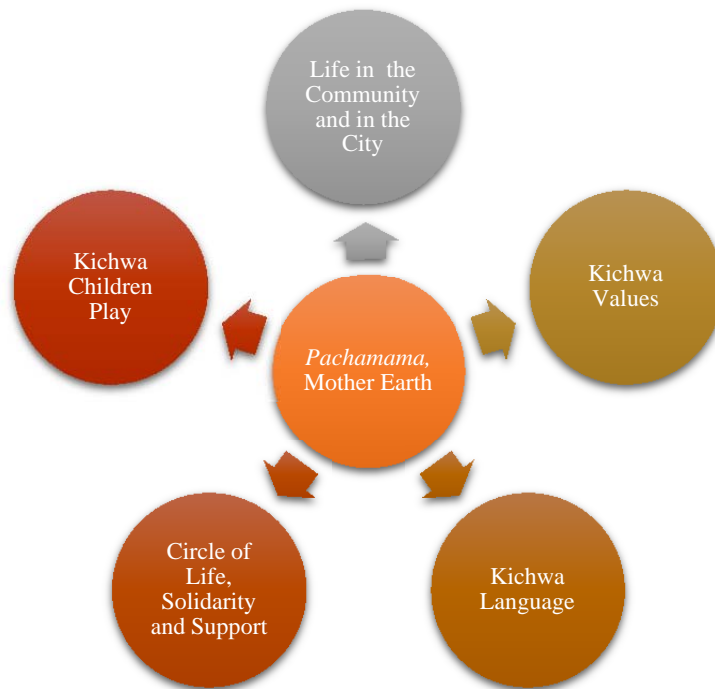
The questions were formulated collectively between the community members and co-participants of this study and me and were presented to grandparents in the context of the community of Puesitús in Chimborazo Province and to young parents in the context of Quito City. The primary question of this study was concerned with the values and cultural practices that a Kichwa child needs to learn to be Kichwa. Attention was also given to the first sub-question: What was a Kichwa child? due to its link to the primary question What made a Kichwa child Kichwa?

In Kichwa Indigenous ways of interacting and thinking, a typical interview cannot be conducted, because each question cannot be asked separately as it is asked. For Kichwa Indigenous Peoples, everything is interrelated and interconnected, and one word could have several cultural concepts. Therefore, the answers to the sub-questions are interspersed in the information provided by the co-participants during the interviews and direct observations. As was cited in the interview protocol, asking too many questions is not allowed among Kichwa Peoples. During the interviews, grandmothers spoke first and grandfathers completed any missing information. Co-participants gave information they thought was needed.

This section will discuss themes that surfaced from the interviews and direct observations, which show the importance of where the Kichwa child is living, because the geographical space has a direct relationship with a child's cultural learning. These subjects are interconnected, and *Pachamama* is at the center. They also reflect the Kichwa cultural values needed to develop a Kichwa language program for very small children of El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes. Considering the holistic view of Kichwa Peoples, the following themes emerged:

Figure 24.

Themes of the Study



Source: Terán Y. (2013)

The vital importance of *Pachamama* is the basis for Indigenous life and culture development. The life of the Puesitús Peoples in the community and in the city is referenced in order to contextualize the changes in their lives in the community and the reasons for their migration in the 1950s to the city. The remaining Kichwa cultural values including the Kichwa language are discussed, as well as the importance of the circle of life, solidarity and support to survive in the new city environment. Information on cultural play in the Puesitús community and in the city that could be used as a pedagogic resource in the future Kichwa language program is also included.

Following the Participatory Action Research framework, which is to gather a community to analyze current problems and develop solutions and thereby empower the

community, the concerns of the co-participants regarding language and culture loss, their reflections and suggestions to overcome these problems and their hopes to teach the Kichwa language and culture with an appropriate curriculum based on the remaining Kichwa cultural values, was the first priority. The co-participants offered a significant amount of information that has not been written and is only in the memory of the elders.

The primary question was What made a Kichwa child Kichwa? There was scant written information regarding this concept and about the cultural elements that influence the development of an Indigenous child, particularly a Kichwa child. As Montaluisa (1990, 2008) stated, the answers to this question are immersed in the community's thinking and practices every day in the socialization of very young children. Fortunately, information was gained from grandparents' and young parents' interviews.

To be a Kichwa child, it is important to learn the Kichwa language during childhood to help the child communicate with others and with the beings of *Pachamama*. He will be able to talk, to pray, and chant as a Kichwa child. As a young father from the *Puka* Family said,

Para que mis hijos sean Kichwas deberán hablar nuestra lengua, conocer nuestros valores y practicarlos, saber quiénes somos, de dónde venimos, saber qué es la Pachamama, qué es el Tungurahua, el Chimborazo, qué es la chuquiragua (Entrevista Personal, Padre Joven, Familia Puka, Agosto 20, 2012).

For my children to be Kichwa, they must speak our language, know our values and practice them, know who we are, where we come from, know what the *Pachamama* is, what the Tungurahua is, what the Chimborazo is, what the

chuquiragua is (Personal interview, Young Father, *Puka* Family, August 20, 2012).

Para ser Kichwa el niño o niña debería hablar Kichwa y conocer y practicar nuestras costumbres (Entrevista personal, Madre Joven, *Familia Yana* Family, Marzo 5, 2012).

To be a Kichwa, the boy or girl should speak Kichwa and learn and practice our customs (Personal interview, Young Mother, *Yana* Family, March 5, 2012).

According to this information, the Kichwa child must know that he is Kichwa to be sure about his belonging to Kichwa Peoples and about his cultural identity. He should have knowledge about the meaning and role of Mother Earth, including her elements such as the Chimborazo and Tungurahua Mountains that are sacred to Puesitús Indigenous Peoples. A child has to know the community values, customs, norms, and principles to act accordingly and to their protocols. All these teachings are related to *Pachamama*, to all her beings in which men and their relations are included. A child who knows his culture would also love the language and use it everywhere.

Knowledge and culture are tied to where people live. For instance, for Puesitús Peoples this knowledge is related to agriculture, crops, mountains, rivers, trees, stones, animals, etc. In the community the social and economic relationships are linked to the cycle of life and agriculture. In this context, *Pachamama*, Mother Earth, plays a vital role in the life of Puesitús Indigenous Peoples, because she is the fundamental basis for the development of life and culture. The Kichwa child then would be ready to understand in the future why land is important and why the relationships between men and Mother

Nature are primordial. A Puesitús Indigenous child, despite being born in the city, needs to know where his relatives came from, their original geographical space.

To gain a better understanding, the Kichwa child who lives in the city has to visit the original community of Puesitús to encounter face-to-face all the beings of *Pachamama* to feel the power and the sacredness of the mountains, such as the Chimborazo (male) and Tungurahua (female). These mountains are the guardians and protectors of the Puesitús community. The Kichwa child is being cared for and loved since infancy so he would grow strong cultural roots like the *chuquiragua* plant, a cultural symbol that stands for endurance and resilience.

To be a Kichwa child implies the early learning of the Kichwa values, principles, norms, and language. Among the values are:

- Respect for elders and demonstrating by greeting them by shaking their hand;
- Getting up early;
- Caring for and supporting others; and
- Participating in the *mingas* - learning how to treat the seeds, how to plant, how to take care of the crops, the water, and the animals.

Also, the Kichwa child needs to learn how to be a good and honest person and to work for the collective well-being of the community. The elders and women play an important role in this cultural teaching and oral transmission of ancestral knowledge starting in childhood. The Kichwa child then grows surrounded by the *Pachamama* and receives her protection, love, guidance, and teachings from his family, *ayllu*, relatives, and community.

Concerning the sub-question What was a Kichwa child? the following answers were obtained from interviews with grandparents and young parents. The Kichwa child is like a tender small plant that requires caring, watering, nurturing, and protection first from the mother and later from the family and community. The Kichwa child needs care starting in his mother's womb, to allow him to feel love and be familiar with the sounds of Kichwa language, the voice of his parents, and the sounds of *Pachamama*. The Kichwa child is considered sacred, born free of negativity and full of innocence and purity - the continuation of Kichwa Peoples through generations because he is carrying the blood and spirit of his parents and ancestors. The Kichwa child is also seen as a celestial person - the bridge between Mother Earth and the Jahua *Pacha*, Upper World, where many celestial beings are interacting.

El niño Kichwa es una persona pequeña y sagrada que fue dada a luz para cumplir una misión para el bienestar de la familia y de la comunidad (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yana Putuc, Marzo 7, 2012).

The Kichwa child is a small and sacred person who was given birth to accomplish a mission for the well-being of the family and the community (Personal interview, Yana Putuc Grandmother, March 7, 2012).

Como es nuestra sangre y es un angelito¹² hay que cuidarlo desde que está en el vientre de su madre (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yurac Putuc, Marzo 7, 2012).

They are our blood, and we have to take care of the little angel. We must care for him since he was in the mother's womb (Personal interview, Yurac Putuc Grandmother, March 7, 2012).

¹² Spanish diminutive for angel

Él es como una plantita¹³ tierna que necesita ser libre para crecer bajo el cuidado y protección de nosotros los mayores” (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Mashua, Marzo 7, 2012).

He is like a tender little plant that needs to be free to grow under the care and protection of us, the elders (Personal interview, *Mashua* Grandmother, March 7, 2012).

Un hijo dentro de la nación Kichwa es una bendición de Dios, él o ella es la continuación de mi sangre y de mi espíritu. El hijo es sagrado y es una persona pequeñita que necesita todo nuestro amor y atención, primero de la madre, después de la familia y de la comunidad (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yurac Putuc, Marzo 7, 2012).

A child within the Kichwa nation is a blessing from God. He or she is the continuation of my blood and my spirit. He is sacred and a very small person who needs all our love and attention first from the mother, then from the family and from the community (Personal interview, *Yurac Putuc* Grandmother, March 7, 2012).

From these statements, a Kichwa child is sacred, a little angel, a very small plant. Kichwa Peoples usually speak in Kichwa to the plants, animals, rivers and mountains. If the Kichwa child is seen as a small plant, then he would receive attention and be approached in Kichwa language too. The care of a Kichwa child is a collective responsibility, because he needs to be guided in learning and gaining Kichwa knowledge to act properly in his community according to the Kichwa norms, principles, and values.

¹³ Spanish diminutive for plant

A Kichwa child comes to this world with a star and a mission. The star guides the Kichwa child's life and development. The star makes visible the skills and abilities of the child, so then his family and elders can guide him appropriately to be a good medicine man, a teacher, a lawyer, a singer, an artist, etc. Most of the times, the Kichwa child finds his cultural mission based on his skills and good heart to work for the collective *Sumak Kawsay*, well-being. The welfare of his family and community depends on his good or bad actions through life and time. The Kichwa child is carrying the blood and spirit of his parents and ancestors, and he is the continuation of Kichwa Peoples' existence on the *Pachamama*, because in him is the blood and spirit of his parents and ancestors. He is the symbol of his parents' maturity and responsibility, as the couple has completed one more step in the circle of life by having a child. The Kichwa child is a blessing for Kichwa Peoples, because he brings a hope for the future, for the coming generations.

The Kichwa child, who is a sacred and small person, a blessing for Kichwa Peoples despite the challenges of the city, is still learning the Kichwa cultural values and beliefs to grow as a Kichwa person. These principles have been changing through time depending on the socio-economic circumstances of the Kichwa Peoples.

The Vital Importance of Pachamama

A critical value discovered in this study was the cultural meaning and respect for *Pachamama*, Mother Earth, as the main cultural foundation, the key element for the development of cultural diversity. The life of the Puesitús Peoples has developed and cultural values were learned and practiced on Mother Earth:

- Respecting elders;
- Greeting elders by shaking their hand;

- Caring for and supporting others;
- Being a good person, an honest worker;
- Telling the truth;
- Getting up early;
- Respecting meal times;
- Learning the Kichwa language and culture starting in infancy;
- Caring and preserving Mother Earth; and
- Using natural resources rationally.

The Kichwa children who are living in the city are still learning from their grandparents the cultural significance of *Pachamama*, Mother Earth, and the aforementioned values to recover the core of being a Kichwa child. Perhaps a Kichwa child will not be able to fully understand all of these remaining cultural standards because of his age; nevertheless, he would need to start being familiar with them. Teaching, learning, and practicing the Kichwa ideals has a direct relationship with where the family and Kichwa child live. *Pachamama*, Mother Earth, is essential for the life and cultural development of the Kichwa child and his family, *ayllu*, and community.

In this study, *Pachamama*, Mother Earth, was identified as the principal cultural foundation - the core of Kichwa Indigenous Peoples' existence. Kichwa Peoples develop their life, culture, language, and ceremonies based on her. *Pachamama* satisfies the daily physical and spiritual needs through her natural resources and beings. She has sacred places surrounded by the plants, rivers, mountains, stars, water, fire, and wind where Puesitús Peoples fortify their spirit and gain strength. Grandparents confirmed these beliefs:

Les enseñábamos a los hijos sobre la Pachamamita¹⁴, de todo, de los animalitos¹⁵, de las plantitas, de los ríos, de las montañas como el Chimborazo. La Pachamamita, nos da la comidita¹⁶ del día, nos da el sol, la lluvia, el viento, todo lo necesario para la vida. Sin la tierrita¹⁷ no somos nadie, en ella vivimos, en ella sembramos la comida para sobrevivir, en ella rezamos, reímos, lloramos, nacimos, crecimos y morimos. Por eso tenemos que respetarla y cuidarla (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yana Putuc, Febrero 24, 2012).

We taught our children about *Pachamamita*, about everything, about the animals, the plants, the rivers, the mountains like the Chimborazo. The *Pachamamita* gives us our daily food, She gives us the sun, rain, wind, everything that we need for life. Without the Earth, we are nobody. We live in her. In it we plant food to survive. In her we pray, laugh, and cry, are born, grow, and die. This is why we have to respect and take care of her (Personal interview, *Yana Putuc* Grandmother, February 24, 2012).

Había un gran respeto a la Pachamama, a todo lo que está en la Madre Tierra, mucho respeto al Chimborazo, a las montañas, a las piedras, a los lugares sagrados, al círculo. Entendíamos que el círculo era como una rueda que comienza, sigue y sigue (Entrevista personal, Abuelito Yurac Putuc, Febrero 17, 2012).

We had great respect for the *Pachamama*, for everything that is in Mother Earth, and we had much respect for the Chimborazo, mountains, stones, for the sacred

¹⁴ Spanish diminutive for *Pachamama*

¹⁵ Spanish diminutive for animals

¹⁶ Spanish diminutive for food

¹⁷ Spanish diminutive for earth

places, the circle. We understood that the circle was like a wheel that begins and goes on and on (Personal interview, *Yurac Putuc* Grandfather, February 17, 2012).

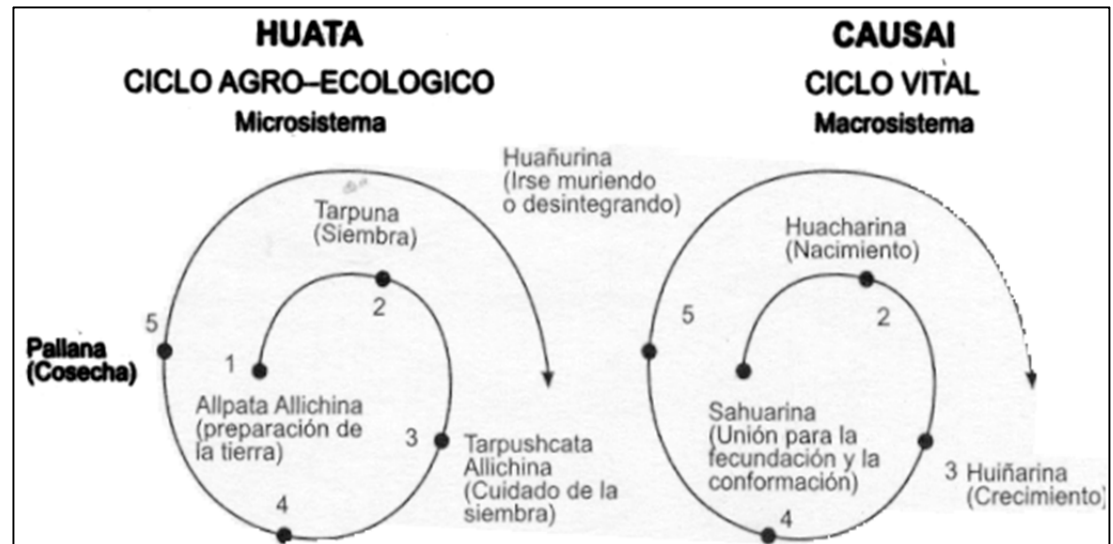
For Kichwa Peoples, *Pachamama* is a mother, a protector, a life giver. She is the whole where all elements are interdependent and interconnected. If any plant or animal is moved from its original place, then the entire ecosystem is affected. She is the main foundation for the Puesitús Peoples, because she provides the necessary components for the Kichwa child's physical and spiritual development. She is where small Kichwa children live and learn the culture and language, learn how to be a Kichwa child under the guidance of their mothers, parents, relatives, and the community.

Pachamama is a whole host of seen and unseen beings such as the sun, the wind, the rivers, the plants, the animals, the mountains that are culturally necessary for Kichwa life and spirituality. She contains all necessary elements for man's survival, and she is the place where the language together with the culture is learned orally through practice. Without *Pachamama*, humankind and all her beings would not exist. Puesitús Peoples planted and obtained sustenance for the community with *Pachamama*, where the Kichwa Cycles of Agriculture and Life happened. These two cycles were full of activities that strengthened the social relationships in the community. For instance, in the Agro-ecological Cycle, agricultural activities occurred in land preparation, planting, plants growing, flowering and maturing, and harvest. During the Cycle of Life, a similar pattern can be discerned: marriage and pregnancy, birth, development, maturity, old age, and death. These two cycles are full of ceremonies for Mother Earth, the moon, the sun, fire, water, the mountains, and sacred trees. These cycles are considered as a whirling circle

where the past is guiding the present. The cultural meaning of *Pachamama* was and still is being taught to small Kichwa children.

Figure 25.

Kichwa Cycles



Source: Montaluisa, L. (1990)

An examination of life in the community at Chimborazo Province is necessary in order to understand how the Kichwa child was cared for, his interaction with *Pachamama*, Mother Earth, and his relatives and community during early socialization that engendered learning the Kichwa culture and language.

Life in the Puesitús Community

The life of the Puesitús Peoples was lived in a cyclical way. Throughout the year, *wata*, there were several activities and ceremonies carried out during the Cycles of Life and Agriculture. Families worked in the fields and had close relationships with the land where a variety of crops were planted and harvested. The following are statements related to the life in the community:

Trabajé en los campos de papas, cebollas, ajo y zanahoria. Cuando era niño la tierra para la siembra y cosecha fue muy buena; su color era negro porque estaba sana y libre de químicos. Es por eso que pudimos cosechar buenos productos todo el tiempo (Entrevista personal, Abuelito Yurac Putuc, Febrero 17, 2012).

I worked in the fields of potatoes, onions, garlic and carrots. When I was a child, the land for sowing and harvesting was very good; its color was black because it was healthy and chemical free. That is why we could harvest good products all the time (Personal interview, Yurac Putuc Grandfather, February 17, 2012).

Mientras estuvimos en la comunidad pienso que nuestra vida era más sana y sin tantos problemas. Teníamos una vida más sencilla, de mayor unidad, hablábamos todos los días en nuestra lengua y creo que estábamos muy unidos (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yana Putuc, Febrero 24, 2012).

While we were in the community, I think that our life was healthier and without so many problems. We had a simpler life of greater unity, spoke in our language every day, and I think that we were very united (Personal interview, Yana Putuc Grandmother, February 24, 2012).

Puesitús Peoples in the community worked their own crops when the land was black, of good quality for agriculture, and s free of chemicals. They planted potatoes, onions, garlic and carrots producing enough healthy food for the whole year for the entire community. In the Puesitús community, life was simple; Indigenous Peoples lived surrounded by trees, rivers, mountains, water, animals, etc. There was more unity, as the family was together all the time either at home or working in the fields. Small children

were carried on the backs of their mothers until the age of three observing and learning different activities, such as cleaning the seeds, planting, cleaning the ditches, and listening to Kichwa conversations. Children learned first by observing and later by doing and repeating the activities.

The movement from the community to the city in the 1950s contributed to the loss of cultural values and Kichwa language of the Puesitús Peoples. In the city, they had to learn another language and culture in order to survive. They also had to perform other types of work: men in construction and women in the markets. Therefore, the Kichwa language was used less and cultural values changed. Puesitús Peoples did not have land for planting or the sacred mountains to protect them. National migration, construction, and selling produce at the markets in the city replaced the work in the fields and changed the way of life and cultural values of Puesitús Peoples.

Life of Puesitús Indigenous Peoples in Quito City

Data about the life of Puesitús Indigenous Peoples in the city was obtained during an overnight stay where direct observation of each family was made in the months of August and September 2012. A *Yurac Putuc*, grandparent, stated that the San Roque neighborhood where Puesitús Indigenous Peoples lived had electricity, potable water, and good bus service. The rent was cheap, but the rooms were humid and did not have any green spaces. The rooms were small for the families that lived there. Grandparents lived in the same house as young parents but in separate rooms. They did not have contact with Mother Earth, the *Pachamama*. This fact in particular made families, especially the elders, feel sad, because they did not have any space for agriculture and spiritual activities (Personal observation, *Yurac Putuc* Grandparent, August 20, 2012).

After observing three homes of the co-participants, a description of a typical evening in the home of these three families developed.

Day of a Kichwa Child in the City

Very small children from birth to five years attend El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes from 7 a.m. to 2 p.m. They return home at 3 p.m. accompanied by relatives. Generally grandmothers cook dinner at 7 p.m. and serve it to very young children who need to go to bed early so they can attend El Centro Infantil the following morning; the children are blessed before going to sleep. Grandparents use Spanish and Kichwa language to interact with their grandchildren. These small children do not interact with their parents, as the children are already sleeping when their parents return home from work. Sometimes one of these small children does not go to bed and waits for his/her parents to say hello and give them a hug. There is little dialogue in Spanish among the young mothers and their children if she is able to see them in the evening. When they do interact, there is only time for a brief conversation about their day, a bit of advice about being a good person, blessing them, and sending them to bed.

Evening Time

Every day young mothers, sometimes accompanied by their mothers, go to market, except on Mondays, to sell fruits and vegetables from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m. They return home together with elder children at 10 p.m. after daily work. At 10.30 p.m. the grandmothers serve dinner and the family eats together while sharing their problems and successes at the market. Most of the time, young fathers did not return home at the end of the day, because they were working outside the city in construction and needed to guard the construction site and materials. After eating without having any rest, young mothers

began to prepare the produce to be sold the following day consisting of washing or cleaning the fruit. For instance, apples needed to be dried and separated into groups according to their size and then put into plastic bags of different sizes and prices. This work would keep the mothers and grandparents busy until 1:00 a.m. when they would finally be able to go to sleep.

Figure 26.

\$1 Plastic Bag of Apples



Photo by YTM, August 2012

Before going to bed, the families prayed together thanking the Creator for His help during the day and asking for His blessing for the family and the community. The adults were already working by 4 a.m. - the grandmother preparing breakfast for the family while the grandfather and the young mother were preparing the produce for selling. At 5 a.m. the mothers would carry the fruit and produce to a rented truck helped by members of the family. From 5 to 6 a.m., the young children were awakened and bathed, changed their clothes, fed breakfast, and prepared to be taken to El Centro

Infantil by older brothers or relatives. Before leaving, they were blessed and sent to El Centro with the strong recommendation to obey and behave well during the day. After the morning routine, the circle of activities repeated itself. Young mothers run errands, attend meetings or take care of other pending issues on Monday's – their day of rest.

Concerning daily activities, *Yurac Putuc*, grandmother, said:

Durante la merienda hablamos sobre las actividades del día, cómo nos fue, los problemas que tuvimos. Enseguida empezamos a limpiar y prepara las cositas para la venta del día siguiente. Estamos despiertos hasta la 1 de la mañana, dormimos unas pocas horas y ya estamos de pie a las 4 de mañana para el nuevo día de trabajo. Yo preparo el desayuno y levanto y aseo a mis nietos para ir a la escuela y al Centro Infantil. Después de desayunar mi nieto mayor lleva a sus hermanos pequeños al Centro Infantil (Observación personal, Abuelita Yurac Putuc, Agosto 20, 2012).

During dinner we talk about activities of the day, how our day went, and the problems that we had. Immediately we start to clean and prepare the things for sale for the following day. We are awake until one in the morning, sleep a few hours, and at 4 a.m. in the morning we already are up for work of the new day. I prepare breakfast and wake up and bathe my grandchildren to go to school and to El Centro Infantil. After breakfast, my eldest grandson takes his younger siblings to El Centro Infantil (Personal observation, *Yurac Putuc*, Grandmother, August 20, 2012).

Converso con ellos en Kichwa y les pregunto cómo les fue en el día, qué hicieron en el centro, qué les enseñó la profesora. Como no me contestan, entonces tengo

que hablarles mezclando el Kichwa con el castellano, hablo así para que no se olviden de nuestra lengua, de nuestra Pachamama y que no se olviden que somos indígenas y que venimos de la Provincia de Chimborazo del sur del Ecuador (Observación personal, Abuelita Yurac Putuc, Agosto 20, 2012).

I talk with them in Kichwa and ask them how was their day, what they did in El Centro, what the teacher taught them. As I do not get an answer, I have to talk to them by mixing Kichwa with Spanish. I speak in that way so that they do not forget our language, our *Pachamama*, and not forget that we are Indigenous and that we come from Chimborazo Province from the south of Ecuador (Personal observation, *Yurac Putuc* Grandmother, August 20, 2012).

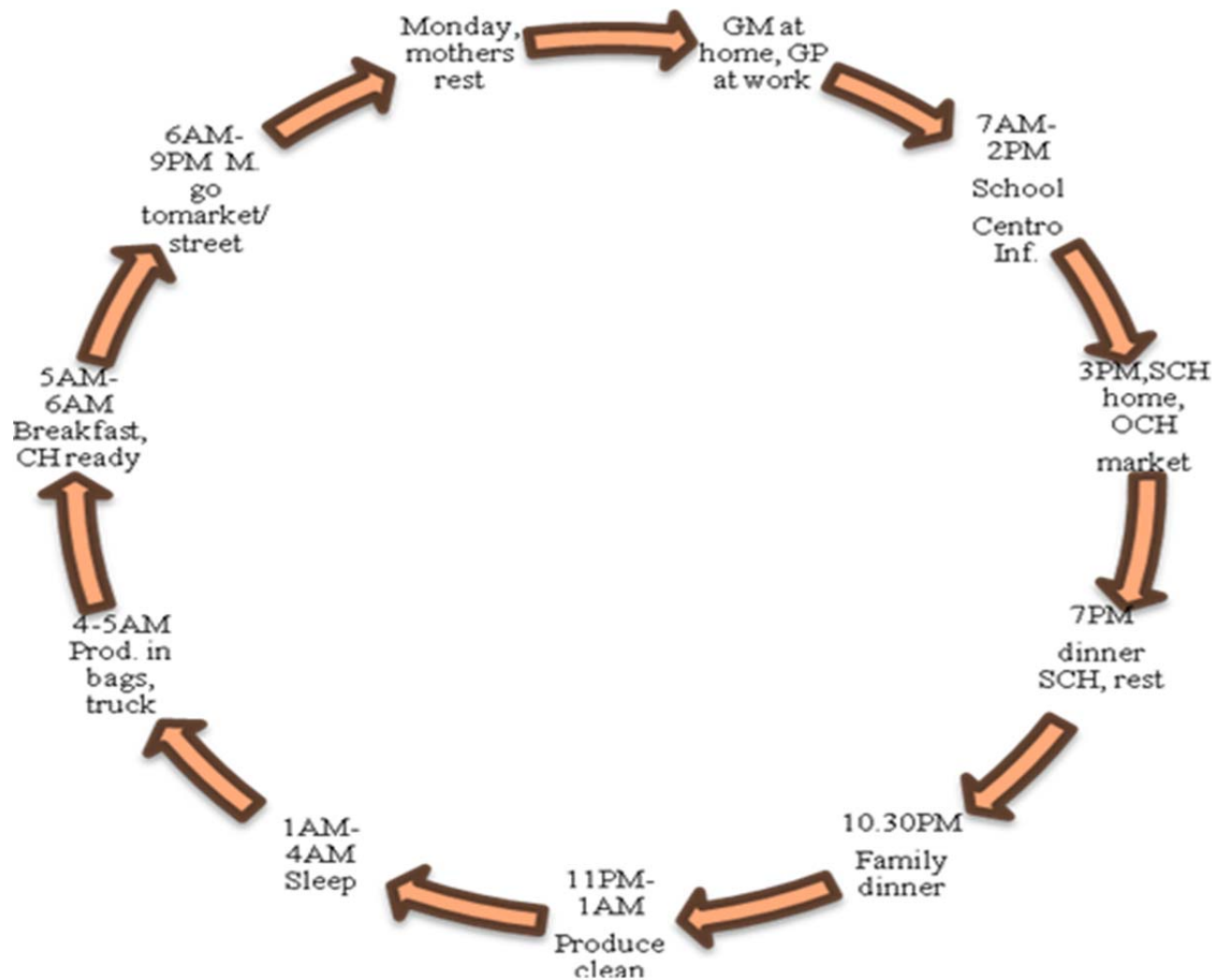
También los aconsejo a los niños para que saluden a los mayores con respeto, que les den la mano, que les ayuden a cruzar la calle, que ayuden en la casa a limpiar, a barrer, a cocinar, a hacer los mandados. Mientras barro les doy una escoba pequeñita para que me ayuden. Tienen que ayudar a la mamá y al papá en lo que puedan, ayudar a los abuelitos, a los vecinos (Observación personal, Abuelita Mashua, Septiembre 5, 2012).

I also advise children to greet elders with respect, shaking their hand, to help them cross the street, to help in the house cleaning, sweeping, cooking, errands. While cleaning the house, I give them a tiny broom to help me. They have to help mom and dad, the grandparents, the neighbors (Personal observation, *Mashua* Grandmother, September 5, 2012).

Following the suggestions of the co-participants, the schedule of the three observed young families was designed in a circular pattern.

Figure 27.

Schedule of Observed Families



Abbreviations:

GM= Grandmother

GF= Grandfather

Centro Inf.= Centro Infantil

YM= Young mother

SCH= Small children

OCH - Older children

The Importance of the Market in Puesitús Peoples' Lives

The Kichwa child lives under different circumstances in the city. His parents are busy working in the city - the father in construction and the mother at the markets. The Kichwa child from birth to five years is attending El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes Monday to Friday from 7.30 a.m. to 2 p.m. where he is under the care of the *cuidadoras*, caregivers, who are Kichwa speakers but speak and teach the child only in Spanish. In this situation, the Kichwa child is not learning the Kichwa language from his parents or from El Centro where they spend most of their time. Kichwa grandparents are essential for care, protection, and teaching the Kichwa language and culture to their grandchildren.

After 2 p.m., the Kichwa child returns home accompanied by a relatives. During the afternoon and night, the Kichwa child is cared for by his grandparents until bedtime. The older children (6-11 years) go straight to the market after school to help their mothers. The market is a very important place where Puesitús Peoples sell produce or carry items for market clients. In this regard *Mashua* grandfather said:

Mis dos nietos mayores cuando acaban las clases en la escuela, no vienen para la casa, se van directamente al mercado para ayudarle a su mamá en la venta de las frutas rodeando el mercado o en la calle. Allí comen y hacen sus deberes.

Regresan por la noche cuando ya se alza la venta del mercado (Observación personal, Abuelito Mashua, Septiembre 5, 2012).

My two older grandchildren when they finish classes at school do not come home but go directly to the market to help their mother in the sale of fruits surrounding the market or on the street. There they eat and do their homework. They return at

night when the market already closes (Personal observation, *Mashua* Grandfather, September 5, 2012).

Figure 28.

Selling Beans and Peas on the Street



Photo courtesy of LQ, Ecuador 2008

Kichwa children do their homework at the market while they are immersed in the market environment learning how to approach the buyers in Spanish, how to show the produce, how to pack things, how to negotiate prices, how to use mathematics in their heads. They are also immersed in social relationships; therefore, they learn how to greet an elder properly, how to show respect to them, and to be ready to help carrying heavy items for the elders. In the market environment, Kichwa children reinforce their relationships. They come to understand the importance of respecting people; they make more and new friends. These older Kichwa children grow feeling confident and secure, because this is a familiar place where they can find Kichwa relatives and friends. They revive community life and strengthen social relations and networks. While helping their mothers, these children learn to survive in the city through a simple but honest job. Later,

they will be able to make their own decisions: go to school or work at the market or both.

The market is a place of cultural practice where children learn cultural issues two philosophies - Spanish and Kichwa.

The informal education these children are given in their mothers' workplace also allows mothers to feel accompanied by their children and to teach them an integral education for life. These Kichwa children walk through the market freely, because this is a natural environment that they have known since they were little. The Kichwa values and various aspects of the Kichwa epistemology are taught even in the Spanish language, such as:

- The importance of Mother Earth,
- Respect for elders,
- Use of Kichwa language to discuss prices of produce, and
- The role of solidarity and support.

Although Kichwa Peoples are living in the city cast out of their land, grandmothers still teach small and older Kichwa siblings the culture meaning of Mother Earth, *Pachamama*. At the market, children learn where the produce comes from and how it arrives. In this way, the link of Kichwa Peoples and *Pachamama* is kept alive, despite living in the city. This strong sentiment is at the heart of Kichwa Peoples.

When Puesitús grandparents lived in the community, they lived a different life based on the land and agriculture. During the calendar year, they carried out activities and proper ceremonies of the Cycle of Life and the Cycle of Agriculture. The social relationships were based on reciprocity and the collective well-being. When they moved to the large cities, their traditions began to erode, because they had to learn a new culture

and language to survive in the city. The use of the Kichwa language decreased, and some aspects of the culture such as the traditional clothes changed rapidly. However, after years of living in the city, Puesitús Peoples began to use the open market as the place to recover and practice the Kichwa values such as giving support, reciprocity, solidarity, caring for each other, sharing problems and finding solutions. The market became a place where aspects of the Kichwa culture are revived, maintained, and strengthened.

The fact that the Kichwa children are at the market after school can be viewed as children learning alternate ways for survival under the guidance of their mothers, grandmothers, and community. On the other hand, they are also exposed to the Spanish language and to two different social worlds giving them the necessary information and basis to live with confidence in an inter-cultural world by using both Kichwa and Spanish languages at the same time, at the same level, with pride and hope.

Kichwa Indigenous Values in the Community

The Kichwa Indigenous family, *ayllu*, is composed of the *Kusa*, man, and the *warmi*, wife. When they marry and have children, the babies and very small children, *uchilla wawa*, are cared for and nurtured by the mother, the father, relatives, and the whole community. Within the Puesitús Indigenous families, the mother and the new babies were cared for according to their customs and with natural resources from Mother Earth. Women were attended to by the midwife before, during, and after giving birth and ate healthy foods based on guinea pig, potatoes, *máchica* (cereal), and *mashua* (tubers). Women bathed in herbs from the countryside and rested in bed for at least two weeks. However, this care has changed in the city where women have their children at the hospital; the environment and the treatment is impersonal. In the hospital after giving

birth, women take a quick cold shower, rest for one or two days, eat chicken soup, and then return to work at the markets. Some women have become ill because of these experiences and return to the Puesitús community to be healed by the midwife. Other women return to their work at the markets weak due to lack of nutritional Kichwa food.

Very small Kichwa children learned how to participate in daily activities and the meaning of these activities in the community, including how to speak Kichwa by observing and listening while carried on their mothers' backs. In their early socialization process, the extended family and the community participated permanently, as *Yana Putuc* grandmother remembered:

En la comunidad el recién nacido hasta bien grandecito¹⁸ (3 años) está siempre con la mamá, cargado en la espalda de la mamita¹⁹, de allí está viendo, escuchando y aprendiendo todo lo que la mamá hace en el día. Son como plantitas, como esponjitas²⁰ por eso les hablábamos en Kichwa todo el día, mientras hacíamos el trabajo de la casa, del campo y de la agricultura. Todo hacíamos con el niño en la espalda, por eso él está aprendiendo desde arriba y cuando ya es hora de hablar lo hacía en Kichwa. A veces cuando el trabajo era en la agricultura era todo el día dejaba el guagua encargado con los abuelitos²¹ para que lo cuiden y así evitar desgracias (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yana Putuc, Febrero 24, 2012).

In the community, the newborn until three-years old is always with the mother, carried on the mother's back. From there he is watching, listening, and learning

¹⁸ Spanish diminutive of old

¹⁹ Spanish diminutive of mother

²⁰ Spanish diminutive of sponge

²¹ Spanish diminutive of grandparents

everything that the mother does during the day. They are like small plants, like little sponges. This is why we spoke to them in Kichwa throughout the day while we were doing the work of the house, field, and agriculture. We did everything with the child on our back, so they are learning from up there and when it is time to talk they did so in Kichwa. Sometimes when we had to work in agriculture all day, I left my child with their grandparents to take care of him to avoid misfortunes (Personal interview, *Yana Putuc*, Grandmother, February 24, 2012).

Puesitús Peoples used to wake up early in the community. The elders said that early in the morning the mind and the soul are ready to talk about dreams and to consider their advice, because dreams are cultural guides for life, responsibilities, and challenges.

Yana Putuc, grandmother, described life in the community:

En la comunidad los hijos teníamos que levantarnos muy temprano para ayudar a nuestros padres en la limpieza de la casa, en la preparación del desayuno y luego ayudar en los trabajos ya sea en la agricultura o en otras cosas. Los hijos obedecían lo que se les pedía, a pastar, traer hierba, dar de comer a los cuyes, nunca teníamos que decir dos veces haga esto. Les enseñábamos a nuestros hijos a trabajar y ser responsables desde pequeños, el caso es que desde pequeños deben comprender el valor del trabajo honrado y más que todo entender que todo en la vida se consigue con esfuerzo y sacrificio (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yana Putuc, Febrero 24, 2012).

In the community, children had to get up very early to help our parents in cleaning the house, in the preparation of breakfast, and then help in work either in agriculture or in other things. The children obeyed what they were asked to do, to

graze animals, to gather grass for feeding the guinea pigs. We never had to tell our children how to do this. We taught our children to work and be responsible since childhood. The fact is that they should understand the value of honest work from childhood and above all understand that everything in life is achieved with effort and sacrifice (Personal interview, *Yana Putuc*, Grandmother, February 24, 2012).

The statement above describes women and girls in the community who usually cleaned the house early in the morning, prepared breakfast for the family, and then the children went to the fields to help their parents and relatives. They learned to work responsibly and honestly, to obey, to feed animals, etc. *Yurac Putuc*, grandfather, reiterated the cultural teaching in the community where the Kichwa child learned from his/her mother's back through observation, listening, and participating to respect all beings of Mother Earth and their cultural meaning. He learned to pray in the Kichwa language to Mother Water, Father Sun, Father Wind, Mother Moon, to sacred trees, mountains and rivers, and make an offering to them. The Kichwa child was observing and learning cultural activities related to a specific time and environment. There the Kichwa child was very close to *Pachamama*.

Kichwa children in the countryside learned daily the cultural meaning of Mother Earth, *Pachamama*, the mountains, the rivers, the trees. We teach children to respect them, because they are our gods and protectors, to pray and to make offerings to them. We pray with reverence to *Yaku Mamita*, Mother Water, *Inti Taytiku*, Father Sun, *Killa Mamita*, Mother Moon, *Wayra Taytiku*, Father Wind, etc. We repeat for our small children the names of these elements and explain the cultural significance of these elements despite the fact that children do not speak

yet. This cultural teaching- learning happens all the time due to the fact that Kichwa women always carry their children on their back from where children are observing, listening, participating and learning (Personal interview, *Yurac Putuc* Grandfather, February 17, 2012).

Parents had the responsibility to teach the Kichwa child

- To respect elders,
- To greet elders by shaking their hand,
- To love grandparents,
- To help at home,
- To eat on time,
- To offer support when needed,
- To obey,
- To respect others' belongings,
- To be honest, and
- To be a good worker and not be lazy.

In this respect *Yana Putuc* Grandmother said:

Yo tenía la responsabilidad de enseñarle buenas cosas²² como a respetar a los mayores, a saludar a los mayores dándoles la mano, respetar y querer a los abuelitos, a ayudar en la casa, a ser obediente, a comer a tiempo, a respetar las cosas ajenas, a ser trabajador y no ocioso. Nunca le hablé como a un niño, sino como a un adulto para que aprendiera a hacer derecho las cosas y sin miedo (Entrevista personal, Abuelito Yurac Putuc, Febrero 17, 2012).

²² Spanish diminutive of thing

I had the responsibility of teaching him good things like respect for elders, to greet elders by shaking their hands, respect and love for grandparents, to help at home, to be obedient and to eat on time, to respect the belongings of others, be hard working and not be lazy. I never spoke to him as a child but as an adult so that he could learn to do things right and without fear (Personal interview, *Yurac Putuc* Grandfather, February 17, 2012).

Mealtime was respected to allow the body to function properly to avoid sickness. The Kichwa child was living within an environment where obedience and respect were taught repeatedly during the day. Mothers taught boys and girls obedience, the care of animals, to call parents and relatives when necessary, to cook, to be clean and honest, and to accomplish errands on time. As *Yana Putuc* grandmother referred:

Ya a la edad de 4-5 años los niños ya hacen mandados pequeños como dar de comer a las gallinas, a los cuyes, llamar al papá, a un hermano y tratamos de que cumplan con lo que se les pide a su debido tiempo. De mi parte les enseño las mismas cosas a los varoncitos²³ y a las mujercitas²⁴, porque ambos necesitan aprender a cocinar, lavar, barrer, ser aseados, limpios, correctos (Entrevista personal, Yana Putuc Grandmother, Febrero 24, 2012).

At the age of 4-5, children already do small errands such as feeding the chickens, the guinea pigs, calling their father, their brother, and we try to help them to comply with what they can. For my part, I teach the same things to boys and girls, because both of them need to learn to cook, wash, sweep, be neat, clean and well-mannered (Personal interview, *Yana Putuc* Grandmother, February 24, 2012).

²³ Spanish diminutive of boys

²⁴ Spanish diminutive of girls

In the Puesitús community, children were always with their parents at home or in the fields. During daily activities, boys and girls learned through observation, listening, and participating. They learned the Kichwa values, such as respect for elders, to greet them by shaking their hand, to give support or help when needed, to obey, to be honest and be a good worker. Moreover, the Kichwa children learned to respect all beings of Mother Earth, their cultural meaning, and pray to sacred trees, mountains, and rivers and make offerings to them. The Kichwa children also learned the Kichwa mandates such as:

- *Ama Shua*, (Do not rob),
- *Ama Quilla*, (Do not be lazy),
- and *Ama Llulla*, (Do not lie) in order to grow as honest men who liked to work.

They also learned the Kichwa principles of:

- *Shuk Shungulla*. (One Heart),
- *Shuk Yuyailla*, (One Thought), and
- *Shuk Maquilla*, (One Hand) that called for the unity of Kichwa Peoples.

Kichwa Indigenous Values in the City

The teaching of the values from the community of Puesitús from Chimborazo Province changed in the city where Kichwa young parents were busy working construction or in the markets in two places or more in order to earn enough money to maintain the family. Therefore, grandparents cared for their grandchildren when they returned from El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes after 2 p.m. Grandparents corrected their grandchildren, healed them, or joked with them. Humor is an important element in the

life of Kichwa Indigenous Peoples, even in sad times. One young father from the *Puka* Family mentioned the role of grandparents in the city:

Yo sé que ellos los abuelitos están rodeando siempre para enseñarles a saludar a los mayores dándoles la mano, para darles de comer, para brindarles un consejo, para reprenderlos, para curarlos en caso de enfermedad o para hacerles algún chiste (Entrevista personal, Padre Joven, Familia Puka, Agosto 20, 2012).

I know that they, the grandparents, are always surrounding my children to teach them to greet elders shaking their hands, to give them food, to provide them advice, to correct them, to heal them in case of illness, or to joke with them (Personal interview, Young Father, *Puka* Family, August 20, 2012).

A young mother from *Killu* Family also mentioned that her family receives daily support from her parents-in law, more from her mother-in law who is ready to help early in the morning with the care of small children and get them ready for school.

Nosotros siempre estamos ocupados pero mis niños están bajo el cuidado de mis suegros pero más de mi suegra. Ella les habla en Kichwa, les enseña a respetar a los mayores, a saludarlos dándoles la mano, preguntándoles cómo están, a ayudar a los demás, a levantarse temprano para hacer el trabajo, a no ser ociosos, ladrones ni mentirosos (Entrevista personal, Madre Joven, Familia Killu, Marzo 12, 2012).

We are always busy, but my children are under the care of my parents' in-law but mostly of my mother-in-law. She speaks to them in Kichwa, teaches them respect for elders, to greet them by shaking their hands, asking them how they are, to help

others, to get up early to work, to not be lazy, thieves, or liars] (Personal interview, Young Mother, Killu Family, March 12, 2012).

Puesitús Peoples have been teaching the Kichwa language and culture to their children in the community and in the city through practice, by doing, by allowing children to make mistakes and guiding them with love, respect, and patience as *Yana Putuc* grandmother said:

Les enseñamos las cositas a nuestros hijos, lo hacemos a través de la práctica, ellos aprenden haciendo, utilizando sus manitos²⁵ y sus sentidos y cuando no pueden repiten y repiten hasta lograrlo. Nuestros mayores jamás nos gritaron o nos insultaron (Entrevista personal, Yana Putuc Grandmother, Febrero 24, 2012).

We teach our children through practice. They learn by doing, using their little hands and senses, and when they cannot do it, they repeat over and over again and repeat until they get it. Our elders never shouted or insulted us (Personal interview, *Yana Putuc* Grandmother, February 24, 2012).

One grandmother reflected on the importance of educating, caring, and equal opportunities for boys and girls to avoid the cultural preference for boys, as occurred in the community.

Pienso que es importante educar por igual a los niños y las niñas porque ambos son seres humanos y necesitan del mismo cuidado y tener las mismas oportunidades. Yo me acuerdo en mi casa, cuando era niña los varoncitos siempre tenían preferencia en todo, en la comida, en la ropa, en la educación, en

²⁵ Spanish diminutive of hands

poder viajar fuera de la comunidad (Entrevista personal, Yana Putuc Grandmother, Febrero 24, 2012).

I think that it is important to educate boys and girls alike, because both are human beings and need the same care and the same opportunities. I remember in my house when I was a child, boys always had preference in everything, in food, in clothing, in education, in opportunities to travel outside the community (Personal interview, *Yana Putuc* Grandmother, February 24, 2012).

Due to the occupations of young parents in the city, grandparents are the ones who care for the very small Kichwa children who are attending El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes Monday to Friday. In the afternoon, grandmothers oversee their grandchildren and teach them the meaning of *Pachamama* and the Kichwa values and mandates from ancient times, such as the respect for elders, care and support for others, the meaning and practice of solidarity, the principles for being a good person and honest worker, the Kichwa language, to get up early and not to be lazy, not to steal and not to lie.

Based on the interviews carried out with grandparents and young parents, a chart was developed comparing the lives of grandparents and young parents between the 1950s and 1960s in order to highlight the changes that had occurred in the community and in the city.

Figure 29.

Puesitús Peoples' Life before and after the 1950s

<u>Grandparents until 1950s and after</u>	<u>Young Parents after 1960s</u>
Live in the Puesitús <i>hacienda</i> , farm. Debt and lack of land Work for land owners Migration to cities.	Migration to cities (Guayaquil, Quito, Cuenca, Riobamba).
End of the <i>hacienda</i> . Puesitús remain together in the community in their own houses owning plots of land for agricultural purposes.	Live in the city in the same rented house or neighborhood; there is no time for being together, and there is lack of land. Fathers are absent most of the week.
Had a natural environment with fresh air and water ran free.	Live in a noisy place of cement. No fresh air. Water is not free; it runs through pipes.
Spoke Kichwa all the time.	Had to learn a new language, Spanish, and decrease the use of Kichwa.
Worked in the fields.	Men work in construction and women at the market selling produce.
Strong link with <i>Pachamama</i> , Mother Earth; respect for all her beings.	Still have a strong sentiment and respect for <i>Pachamama</i> , in spite of not owning land for agriculture.
Follow the Cycles of Life and Agriculture.	Cycle of Life activities are still carried out.

Observe the Kichwa calendar, <i>Wata</i> , for instance, for <i>Pawkar Raymi</i> and <i>Inti Raymi</i> ceremonias.	Still follow the Kichwa calendar, for instance, for <i>Pawkar Raymi</i> and <i>Inti Raymi</i> ceremonies.
Eat healthy and organic food produced on the land.	Daily diet changed. Food bought at supermarkets.
Breastfeeding and carrying children on mother's back.	Decrease of breast feeding. Children are not carried on their mother's back. They are sent to El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes.
Elders well respected and helped.	Elders respected and receive help.
Small children are cared for by their mothers and learn the culture and language through observation and participation in daily activities.	Small children are cared for by their grandmothers and are learning about culture and hearing the Kichwa language for a few hours each day.
Small children play on the land with natural elements like beans, stones, herbs.	Small children play with plastic toys at the market pretending to sell or work construction.
Left the community and live and work in the city.	Live and work in the city.
Care for small children in the city.	Young parents are busy with their jobs for survival. Grandparents care for small children.

Continue to speak Kichwa in the city.	Young parents do not teach or speak Kichwa language to their children. Grandparents speak in Kichwa with their grandchildren.
Maintain the community organization and solidarity in the city.	Continue following the community organization and solidarity.
Work to survive.	Learn to “ <i>rodar</i> ” to survive in the city.
The circle is the beginning and the continuation of the life as a whirling wheel.	The circle begins and then continues going on and on as a whirling wheel.
Importance of circle, <i>minga</i> , social relations, values and strong solidarity.	Importance of circle, <i>minga</i> , social relations, values and solidarity is still strong.
Miss the <i>Pachamama</i> . From the city they return to Puesitús community to work on the land for a few weeks every year.	Miss the <i>Pachamama</i> too. Trying to buy pieces of land in the surroundings areas of the city.
Return to Puesitús community at Chimborazo Province every August for an annual celebration.	Also return to Puesitús community at Chimborazo Province every August accompanied by the whole family.
From city keep giving moral and economic support for Puesitús community.	Also contribute economically for the support of the Puesitús community.
Conscious of culture and language loss.	Also conscious of culture and language loss.

Would like to have their own Kichwa Language Program for small children to maintain the language and culture as strong as the <i>chuquiragua</i> plant and the Chimborazo mountain.	Would like to have new generations with strong identity and roots like the <i>chuquiragua</i> plant and the Chimborazo mountain. Need for a Kichwa Language Program that is culturally appropriate for very small children.
Committed to work in the Kichwa Language Program based on cultural values.	Also offered their support to develop a Kichwa Language Program based on cultural values.

This chart shows that life in the Puesitús community until the 1950s maintained a strong Kichwa identity, but the Kichwa culture, values, and language changed in the city. In the community, the family stayed together, and the Kichwa child was always on his mother's back observing and learning the Kichwa values in the natural context of *Pachamama*. With the migration to the city, since 1996 the Kichwa child began to attend El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes from Monday to Friday. In the afternoons and nights, the Kichwa child received the attention and care of their grandparents, because his parents are busy at work. Although in the city Puesitús family still remained together, the parents had only a few hours to interact with their Kichwa child; therefore, young parents were not explaining the culture and language. These teachings instead are being demonstrated by grandparents who consider the Kichwa language as the core of the Kichwa cultural identity.

Use of Kichwa Language in the Community

Another main cultural value of Puesitús Indigenous Peoples was and still is the Kichwa language that is considered the core of the culture and identity. It was always spoken by everyone in the community at home to discuss family matters and during the agricultural activities. Parents spoke Kichwa to the child and he/she had to respond in Kichwa too. The language was used to teach Kichwa values through storytelling and counseling. Therefore, the Kichwa children were able to hear the language, be familiar with its sounds, and learn to speak the Kichwa language while also learning the Kichwa culture.

Regarding Kichwa language use, *Yurac Putuc* grandfather said:

El idioma principal que se utilizaba para hablar en el hogar y en la hacienda fue el Kichwa. Mis padres hablaban conmigo en Kichwa y mi obligación era contestarles en Kichwa. A mis abuelitos les gustaba contar a los niños historias antiguas para enseñarnos valores, respeto, honradez. Dentro de la hacienda hablábamos en Kichwa sobre asuntos de la familia y la comunidad, y los terratenientes se sentían mal porque no entendían nuestras conversaciones (Entrevista personal, Abuelito Yurac Putuc, Febrero 17, 2012).

The main language used to talk at home and at the *hacienda* was Kichwa. My parents spoke with me in Kichwa, and my duty was to answer them in Kichwa. My grandparents liked to tell children ancient stories to teach us values, respect, honesty. Mother Earth was the main pedagogical resource for socializing small children. Within the *hacienda*, we talked in Kichwa about family and the community issues, and the landowners felt bad because they did not understand

our conversations (Personal interview, *Yurac Putuc* Grandfather, February 17, 2012).

Use of Kichwa Language in Quito City

Despite the cultural changes suffered in Quito City, Puesitús grandparents are still speaking the Kichwa language and trying to recover the core and essence of Kichwa culture and language. The elders keep teaching and transmitting the culture orally from one generation to the next, especially to very young children. Due to the use of the Spanish language in the city, Puesitús Peoples have decreased the use of Kichwa. Nevertheless, grandparents are still speaking in Kichwa to their grandchildren even if they do not understand completely the meaning of it. They use Kichwa to command, to teach Kichwa names, or to counsel children. The Spanish language is also spoken.

Siempre yo les hablo a mis hijos en nuestra lengua, los aconsejo, les ordeno hacer algunas cosas en Kichwa y ellos me dicen mamita no entiendo háblenos en cristiano (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yana Putuc, Febrero 24, 2012).

I always speak to my children in our language, advise them, command them to do some things in Kichwa, and they tell me: “Mother we do not understand. Talk to us in Christian language [Spanish] (Personal interview, *Yana Putuc* Grandmother, February 24, 2012).

Yurac Putuc grandmother who has lived in Quito City for several years said:

En Quito ya con los años yo también parece que me estoy olvidando el Kichwa, pero no del todo, así que a mis nietos algunos días les digo en nuestra lengua apamui, [bring], chayta kachay, [sent that], ricungui, [watch], singa, [nose], shimi, [mouth], pero ellos me dicen , qué está diciendo, repita, entonces yo les

repito en las dos lenguas, en Kichwa primero y les digo otra vez Kichwapi cayta ni, [say this in Kichwa] y luego repito en castellano (Entrevista Personal, Abuelita Yurac Putuc, Febrero 17, 2012).

In Quito, with the passage of time, it seems that I am forgetting Kichwa but not everything, so some days I speak with my grandchildren in our language. I say *apamui* [bring], *chayta kachay* [send that], *ricungui*, [watch] *singa* [nose], *shimi* [mouth], but they tell me, What are you saying?. I repeat, then I repeat what I said in two language - in Kichwa first, and I say one more time to them *Kichwapi cayta ni* [say this in Kichwa], and then I repeat in Spanish (Personal Interview, Yurac Putuc Grandmother, February 17, 2012).

Puesitús grandparents reflected on the use of Kichwa language in the community and how this use changed when they migrated to Guayaquil and Quito cities where they were forced to learn another language. The Kichwa children born in the community were immersed in Kichwa language. When they came to the city, they still understood Kichwa, but they did not want to speak it in the city because of shame. Meanwhile, the Kichwa children born in the city do not know the Kichwa language. As Yana Putuc grandmother said:

Los hijos que nacieron en la comunidad entendían y hablaban bien el Kichwa. Cuando salimos para Guayaquil y después para Quito, todos tuvimos la necesidad de aprender rápidamente el castellano, así poco a poco dejamos de hablar el Kichwa. Los hijos que nacieron en Puesitús todavía entienden el Kichwa pero no lo quieren hablar, parece que les da vergüenza. En cambio mis

otros hijos que nacieron en Quito y que son los más jóvenes no entienden nada de Kichwa (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yana Putuc, Febrero 24, 2012).

Children who were born in the community understood and spoke Kichwa well. When we went to Guayaquil and then to Quito, all of us had the need to learn Spanish quickly, so little by little we stopped speaking Kichwa. Children who were born in Puesitús still understand Kichwa but do not want to talk it; it seems that they feel ashamed. Instead, my other sons that were born in Quito and that are the youngest do not understand any Kichwa (Personal interview, Yana Putuc Grandmother, February 24, 2012).

The shame of not speaking the Kichwa language has been transmitted through generations due to the history of oppression and exclusion Puesitús Peoples suffered throughout time. In this situation, the Kichwa language was used less, and consequently the Kichwa child in the 195's and 1960s did not hear the language and did not learn to speak it. In the 1960s, Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador organized to reclaim their ancestral lands and their right to Indigenous education (A.M. G, personal communication, April 3, 2012). At that time, the value of Indigenous languages from Ecuador, including Kichwa, was also claimed. Then Kichwa Peoples made the conscious decision to relearn the Kichwa culture and language as an exercise of their human rights and self-determination.

Young parents who are living in Quito City do not have time to teach the culture and language to their small children because of their work schedule.

Con tanto problema en la ciudad, es decir en nuestra lucha por sobrevivir acá en la ciudad de Quito se me olvidó por completo el asunto de la lengua y de nuestra

cultura. Imagínese usted si yo podría pensar en eso. Yo llegué a la ciudad hablando Kichwa y un poquito de castellano y en Quito me daba vergüenza hablar en nuestra lengua, no quería sufrir por ser Indígena y quizá esta fue una grave equivocación (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yana Putuc, Febrero 24, 2012).

With so many problems in the city, in our struggle to survive here in the city of Quito I completely forgot about the issue of language and our culture. I never had time to think of that. I came to the city talking Kichwa, a little bit of Spanish, and in Quito I was embarrassed to speak in our language. I did not want to suffer for being Indigenous, and perhaps this was a serious mistake (Personal interview, Yana Putuc Grandmother, February 24, 2012).

Young parents who now live in Quito City migrated from the community when they were children. At that time, they spoke Kichwa and also some Spanish. However, in the city they were obligated to learn Spanish and felt embarrassed to speak in Kichwa, preferring to speak Spanish to avoid discrimination and exclusion from Mestizo society. Young parents denied their Kichwa culture for survival reasons, so the Kichwa child did not learn the Kichwa language and culture from their parents. However, in the 1980s when Kichwa life improved a bit in the city, grandparents began to teach these values to Kichwa child.

Young parents recognize the grandparents' role in keeping the Kichwa language and culture alive, despite the challenges in the city. They are the ones caring for the small children while young parents are busy at their jobs. A young mother from the Yana Family said:

En la ciudad lo poco que queda de nuestra cultura es gracias a los mayores que siguen hablando el Kichwa entre ellos y a sus nietos. Pero no es tan tarde aún podemos hacer algo, ellos están vivos y nos podrían guiar, por tanta ocupación no les damos ni el lugar ni el valor que los abuelitos se merecen. Nunca nos ponemos a pensar si ellos están felices o no en la ciudad (Entrevista personal, Madre Joven, Familia Yana, Marzo 5, 2012).

In the city, what little remains of our culture is thanks to the elders who continue talking Kichwa among themselves and to their grandchildren. But it is not too late to do something. They are alive and could guide us. With so much responsibility, we do not give them either the place or the value that the grandparents deserve. We never have considered whether they are happy or not in the city (Personal interview, Young Mother, Yana Family, March 5, 2012).

The life of Puesitús Peoples in the city is busy and complex. Everyone has to work to gain the necessary funds to cover the needs of the family. There is no time to stop and discuss the life of grandparents in the city, to know if they are happy. Grandparents have an important role in the city, because the care and teaching of the Kichwa culture and language to Kichwa child is in their hands.

The Use of Kichwa Language at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes

Figure 30.

Main Entrance to El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes



Photo by V.C., 2012

Since 1996, El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes has offered initial bilingual education in Spanish and in Kichwa. In August 2012, three observations were held in a room of 3 to 4-year old children at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes to see if the Kichwa language was used in the classroom. The young parents and grandparents agreed to these observations in previous meetings held in February and March 2012. The first observation was conducted in August 15, 2012. After watching the class, a schedule was created tracking the activities of these small children. The dynamics were the same during the next two observations on August 27 and 30, 2012, with the only change being in the order of the activities. For instance, the first activity was puzzles in the second observation, while in

the third observation the day began with a kitchen activity. Children were busy all day with activities that were explained to them only in Spanish. The class's two caregivers, one principal and one assistant, are both Kichwa speakers but never spoke it during class time. Therefore, these small Kichwa children did not have the opportunity to listen and learn to speak the Kichwa language through cultural activities, despite the fact that they are at El Centro Infantil almost the whole day. No one was interviewed, respecting the El Centro director's decision.

There were bulletin boards on the walls of the room in Spanish and in the Kichwa language such as numbers - 1 *shuk*, 2 *ishkay*, 3 *kimsa* as well as the names of the spaces in the room: *puñuna juchu* sleeping place, etc. However, Kichwa had no official place. These children do not use their Kichwa names and were in need of culturally appropriate musical and teaching materials. This same kind of dynamic has been found in other studies of bilingual programs (Ortiz & Engelbrecht, 1986). The question is, Why are the caregivers not teaching in Kichwa? Is it that Spanish is still believed to be superior?

Table 9.

Schedule of 3-4 Year Old at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes

Period	Time	First Observation August 15, 2012	Note
1	7:30 - 8:00 a.m.	Small children arrive	Spanish language was used all the time.
2	8:00 - 8:30 a.m.	Breakfast	
3	8:30 - 9:00 a.m.	Bathroom break	
4	9:00 - 9:30 a.m.	Activity with beads of different size and colors	

5	9:30 - 9:45 a.m.	Small children rest
6	9:45 - 10:15 a.m.	Activity with fruit puzzles
7	10:15 - 10:30 am	Snack
8	10:30 - 10:45 a.m.	Free play
9	10:45 – 11:15 a.m.	Kitchen activity
10	11:15 - 11:30 a.m.	Small children put away kitchen materials
11	11:30 - 12:00 p.m.	Bathroom use and hand washing
12	12:00 - 12:30 p.m.	Lunch
13	12:30 – 1:20 p.m.	Nap
14	1:20 – 1:30 p.m.	Small children wake up, wash their faces and comb their hair
15	1:30 - 2:00 p.m.	Snack
16	2:00 p.m.	Children are picked up and return home

These Kichwa small children are kept busy and taught all the time only using Spanish. They are losing the opportunity to learn to speak the Kichwa language and cultural values at an early age and becoming monolinguals in Spanish.

The Circle of Life, Solidarity, and Support in Quito City

The circle is the beginning and the continuation of life for Kichwa Peoples and is the place where everyone has the right to be and participate. In the Kichwa cosmo-vision, time is circular and cyclical moving as a wheel putting the past in front of us to guide our

life. Past experiences tell us what to do for our communities. Every Indigenous cycle has activities and responsibilities to be accomplished for the collective benefit. For instance, in the countryside almost all the community members help each other in preparing the land, the seeds, and the ceremonies for the planting season. This sentiment of support and solidarity is developed in rural and urban areas where Indigenous Peoples come together to find solutions for their daily needs. In our entire life, the circle, the *muyundi*, is present. In order to survive in any geographical space, we create different circles such as the circle for education, the circle for children, the circle for Mother Earth, etc. In the case of this study, the survival of Kichwa in the Puesitús community and in the city mainly depends on the circle of solidarity, support, and networks.

Puesitús Indigenous Peoples' lives were complex, as they faced challenges that required new knowledge and skills in order to survive in the city. They were forced to learn a new culture and language and learn also to "*rodar*," literally to roll, but figuratively to overcome the difficulties in the city. In urban settings, the role of solidarity and assistance plays an important position, as people come together to discuss and analyze problems and find solutions. The cultural view of Puesitús Peoples' solidarity occurs in a circular way like a whirling wheel.

Puesitús Peoples grew up practicing specific values: helping each other, caring for and respecting others, using the natural resources in a moderate way, and creating social networks in order to face and overcome various problems. Local authorities from the community knew the needs of the whole community and looked for solutions and for the protection and care of Mother Earth, *Pachamama*. The *minga*, communal work, allowed community members to help each other, assisting them through solidarity and reciprocity.

The Puesitús community organized and nominated local authorities who were responsible for the *Sumak Kawsay*, well-being of the community. There was a network of solidarity and support through the *minga* and organizational structures such as the *Cabildo*, which was composed of a president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer. Some of these community values and ways of organization are still practiced in the city with the main goal to protect, care, and support the Indigenous families who migrated to the city to improve their quality of life and their children's education.

Life in the city was a challenge for the Puesitús Peoples. They now faced an existence that required new knowledge and organization to solve problems. However, they utilized the strategies and organization structures from the community that aided in navigating and solving problems in the city, such as through the *minga* and the circle of solidarity and support. They had meetings at El Mercado de San Roque, at CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School, and at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes where problems were discussed and responsible people were nominated to obtain the necessary resources and solutions.

Yurac Putuc grandfather remembered the beginning of the organization in the city:

Acá empezamos a conversar entre nosotros para organizarnos y ver cómo sobrevivir en esta ciudad. Mi preocupación eran los hijos, tenían que aprender a leer y escribir bien, pero sin sufrir. Por eso creamos dos escuelas indígenas que luego se unieron y se hizo la escuela Indígena CEDEIB-Q. La vida en la ciudad no es fácil, todos tuvimos que aprender otra lengua, vestarnos de otra forma y actuar diferente para que no nos vean como gentes raras (Entrevista personal, Abuelito Yurac Putuc, Febrero 17, 2012).

Here we began to talk amongst ourselves to organize ourselves and see how to survive in this city. My concern was the children. They had to learn to read and write well but without suffering. This is why we created two Indigenous schools, which later united and became the CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School. Life in the city is not easy. All of us have to learn another language, dress in another way, and act differently so that we're not seen as strange people (Personal interview, *Yurac Putuc* Grandfather, February 17, 2012).

Entonces terminé formando en Quito un grupo de jóvenes para hablar de varios problemas que hacían sufrir acá en la ciudad a las familias Indígenas de mi provincia. La Asociación Alejo Saes fue el comienzo de mi trabajo político en la ciudad de Quito (Entrevista personal, Abuelito Yurac Putuc, Febrero 17, 2012).

I then ended up forming a youth group in Quito to discuss several problems, which we suffered here in the city - those of us from Indigenous families from my province. The Association Alejo Saes was the beginning of my political work in the city of Quito (Personal interview, *Yurac Putuc* Grandfather, February 17, 2012).

Después puso todo su empeño en la creación del Centro Infantil Alejo Saes para tener bajo cuidado y protección a los niños pequeños hijos de los migrantes, de las madres solas y trabajadores en el mercado de San Roque y en las calles de la ciudad. Él fue presidente de la Asociación Alejo Saes por dos veces (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yana Putuc, Febrero 24, 2012).

Later he made every effort to create El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes in order to care for and protect the young children of migrants, of single mothers and of workers

in the San Roque market and in the streets of the city. He was president of the Association Alejo Saes twice (Personal interview, *Yana Putuc* Grandmother, February 24, 2012).

In the city, Puesitús Peoples organized themselves following the same model used at Chimborazo Province to find solutions for problems. In this framework, the Kichwa child was also participating and observing this organizational process from his/her mother's back and learning how to interact in Kichwa language, how to approach people with respect, how to develop relationships, and how to maintain unity while enduring.

The life and survival of Puesitús Indigenous Peoples in the city required order and the development of values, such as giving a hand and supporting the newcomers to the city to obtain work, schools for their children, finding a room to rent in the city, etc. Strategically, they lived near the market where women sold produce. The formation of networks was useful so that several alternatives and solutions were available. The networks also ensured that rights were protected. Survival was ensured thanks to the practice of the *minga*, communal work, solidarity, care and protection of one to another, social networks with human rights organizations, and the creation of women's associations. Gradually, Mestizo people began to respect the Puesitús Peoples once they understood that the Puesitús Peoples were in the city to work.

The Kichwa child's life was immersed in these life situations. For instance, children watched and listened to discussions of problems at meetings and the solutions from their mother's back. Older Kichwa children helped their mothers pass food and water to people at the meetings.

Yana Putuc grandmother referred to the circle of solidarity in this way:

Acá en la ciudad, tratamos de vivir todos en el mismo barrio para apoyarnos y cuidarnos. Cuando alguien nuevo llega a Quito, al mercado de San Roque estamos listos para ayudarle a conseguir una cuartito²⁶, a conseguir una escuela para las guaguas, a conseguir trabajo con nuestras amistades, como ya conocemos la ciudad ya sabemos qué hacer y qué enseñar a nuestros paisanos. Aquí decidimos organizarnos como en la comunidad y a formar asociaciones, organizaciones para defender nuestros derechos y hacernos respetar como seres humanos, los mestizos poco a poco han ido comprendiendo que nosotros estamos acá para trabajar no para robar ni perjudicar a nadie (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yana Putuc, Febrero 24, 2012).

Here in the city, we try to live in the same neighborhood to support each other and care for each other. When someone new comes to Quito, to San Roque market, we are ready to help him to rent a small room, to find a school for their children, to find a job with our friends. We know the city already, know what to do and what to teach to our countrymen. Here we decided to organize ourselves like in the community and form associations, organizations to defend our rights and to be respected as human beings. The Mestizos gradually have understood that we are here to work not to steal or harm anyone (Personal interview, *Yana Putuc* Grandmother, February 24, 2012).

La vida en la ciudad es muy complicada por eso tenemos que estar juntas para buscar soluciones a nuestros problemas, buscar mejores días para nuestros hijos,

²⁶ Spanish diminutive of room

familiares y la comunidad. Yo como presidenta procuro recibir como socias a madres solteras, madres viudas, abuelitas y a todas quienes deseen estar trabajando con nosotras para que todas estemos felices y tengamos el pan del día seguro (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yana Putuc, Febrero 24, 2012).

Life in the city is very complicated, so we need to be together to find solutions to our problems - search for better days for our children, families and the community. As the president, I try to recruit as members of the association single mothers, widowed mothers, grandmothers and all partners who wish to be working so that we all can be happy and are able to secure our daily bread (Personal interview, Yana Putuc Grandmother, February 24, 2012).

In the city, there is recognition of grandparents' effort and dedication to gain better living conditions and education for their children. A young mother from Yana Family said:

Tengo muy presente cómo los mayores se han organizado para que la vida de nosotros los jóvenes sea más fácil acá en Quito. Gracias a este esfuerzo de toda la vida tuvimos escuela, colegio, universidad, algunos oficios, tenemos algunos servicios como agua potable, luz eléctrica y las mujeres solteras o viudas reciben el bono solidario que es de \$50 al mes (Entrevista personal, Madre Joven, Familia Yana, Marzo 5, 2012).

I recognize how the elders have organized so that the life for us, the young people, is much easier here in Quito. Thanks to this effort, we have schools, high schools, university, some trades. We have had some services such as potable water,

electricity, and unmarried or widowed women receive a solidarity bonus, which is \$50 a month (Personal interview, Young Mother, *Yana* Family, March 5, 2012).

Puesitús Peoples faced different problems in the city because of limited financial resources for basic needs. They also suffered from a lack of housing and land for planting, a lack of a natural environment where they can pray to gain strength, and the lack of knowledge about life in the city. Every new activity in the city was a challenge and required new skills to overcome those new obstacles. In this complex frame of the city, solidarity played a crucial role in bringing people together who understood and faced problems and found solutions through unity. The following paragraph explains the way solidarity was experienced as a whirling wheel that allowed the survival of the Puesitús Peoples, including the child, as *Mashua* grandmother said:

Todo esto era como una rueda, unos enseñando a los otros, así lo que sabemos se irá repitiendo una y otra vez como un churo y no se acabará nunca (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Mashua, Febrero 29, 2012).

All this is like a wheel, some of us teaching others, so what we know is going to be repeated again and again like a whirling wheel and it will never end (Personal Interview, *Mashua* Grandmother, February 29, 2012).

Mashua grandfather said:

Todo esto yo veo esto como una bomba, como un churo que se da la vuelta una y otra vez en donde los mayores enseñan a los más pequeños y ellos a su vez a los que vienen detrás, es como la rueda de la vida que no se acaba, sigue y sigue, comienza y comienza una y otra vez (Entrevista personal, Abuelito Mashua, Febrero 29, 2012).

All this I see like a circle, like a snail that turns over and over again where elders teach the little ones, and they in turn will teach to those who are coming behind us. It is like the wheel of life that does not end, continues and continues, starts and begins again and again (Personal interview, *Mashua* Grandfather, February 29, 2012).

This statement shows how the Kichwa child is being taught by older people in a circular way. Later this child would be teaching what he already learned to the new generations. These teachings are cyclical, and do not end. And according to the Kichwa Epistemology the past is guiding the present.

Yana Putuc grandmother sees solidarity and sisterhood in the city as a wheel that is protecting Puesitús Peoples and the child constantly in this new and strange environment:

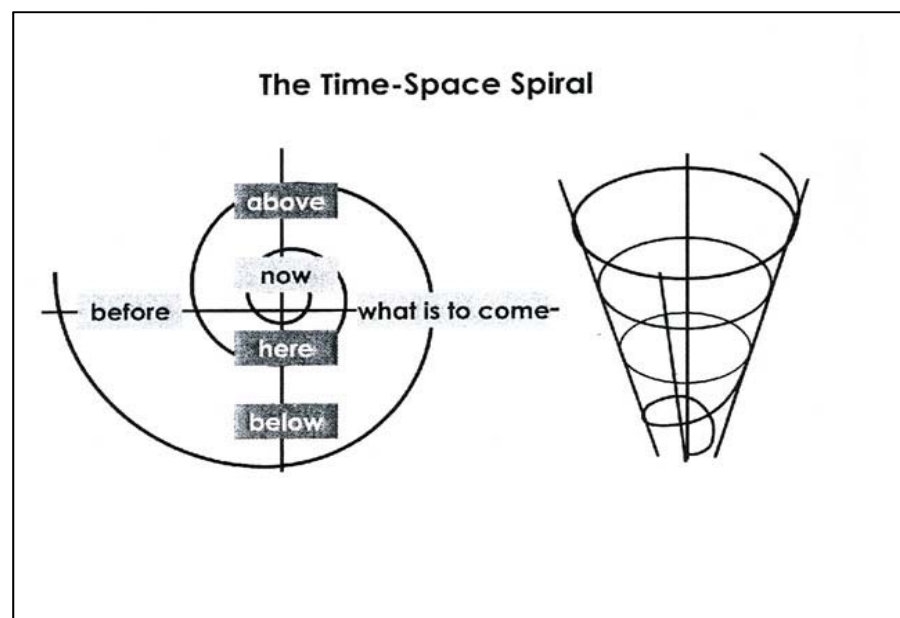
La solidaridad es como una rueda, va dando la vuelta, ahora yo ayudo a la gente, yo sé que después ellos darán la mano a mis hijos, a mis nietos, esta rueda nunca se acaba en la vida de nuestra gente y de la comunidad, por eso aunque estemos lejos de la comunidad seguimos practicando estos valores, aquí en la ciudad mucho más, porque es un ambiente distinto, extraño, nuevo, en donde la gente mestiza no se va a doler de nosotros, pero entre nosotros mismos si debe haber el sentimiento de apoyo, de solidaridad y de hermandad (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yana Putuc, Febrero 24, 2012).

Solidarity is like a wheel; it is always turning. Now I help people. I know that later they will give a hand to my children, to my grandchildren. This wheel never stops in the life of our people and the community. This is why even away from the

community we still practice these values with greater difficulty here in the city, because it is a different environment, strange, new, where the Mestizo people are not going to take care of us, but amongst ourselves there must be the feeling of support, solidarity, and sisterhood (Personal interview, *Yana Putuc* Grandmother, February 24, 2012).

Figure 31.

Whirling Circle



Source: García et al. (2004)

The solidarity, support, and ways of organization from the community of Puesitús are valued and practiced in the city where after several years adults and children have learned how to “*rodar*” to face and solve urban problems.

Kichwa Children's Play

Kichwa children's play was immersed in daily activities and carried out in the community; there was no specific time for playing. The children learned how to speak

while playing. Until 2008, Indigenous Peoples from Ecuador saw children's western play at urban schools as a waste of time. Gradually, through several conversations and workshops, Indigenous young parents, grandparents, teachers, and local authorities understood the importance of the use of cultural play (Y.T.M., Personal observation, March 9, 2008).

The co-participants remembered some facts of children's play in the community and in the city. There is no written information about this issue of Puesitús culture. The information below was re-constructed from several meetings with the participation of the elders and grandparents. These cultural games are still in the memory of some elders. Although children's play was not the focus of this study, the co-participants decided to keep and include this information, because it represented children's lives in the community and could be used in future activities for learning the Kichwa language and culture.

Kichwa Children's Play in the Community

Play in the community was centered in the fields, on *Pachamama* - the mother and life-giver and as an essential basis of Kichwa Epistemology. *Yana Putuc* grandmother remembered children's play in the community:

Cuando mi hijo aún no caminaba se quedaba en la tierra, allí jugaba, allí lloraba, se reía, había una relación íntima con la tierra. Jugaban con la tierra, comían tierra y no se enfermaban quizá porque nosotros somos parte de la Madre Tierra, de la Pachamamita. Como a los tres años de edad cuando ya podía caminar bien mi hijo mayor empezó a ayudarme en la casa. (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yana Putuc, Febrero 24, 2012).

When my son did not yet walk, he sat on the ground. There he played. There he cried, laughed. There was an intimate relationship with the land. They played with the land, ate dirt, and they did not become ill, perhaps because we are part of Mother Earth, of the *Pachamamita*. At three years of age when he could walk well, my eldest son started to help me at home (Personal interview, *Yana Putuc* Grandmother, February 24, 2012).

In the community, the Kichwa child played with the earth, ate earth, cried on the earth that permitted him/her to have a close relationship with *Pachamama*, Mother Earth and all her beings. The child learned in a practical way the meaning and role of Mother Earth in the life and culture of Kichwa family, child and community.

Puesitús boys imitated agricultural activities, such as planting and harvesting and carrying small packages of produce. They were provided with small agricultural tools under the supervision of older people. As the *Yana Putuc* grandmother said:

Me acuerdo que en la comunidad los varoncitos pequeños jugaban con azadones y hoces pequeñas²⁷, ellos lloraban diciendo yo también quiero sembrar, yo también quiero cosechar, yo también quiero cortar la cebada, el trigo y cargar. Teníamos una sogita chiquita con esa le hacíamos cargar a mi hijo un atado pequeño según su porte. Las hoces y azadones les prestábamos por un ratito²⁸ y los cuidábamos para que no se cortaran o lastimaran (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yana Putuc, Febrero 24, 2012).

I remember that in the community the small boys played with tiny hoes and pick axes. They cried saying, “I also I want to sow. I also want to harvest. I also want

²⁷ Spanish diminutive of small

²⁸ Spanish diminutive of moment

to cut the barley, wheat and load”. We had a little rope. With that we made my son a tiny bundle according to his size so he could carry a small load. We loaned them the pick axes and hoes for a little while, and we took care of them so they would not cut or hurt themselves (Personal interview, *Yana Putuc* Grandmother, February 24, 2012).

The Kichwa child observed and learned how to work in the fields and how to peel peas, beans, and other cereals with his/her little hands. All the time the Kichwa child was having a continuous relationship with his/her parents, relatives, and with *Pachamama*, where he/she played at *chakra* (garden), watering the plants, at the market, etc. The Kichwa child was part of these games either from his/her mother’s back or being seated on the earth. *Mashua* grandmother also remembered this:

Cuando íbamos al campo y nos veía trabajar con la tierra, el también remedando hacía lo mismo que los mayores. En ese tiempo le compramos una pala chiquita para que pudiera manejarla y trabajar la tierra. Con sus manitos²⁹ pequeñas nos ayudaba a pelar las alverjas, el fréjol y el chocho (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yana Putuc, Febrero 24, 2012).

When we went to the field and he saw us working with the land, he imitated what the elders were doing. At that time, we bought him a small shovel so he could handle it and work the land. With his tiny little hands, he helped us to peel the peas, beans and *chocho* (small cereal) (Personal interview, *Yana Putuc* Grandmother, February 24, 2012).

²⁹ Spanish diminutive of hands

Mashua grandmother said:

Ya más grandecitos los niños jugaban a la chakra, (garden) sembrando, limpiando las malas hierbas, regando la tierra con agua, cosechando los productos y luego imitaban el mercado en donde vendían los productos. Así jugaban en el campo, en las sementeras mientras los mayores trabajábamos en las labores del campo. Otros niños jugaban a pastar borregos, chivos, y a cazar palomas y tucurpillas con una catapulta de madera con un gancho de caucho. (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Mashua, Febrero 29, 2012).

The older children played *chakra*, planting, cleaning up the weeds, watering the earth with water, harvesting the products, and then mimicked the market where they sold products. They played in the field, in the sown fields, while older people were working in the field. Other children pretended to graze sheep, goats, and to hunt pigeons and *tucurpillas* with a wooden slingshot (Personal interview, *Mashua* Grandmother, February 29, 2012).

Six-year old boys in the community and older played with colorful beans, *tortas*, that were hanging on tall trees. *Mashua* grandfather remembered this game in the community with a type of bean that has now disappeared:

Me acuerdo de otro juego, los grandecitos de 6 años para arriba recogían tortas en el campo, se subían a los árboles para recogerlas. Eran como fréjoles grandes aplastados de varios colores vivos. Los niños hacían dos torrecitas³⁰ de tortas, con su mano derecha tiraban la torta madre (más grande) contra las dos torres, el niño que lograba derrumbar las torres se llevaba todas las tortas como premio.

³⁰ Spanish diminutive of towers

Ahora esas tortas no se pueden encontrar más (Entrevista personal, Abuelito Mashua, Febrero 29, 2012).

I remember another game, the bigger boys of six years and older gathered *tortas*, beans, in the field; they climbed the trees to pick them. They were like crushed big beans of various vivid colors. The children made two towers of *torta*, with their right hands, They threw the “mother *torta*” (larger) against the two towers. The boy who made the towers that collapsed was the one who took all the *tortas* as a prize. Now these *tortas* cannot be found anymore (Personal interview, Mashua. Grandfather, February 29, 2012).

Grandmothers remembered some girls’ play in the community where the toys were made by hand using natural material - for instance, flour or pieces of cloth. Girls made bread dolls and sold prepared food at the market and charged the customers in Kichwa language.

Las mujercitas³¹ en tiempo de finados jugaban haciendo guaguas de pan, viendo lo que hacíamos los mayores. Jugaban como que vendían comida cocinada y ofrecían y cobraban los precios en Kichwa. En la comunidad los niños jugaban en y con la tierra, jugaban a la chakra o al mercado (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yana Putuc, Febrero 24, 2012).

The little girls during All Souls Day played making bread dolls, seeing what the elders did. They played as if they were selling prepared food and charged prices in Kichwa. In the community, the children played in and with the land, played

³¹ Spanish diminutive of women

chakra, garden or market (Personal interview, Yana Putuc Grandmother, February 24, 2012).

Las niñas hacían muñecas de trapo a las cuales les daban de comer, las bañaban y las mantenían cargadas en su espalda. Como veíamos esto, entonces también les comprábamos ollitas³² pequeñas para que jugaran a las cocinadas. También fingían vender comida ya lista, los pagos se hacían con hojas pequeñas o con vainitas de fréjol, de arveja o de chocho.

Girls made cloth dolls, which they fed, bathed, and carried on their back. When we saw this, we also bought them small pots so that they could play at cooking. They also pretended to sell prepared food; the payments were made with small leaves or husks of beans, peas, or *chocho*.

In support of the importance of play, the Kichwa child was given dough to make a doll, a bird, a horse, or a plant. He remained playing with the dough while observing the activities of older siblings and adults. Boys and girls imitated their parents' activities carried out in the fields or at the market every day.

Mashua grandmother said:

Los varoncitos³³ y las hembritas³⁴ repetían todo lo que los mayores hacíamos, así decían en sus juegos que están arando la tierra, que están preparando las semillas....otras veces jugaban a la venta de frutas y de comida cocinada en el mercado, jugando hablaban el Kichwa. (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Mashua, Febrero 29, 2012)

³² Spanish diminutive of pots

³³ Spanish diminutive of boys

³⁴ Spanish diminutive of girls

The small girls and small boys copied everything that elders did, so they were saying in their games that we are plowing the earth, we are preparing the seeds. Other times they pretended to sell fruits and prepared food in the market. While playing they spoke Kichwa (Personal interview, *Mashua* Grandmother, February 29, 2012).

Figure 32.

Indigenous Toys

	
Photo: Bread Dolls Source: Otavalos Online, 2012	Photo: Cloth Dolls Source: Otavalos Online, 2012

In the Puesitús community, children played imitating their parents’ agricultural activities. Using small agriculture tools, they pretended to plant and to clean the crops. Girls and boys played differently in the market, in the fields, always using the Kichwa language and toys made with natural resources.

The migration process from the countryside to the city caused several changes in the lives and culture of Puesitús Peoples, which also affected children's play where they now watch television or play with western plastic toys.

Kichwa Children's Play in the City

In August 2012, during one overnight direct observation at three young parents' families, the grandmothers said that very small girls play at home dramatizes the work at the open market. They speak in Spanish to offer fruit to the clients and to bargain the prices. In this way, small girls are repeating an activity that their mothers and some grandmothers carry out on a daily basis:

Small girl seller: *Cómpreme caserita estas lindas manzanas, le doy 4 por 1 dólar.* Please dear buyer, buy these beautiful apples. I will give you 4 for 1 dollar.

Small girl buyer: *Le compro si me da 6.* I will buy if you give me 6.

Small girl seller: *No me alcanza. Lleve 5 por 1 dólar.* No, I cannot. Take 5 for 1 dollar.

Young boys pretend to fix houses in the same way their fathers and grandfathers do:

House owner: *Cúanto me cobra para componer esta casa?* How much will you charge me to fix this house?

Construction worker: *Está muy vieja hay que componer todo. El piso, las puertas, las ventanas y hay que pintar todos los cuartos.* It is very old. We need to fix everything, the floor, the doors, the windows, and we need to paint all the rooms.

House owner: No, está muy caro. No, it is too expensive.

Other small children in Quito City play at home with plastic toys using modern characters such as Spiderman, Batman, and Winnie the Pooh and watch cartoons on the television. According to the grandparents, this type of play is very different compared

with the play in the community where small children were with their parents in the fields the whole day and used to play on the land, cleaning it, planting seeds, picking fruit, harvesting, carrying the produce and selling it, etc. The Kichwa child spoke Kichwa during the play time. While in the city, the play has changed. Here boys play at construction and girls at the market, but they use Spanish language for interaction (Personal observation, *Yurac Putuc*, *Yana Putuc* and *Mashua* Grandmothers, August 27, 2012).

In summary, the Kichwa child is a small sacred person. He is a tender plant that needs care, love, and protection from mother, parents, and relatives and from the whole community. The Kichwa child needs to learn since early childhood the Kichwa culture and language to grow as a Kichwa child. He is guided by elders to find his star and mission for his life to gain and develop the necessary skills to be a good and honest person who would be working for the *Sumak Kawsay*, well-being of the community.

Elders and women play an important role in the transmission of Kichwa culture. These teachings take place where the Kichwa family lives. In the community, the Kichwa culture was taught on the *Pachamama* by using concrete elements from Mother Earth. For instance, to teach the word *yura*, tree, mothers just showed it to their child and said the name in Kichwa. The child was able to learn by observing, listening, touching, and repeating. He could understand in a practical way the meaning of *Pachamama*. Puesitús Peoples were working together at home or in the fields. The Kichwa child was living on the *Pachamama* and learning daily cultural activities, including the Kichwa language, from his parents and relatives.

This cultural teaching through the *Pachamama*, a life book, has changed caused by the new lifestyle Puesitús Peoples have in the city. They have to learn a new culture and language and are forced to work in two or more places in order to earn a living. Due to the busy work schedules in the city, young parents do not have time to spend with their children to pass on the Kichwa language and culture. Small children (from birth to 5-years old) are attending El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes from 7:30 a.m. to 2 p.m. Monday to Friday. The Kichwa child is being cared for and taught by the *cuidadoras*, caregivers, at El Centro only in Spanish. In the complex environment of the city, grandparents are caring for and teaching the Kichwa language and values to their grandchildren. Grandparents continue to instruct the Kichwa child about *Pachamama* by telling him the produce comes from her, that she is our protector and life giver. It may be that the Kichwa child is not able to understand the full meaning in Kichwa, but from an early age he is taking this cultural meaning into his heart and soul. When the Kichwa child visits the Puesitús community at Chimborazo Province, he runs free on the fields, plays, speaks in Kichwa, and feels joy and protection. The vital importance and the sentiment of respect and love for Mother Earth, *Pachamama*, is being transmitted since ancestral times from one generation to the next. This respect is still present in Kichwa Peoples in the community and in the city. Elders said that “Without land, *Pachamama*, we are nothing.”

In the community and in the city, the Kichwa child learns from parents, relatives, and community members’ different Kichwa norms and values that allow him to act in a culturally appropriate way according to Kichwa protocols and norms. Among these values are:

- Respect for elders;
- Greeting elders by shaking their hand;
- Caring and supporting others;
- Being in solidarity;
- The value of *minga*, communal work;
- Being a good and honest person, telling the truth;
- Getting up early;
- Respecting meal times;
- Learning the Kichwa language and culture since infancy;
- Caring and preserving Mother Earth; and
- Using the natural resources wisely.

During daily activities in the community, children learned through observation, listening, and participating to obey, to be a good worker, to take care of the animals, and to call parents and relatives. The Kichwa children learned to respect all beings of Mother Earth, their cultural meaning, and to pray to sacred trees, mountains, and rivers, and make offerings to them. They also learned the Kichwa mandates:

- *Ama Shua*, (Do not rob),
- *Ama Quilla*, (Do not be lazy),
- *Ama Llulla*, (Do not lie), and also

the Kichwa principles:

- *Shuk Shungulla*, (One Heart),
- *Shuk Yuyailla*, (One Thought), and

- *Shuk Maquilla*, (One Hand).

All of these Kichwa values have been taught to the Kichwa child in the community since ancestral times and presently in the city. These values, mandates, and principles could be the cultural framework in teaching the Kichwa language and culture.

Chapter VI

Discussion, Other Findings and Implications, Reflections on Kichwa Language Loss, Possible Actions to Solve Kichwa Language Loss, Conclusions and Recommendations and Additional Recommendations

The themes presented in the previous chapter were found in response to the primary question and sub-questions formulated in this study. During interviews and direct observations, two important contexts in which the co-participants have lived became known: the community in the Chimborazo province and in Quito City. It was not easy to dissect the rich information gained from the co-participants, because as a Kichwa person I perceive things inherently as interconnected. Efforts were made to show the themes' relation and interconnectivity to the Kichwa child and the cultural foundations Kichwa children need. The themes are:

- The Kichwa child and family,
- The cultural meaning of *Pachamama*,
- Life in the community and in the city,
- Kichwa values,
- The use of Kichwa language,
- The circle of solidarity and support,
- Kichwa children's play,
- Reflections on Kichwa language loss, and
- Actions to teach and maintain the language.

Other Findings and Implications

In addition to the themes described in Chapter 5, there were other findings. The Kichwa child is sacred to his grandparents and parents, a blessing, a tender plant that requires care, love, and nurturing beginning in his mother's womb. The Kichwa child needs to learn culture, values, and to speak Kichwa. Among those values are:

- The vital importance and significance of *Pachamama*;
- The respect and greetings to the elders, greeting them by shaking their hand;
- To be in solidarity and support others;
- To be a good person, be an honest worker;
- To get up early;
- To eat on time;
- To be on time, be responsible;
- To understand the role of the *minga*;
- The cultural significance of the *muyundi*, circle;
- The importance of solidarity; and
- Oral tradition.

Children have to learn the Kichwa mandates including the Kichwa principles. All of these values have been taught to the Kichwa child in the community since ancestral times and presently in the city. However, what makes a Kichwa child Kichwa and what he should learn has never been documented. These findings are immersed in the souls of Indigenous Peoples and could be recovered by future studies about early childhood socialization. Kichwa children learn the Kichwa language and culture through love, patience, and

affection and by speaking the language all the time. They learn by doing, with the kind guidance of parents, grandparents, and the community.

One of the new discoveries was the close relationship of the Kichwa Peoples with *Pachamama*, the Mother Earth, which is the primordial foundation for the development of Kichwa Peoples' life and culture. The community has always had a close relationship with *Pachamama*. Despite the lack of land in the city, the respect and cultural meaning of *Pachamama* is still present in the souls of Puesitús Peoples. The Kichwa child is being taught about Mother Earth even in the city, as Mother Earth, *Pachamama*, is wherever they live and develop their culture. Regardless of living in the city, grandparents have a strong link with *Pachamama* and miss their life in the community. They miss *Pachamama* in the city. This is why it is so important they return to the community to work in the fields from time to time, Even though they work in Quito City, they live outside of the of the city where they could have very a small piece of land or at least one green plot where they could breathe fresh air and their small Kichwa children could play.

Although there has been a loss of culture due to migration, the Kichwa language is valued as the key element - the cultural tool linking the Puesitús Peoples from one generation to the next through the oral transmission of traditional knowledge. Grandmothers and grandfathers who have the wisdom and knowledge of Kichwa culture are still persistently speaking in Kichwa to their grandchildren on a daily basis.

The San Roque open market plays an important role in the life and survival of Puesitús Peoples in Quito City. Young mothers work every day from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m. (except on Monday) selling produce with the support of their mothers and their older children. While at the market, mothers have the opportunity to guide their children in

gaining a rich and holistic education incorporating cultural symbols to assist in living properly inside and outside the community while understanding their relationships and obligations as boys and girls (Blum-Martinez, et al., 2001; Medicine, 1985; Moss, 2010; Romero 2008, 2010; Wong-Fillmore, 2000). At the same time, Kichwa children at the market develop and strengthen their social relationships, speak in Spanish, and discover the Kichwa language as they are immersed in a bi-cultural environment. The market offers young mothers the opportunity to provide their older children an integral education for life.

The San Roque Market also provides social networks through the CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School and El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes, which are the strategic places for meetings, to find a friend, to find a relative, to eat food with community flavor, to share problems, to look for solutions, to be together, to speak Kichwa language and to be Kichwa. These places contribute to maintaining the Kichwa culture and language and fortify the unity and identity of those Kichwa families who migrated to Quito City for survival and educational opportunities.

The concept of Archipelago and Islands referred to in the Literature Review by Salomon (1981) is helping preserve strong links between Kichwa Peoples from rural and urban areas. The Puesitús community in Chimborazo Province is the Archipelago, and Guayaquil and Quito cities are the Islands providing financial support to sustain the local authorities, to cover administrative issues, and to sustain the life of the community with the opening of new roads, cleaning *acequias*, cleaning the church, covering medical emergencies, etc.

Considering the goal of the Participatory Action Research, the validation of this study was carried out with co-participants in Quito City, Ecuador. This process was rich and meaningful; every co-participant contributed feedback and suggestions. Important data was collected from Puesitús Peoples that is not written and only kept in the memory of elders. Using an inclusive process, the co-participants and I were able to reconstruct historical facts of the community from *hacienda* times, remember ancestral child play, the color and shapes of traditional clothes for men and women, and new data. Some grandmothers remembered the shape of women's dress and some grandparents recalled the colors. They corrected each other's mistakes or completed the missing data. There were times of silence, tears, and laughter. After a page-by-page revision of this document, all were satisfied, for the simple fact that the co-participants had been respected, listened to, and empowered. This process was in contrast to other studies when the Puesitús community was videotaped and audiotaped several times but did not receive any of that material nor were they told where to find it.

Participatory Action Research allowed the real engagement of co-participants to analyze freely the community issues and to find from an inside perspective the problems and solutions, a fact that increased the sentiment of ownership and empowerment of Puesitús Peoples. As an Indigenous researcher, I understood, respected, and followed the Puestitús protocol that allowed us to go beyond the language and culture issues. Indigenous research is a ceremony and a cultural challenge that requires the development and observance of an intercultural framework. To advance the study, it was necessary to practice Kichwa spirituality through the permanent guidance of spiritual Indigenous elders from Ecuador and abroad.

Similarly, according to the Kichwa cosmo-vision, the Puesitús community will continue the validation of this study year to year according to achievements gained in the future Kichwa language program at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes. In Kichwa life, every action or activity is considered as good or bad according to the service or benefit that activity offers for the whole community.

It is clear that there have been major changes for the Puesitus Peoples. In the community, the midwife cared for mothers and very young children through close and warm social relationships, while in the city the hospital and nurses provide impersonal attention without any cultural consideration. While in the community, very small Kichwa children were carried on their mothers' backs until the age of three years. The socialization of these children was accomplished using the Kichwa language all the time by observing, repeating, and doing while staying close to *Pachamama*. Grandparents are taking care of their grandchildren due to young parents' work in the city in construction or at the market. Small Kichwa children attend El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes from 7:30 a.m. to 2 p.m. Monday to Friday in Quito City. Although caregivers, *cuidadoras*, are Indigenous and Kichwa speakers, activities and guidance in El Centro is conducted only in Spanish.

Very small children in the city are cared for by their grandparents and older children by their young mothers at the market. While young parents are at work, grandparents are at home tending to their grandchildren's safety and communicating in the Kichwa language and culture every day. Grandparents are active social actors who maintain the unity of the family and preserve the Kichwa traditions and tongue even with

modifications because of life in the city. Young parents recognize this invaluable role of grandparents.

Puesitús Peoples were forced to learn to “*rodar*,” to survive and also to explore alternatives to remain Kichwa despite the pressure of the city and rapid changes. They are conscious of living in two worlds and their culture and language loss. This is the motivation to revitalize and maintain the Kichwa speech and customs, because they are the core of Kichwa life and identity; therefore, grandparents and young parents made the decision to raise their small children as Kichwa.

Puesitús families who are now living permanently in the city still pay attention to activities throughout the year during the Agriculture and Life Cycles. Due to the lack of land to cultivate in the city, they follow events related to the cycle of life more. They also celebrate the *Pawkar Raymi* Ceremony (for Flowers and Unripe products) every March at CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School and the *Inti Raymi* Ceremony (to honor the Father Sun) in June. From time to time, Puesitús Peoples return to their community to keep their ties to the land and to strengthen their identity. The Kichwa values from ancient times are still practiced in the city with some changes, but the essence and core of the culture are still there. The wheel of life is unbroken where the past is guiding the present in a circular shape, *muyundi*.

Older Kichwa children go directly to the market after school to help their mothers. These children are immersed in the market environment with school homework and being an active part of the activities and networks of the market. They receive life education from their mothers in Spanish and sometimes in Kichwa; Spanish is spoken mainly to approach the buyers at the market.

Puesitús families, particularly women and children, attend mass at the nearby Catholic Church every Sunday praying and chanting in Kichwa. After mass, they eat lunch together and share recent community concerns or needs.

Community values and organizational ways are strongly carried out in Quito City to discuss issues and find solutions through the *minga* and networks of solidarity and support. This brought about the creation of the CEDEIB-Q Indigenous School, *Chaki Ñan* High School, El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes, the women organization, etc. People are quick to help new migrants from Chimborazo Province find a room to rent, schools for children, and jobs. During this study, I was able to show my support and solidarity before a governmental office by defending the closure of El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes. I also assisted the community in buying a farm near Quito City by arranging meetings, taking community members to meetings, consulting a lawyer, etc.

The role and cultural meaning of *muyundi*, circle, is alive and well and seen as a whirling wheel that never ends and goes on and on. Within this wheel, elders are communicating knowledge, culture, and language to small Kichwa children who, in turn, will teach those coming behind them.

The Mestizo's attitude towards Puesitús Peoples has changed compared to the first Indigenous migrants arrival to Quito City in the 1960s. Today, young parents are treated with more respect, which has given them the opportunity to analyze their cultural changes and to work on the revitalization of Kichwa culture and language. They are aware the language expresses the ancestral cosmo-visions, epistemologies, sciences, and technologies, who we are and beliefs forged from ancestral times. Language is a vital part of our life, culture, and identity and serves for praying, storytelling, and the oral

transmission of traditional knowledge (Flores, 2008; Mamani, 2008; Montaluisa, 2008; Settle, 2008; Tauli-Corpuz, 2003).

Puesitús Peoples recognize the rapid loss of the Kichwa language due to migration to the city where they had to learn another culture and language in order to survive. They understand the urgent need to teach the Kichwa language to very small Kichwa children as a second language through culturally appropriate methods, teaching materials, and well-trained teachers. Today, Kichwa children are growing as monolinguals in Spanish.

Reflections on Kichwa Language Loss

Following the Participatory Action Research steps that included designing, collecting data, analyzing data, communicating outcomes and taking action, the co-participants suggested including their reflections of Kichwa culture and language loss and recommended actions to resolve this problem based on the Kichwa cultural foundations uncovered in this research. From the interviews and direct observations with Puesitús grandparents and young parents, it was easy to see a positive attitude towards the creation of a Kichwa language program for very small Kichwa children. The role of the elders is recognized as the oral transmitters of knowledge and as potential Kichwa language and culture teachers. Recognizing the cultural changes suffered in the city. Grandparents and young parents understand the necessity of finding the remaining Kichwa values for the creation of a Kichwa language program.

Mashua grandmother reflects clearly on the effects of the migration on Kichwa culture and language and the need to teach it particularly to very small Kichwa children:

Entonces los nietos no tienen el tiempo suficiente de oír y hablar en nuestra lengua, esto hay que cambiar, en mi corazón no siento bien esto, cómo es que siendo Indígenas no sabemos hablar en Kichwa, por qué se habla más en la lengua de los mestizos, el castellano?(Entrevista personal, Abuelita Mashua, Febrero 29, 2012).

Then the grandchildren do not have the sufficient time to hear and speak in our language. This must be changed. In my heart I do not feel good about this. How is that being Indigenous? We don't speak in Kichwa. Why do we talk more in the language of Mestizos, Spanish? (Personal interview, *Mashua* Grandmother, February 29, 2012).

Mi papá me cuenta cuánto sufrió en esta ciudad por ser Indígena, pero pienso que ahora los tiempos han cambiado y que ya nos tratan con un poco más de consideración, entonces pienso que quizá este es el momento de trabajar en la recuperación de nuestra identidad, de por lo menos saber quiénes somos. Los jóvenes ya no tenemos tanto dolor ni tanto resentimiento como los mayores, que recuerdan clarito cómo fueron discriminados. Pienso que tendríamos que trabajar los abuelitos y los padres jóvenes con los niños pequeños, los mayores tienen el conocimiento de la lengua y los valores Indígenas, los padres jóvenes necesitamos aprender de ellos para juntos enseñar a nuestros hijos pequeños, quiénes fuimos, quiénes somos, a dónde vamos y qué queremos hacer en esta vida (Entrevista personal, Madre joven de la Familia Puka, Febrero 29, 2012).

My father tells me how much he suffered in this city for being Indigenous, but I think that now the times have changed and that they now treat us with a little

more consideration. Then I think that this perhaps is the time to work on the recovery of our identity, at least know who we are. Young people no longer have so much pain nor so much resentment as our elders, who remember clearly how they were discriminated against. I think that the grandparents and young parents should work with small children. Older people have the knowledge of the language and Indigenous values. Young parents need to learn from them to together teach our small children who we are, where we're going, and what we want to do in this life (Personal interview, Young Mother from *Puka* Family, February 29, 2012).

Hoy día tenemos que trabajar mucho para que nuestros niños sean Kichwas es decir que crezcan conociendo y practicando nuestras costumbres, nuestros valores, respetando a los mayores, respetando a la Pachamama, conociendo el valor del muyundi, círculo, que crezcan siendo trabajadores y responsables, que sean profesionales que sepan hablar bien el Kichwa, la lengua de nuestros antepasados y de nuestros padres, pero también que sepan hablar el castellano y manejarse en la ciudad. Ellos necesitan crecer fuertes como la planta de chuquiragua. (Entrevista personal, Abuelito Yurac Putuc, Febrero 17, 2012).

Today we have to work hard so our children are Kichwa, meaning that they grow up knowing and practicing our customs, our values, respecting the elders, respecting the *Pachamama*, knowing the value of the *muyundi*, circle, to grow up being good workers and responsible, being professionals who know how to speak Kichwa well, the language of our ancestors and our parents, but who also know how to talk Spanish and live in the city. They need to grow up strong as the

chuquiragua plant (Personal interview, *Yurac Putuc* Grandfather, February 17, 2012).

Toda la gente indígena de la comunidad de Puesitús que ahora vivimos en la ciudad de Quito cada mes de Agosto regresamos a la comunidad con toda la familia para estar juntos pero más que todo para que los niños pequeños vuelvan a sentir sus raíces, el abrigo de la Pachamama, para que vuelvan a convivir con la naturaleza, con las plantas, que sientan y tomen la fuerza del Chimborazo, del Tungurahua, que aprendan a respetar a los mayores, que los saluden con cariño y respeto a los mayores, que sientan y sepan que no estamos solos, que somos una comunidad tanto en Puesitús como en la ciudad. Los llevamos a la comunidad de Puesitús para que aprendan a ser Indígenas, que sepan y vean con sus ojos lo que nos da la Madre Tierra (Entrevista personal, Abuelito Mashua, Febrero 29, 2012).

All Indigenous Peoples from Puesitús community who now live in the city of Quito each month of August return to the community with the whole family to be together but more than anything to ensure that young children feel their roots again, the protection of *Pachamama*, to coexist back with nature, with plants, to feel and take the strength of the Chimborazo, Tungurahua, learn to respect elders, to greet elders with affection and respect, to feel and know that we are not alone, that we are a community in Puesitús and in the city. We take them to the community of Puesitus so they can learn to be Indigenous that they know and see with their eyes what Mother Earth gives us (Personal interview, *Mashua* Grandfather, February 29, 2012).

Being conscious of the needs in the city, grandparents and young parents refer to the importance of learning both languages and cultures. As *Yana Putuc* grandmother reflected:

De seguro no vamos a volver a la vida como hace 500 años atrás, pero si podemos reconstruir nuestras vidas con los valores que quedan de la comunidad y con algunos valores nuevos y buenos de la ciudad, ya estamos viviendo en Quito y acá necesitamos de los dos modos de vida para poder sobrevivir, no debe valer sólo lo indígena o sólo lo mestizo, ya hemos visto y hemos comprobado que necesitamos de las dos culturas (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yana Putuc, Febrero 29, 2012).

For sure we are not going to return to the life of 500 years ago, but we can rebuild our lives with the remaining values from the community and with some new and good values of the city. We are already living in Quito, and here we need the two ways of life in order to survive. We should not value only the Indigenous way or only the Mestizo way. We have seen and we have proven that we need the two cultures (Personal interview, *Yana Putuc* Grandmother, February 29, 2012).

Yurac Putuc Grandmother reflected on the urgent need to find the remaining Kichwa values:

Muchas cosas han cambiado pero hay otras que aún quedan y con esas cosas y valores es lo que debemos seguir construyendo programas para darle fuerza a nuestra cultura, a nuestra comunidad. Tenemos el gran trabajo de saber y descubrir cuáles son esos valores culturales que aún quedan, a veces están en nuestra misma cara, en nuestra frente pero quizá por la misma costumbre no los

vemos o no los reconocemos como parte de nuestra cultura y vida. Creo que estamos desperdiciando el esfuerzo de todos los abuelitos Indígenas que todavía estamos vivos que seguimos y seguiremos hablando cada día en Kichwa a nuestros nietos hasta que tengamos vida (Entrevista personal, Abuelita Yurac Putuc, Febrero 17, 2012).

Many things have changed, but there are others that are still remaining and with those things and values is what we must continue to build programs to give strength to our culture, to our community. We have the great challenge of learning and discovering what are those cultural values, which are still there. Sometimes they are right in front of our faces on our foreheads, but perhaps because of the same custom we do not see them or we do not recognize them as part of our culture and life. I think that we are wasting the effort of all Indigenous elders, that we are still alive who speak and will continue talking every day in Kichwa to our grandchildren until we are no longer alive (Personal interview, *Yurac Putuc* Grandmother, February 17, 2012).

During this study, Puesitús Peoples become aware of the importance of developing a Kichwa language program with the support of the community and a collective effort:

Todavía hay esperanzas y tenemos a la mano los niños, los abuelitos, sólo se necesita las ganas de querer hacer algo, de organizarnos y hacer una rueda, una minga por la vida y la cultura Kichwa junto con las autoridades del Centro Infantil, los padres de familia, para contar con recursos técnicos, materiales, pero más que eso pienso que necesitamos el compromiso serio de todos y todas

para volver a hablar nuestra lengua Kichwa y vivir como Kichwas. Tenemos que buscar las soluciones ahora y no dejar para después (Entrevista personal, Madre Joven, Familia Puka, Febrero 27, 2012).

There is still hope, and we have at hand the children, the grandparents. The only thing that is needed is the desire to do something, organize ourselves and make a wheel, a *minga* for life and the Kichwa culture together with the authorities of El Centro Infantil, parents, to provide technical resources, material. But more than that, I think that we need a serious commitment of all to return to speak our Kichwa language Kichwa and live as Kichwa. We have to find solutions now and not leave it for later (Personal interview, Young Mother, *Puka* Family, February 27, 2012).

Indigenous Peoples return to Puesitús community at Chimborazo Province every August to celebrate its annual feast with social and artistic activities. The Catholic Church and the Plaza are the key places for this feast, which usually begins with a mass. People are together for one week to visit and discuss the future of the community and in the city and to teach small Kichwa children the meaning of *Pachamama* and cultural values by being immersed in traditional activities in natural spaces. Puesitús Peoples have several meetings to organize the feast and to select the coordinators of various commissions. All community members volunteer with joy and make financial contributions to cover the cost of the feast. Nothing is mandatory, and every activity is discussed and agreed upon beforehand.

The findings of this study demonstrate the appropriateness for utilizing The Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Socio-Cultural-Historical Theory, and the Indigenous

Epistemology as the framework for this report. Conscious of their suffering and oppression in the community and at Quito city, the Puesitús Peoples organized, discussed their problems, and looked for solutions – in this instance, Kichwa language loss. In this new urban environment where they live in two worlds, they are now trying to recover and keep their cultural roots and identity. Grandparents are the core of this cultural survival. They are transmitting orally to their grandchildren the language and culture, the Kichwa Epistemology, the respect and care for the *Pachamama*, the essence of who they are. This teaching and learning of the language and culture is offered with love, patience, and affection by speaking the language whenever it is possible through the kind guidance of parents, grandparents, and the community. Kichwa young parents and grandparents must flow with the new circumstances of life in the city but never give up their indigeneity as Kichwa Peoples.

Possible Actions to Solve Kichwa Language Loss

The co-participants of this study suggested future actions to overcome the Kichwa language loss. They would like to create a circle for Kichwa language, a cultural *minga* for recovering and teaching Kichwa language and culture again to Kichwa small children from El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes. Puesitús Peoples would like to live and practice their traditions and speech as strong as the *chuquiragua* plant and the Chimborazo Mountain are and remain alive forever. Both, the *chuquiragua* plant and the Chimborazo Mountain are the cultural symbols of endurance, strength, and resilience for Puesitús Peoples as *Yurac Putuc* Grandparents stated:

Tenemos que conocer y entender quiénes somos, qué es la Pachamama, qué es el círculo para todos los Pueblos Indígenas. Los niños chiquitos tienen que conocer de dónde vienen las frutas, los vegetales, tienen que conocer el significado del agua, del aire, el sol, de la luna, de la lluvia, del Chimborazo....no queremos tener niños vacíos...tenemos que enseñarles a querer a la Madre Tierra, nuestros valores, a vivir con alegría y esperanza sin resentimientos....tenemos que unirnos y organizarnos para que la ciudad no nos trague y seguir siendo y viviendo como Indígenas a pesar de los problemas y limitaciones (Observación personal, Abuelitos Yurac Putuc, Agosto 20, 2012).

We must know and understand who we are, what is the *Pachamama*, what is the circle for all Indigenous Peoples. These very small children must know where the fruits and vegetables come from, the meaning of water, air, the sun, the moon, the rain, the Chimborazo... We do not want to have empty children... We have to teach them to love Mother Earth, our values, to live with joy and hope without resentments... We must be united and organized to avoid the city swallowing us up to be and remain Indigenous despite the problems and limitations (Personal observation, *Yurac Putuc* Grandparents, August 20, 2012).

Puesitús Peoples would like to design a feasible Kichwa Language Program. As a result of this study, the community is aware of the meaning of *Pachamama* and the remaining cultural values. They seek to develop a culturally appropriate curriculum with grandparents in an active role of communicating the Kichwa culture and language based on the cultural concept of *Pachamama*, Mother Earth, as they still have the wisdom and knowledge. After recognizing the status of Kichwa language use, they would need to

agree collectively on what to teach, when, how, and the teachers. The development of this program would take from five to seven years, including finding the necessary Kichwa speakers/teachers (Romero & McCarty, 2000).

The co-participants are willing to use the Annual Feast of Puesitús community as a live pedagogical resource to teach small children about *Pachamama* and her beings. These children would have the opportunity to see, touch, feel, and interact with natural resources, hear the language, and observe cultural practices. Kichwa children would be surrounded by relatives, extended family, friends, the community, and by Father Sun, the wind, the water, the stones, the sacred places, mountains, and trees. Children would learn in a practical way, not by memory, and would be reconnected with their ancestral roots and gain a sense of belonging.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Puesitús Peoples have suffered several socio-cultural changes in the city; nevertheless, they have two important elements for the revitalization of Kichwa language and culture. First, young parents and grandparents still have a profound respect for the *Pachamama*, Mother Earth, which is the fundamental basis for the development of Kichwa life and culture. The activities of the Cycles of Life and Agriculture, the observance of the Indigenous calendar, the importance of the *minga* the circle, relationships, solidarity, and support are still practiced. Second, there is the active role of grandparents, the elders who communicate the Kichwa language and the traditional values alive in the city every day.

Following the steps of the Participatory Action Research used in this study and considering the two elements mentioned above, the following recommendations are presented:

Puesitús Peoples, together with other partners, would design a culturally appropriate curriculum for the future Kichwa language program, as well as teaching materials, and search for excellent caregivers/teachers. This curriculum would consider that the traditions and language are intrinsically linked with the findings of this study. This project would be a research and learning process for all Puesitús Peoples - the spiral, the *muyundi* of learning that includes the past, present, and future allowing the entire community to be architects of their collective future.

The co-participants would need to teach Kichwa small children and youth the Kichwa Epistemology to provide them the necessary cultural elements to develop a life full of strength and pride. This knowledge would help the Kichwa child to manage the pressure and rapid changes of city life and gain the spiritual strength to survive in this world of modern technologies, individualism, and competition. In this regard, the Kichwa child would learn

- Kichwa greetings, words, sentences, gestures;
- The meaning of *Pachamama*, how her beings are interconnected;
- The names of plants, animals, rivers, mountains;
- To sing in Kichwa the *Jahuay Huagra* song;
- The cultural meaning of the *minga*, the circle;
- To learn *muyundi*, circle, respect for all; and
- The importance of social relationships.

All of these teachings would be presented by the elders and well-trained caregivers/teachers following the Indigenous calendar and activities during the cycles of life and agriculture throughout the year, *wata*. Furthermore, very small Kichwa children would need to understand that *Pachamama* is present in the community and also in the city. The Kichwa child would learn the Kichwa fundamentals of:

- *Munay*, making effort to do something;
- *Ruray*, to do;
- *Ushay*, energy, power;
- *Kawsay*, life; and
- *Yachay*, knowledge to be a Kichwa.

Maigua grandfather made an urgent call to teach small children the names and significance of the sacred beings in Kichwa language:

Kichwa uchilla wawakunaman rimana mi kanchik ñukanchipak kawsaymanda, ñukanchipak apunchikunamanda, urku mamakunamanda, jatun yurakunamanda, pinllu yurakunamanda, Inti Yayamanda, Killa mamamandapish, ayllu kawsayta rikuchinata kanchik, kay kawsayta, ñukanchipak Kichwa shimpi rimashapa, apunchik shutikuna, yura shutikuna yuyarinami kanchik, Chayta yachachinata mi kapanchi, juyashpa, ñukanchipak sapita shinchiangapak. Muyanayan kawsayta mari kan (Entrevista personal Interview, Abuelito Maigua, March 7, 2012).

We have to talk to our small Kichwa children about our life, gods, mountains, big trees, *Pinllu* Tree, Father Sun, Mother Moon, the life of our family and community. We have to remember and teach them in Kichwa language the name of gods, trees. We have to teach our children about our culture and life with love

to strengthen our roots. Our life is so beautiful (Personal interview, *Maigua* Grandfather, March 7, 2012).

Grandparents continue to speak the Kichwa language in daily basis to their grandchildren in the city playing a critical role in the community language revitalization. Therefore, it would be appropriate to create a program to make better use of their wisdom and fluency in speaking the Kichwa language. Kichwa Peoples need to use the elders' life experiences and knowledge in teaching traditional fundamentals to very young Kichwa children, as well as to the young parents and the youth within cultural domains. Young parents play an important role in a language revitalization process and also need opportunities for training. Therefore, this language program would offer the chance for a re-engagement of the family, a cultural time to have a circle of inter-generational re-meetings and dialogues to close the communication gap among the generations.

The teaching and the revitalization of Kichwa culture and language of Puesitús Peoples would be carried out through a curriculum and model of teaching based on Kichwa Indigenous Epistemology (ways of being) (Cajete, 2000; Montaluisa, 1988; Romero, 2004; Terán, 2010). This model would be culturally and ecologically relevant for the Kichwa children of all ages, especially for early childhood, based on the two Kichwa cycles: the Cycle of Life and the Cycle for Agriculture. Both cycles complement each other and interact during the year, *wata*, with ceremonies and feasts.

The future Kichwa program would recover and teach traditional knowledge and values. Caregivers, teachers, authorities, parents, grandparents, and the community would exercise creativity during the process utilizing a total immersion approach in the family

and community cultural spaces. Kichwa Peoples would teach small Kichwa children themes related to:

- Mother Earth, *Pachamama* and all her beings;
- The interconnectedness among all the elements of *Pachamama*, including men, the history of the community, identity, Kichwa language, traditional values, social relationships, solidarity, the meaning of the *muyundi* - circle, and *minga* - communal work.

To maintain the Kichwa language's vitality, it will be necessary to achieve oral fluency among very small Kichwa children and young parents through practical and cultural daily activities such as ancient techniques of planting, cleaning the garden, collecting medicinal plants, harvesting, storing produce, selecting seeds, dancing, singing (*Jahuay* chant), dramatizing, chopping wool, embroidering, making pottery, and cooking. In addition, storytelling would be used (The Condor and the Fire, The Rabbit and the Turtle, the Sun and the Moon) for myths, fables and proverbs, community games with beans, plants leaves, play market, *chackra*, garden, etc.

It is important to clearly understand the difference between formal and informal learning, natural and instructed language learning. Some languages cannot be learned naturally at home and need to be studied at school or at immersion camps (Flores, 2008; Hinton, 2000; Saville-Troike, 2006). This is the case of young Kichwa children, who need to learn the Kichwa language at El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes because they are learning only in Spanish. Ecuadorian Kichwa Peoples would teach all these activities through a total cultural immersion in the community, despite not having the word for “immersion” in our language but to consider that children can practice using language in

everyday activities. In this regard, it will be necessary to research immersion teaching methodology and its use with children of different ages, as well as with young parents. This process will require total dedication to the oral development of language so that very small children would be learning Kichwa language and culture through traditionally appropriate and familiar teaching methods and resources.

Figure 33.

Kichwa Indigenous Children Working in Agricultural Activities

	
<p>Reconstruction of Kichwa ancestral techniques of agriculture</p> <p>Photo courtesy Cotacachi Revitalization Project, 1998</p>	<p>Reconstruction of Kichwa ancestral techniques of agriculture</p> <p>Photo courtesy Cotacachi Revitalization Project, 1998</p>

To save the Kichwa language, Puesitús Peoples will need to love, respect, learn, and and to commit to using the language at home, after school, and everywhere (Quishpe, R., personal communication, June 6, 2010, Santillán, L, personal communication, February 18, 2010; Tauli-Corpuz, 2003). It will be a privilege to apply the Kichwa language in all facets of the new community life, which will, in turn, increase Kichwa spirituality.

Moreover, it would be necessary to begin sharing materials and expertise about languages and culture issues with our brothers and sisters from local, national, and international nations. Using *Pachamama* as a living book and co-teaching with elders would be the first priority in recovering the Kichwa culture and language within the frame of self-determination and sovereignty, including the creation of a teacher learning project to install Kichwa ideas, values, and approaches in their thinking and process of Kichwa culture and language recovering. The preparation of teachers must continue on a more culturally relevant path with attention to Kichwa early childhood. Below is an example of teaching the concept of *Pachamama* to a Kichwa child 3-4 years old.

Table 10.

Model for a 3-4 Year Old Kichwa Child Curriculum Research and Development

Foundation

Aims	Content	Learning Activities	Evaluation
To know and understand the cultural meaning of <i>Pachamama</i> , Mother Earth.	The cultural meaning of <i>Pachamama</i> for Kichwa Peoples.	Outdoor visits to observe, play, and touch plants, animals, stones, rivers, etc. Teach in Kichwa language the sentence: <i>Kay Pachamama mi kan</i> and the names of some observed objects such as: yura, tree, <i>rumi</i> , stone, <i>yaku</i> , water.	Name some of the elements of <i>Pachamama</i> . Repeat the Kichwa sentence and words: <i>Kay Pachamama mi kan, yura, rumi, yaku</i> .

Epistemology	Society/Culture	The learner	Learning Theories
<i>Pachamama</i> is seen as a mother.	The holistic thinking and living of Kichwa Peoples.	Needs to have a holistic teaching and learning by observing, playing, touching in an open space. Need to learn the pronunciation and meaning of <i>Pachamama, yura, rumi, yaku</i> .	Kichwa Epistemology. Community Based Ethnography Teaching and Learning. Multiple intelligence Gardner's Theory.

Source: Terán, Y. (2010)

Additional Recommendations

El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes should conduct a study on cultural and linguistic policies developing them with the full and effective participation of the whole Puesitús community.

There is also a need for additional research on issues of:

- Migration to the cities in Ecuador and abroad;
- The influence of migration on cultural loss;
- The care of grandmothers, young mothers, and infants;
- The socialization of the Kichwa child;
- The development of a Kichwa child;
- Linguistic and cultural policies; and

- The development of a cultural curriculum and pedagogic materials with the community.

Experience gained from this study would suggest that researchers would need to be sensitive persons ready to assist the community in finding the necessary solutions following Kichwa protocols before, during, and after the research. He/she would share the results of the report with the community during its general assembly or in different meetings according to the community decision.

Puesitús Peoples may want to share the findings of this study with Kichwa Peoples from the Andes to share the positive outcomes, to replicate them to avoid mistakes in the future. This study and the Participatory Action Research could be used as a framework for other Indigenous researchers considering the characteristics and traits of the new community where the study would take place. Western universities and researchers would need to have an open mind and heart to understand and respect the Indigenous research methodologies and epistemologies and our ways of thinking, feeling, writing, and validating.

It is suggested that each Kichwa community conduct its own research regarding the socialization process of their small children with the goal to recover the lost social practices and values in order to gain community empowerment through the creation of bottom up educational projects that are inclusive and culturally appropriate for them (Hornberger, 1997; Terán, 2013).

My co-participants and I put our hearts into this project and made our best effort and commitment to begin and conclude the *muyundi*, the circle of this study, which may be reviewed from time to time to re-assess the problem and to begin another cycle

according to community needs and decisions. Every activity was performed with mutual respect and understanding following the appropriate Indigenous protocols and Code of Ethics. Together we accomplished what we were looking for. Now we know the meaning of a Kichwa child, what makes a Kichwa child Kichwa, and the remaining Kichwa cultural foundations to create a Kichwa Language Program for very small children from El Centro Infantil Alejo Saes. The vital importance of *Pachamama*, Mother Earth, was the main foundation in this study.

During this intercultural process of mutual learning, we were the owners of this study, responsible for the outcomes and decisions concerning the future Kichwa Language Program. We felt empowered and our self-esteem increased, because of full and effective participation during the whole research process where all voices, concerns, and perspectives were respected and taken into consideration. My co-participants saw the document written in English. They touched it and asked me to read in English and then to translate into Spanish and into Kichwa, asking several questions about almost every page. They offered comments, suggestions, and made corrections, which were respectfully included. Suggestions from my *mashi*, friend, who accompanied me most of the time, were also incorporated.

There is hope and a new vision for the education of our future leaders based on our Kichwa Epistemology, on our cosmo-vision, and in our reality and needs. These new leaders will always have good hearts, be good persons, respect the *Pachamama*, respect the elders, and help others. For myself, I tried to stay true to Indigenous practices during the whole investigation, being a companion for my co-participants rather than an academician. I was with the community not only for this research but also for the

community needs and made every effort to be humble, sensitive, and ready to correct any mistake or clarify any misunderstanding.

Before, during, and after the process of this research, I followed all the teachings of my elders and my parents and the guidance from my spiritual advisor fasting and participating in several ceremonies in Albuquerque and at home in Ecuador. I saw tears of sadness as well as happy faces and heard laughs of satisfaction during each step of this Participatory Action Research. We laughed and cried together, had doubts and found clarification together, felt discouraged and empowered collectively, and worked together to find and to see the light and hope for a better future for generations coming behind us.

This circle, the *muyundi*, of co-teaching and the *minga* for saving and revitalizing the Kichwa language and culture functioned all the time; we included democratically the voices of men, women, the young, and the elderly. Life gave us this historical opportunity to work slowly but firmly on the recovery of the Kichwa foundations from our own point of view, and gradually we began the process of our decolonization and healing. The Creator and our ancestors blessed us from beginning to end; they guided us until we obtained our collective graduation in the academic field and reached one more step in recovering the essence of who we are as Kichwas. The Puesitús community and I recovered our indigeneity and the core of how we are within the frame of human and cultural rights, sovereignty, self-determination, and social justice. We are in the right time to revive our Kichwa Epistemology, our own cosmo-vision, to forge new Kichwa generations that will enjoy the *Sumak Kawsay*, plenitude of life, with more happiness and freedom. The Kichwa language and culture of Puesitús Peoples shall flower again with

resilience, endurance, and the strength of the Chimborazo Mountain and the *chuquiragua* plant, the cultural symbols of Puesitús Indigenous Peoples.

Figure 34



Painting by Sixtus and Susan Garcia Dominguez, *Ansulala*' (Albuquerque, June 2013)

Appendix A
KICHWA GLOSSARY

Ama Shua - Do not rob.

Ama Quilla - Do not be lazy.

Ama Llulla - Do not lie.

Apachitas - offerings

Apus - gods

Ayllu - family

Chakra - garden

Chaupi - half, center

Chayra wacharishka wawa - a newborn child

Hanan - high

Huata - year

Hurin - low

Inti Raymi Ceremony - Father Sun Ceremony (June)

Jahua Pacha - Upper World

Kai Pacha - The Earth

Kari - man

Kawsay - origin of life and life

Kunan Pacha - now, present, present time

Kuytsa - girls who have their first menstruation

Llakta - community

Mindalaes - merchants

Minga - communal

Munay - to love, desire, to achieve

Ñaupá Pacha - in front of, traces, recent past, before and after

Pacha - land, time and space

Pachakamak - the supreme creator of the universe

Pachamama - Mother Earth

Pawkar Raymi Ceremony - Flowers and unripe products Ceremony (March)

Purishpa jatukkuna - street vendors

Runa life - Man's life

Runa Shimi - Kichwa language

Ruku taita - grandfather

Ruku mama - grandmother

Ruray - to do

Sarun Pacha - go, to become, immediate future

Sawarishka - married couple

Sumak Shim - beautiful language

Supay - devil

Shamuk Pacha - something that will come, after, and future

Shuk Shungulla - One Heart

Shuk Yuyailla - One Thought

Shuk Maquilla - One Hand

Uku Pacha - Lower World

Ushay - to be able, physical and spiritual capacity to do something

Warm - woman

Wamra - for the boy whose voice is changing

Wawa, uchilla wawaku - children from their birth time to adolescence

Wiksayuk warmi - pregnant woman

Yachay - to know

Yaya Rumi - ancient stone

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