CAN MINORITY LANGUAGES SURVIVE IN A SITUATION OF SUSTAINED BILINGUALISM? ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY AND LANGUAGE BEHAVIOR AMONG INDIGENOUS SPEAKERS OF QUICHUA IN ECUADOR

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Abstract

In this study, I examine the sociological, socio-psychological, and psychological domains of two Quichua-speaking communities—one urban and one rural—in Imbabura, Ecuador. The goal of the study is to determine the *ethnolinguistic vitality* (EV) of these two groups, and, ultimately, to predict whether a situation of language maintenance or language shift will prevail. Previous studies of EV have considered one of these three domains, but very few have considered all three. Furthermore, none has sought to measure ethnolinguistic vitality in the Quichua context. This study examines the role of various factors, particularly the individual network of linguistic contacts, in the survival of a particular language and ethnic group.

Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor introduced the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality—defined as "…that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (1977, p. 308)—in the late 1970s as a theoretical framework for analyzing intergroup relations within a contact situation. Those with little vitality eventually cease to exist as distinctive linguistic groups within the intergroup setting.

Allard and Landry (1987) developed a macroscopic model, including Giles et al.'s notions of *objective* (sociological level) and *subjective* (psychological level) EV, and adding to them the notion of *individual networks of linguistic contacts* (socio-psychological level) to mediate between the other two levels. This macroscopic model is the one I have followed in this study.

To examine the sociological level, I used census and descriptive data. To investigate both the socio-psychological and the psychological levels, I used quantitative and qualitative approaches. I employed questionnaires, orally administered to a sample of 100 Indigenous persons between the ages of 18 and 25, and six elite interviews with Indigenous leaders.

The findings of this study reveal the importance of the individual network of linguistic contacts for maintenance of a stable bilingual situation. At the same time they reveal the pervasive influence of the dominant language and culture, which threatens to undermine efforts to maintain and revitalize the ethnic language. Only with considerable planning and effort will these two communities be able to maintain Quichua in a stable bilingual situation.

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First of all, I would like to thank the Kichwa people of Ecuador. Their continuous struggle to assert their own ethnic culture and language provides striking examples of alternative ways of living a dignified and productive life. Their story illustrates the perseverance, dignity, and hope with which they are blazing a trail for future generations. I cannot thank the people of Morocho and Otavalo enough for their willingness to participate in this study, and especially the Indigenous leaders—that is, Luis Alberto Anrango, Humberto Cotacachi, Luz María de La Torre, Alfonso Morales, José Muñica, and Auki Tituaña—who shared with me their insights on the Indigenous and on Ecuadorian society as well. Amanda Méndez and Rumiñahui Anrango, who assisted me with my field research, deserve the highest praise. Without their knowledge of Quichua and their contacts, this project could not have been realized. Also, I thank my friends Luz María de La Torre, Fabián Muenala, and Armando Muyulema for their important influence on me and on the world around them.

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My parents and brother have never wavered in their encouragement and inspiration. My parents have always taught me the importance of higher education, but, most importantly, they have set an example of hard work, perseverance, and rising to every challenge. My parents' and brother's trust, support, and unconditional love for me have been the fuel that has kept me going.

Last, but certainly not least, my husband and my son, whom I absolutely adore, have been wonderful to me. They have not only had to bear with me throughout this long process, but have had to endure my prolonged absences from home. Their encouragement and love are what have enabled me to start and complete this whole endeavor.

1.0 CHAPTER 1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 INTRODUCTION: LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

If language maintenance were on one side of a continuum, language shift would be on the other. All of the languages used in every situation could then be placed on some part of this continuum. But if this is the case, do we say that North Americans are maintaining English? Or do we only talk about language maintenance and shift in relation to minority languages? According to Christina Paulston (1998), the term *minority* implies only that a group represents a smaller population within a larger majority group. However, in this study, *minority* refers not only to the numerical disadvantage of the minority group in relation to the majority group, but more so to its disadvantaged position in terms of power. Sergif Vilfan calls such groups *non-privileged* or *non-dominant* (as cited in Paulston, 1998).

According to Colin Baker (2001), it has been estimated that there are at this time 6,000 languages in the world. English, French, Spanish, Chinese, and Arabic have been embraced as official international languages in 120 countries out of a total of approximately 200 independent countries in the world. According to William F. Mackey, there are, in addition to these five international languages, 45 regional languages that enjoy official status (as cited in Baker, 2001, p. 49). These 50 official status languages represent, globally, 1.5 percent of all mankind's languages. Does increasing reliance on a few selected languages mean that there is a tendency in this era of globalization, as many scholars on the left have argued, toward the homogenization of

language and culture? Are Michael Krauss' (1995) predictions of the extinction of 90 percent of the world's languages accurate? Will we really be left in the near future with a mere 10 percent of the globe's language assets? Or, should we see this era of globalization as a more dynamic and complex period? Is it possible that, as Mike Featherstone asserts, there is an intricate interaction between the global and the local (*the global* referring to the spatially extensive social and cultural forces associated with globalization; *the local* referring to small scale, geographically confined traditions and ways of life? From this interaction, three major outcomes can emerge: homogenization, hybridization, and/or "local reaffirmation through globalization." These three concepts can be defined as follows: *hybridization* is the blending of the mainstream and the peripheral cultures; and "local reaffirmation through globalization" is a defensive reaction to globalization by minority groups in order to protect and maintain their lifestyles (as cited in Smith, 2001).

According to John J. Gumperz and Jenny Cook-Gumperz, whether minority groups are assimilated or integrated into the dominant group not only shapes their language use, but also highlights the importance of language as the seeder and the preserver of social identity and ethnicity (as cited in Hansen & Liu, 1997, p. 568). Being either monolingual or bilingual is a key emblem of who someone is. Moreover, Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz found in their research that code switching—whether between dialects of the same language or between different languages—indicates a variety of memberships and identities.

Monica Heller (1982, 1987, 1988) expands on the correlation between language and ethnicity. She notes that ethnicity may be the factor that opens or closes the doors of any number of social networks, since ethnicity often suggests an entire characterization that embraces particular behaviors, values, language, and lifestyle. According to Heller, languages may

"symbolize group identity and become emblems of that identity, especially when there is contact with other groups whose ways of being are different" (as cited in Hansen & Liu, 1997, p. 569).

Susan Gal's (1979) study of language shift from Hungarian to German in a rural village in eastern Austria bordering on Hungary shows the relationship between language, identity, and social network. Gal attributes language shift in this region to socio-economic change from an agricultural economy to an industrialized one. How do such socio-economic changes alter the everyday lives and interactions of individuals? Gal says there are two sociolinguistic phenomena that account for the changes she observed. The first has to do with the relationship between language and identity, because speakers want to express their social status through their linguistic behavior. In this respect, Hungarians have lost prestige, since the young people in that region equate Hungarian with old, rural, traditional ways and people, whereas they equate German with economic progress and urban, modern life, and therefore choose the latter. The second sociolinguistic factor Gal takes into account is the importance of social networks. Individuals participate in networks that impose linguistic norms on one another. It is important to consider the frequency of social contact and the nature of the relationship between speakers, as well as the nature and purpose of their interaction. Réal Allard and Rodrigue Landry (1987), in their model, do consider interpersonal contacts as important variables involved in language maintenance or shift. However, it is important to keep in mind that none of the factors described above has a direct impact on language maintenance or shift in and of itself. For instance, simply living in an urban area or in an urban community does not guarantee language shift, especially if the native-language ethnic social network is dense. Furthermore, the factors influencing language maintenance or shift do not exist in a vacuum. However, these factors, in combination with others that will be discussed in greater detail throughout this chapter, determine whether language maintenance or shift will occur.

Paulston (1994) says that although language shift is often equated with cultural assimilation, this is inaccurate. She makes a distinction between cultural assimilation and structural incorporation. Cultural assimilation entails changing values, beliefs, and, in general, one's way of life, whereas structural incorporation entails seeking equal access to the nation's goods and services, but without giving up one's values and beliefs. What, then, is the relationship between language shift, cultural assimilation, and structural incorporation? Although cultural assimilation cannot be equated with language shift, language shift is more likely to occur if cultural assimilation occurs as well, and less likely if only structural incorporation occurs. The individual can often reap some benefits from learning the majority language, but cannot often assimilate to or be accepted completely by the dominant group due to differences that cannot be eliminated just by learning the language of the majority group. In such cases, in which the individual receives some economic benefits but not full acceptance, the ethnic group may have other incentives to remain a minority group, and its members may maintain their language as well, and may therefore remain bilingual. Learning the dominant language may bring the individual economic benefits—though such benefits still may not equal those of the dominant group—and yet no social benefits. Paulston asserts that language and culture can be separated and that ethnic groups can maintain their culture even without their language, yet she nevertheless contends that something vital to the culture is lost when its language is not maintained.

Howard Giles and Patricia Johnson (1981, 1987) developed *ethnolinguistic theory*, emphasizing the importance of language as a salient marker of group membership and social identity. Different levels of bilingualism are achieved with different types of interaction among individual networks of linguistic contact. *Additive bilingualism* refers to second language acquisition that does not interfere with the full development of both languages, whereas

subtractive bilingualism refers to second language acquisition that does interfere with the full development of the first language, sometimes even replacing the L1 (Lambert, 1975). To achieve additive bilingualism, one must have ample opportunities to maintain and continue to develop the L1 and the L2. If contacts in the L2 are too intensive and frequent, the L1 may deteriorate, resulting in subtractive bilingualism (Landry & Allard, 1990, p. 537).

Additive bilingualism is the most likely outcome of the integration of minority group members into the majority group in a situation in which both languages are valued and used in complementary ways rather than competing against one another. Subtractive bilingualism, on the other hand, may result from the assimilation of minority group members into the majority group in a situation in which the adoption of the second language threatens to replace the first language in most or all domains (Hamers & Blanc, 2003, p. 99–100).

When language becomes variable and minority and majority languages are used in the same social contexts, language shift begins. This is the case when the majority language begins to enter domains that used to be reserved for the minority language, as, for example, when Spanish comes into the Quichua home, or into any informal domain that had been the exclusive province of the Quichua language. If the shift is toward the majority language, this language will conquer one domain after another via the intermediate stage of bilingualism. Bilingualism is the mechanism for language shift. When the minority language is spoken in fewer domains, its value decreases, and consequently, the motivation for young people to learn the minority language decreases as well.

If domains are important, as well as generational factors, we need to determine, through observation, what gives rise to a balanced situation in which the majority language can be learned and the minority language can be maintained, or, in other words, a situation of sustained bilingualism rather than a temporary situation of bilingualism moving toward language shift.

Normally, most studies are based on immigration situations, in which the second or third generation learns the minority language at home, but then goes to school and learns the majority language. Then minority speakers start to understand that each language is associated with a different value system and that the two systems often conflict. These conflicts and differences influence their linguistic behavior. Generally, immigration groups follow a linguistic pattern in which the first generation is monolingual, the second generation is bilingual, but dominant in either the minority or majority language, and the third generation is bilingual, but dominant in the majority language. The forth generation generally only knows the majority language.

According to Ricardo L. García and Carlos F. Díaz (1992), a large number of the immigrants in the United States shift to English by the third generation. Paulston (1994) includes the ethnic Italians in Pittsburgh within the "three-generation shift" pattern. However, Paulston states that Italians in Pittsburgh have a three-generation shift pattern because they tend to speak a low-status variety, with no literary tradition in the dialect of Italian they speak. In contrast, the reason ethnic Greeks in Pittsburgh have a slower, four-generation shift pattern is that they tend to speak a high-status language variety that does have a literary tradition. They also have access to schooling in the language through the Greek Orthodox Church. Not only do they have a tradition of endogamy within the Church, they often marry monolingual Greek speakers who are born in the country of origin, Greece.

Utta Von Gleich and Wolfgang Wölck (1994) found a five stage shift in Peru from monolingualism in the minority language to monolingualism in the majority language: 1) minority language monolingualism in Quechua or Quichua, 2) bilingualism with Quechua dominance, 3) balanced bilingualism (Quechua and Spanish), 4) bilingualism with Spanish

dominance, 5) monolingualism in Spanish, that is, majority language monolingualism among the Quechua- and Quichua-speaking populations in Peru.

There are a number of different factors that lead to language maintenance and/or shift. These factors are considered in two leading theoretical frameworks, one advanced by Paulston (1998) and the other by Howard Giles, Doreen Rosenthal, and Louis Young (1985). These two frameworks seem to coincide in many respects, and to provide a descriptive tool that employs the criteria later used in Allard and Landry's macroscopic model. Even though this model does not pretend to be all encompassing, it does include most of the factors described by Nancy Conklin and Margaret Lourie (1983) and by Paulston (1994) as encouraging language maintenance or shift, and those identified by Giles et al. (1985) as encouraging ethnolinguistic vitality. An ethnic group with high ethnolinguistic vitality is said to be more likely to maintain its language and culture, whereas an ethnic group with low ethnolinguistic vitality is said to be more likely to shift to the dominant language.

According to René Appel and Pieter Muysken (1987), the literature gives us the impression that language shift occurs only in favor of the majority language. If this were the case, we would be able to conclude that language shift is a one-directional process in which change occurs only toward the language with more speakers and/or more power. However, Appel and Muysken give us the example of Canada, where, in Quebec Province, French is gaining ground on English. So although there may be, at the beginning of a process of language shift, a propensity to favor the majority language, there may also appear a stage in which minority speakers realize that something needs to be done to prevent their language from disappearing. Can we call this phenomenon "local reaffirmation through globalization"? Do minorities ever have a chance to defend and preserve their language heritage? Even if there is a process underway in the direction of language shift to the majority language, is there a chance of

revitalizing the minority language? What factors play a role in revitalizing a language? And who is able to do it? Appel and Muysken identify language advocates as "often young, active members of cultural and political organizations that stand up for the social, economic, and cultural interests of the minority group" (1987, p. 32). Older academics, too, can play a role. Joshua Fishman, a seminal figure in the field of sociolinguistics, has emerged as a leader of the language revitalization movement, having published extensively on language revitalization since the 1960s.

Paulston (1994) asserts that most ethnic groups within a modern nation-state, given opportunity and incentives, shift to the language of the dominant group. However, the presuppositions in this assertion are twofold: 1) The state or the dominant group has the power to provide such opportunity to the minority group. (The passive phrase "given opportunity" implies that the agents are either the state, or the dominant group, or both.) How can the minority group gain access to the language of the dominant group? Opportunities may be provided via access to social contacts, mass media, education, etc. in the majority language, and the incentives are primarily social and economic mobility. 2) If the state or the dominant group were to grant such opportunity to the minority group, the minority group would use it to assimilate into mainstream society. However, Paulston does make a distinction between language shift and cultural assimilation; therefore, one might ask, What would be the point of shifting to the dominant language without also achieving cultural assimilation? Given that those in the minority group would have already lost a pivotal element of their ethnic culture, their language, why wouldn't they attempt to assimilate into mainstream society? Yet, the process is not always so cut-and-dried. Most importantly, the process of shifting to the dominant language and culture—or, more to the point, of giving up one's own language and culture—is often an unconscious one. It is more often a matter of attempting to improve one's standard of living. Sometimes it is a matter

of survival. For instance, members of some Indigenous communities need to find employment outside their own community in order to make a living, and therefore they are urged to learn the dominant language. Over generations, without resources and opportunities to maintain their ethnic language, they begin a progression toward language shift.

Opportunities for access to the second language are a necessary condition for language shift. There are several circumstances that allow access to second language learning and that favor shift. One of the most important ways to gain access is to participate in social institutions such as schooling, military service, religious institutions, etc. Much of the time, access to social institutions may be granted to one who marries a speaker of the dominant language. A second language may be learned via access to mass media such as television, radio, newspapers, etc. The geographic location of minority language speakers is also very important in determining language maintenance or shift (Paulston, 1994).

Opportunity, as defined by Webster's New World Dictionary and Thesaurus (1996), means "a combination of circumstances favorable for the purpose" and "a good chance." With respect to opportunities for second language acquisition, one might ask, Who will provide a combination of circumstances favorable to the minority group's purpose—which ideally should coincide with the goals of the state and the dominant group? This question raises many others, such as the following: Is the purpose or objective of the dominant group the same as that of the subordinate group? What types of integration/assimilation policies have been established by the state? What conditions (i.e., educational policies, availability of mass media and of government services in both languages, etc.) support the state's policies? Does the purpose established by the state coincide with that of the minority group in question? Even if they share the same goals, will

the state make available the resources necessary to give minority group members a good chance of success?

Many scholars have accepted the unequal distribution of power as something normal and unquestionable. As Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (1990) points out, ethnicity and integration—even if perceived as natural and obvious by society and especially by those who accept it—needs to be regarded as created and institutionalized by humans, and therefore subject to change. Hence, scholars must shift attention from the dominated group itself to the study of the power relations among groups. "The human right to self-definition makes sense only when the parties are equal. If minorities are defined on the basis of power, not numbers, minorities are per definition not equal parties in the negotiation processes about their mother tongues, ethnicities and integration" (1990, pp. 77–78). One approach to the study of the power relations among superordinate and subordinate groups is via the interactive acculturation model that was developed by Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, and Senécal (1997).

1.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.2.1 The Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM)

The origins of Bourhis et al.'s (1997) interactive acculturation model (IAM) can be traced to two earlier models: the uni-dimensional assimilation model advanced by Milton Gordon (1964) and the bi-dimensional model later advanced by John Berry (1980). In Gordon's model, the process a minority group undergoes can be viewed as a continuum. On one extreme is maintenance of the minority culture—and, we could add, its language—and at the other extreme is adoption of the

mainstream culture—and, we could add again, its language. Thus, according to this uni-dimensional model, the addition of mainstream cultural traits leads to the subtraction of ethnic cultural traits, whereas in Berry's (1980) bi-dimensional model, the minority and majority/mainstream culture work separately to mold the individual's identity. Consequently, in Berry's model, the adoption of mainstream cultural traits does not necessarily entail abandonment of the ethnic culture. Only by adopting Berry's bi-dimensional model can we envision language revitalization. Although the Indigenous may shift to Spanish at some point, under favorable circumstances they may be able to revitalize their ethnic language.

In Bourhis et al.'s (1997) interactive acculturation model (IAM), immigrants are the agents of the process of acculturation into a host community. Although this model was developed with immigrants in mind, it seems as relevant for Indigenous minorities as for immigrant groups if we take into account each group's particular historical, political, economic, and educational situation in a given nation. The IAM is a theoretical framework that comprises the following components of multicultural venues: 1) acculturation orientations adopted by immigrant groups in the host community; 2) acculturation orientations adopted by the host community toward specific groups of immigrants; and 3) interpersonal and intergroup relational outcomes that are the product of combinations of immigrant and host community acculturation orientations[1] (1997). However, the socio-psychological aspects of the relationship between minority group and majority group members in a nation need to be addressed in the larger context of the public policy adopted by the nation and the degree of alignment between the

[1] I have employed the *Interactive Acculturation Model* (IAM) to describe the situation of an Indigenous minority group, while attempting to remain true to the original concepts and terminology that were developed to describe the situation of immigrant minority groups. These acculturation orientations are Bourhis et al.'s (1997) version of Berry's (1980) immigrant acculturation scale.

state's policy and the superordinate group's orientation. Therefore, Bourhis et al. (1997) formulated an additional component: state integration policies.

From both a micro and a macro standpoint, Bourhis et al.'s (1997) acculturation model is the most adequate model of acculturation. In this chapter, I have applied it to the situation of Indigenous minority groups rather than the situation of immigrant minority groups so as to better illustrate the acculturation processes of Indigenous groups. On the basis of this model, we could say that Indigenous minority groups continually struggle between bipolar forces on each of two key issues: 1) in weighing the value of their own culture, they must decide whether to maintain it or to embrace the dominant culture; and, 2) in questioning the desirability of intergroup contacts, they must decide whether to seek out or avoid contacts with the superordinate group.

1.2.1.1 Acculturation Orientations from the Perspective of Subordinate Groups

The first component of Bourhis et al.'s (1997) theoretical framework—**acculturation orientations adopted by immigrant groups in the host community**—can be applied to the analogous situation of Indigenous groups vis-à-vis the mainstream Mestizo culture. Thus, subordinate groups are able to embrace one of four acculturation orientations depending on their attitude toward either maintaining their Indigenous minority culture or embracing the superordinate group's culture: a) integration, b) separation c) assimilation, and d) marginalization. If Indigenous minority groups want to maintain their culture, and at the same time, accept the majority culture, they are opting for an *integration approach*; if they want to maintain their culture, but they do not want to accept the majority culture, they are opting for a *separation approach*; if they do not want to maintain their culture, but rather, want to accept the majority culture, they are opting for an *assimilation approach*; and if they want neither to

maintain their culture nor to embrace the majority culture, they are opting for a *marginalization approach*.

If this process were viewed as a continuum, *marginalization* and *separation* would both be on one end of it. Minority groups taking the *marginalization approach* disparage their own group's culture and language as much as they do those of the majority group; those taking the *separation approach* decide to maintain their own culture and language without embracing the majority group's culture and language. The midpoint tactic would be the *integration approach,* in which minority groups maintain their own culture and language and also adopt the language and some cultural features of the majority group. The *assimilation approach* would be the other extreme approach, in which minority groups lose their minority culture and language and shift to the majority culture and language.

Tekle Woldemikael asserts that *assimilation* is a concept that entails shifting from the subordinate to the superordinate culture "in order to become a 'rightful member' of the majority, to fit into the existing social structure of the [mainstream] society" (as cited in Bourhis et al., 1997, p. 276). An assimilationist orientation would be comparable to what Henri Tajfel (1974) described as *changing group membership.* From this perspective, any hardships minority groups have to endure are seen by both the subordinate and the superordinate groups as the responsibility of the minorities themselves, since they are the ones who have not been able to adapt to mainstream society. Now, when minorities assume the ideology and discourse of the majority group and buy into the notion of their own culpability for having maintained their own ethnic culture instead of rejecting it and adopting the majority group culture, this mindset can be seen as *false consciousness* in Marxist terms, or in other words, as ideological control by the superordinate group. However, despite wanting to assimilate and putting all their efforts into assimilating, minority group members are often left with no greater status than before they made

these efforts, and what is worse, regardless of the extent to which they adopt the culture of the majority, they are not likely to achieve majority group status.

1.2.1.2 Acculturation Orientations from the Perspective of Superordinate Groups

The second component of Bourhis et al.'s (1997) theoretical framework—**acculturation orientations adopted by the host community toward specific groups of immigrants**—can be applied to the analogous situation of mainstream Mestizo culture vis-à-vis Indigenous groups. I Thus, superordinate groups are able to embrace one of the following acculturation orientations[2] depending on their attitude toward each subordinate group: a) integrationist, b) segregationist, c) assimilationist, and d) exclusionist/individualist. Now, from the perspective of the majority group, if the majority group prefers that a given minority group maintain its own culture, but at the same time, wants it to embrace the superordinate culture, the majority group favors an *integrationist* approach. If the majority group wants a minority group to maintain its own culture, yet does not want it to embrace the superordinate culture, the majority group favors a *segregationist* approach. If the majority group does not want a minority group to maintain its own culture, and wants the minority group to embrace the superordinate culture, the majority group favors an *assimilationist* approach. If the majority group neither wants a minority group to maintain its own culture, nor to embrace the superordinate culture, the majority group favors an *exclusionist/individualist* approach.

[2] These acculturation orientations are Bourhis et al.'s (1997) version of Berry's (1980) immigrant acculturation scale.

1.2.1.3 Agreement or Disagreement Between Superordinate and Subordinate Group Orientations

The third component of Bourhis et al.'s (1997) theoretical framework— **interpersonal and intergroup relational outcomes that are the product of combinations of immigrant and host community acculturation orientations**—can be applied to the analogous situation of interpersonal outcomes that are the product of combinations of Indigenous group and mainstream Mestizo acculturation orientations. Majority and minority group acculturation orientations can have a major influence on interpersonal and intergroup relations. The main point to consider is the extent to which the acculturation orientation of the majority group agrees with that of the minority group. If majority and minority group acculturation orientations coincide, there is *concordance* between them, but if their acculturation orientations diverge, there is *discordance*, which may cause open conflict between the two groups and disrupt the nation's public sphere. In other words, if the majority and minority groups have the same acculturation orientation, there will be *consensus* between the two groups. However, if the majority and minority groups disagree in their acculturation orientation, the relational outcomes will be influenced by the degree of disagreement. The more these acculturation orientations diverge, the more problematic the relational outcomes are likely to be. Relational outcomes vary in degree, from *consensual*, in which there is full agreement, to *problematic*, in which there is a moderate degree of +disagreement, to *conflictual*, in which there is a high degree of disagreement between the acculturation orientation sought by the majority and that sought by the minority group. Regardless of their acculturation orientation, Indigenous minority groups are perceived as having less status and institutional control than the majority group (Bourhis et al., 1997, p. 376). "In such states the nation is defined as being composed of a kernel ancestral ethnic group as determined by birth and kinship" (p. 375). The acculturation orientation of a given group is not

static. It can fluctuate with the economic, political, demographic, military, or educational situation inside and outside the country. Disagreement over integration matters can cause political tensions between majority and minority groups and can lead to the creation of new political parties.

1.2.1.4 Acculturation Orientation from the Perspective of the State

Another aspect of Bourhis et al.'s (1997) theoretical framework— state integration policies—can be applied to the specific situation of Indigenous groups vis-à-vis the mainstream Mestizo culture within Ecuador. The conditions minority groups have to endure within a nation are regulated by state integration policies. Bourhis et al. (1997) cite five of the main policies—or ideologies—of modern democratic states with respect to integration: a) pluralist, b) civic, c) assimilationist, d) republican, and e) ethnist. States adopting a *pluralist ideology* count on minority groups to uphold the public values of the country, which include "commitment to democratic ideals, adherence to the Civil and Criminal code as well as adherence to values expressed in Human Rights Charters and/or the Constitution of the state" (Bourhis et al., 1997, p. 373). This ideology is non-interventionist, since under it,

> …the state has no mandate in defining or regulating the *private values* of its citizens, whose individual liberties in personal domains must be respected. By private values one refers to freedom from state control in personal activities related to domestic, interpersonal, and associate relations. Private values include community involvement related to linguistic and cultural activities, religious expression, and freedom of association in the political, economic, and leisure spheres (Bourhis et al., 1997, p. 373).

However, states adopting a pluralist ideology are willing to support economically or socially any initiatives from minority groups to help maintain and promote their own ethnic cultural interests. Furthermore, the state assumes as its responsibility the allocation of state funds to both majority

and minority groups, since their members are taxpayers and, as citizens fulfilling their duties, they have the right to such funding. The *civic ideology* comprises most of the principles of the pluralism ideology, but states adopting it do not favor financing or supporting in any way the ethnic activities of any of the ethnic groups. The *assimilationist ideology* is a non-interventionist approach—it is predicated on the assumption that it is the responsibility of every individual living in the nation to adopt the culture and values of the superordinate group and to abandon any other culture, values, or language. The *republican ideology* has a nuance that is slightly different from that of the assimilationist ideology, in that it is an ideology that deals with differences among groups in a way that privileges the superordinate group, the bourgeoisie. Born as an ideology of the bourgeoisie during the French Revolution, the republican ideology pretends to eliminate the ethnic differences of all minority group members and to elevate each person to the status of "universal man." Lastly, the *ethnist ideology* is similar to the assimilationist ideology and the republican ideology in that it explicitly compels minority groups to adhere to the public values of the nation, and it regulates the private values of minorities. States adopting an ethnist ideology either coerce minorities into giving up their own ethnocultural identity or, in contrast to those adopting either an assimilationist ideology or a republican ideology, take no notice of whether minorities maintain their own cultural identity or not because members of their superordinate group have no desire to assimilate minorities into the mainstream.

1.2.1.5 Superordinate Group Alignment with State Acculturation Policies

Superordinate group members whose acculturation orientation toward minority groups is *integrationist* are expected to align with a pluralist ideology with respect to public policy toward minority groups. Superordinate group members whose acculturation orientation toward minority

groups is *assimilationist* would be in consonance with the same type of assimilationist ideology. Superordinate group members whose acculturation orientation is *segregationist* would, according to Bourhis et al. (1997), most likely favor a policy that would be somewhere along the lines of either an assimilationist or an ethnist ideology. Superordinate group members whose acculturation orientation is e*xclusionist* would most likely support an ethnist ideology, whereas *individualists* would probably support either a pluralist or a civic ideology.

One might expect that Bourhis et al. (1997), having described superordinate group alignment with state acculturation policies, would then describe subordinate group alignment with these same policies. However, this is not the case: for some reason there is no mention of whether or not minority groups also take various positions on these issues.

1.2.1.6 U.N. Mandate for Multicultural Policies

Articles 2(11) and 26 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights under the United Nations prohibit discrimination on the basis of ethnic, cultural, religious, or linguistic identity, as well as state interference in the affairs of religious, linguistic, or cultural minorities (Mullerson, 1993, as cited in Koenig, 1999). In accordance with this provision, asserts Rein Mullerson, modern democratic nation-states ought to privilege a multicultural and multi-ethnic policy such as the integrationist approach. From this midpoint integration policy, biculturalism and bilingualism should be thought of as a desirable and sustainable permanent state of the different minority groups.

In addition to understanding the acculturation orientations of superordinate groups, subordinate groups, and the state, it is important to know what will induce the individual to assert

his ethnic identity and what strategies he will use to do so. Henri Tajfel and John Turner (1986) developed social identity theory in order to address such questions.

1.2.2 Social identity theory

Ethnolinguistic vitality theory, and particularly *subjective* ethnolinguistic vitality theory, has its roots in *social identity theory* as developed by Tajfel and Turner (1986). This theory has strongly influenced ethnolinguistic vitality theory in general and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality theory in particular. Tajfel (1974) and Tajfel and Turner (1986) have carried out some of the most influential works on the social psychology of intergroup relations. According to Tajfel (1974), social identity is "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 69). Tajfel asserts that individuals' identities come from in-group memberships. Therefore, if individuals find their membership unsatisfactory, they may decide to look for and shift to another group to which they attach high value.

However, it is not always possible to shift membership. For example, a minority member might want to change to the majority group, but having another accent or skin color might set him apart from majority group members, who will not consider him an in-group member. Therefore, minority group members resort to other strategies, however limited. For example, they might either alter their in-group characteristics for the purpose of being seen in a more positive light or undertake action to change their situation (Hansen & Liu, 1997, p. 568).

According to the social identity theory of intergroup behavior (Tajfel and Turner, 1986), individuals and groups tend to gravitate toward one of two significant belief systems: 1) social mobility, and 2) social change. The former starts with the premise that the society in which we

live is flexible and permeable, and as such, those who want to change the situation in which they live are able to do so through hard work, education, perseverance, etc. The latter does not acknowledge meritocracy; hence, individuals are not able to earn their position through hard work, qualifications, perseverance, etc. Individuals are assigned a position on the basis of their group identification. Under the social change belief system,

> [T]he nature and the relations between social groups in the society [is] characterized by marked stratification, making it impossible or very difficult for individuals, as individuals, to divest themselves of an unsatisfactory, underprivileged, or stigmatized group membership (Tajfel & Turner; 1986, p. 9).

Furthermore, individuals maintain relationships and act as group members, with all the characteristics group membership implies; they do not act as individuals. "From a social-psychological perspective, the essential criteria for group membership, as they apply to large-scale social categories, are that the individuals concern themselves and are defined by others as members of a group" (p. 15). According to a number of studies,

> [W]here social-structural differences in the distribution of resources have been institutionalized, legitimized, and justified through a consensually accepted status system (or at least a status system that is sufficiently firm and pervasive to prevent the creation of cognitive alternatives to it), the result has been less and not more ethnocentrism in the different status groups (p. 12).

Therefore, minority group members may see majority group members in a positive light. They may place on their own group the sole blame for their inability to improve their status, believing they are not able to gain upward social mobility because of minority group characteristics such as language. For example, if they cannot find a job or a better job, it is because they do not speak the dominant language, or because they do not speak it well enough, or they speak it with an accent.

Individuals not only act as group members but also relate to and are defined by the out-group as members of the pertinent group. "…[S]ocial categorization [is] conceived here as [a]

cognitive tool that segment[s], classif[ies], and order[s] the social environment, and thus enable[s] the individual to undertake many forms of social action" (Tajfel & Turner; 1986, p. 15). Individuals identify themselves with the in-group. Tajfel and Turner developed social identity theory to better understand intergroup discrimination from a psychological perspective. The following processes contribute to the formation of social identity: 1) **Categorization**: Members of a social group are put into categories, and assigned positive or negative values 2) **Identification**: Individuals make every effort to associate with a specific group to achieve positive self-esteem. 3) **Comparison**: Group members evaluate their own group in comparison with other groups in terms of value-loaded attributes and characteristics, demonstrating a favorable bias toward the group to which they belong. In line with the above ideas, two more ideas follow: 1) Individuals strive to see the in-group as relatively better than the out-groups, and 2) Groups tend to minimize the differences between the in-group and the out-group to attain a more favorable perception for the in-group, a phenomenon known as *negative distinctiveness*.

However, when people are dissatisfied with their social identity, they may become socially creative. Groups with low status can either minimize the positive characteristics of the out-group that make their own group seem inferior, or they can highlight the positive characteristics of their own group. For example, Indigenous peoples[3] from the Andes might see themselves as economically and technologically less developed than the Mestizos; however, they

[3] "The United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights state that all peoples have the right of self-determination by virtue of which they "freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (Part one, Article one, 1966). However, because there has been dispute over the exact meaning of the term "peoples," it is not clear exactly to whom "peoples" refers. Some state governments oppose use of the term "peoples" in regards to Indigenous Peoples because they fear its association with the right of secession and independent statehood. Those states would prefer the terms "tribes" or "populations," which do not have those associations. On the other hand, Indigenous Peoples use the term "peoples" because of its association with inherent recognition of a distinct identity. "Indigenous People" is a compromise between these two positions. Indigenous Peoples and their advocates find the denial of being described as "peoples" and the inherent entitlement to self-determination a form of racism and continued discrimination" (University of Minnesota Human Rights Center, 2003, Section 1: Introduction, Part 2: Indigenous people or Indigenous peoples?, ¶ 1).

might see their own group as possessing higher standards of moral values. In sum, low-status group members might attempt to abandon their own in-group and join another group that is seen as more positively distinct, or attempt to make their own in-group more positively distinct.

According to Tajfel's *minimal group paradigm*, "if people are split into groups randomly so that there is no previous history of hostility or dislike and nothing to gain from any discrimination, then discrimination and prejudice between the groups will be created. This is because, to bring order to our social construction of reality, we classify the world into 'we' and 'they' and reinforce this distinction using prejudice and discrimination" (as cited in *Experiments in intergroup discrimination: Henri Tajfel (1970)*, n.d., Section 2: Aim and nature of the study, ¶ 3).

Tajfel posited an identification-comparison-differentiation triad mainly to find out how contextual features influence the behavior of subordinated and negatively appraised groups. If maintaining membership in their own group leaves them with negative esteem, how will they challenge their oppression, and when will they take action as a group? In Tajfel's studies, a marked concern, not only with discrimination, but also with resistance to discrimination, seems to prevail. Tajfel (1982) focuses on resistance, which he sees as dynamic and mutable, whereas he sees discrimination as a static and immutable phenomenon. In line with the studies mentioned above, various issues arise.

According to social identity theory, three conditions need to be considered in order to understand how members of subordinated groups will act. To begin with, the crux of the matter is whether the target persons will carry out action individually or collectively. In accordance with Tajfel's (1979) observations, if the society has a permeable stratification system, so that subordinate-group members might be able to climb the latter by distancing themselves from their own group, they will do so, and take action individually. This is known as the *strategy of exit*. On

the other hand, if the society has an impermeable stratification system, so that no matter what individuals do, they cannot modify their group membership identification, they will act collectively. This is known as the *strategy of voice* (Tajfel, 1982).

The second condition pertains to the attitude the subordinate group needs to have in order to contest the status the dominant group has assigned to them and to push forward their collective self-definition. In order to do so, members of the subordinate group need to perceive the dominant group as having an undeserved superiority and at the same time believe they live in a fair and just world in which there are multiple opportunities for all. Both conditions together cause an *insecure social identity.* Members of the subordinate group give high appraisals to their in-group, tend to be biased when they compare the in-group to the out-group, and tend to believe there is a great deal of homogeneity between in-group members. At the same time, members of the subordinate group must compare their own group favorably to the superordinate group in order to contest and reject the legitimacy of the supposed inferiority of the subordinate group. Revolts in different parts of the world during the 1970's, the liberation movement in Africa, and the civil rights movements in the United States all show what conditions need to be met in order for a revolutionary movement to arise, how these movements influence other groups in other places, and why the more formally educated and more middle-class in-group members tend to instigate, lead, and participate in these movements.

Contrary to what might be assumed, insecure social identity and negative social comparisons between the subordinate and the dominant group are not necessarily conducive to collective action. Nevertheless, they are conducive to intricate tactics by which subordinate group members defy the social hierarchy and dominant groups fight to reaffirm it. As stated before, subordinate group members can resort to various strategies in order to alter the characteristics that have been ascribed to them and that portray them as an inferior group: 1) they

can change the characteristics that portray them in a negative light; 2) they can reverse perceptions of those characteristics that had been depicted as negative by proclaiming them to be positive ones; or 3) they can create new characteristics to represent the group. Which strategy they choose to employ will depend on pragmatic matters such as the conditions the subordinate group faces, taking into account also the socio-historical context.

1.2.3 Ethnolinguistic Vitality

Research in social psychology, and, more specifically, social identity theory, served as a starting point for development of the *ethnolinguistic vitality* (EV) concept. This notion was first introduced by Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor in the late 1970's to identify factors determining language maintenance or shift. Giles et al. (1977) define ethnolinguistic vitality as "…that which makes a [linguistic] group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations…" (p. 308). They assert that "[e]thnolinguistic minorities that have little or no group vitality… eventually cease to exist as distinctive groups" (1977, p. 308). Conversely, when a group's distinctive identity flourishes, it will have higher ethnolinguistic vitality, and, according to Giles et al. (1977), its members will be more likely to maintain their competence in and use of their ethnic language. At the same time, their ethnolinguistic vitality is related to their attitude toward the dominant culture and language. EV will influence their motivation to learn the other language and use it, perhaps to the detriment of their ethnic language.

Giles et al. (1977) originally viewed their EV concept as a theoretical framework for analyzing the socio-structural factors influencing intergroup relations among different ethnolinguistic groups within a contact situation. They identified the following socio-structural factors as those that determine ethnolinguistic vitality: the *demographic*, *institutional support*,

and *status* dimensions. These dimensions, which can be conceptualized in concrete terms, determine the group's *objective* ethnolinguistic vitality. Yet, these dimensions also influence the group's *subjective* ethnolinguistic vitality. Many scholars later came to believe that the latter— subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV)— is what will ultimately determine language and cultural maintenance or shift (e.g., Bourhis, Giles, & Rosenthal, 1981; Harwood, Giles, & Bourhis, 1994).

The SEV concept was developed on the foundation laid by Donald Snygg and Arthur Combs (1949), whose work contributes to our understanding of human beings and their behavior. According to Anne Richards (2003), the perspective of Snygg and Combs "can be summarized as follows: Human being and behavior is a function of perception." Richards expands her explanation of their views, stating, "Human behavior is a function or expression of a more or less organized field of perceptions, meanings, values, beliefs, understandings, thoughts and feelings encompassing the entire universe (including a sense of self) experienced by an individual from moment to moment" (2003, p. 2). Thus, it is a person's *perception* of objective reality that informs behavior. That is, if group members believe the present resources of their minority language are numerous, whether this belief has any basis in objective reality or not, this belief will boost their SEV and prompt them to conduct themselves in a way that is more in tune with the characteristics of their ethnic group: for example, they may maintain their traditional dress or their native language.

In 1981, Richard Bourhis, Howard Giles, and Doreen Rosenthal developed the Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ) to measure perceptions of EV. This questionnaire has been used to compare SEV perceptions of both the in-group and out-groups with objective accounts. Assessment of the groups' objective ethnolinguistic vitality is based on items

representing the demographic, institutional support, and status variables of the objective vitality framework.

Later, in 1987, Allard and Landry developed the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ), which was intended to provide a more comprehensive way to predict language behavior than was possible using the SVQ. These scholars based their model of belief systems on the cognitive orientation model of human behavior developed by Hans Kreiter and Shulamith Kreiter (1972, 1976), who organized it into four basic types of beliefs: 1) general or factual (is, is not), 2) about self (I am, I am not), 3) normative (about norms and rules—should, should not), and 4) about goals (I want, I don't want). Landry and Allard further developed these four categories of beliefs, creating eight different subgroups within these categories of belief pertaining to ethnolinguistic vitality.

Figure 1.1. Reproduction of Allard and Landry's Figure Depicting Cognitive Orientation Beliefs and Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality

		OBJECT	
		Factual	Desired
SUBJECT	Non-self (Exocentric beliefs)	*General beliefs* Present vitality Future vitality Social models	*Normative beliefs* Legitimate vitality
	Self (Egocentric beliefs)	*Personal beliefs* Valorization Belongingness Personal efficacy	*Goal beliefs* Goals and desires

The four types of cognitive orientation theory beliefs (italics) and the eight kinds of beliefs reflecting EV defined in terms of their subjects and objects of reference.

Note. From "Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality: A Comparison of Two Measures," by Réal Allard and Rodrigue Landry, 1994b, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *108*, p. 125. Reproduced with permission.

All the factors that are considered in the EV model affect language maintenance, either positively or negatively. As mentioned above, these factors are organized and discussed in terms of the three main constructs that support ethnolinguistic vitality: the *demographic*, *institutional support*, and *status* dimensions. It is important to keep in mind that, according to Giles et al., ethnolinguistic vitality is tantamount to language maintenance; in other words, it is the ethnolinguistic vitality of the group that is said to determine whether a language will be maintained or not. Appel and Muysken (1987), as well as Conklin and Lourie (1983), cite additional factors that they believe also determine language maintenance or shift. In this study, these factors will be applied to the Allard and Landry model, which is the one that will be used

as the framework for the present study because it is the most comprehensive model of ethnolinguistic vitality theory.

1.2.3.1 Demographic Factors

Demographic factors are essential in determining language maintenance and shift. Demographic factors include the number of speakers of a minority language and their geographical distribution. The larger the number of speakers, and the more concentrated they are in a particular area, the greater their possibility of maintaining their language; conversely, the smaller the number of speakers, and the more widely dispersed they are in a particular area, the less likely they are to maintain their language, and, consequently, the greater their likelihood of shifting to the dominant language. However, Paulston points out that such scholars as Grant McConnell (1992), as well as William Mackey and Jacob Ornstein (1979), have not been able to determine what constitutes an essential number of speakers in language maintenance; they only agree that the larger the group, the better the possibility of language survival (as cited in Paulston, 1994, pp. 18–19). Appel and Muysken (1987) point out that the absolute number of speakers of the target language becomes crucial particularly when it becomes diminished, since this decline shows that the language is becoming less useful, which in turn leads to language shift.

Michael Clyne (1982), in his studies, does not find a correspondence between language maintenance and numerical strength. However, he does find a positive correlation between language maintenance and inter-ethnic marriages with neither parent being a native speaker of the dominant language. He also finds a positive correlation between language shift and inter-ethnic marriages with one parent being a native speaker of the dominant language. This

correlation shows the importance of marriage patterns in influencing linguistic equilibrium. Paulston (1994) identifies endogamy as one of the main factors contributing to language maintenance. Several studies show various factors affecting intermarriage, such as the relative size and distribution of racial and ethnic populations, their level of education, and their geographic concentration (Hechter & Okamoto, 2001, p. 200). It is important to remark that all these factors are interrelated. Therefore, many different factors might need to be in play to affect language behavior. The language spoken by one's spouse does not determine, by itself, which language survives. However, the speaker of the most prestigious language in an inter-ethnic marriage may determine the chances the minority language has of surviving in the home domain.

With respect to geographic distribution, the concentration of a minority group in a certain area affects language maintenance. Therefore, French-Canadians in Quebec will be more likely to maintain their language than will French-Canadians in the rest of the country, where there are fewer speakers of French, and where those speakers are more widely dispersed (Lieberson, 1967). Similarly, Chinese-Americans in Chinatowns will find it easier to maintain their language than will Chinese-Americans outside Chinatowns (Wei, 1982).

There are other demographic factors involved in language maintenance, such as changes via immigration and emigration patterns that can affect the distribution of minority language speakers. In the Quichua community, migration back and forth to major cities to find work or to augment the family's income influences language behavior. In Wales, patterns of emigration and immigration have increased the diversity of the population and thereby inhibited the spread and maintenance of Welsh. Another example worth noting is provided by L. Carillo (1984), who compares the description Richard Rodriguez gives of his upbringing in California in his autobiography *Hunger of Memory* (1982) with the situation that obtains today. Rodriguez depicts the life of a Mexican-American brought up in the '60s in the United States, where, in order to

succeed, one needed to assimilate into the dominant Anglo society. Carillo points out that today the situation has changed for minorities, especially for Mexican-Americans, owing to the large number of minority groups that have influenced the mainstream (as cited in Paulston, 1994). In this instance, the Rodriguez autobiography shows how the situation for this minority group in this context has changed as the larger population has become more diverse, so that the dominant group is not an absolute majority anymore.

Where one lives—for example, in a rural or an urban setting—is a factor in language maintenance. Usually, the trend is that rural speakers preserve their language longer than urban speakers. As Baker (2001, p. 71) points out, as soon as rural people migrate to an urban site, the minority language usually loses its work function, since the language at work will probably be the dominant language. The exception to this shift to the dominant language in the workplace occurs when minority groups provide themselves with their own sources of income. Therefore, when considering the geographical distribution of minority speakers, it is important to focus on their social networks and the presence or absence of daily social pressure to use their language or the dominant language in different domains.

1.2.3.2 Institutional Support Factors

Giles et al. (1977) employ the umbrella term *institutional support factors* to refer to the extent to which the language of the minority group is represented in the various institutions of the nation, region, or community. Allard and Landry (1994b) categorize the same idea into political and cultural factors. With regard to political factors, as Appel and Muysken (1987) emphasize, in modern times individuals must deal with political authorities, either at the local or at the national level. For this reason, representation of the ethnic group in various governmental institutions

allows it to have more strength and value. Furthermore, if the minority group has the opportunity to use the minority language in the political domain, the minority language becomes valorized (Appel & Muysken, 1987).

Other political activities related to language are connected to the effort the government puts into developing language policies and planning. One of its most important activities is to create schools that educate in the minority language as well as in the majority language, and to provide them with qualified teachers and financial resources (Büttner, 1993). Political factors also encompass the political-historical position the ethnic group has taken in order to defend its ethnic identity or its independence. Appel & Muysken (1987) emphasize the importance of what they call *mobilizing symbols*. These symbols inspire group members to struggle for their common interests as members of an ethnolinguistic group, just as group members did in the past. Such symbols have a definite impact on language maintenance, beyond enhancing the group's self-esteem. For instance, Tupac Amaru, the Indigenous 18th century Peruvian leader, encouraged the use of Quechua as a symbol of pride in the splendor of the Inca civilization. Louis Young, Howard Giles, and Herbert Pierson (1986) observed that socio-political change influenced vitality perceptions in Hong Kong. Participants evaluated Chinese and Western vitalities previous to and following the signing of the Sino-British Treaty (an agreement between the government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the government of the People's Republic of China on the future of Hong Kong, signed on December 19, 1984). The participants changed their perceptions in response to the signing of the international agreement, although this agreement had not yet become operative, and therefore they could not have experienced its real effects by that point in time.

Government policies with respect to various ethnic groups will also influence whether group members' ties to their in-group will be strengthened or loosened, as well as whether they will be motivated to take collective action as a group. Competition for jobs between in-group members and out-group members activates distinctive social identities and encourages members of each group to find more-powerful ways to fight job-related discrimination.

> Competition theorists (Deutsch 1953; van den Berghe 1967; Barth 1969; Hannan 1979; Ragin 1979; Nielsen 1980; Olzak 1982, 1992; Banton 1983) argue that economic and political modernization erode the social bases for smaller-scale ethnic identities (such as villages, tribes, or dialects) while encouraging collective actions based upon larger-scale ethnic boundaries (such as regional or party lines). According to this view, urbanization, the expansion of industrial and service sectors, the increasing scale and complexity of production organization, the development of peripheral regions, and state building create the potential for ethnonational movements and political parties because these factors initiate contact and competition between culturally distinct populations (Hechter and Okamoto, 2001, p. 196).

In this way, the scarce, inadequate, or deficient support provided by the government might trigger social action and mobilization into organized groups. According to Michael Hechter and Dina Okamoto, "[P]olitical recognition of a particular ethnic group, whether positive or negative, can raise the group's self awareness and encourage organization" (2001, p. 198). An example of this would be the salience of ethnic and cultural identities as a reaction to racial profiling. Interestingly enough, more often than not an ethnic group will not take action or mobilize if certain pre-conditions are not in place, such as 1) pre-existing social groups whose mission is to allocate private goods as welfare or health services. 2) a pervasive mandate for autonomy, and 3) the opportunity to take action jointly to create social change for a given ethnic group.

In terms of cultural factors, education is viewed as key. Landry and Allard (1992, 1994b) maintain that if proficiency in the mother tongue is fostered in schools by the teaching of the four language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) to minority children, the minority

language will be maintained. As reported in Kendall King (1997), the school has been a pivotal agency for fostering proficiency in the Irish language since the 1920s. Ireland assigns one fifth of elementary school time to the teaching of the Irish language. In spite of efforts to produce communicative fluency, this goal has not been met. Irish language acquisition has been successful only for the middle class.

Another important institution for maintaining the minority language is religion, especially if religion is deeply rooted in that culture. It is an institution that may also bring together different ethnic groups who share the same religion, mostly using the dominant language, or divide people from the same nation, as in the case of the separation of the Hindustani lingua franca into Hindi and Urdu for the Hindu and Muslim communities. If the minority language is the language of religion, the language will be maintained, as was German in the United States, due to the influence of the Lutheran church (Appel & Muysken, 1987), and Hebrew, due to the influence of the Jewish religion (Fishman, 2001). However, this can also be the case with ethnic languages that have been adopted by the dominant religion, as with the use of Quichua in different Catholic churches (Büttner, 1993). The presence of cultural representations of a language in different activities serves to valorize that culture and promote the willingness to learn or maintain the language associated with it. For example, Robert Gardner and Wallace Lambert found a high correlation between the value individuals place on a particular culture and their level of competence in its language. Adolescents of Franco-American minorities in Louisiana and New England who identified positively with the Anglo-American and Franco-American cultures were proficient in both languages (as cited in Hamers & Blanc, 2001).

Culture is not included as a specific category in the factors Giles et al. (1977) identify, but it is incorporated in Allard and Landry's model. Clyne (1982) suggests this category in his

study of language shift among Australian immigrants. He states that when the cultures involved are similar, language shift occurs, and when the cultures are dissimilar, language maintenance occurs. Josiane Hamers and Michel Blanc (2003) discuss the relativity of cultural characteristics. For instance, if a particular group has characteristics that are shared by other groups—for example, religious affiliation—this characteristic may go unnoticed, but if different groups have different religious affiliations, this feature might be emphasized and exteriorized. This element might then be linked to certain social characteristics and used to depict this group in either a positive or a negative light.

Regarding the ethnic values of various groups, Leo Driedger (1975) observed that different groups, when presented with an array of factors pertaining to language, religion, and education, assigned varying degrees of importance to each of these values as a marker of ethnic identity. Language might represent a staple value of a cultural group; it might be the essential value of the group's identity or even the sole staple value of their cultural identity. The Flemish in Belgium and the Québécois in Canada, for example, have vigorously championed their linguistic rights, which they view as crucial to their ethnic identity (Hamers & Blanc, p. 202–3).

The mass media affect language shift. If all the information received through the media is in the majority language, then language shift may occur, whereas if there is broadcasting, publishing of newspapers and books, programming on television, etc., in the minority language, language maintenance may obtain. For example, in Ecuador, radio has played an important role in providing education in Spanish as well as in different Indigenous languages such as Quichua and Shuar (Iñiguez & Guerrero, 1993). Radio has become a means of preserving the minority language and of acquiring the majority language. The mass media constitute a prominent social institution that strongly affects language behavior (Fishman, Cooper, & Ma, 1971). If access to

the media is granted in both majority and minority languages, bilingual individuals will be more likely to maintain those two languages (Mackey, 1972).

The availability of public and commercial signs in both languages is very important for maintaining bilingualism in a given region. These signs fulfill both informational and symbolic functions. They provide information by acting as distinctive markers of the geographic territory where the speakers of a specific language live. They also point to the opportunity to use or receive services in that language in the public and private locations where those signs are placed. They serve as symbols and as a valorization mechanism: "[They] should contribute to the feeling that the in-group language has value and status relative to other languages within the sociolinguistic setting" (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 27). Signs represent shared culture and an important means of acknowledging the importance to the community of the ethnic language and group.

Heller (1987) views language as key to gaining access to the ethnic social network. In her words, "[S]hared language is basic to shared identity, but more than that, identity rests on shared ways of using language that reflect common patterns of thinking, behaving, or sharing culture (1987, p. 181). Grace Feuerverger witnessed this in her research on ethnic identity and language maintenance, in which she found a close relationship between Jewish identification and language maintenance. On the basis of her data, she concluded that those participants who maintained close contact with Jewish institutions in which they needed to use their ethnic language had a more solid Jewish identification (as cited in Okuno, 1993).

Edward Sapir's (1958) groundbreaking concepts are relevant to ethnic identity and language maintenance. (Sapir, with Benjamin Whorf, developed what is now called the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis.) According to this hypothesis, the very structure of the language a person

speaks in large part determines how that person views and thinks about the world and conducts himself in it. Although today many researchers dispute this notion, disagreement as to whether—or how and how much—language influences thought has spawned much additional research in psycholinguistics. The essence of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is captured in the following frequently quoted passage:

> The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached... We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation (Sapir, 1958, p. 69).

Sapir considered language to be more than a vehicle for the expression of the thoughts, perceptions, sentiments, and values that characterize a group. He conceptualized language as an essential form of collective social identity. "The mere fact of a common speech serves as a peculiarly potent symbol of the social solidarity of those who speak the language" (as cited in Okuno, 1993, p. 49).

1.2.3.3 Status Factors

The valorization given to a certain language by in-group members can be influenced by the valorization and support given to that language by the various institutions in-group members interact with; in other words, the status a language has is in harmony not only with the status the in-group accords it, but also with the status the group has in the overall society, and the value the society accords it.

Language status is an important factor influencing different groups. There are various factors that have given each language a certain status. For example, French, English, and Spanish

enjoy high status for reasons such as their large numbers of speakers, their international use, and their dominant position during colonial times. However, different institutions such as education, religion, mass media, and so on, play an important role in granting a language that has historically been without high status a higher status. A language's status may be influenced by the social status of the group that speaks it, which, at the same time, may be directly related to the group's economic status.

Economic factors, according to Allard and Landry (1994b), refer to the economic situation of group members as an indicator of their ethnolinguistic vitality. Regarding economic factors, Paulston (1994) states that every ethnic group desires economic integration into the nation via access to goods and services, and that "[E]thnic groups given opportunities and incentives typically shift to the language of the dominant group" (p. 9). However, it can be argued that ethnic groups given incentives and economic autonomy maintain their minority language. Paulston provides, as an example of a self-imposed boundary, the case of the orthodox Jewish Hassidim, who send their children to schools where they are taught solely in Yiddish. The fact that they are taught in Yiddish provides them the possibility of upward mobility within their ethnic group, yet deprives them of the possibility of gaining social access to the larger society.

This example can be used as well to demonstrate that language maintenance can be obtained if there is economic autonomy. Tara Goldstein (1995) focused on language choice among female Portuguese immigrant workers in a Canadian factory. She observed that, due to the socio-economic gap between the minority group and the dominant one, there were no incentives or opportunities for the minority group to learn the majority group's language. Contrary to what might be expected, the immigrants could profit socially and economically from speaking their minority language. Their Portuguese network was what had enabled them to find a

job in the factory in the first place, and once at work, they could expand their network with other Portuguese workers and help each other to increase the solidarity of their network. Speaking the dominant language only served to isolate them from their in-group mates.

In a closer inspection of immigration in different countries—the United States, Canada, and Australia—and of assimilation processes, Jeffrey G. Reitz became aware of the impact that social institutions—including schools, labor markets, and social welfare—had on the speed and capacity with which immigrants assimilate in the host country with respect to socio-economic status. In the United States, for example, a combination of factors—laissez faire policy, scarcely regulated markets, and anemic welfare benefits—diminishes opportunities for immigrants to integrate into the host country's majority group. Reitz asserts that the state must provide legal conditions that are hospitable to the assimilation of immigrant groups if economic integration is to be successful. In broader terms, legal, economic, and resettlement assistance on the part of the host group will allow immigrants to be assimilated in economic, social, and psychological terms (as cited in Hechter & Okamoto, 2001, p. 199).

Differences in the rates of integration of minority groups into the dominant group can be mainly attributed to differences in socio-economic status. Research on spatial assimilation carried out by Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton (1985) show that a higher education and income will group mostly dominant group members into the most well-off neighborhoods. Access for minority group members to those neighborhoods is granted only to those of a comparable socio-economic status (p. 199). A study of ethnic separatist voting patterns by Charles C. Ragin (1979, as cited in Hechter & Okamoto, 2001) shows that, contrary to what might be expected, support for the Welsh nationalist party in Britain comes from better-off sectors. Various studies (Diez Medrano, 1994, Hechter, 1994, Nielsen, 1980, Pelled, 1990, as

cited in Hechter & Okamoto, 2001) of voting patterns in different countries reveal the important role labor markets play in determining whether voters will support their own ethnic-based party or some other one.

The various factors and subfactors involved in language maintenance are often correlated. It seems impossible to predict language maintenance and shift, since there are so many interrelated factors that play a part. Allard and Landry's model does not pretend to be comprehensive; however, it does attempt to provide a tool for analysis of those variables at both the societal and the individual level that are involved in language maintenance or shift. Considering that the many factors involved do not influence language maintenance directly, but through intervening variables, two of the questions that arise are the following: What are the intervening variables? How do the large-scale factors seen here influence the behavior of individuals, and thereby determine the maintenance or shift of a particular language? I will attempt to address these questions by applying Allard and Landry's macroscopic model to the situation of Indigenous Quichua speakers in the Ecuadorian highlands.

1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

Since the development of the vitality concept in the late 1970's, many studies have used the ethnolinguistic vitality framework. A number of different populations have been studied using EV, and some studies have been done with immigrant populations. Australia and Canada have proven to be great settings for research. These countries have embraced different ethnic groups through laws aimed at facilitating immigrants' structural incorporation into the larger society. While Australia and Canada do provide evidence of intergroup relationships, it must be noted

that the experience of immigrants in these countries is rarely that of immigrants elsewhere. As has been implied, Australia is the multicultural country par excellence. However, it is a country where the English language prevails, and immigrants shift to English within one generation (Pittam, Gallois, & Willemyns, 1991).

Sometimes laws favorable to the acculturation of immigrants have stimulated language shift in populations such as unskilled Turkish workers in Australia (Yagmur, Bot, & Korzilius, 1999). In keeping with Paulston's (1994) arguments, this may indicate that, given enough access and enticement to commodities and services, ethnic minority groups do shift to the dominant language. However, such beneficial laws, as well as other factors at the societal level, have encouraged other ethnic groups, such as Italian-Canadians and Italian-Australians, to learn the new country's language and at the same time to maintain their heritage language (Feuerverger, 1989; Hogg & Rigoli, 1996). In the Italian-Australian case described by Michael Hogg and Ninetta Rigoli, societal-level language support, and especially media support, has been shown to play an important role. In Feuerverger's study of Italo-Canadian students in Toronto, the country's favorable laws toward preserving heritage language programs have led to higher EV and stronger identification with both their ethnic language and the dominant language. These studies indicate that, given societal support, immigrants are able to learn the L2 and maintain the L1.

Ethnolinguistic vitality hinges on perceptions of both in- and out-group members. Richard Bourhis (1983) has shown that change in the political climate in Quebec has been associated with change in attitudes toward the use of Canadian French and English. Some less prestigious languages have become valued symbols of in-group pride. This is the case with the Spanish spoken by many Hispanics in the United States, who may see the importance of learning English for practical reasons, but prefer to use Spanish so as to identify with and be a part of the

Hispanic community (Carranza & Ryan, 1975; Flores & Hopper, 1975). "Indeed, almost all group language behavior can be explained on the assumption that people act in their own best and vested interest" (Paulston, 1994, p. 23). People's goals are not always economic, as in the case of Jews whose goals may be religious, and of other groups whose goals may be associated with questions of identification with the minority cultural group.

Conversely, a number of different immigrant groups in the United States have been incorporated into the society, or assimilated, in Richard Schermerhorn's terms, but have not received the language support from the society they need to maintain their language. At the same time, Indigenous groups such as the Quichuas in Ecuador have not been integrated into the dominant society, nor have they been provided with the laws and resources that would allow them to maintain their language. The latest reform of the Ecuadorian constitution, in 1988, includes certain rights for the Indigenous peoples as a result of their recent emergence in the political arena and the power they are increasingly able to wield. The constitution states that Spanish and Indigenous languages have the right to be respected and expanded. Additionally, the Indigenous have the right to use their language for official purposes. Nonetheless, the term *official* has ambiguous connotations, because Spanish is the only language with official status at the national level.

In order to gain a better understanding of how different societies treat minority groups, it is important to consider not only a particular ethnic group, but also its subgroups, in relation to the larger society. To this end, some studies, such as Bahram Sohrabi's (1997) study of Iranians in Sweden, have focused on differences within the ethnic group itself, such as age of immigration, social networks, and educational level, in order to identify differences in language behavior among these subgroups. This study demonstrates the importance of taking into account differences within a particular ethnic group rather than viewing them as homogeneous entities.

Numerous studies on ethnolinguistic vitality have been carried out with minority groups (Atkinson, 2000; Borman & Appelgryn, 1997; Hache, 1996; Kraemer, 1992; Landry, Allard, & Henry, 1996; Marley, 1999). Although each group—Francophones in Canada; French speakers in Louisiana; Israeli Arabs; Franco-Ontarian students in Canada; White Afrikaans, White English speakers, and Black participants in South Africa; Castilians in Catalonia; and Catalans in the French portion of Catalonia—represents a minority in numerical terms, not all of them constitute minorities in terms of power. There is no question that being part of the majority group affects maintenance of and proficiency in the mother tongue. Landry & Allard (1992b) look at the linguistic behavior of Franco- and Anglophones as majority and minority students in two different provinces in Canada. This study reveals that when either Franco- or Anglophones are the majority group in their region, they are dominant in their heritage language.

The distinction between minority and majority groups can be quite useful; nevertheless, it is a distinction that can sometimes become quite blurry. David Atkinson points out that although Castilians may be a majority in Spain as a whole, in their own territory Catalonians rule, and there an analysis of power relations between the two groups shows Castilians to be in the minority in terms of power. Yet, Castilians are the dominant group in almost the entire rest of the country. Such wide differences in power relations between similar groups inhabiting different regions raise serious questions about how to distinguish among minority groups with different degrees of power in different regions. Should they be categorized according to degree of power, or should they just be grouped into all-embracing ethnic categories? Should no other distinctions among them be considered? Should we use the same term—minority—for the Castilians in Catalonia and for the Tetetes in Ecuador, who have just four surviving speakers of the language and are totally isolated from the economic and political spheres of the rest of the country? Are these merely rhetorical questions? Not at all. Studies on minorities could enable us to create a

typology of the different minority groups and the relations between and within them, and thereby enhance our analysis of the factors that determine language behavior, rather than obscure our insight by treating ethnic minority groups as homogeneous entities.

There are a number of factors to be considered with regard to minority status, ethnolinguistic vitality, and language behavior. In studies with large minority groups such as Italian-Canadians (Bourhis & Sachdev, 1984) and Greek-Australians (Giles, Rosenthal, & Young, 1985), the authors conclude that, among these large minorities, subjective vitality (defined as what is perceived to be the position of the group, mainly by the in-group, but also by the out-group) is higher than would be expected given their conditions as indicated by their objective vitality (defined as what is revealed by existing data on group members and their behavior, i.e., demographic factors). Thus, these large minorities generally have a higher rate of language maintenance.

In general, there are demographic, political, and/or economic factors that turn these various groups into minorities; however, there is a dearth of studies showing how effective the EV construct is with respect to underprivileged groups, especially with a deprived population that often does not have a decent standard of living or access to education in either language, and does not participate in the economic or political life of the country. Therefore, we may question how appropriate the EV framework is for certain populations.

Elirea Borman and Ans Appelgryn (1997) expand the dimensions of ethnolinguistic vitality to suit their particular population: Afrikaans-speaking Whites, English-speaking Whites, and Blacks in South Africa. They investigate five dimensions in their study: institutional support, status and power, maintenance of identity, maintenance of symbols, and threat to identity. The first two are fairly analogous to those described by Bourhis et al. (1981). However, the second one, status and power, comprehends Bourhis et al.'s (1981) status and demographic

dimensions, since Borman and Appelgryn see these two dimensions as indivisible. The last three dimensions are related to intra-group variables that are somewhat comparable to Allard & Landry's (1987) socio-psychological dimension. Borman and Appelgryn have adapted the EV model to these ethnic groups, whereas Charles Mann (2000) has proposed expanding the scope of the ethnolinguistic vitality concept so as to embrace languages such as pidgins, which cannot be considered to be ethnic languages specific to a particular social group.

Pierson (1994) argues that the EV measure is objective and accurate, and contributes to the objectivity and accuracy of the field. However, he questions the effectiveness of using it as the exclusive method of measurement. This type of quantifying data, he asserts, lacks the detail that provides for the specificity of the group. Pierson concludes that in order for EV to be a credible tool for assessment, it needs to be complemented by qualitative data.

Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality theory takes its inspiration from the field of social psychology, which allows us to understand language behavior from a broader spectrum of socio-psychological factors. However, EV lacks the complexity of socio-psychological theory to explain the different conditions and processes under which in-groups operate. For instance, it is important not only to know what an individual's beliefs about the out-group and his in-group are, or to know about this person's perceptions of sociological factors or of out-group behavior, but to know what conditions need to be in place for a person to pledge allegiance to his language and in-group, and furthermore to take action as a collective member to defend the ethnic rights of the individual and the group. Therefore, the situation of the Quichua people and the socio-psychological factors that determine their language behavior need to be examined and explained using social identity theory and the interactive acculturation model.

Various studies have been conducted with minority groups. As was mentioned briefly at the beginning of the literature review, many of these studies provide empirical support for the

importance of factors at the societal level that determine language maintenance. According to Feuerverger's (1989) study, the factors that govern the ethnolinguistic vitality and language maintenance of the Italo-Canadians in Toronto are 1) use of the minority language in the home domain, 2) high concentration of ethnic members in a community, and 3) attendance at schools where the minority language is taught. According to this study, the latter factor not only improves the self-perception of members of ethnic minorities, but also helps to enhance perceptions of them on the part of members of dominant groups who attend an immersion program.

Hamers' (1989) study looks at bilingualism among first-generation Greek and Arab immigrants in Quebec. In this study, demographic factors play a significant role in bilingualism, but so do parents' beliefs and perceptions about the native language. Attitudes, self-beliefs, and beliefs of in-group members all influence language maintenance. Louis Young, Nancy Bell, and Howard Giles (1988) study Francophones and Germanophones attending a bilingual school in Switzerland. Their study shows that demographic, institutional support, and status dimensions play an important role in the ethnolinguistic vitality of Francophones. Young et al. (1988) demonstrate that similar ethnolinguistic vitality trends exist no matter how different the cultural and historical contexts are. Socio-economic status (SES) was found to be associated with ethnolinguistic vitality: high socio-economic status is usually implies high ethnolinguistic vitality. Since the participants in this study are school students, the SES is determined by the parents' occupations.

Sohrabi (1997) examines language maintenance and second language development among students of Iranian parents in Sweden. Like Young et al.'s (1988) study, Sohrabi's study demonstrates the relevance of parents' occupations in determining ethnolinguistic vitality, maintenance of the first language, and development of the second language. These studies

conclude that there is a greater tendency toward language shift in children of parents of a lower educational level. Jeffrey Pittam, Cynthia Gallois, and Michael Willemyns (1991) analyze factors such as gender, level of education, residence in areas with high or low concentrations of Vietnamese-Australians, and the presence of interpersonal networks with one's own ethnic group and with Anglo-Australians. In this study, Pittnam et al. find that level of education plays a major role in an individual's EV; however, one's interpersonal network is also an important factor in language maintenance.

Landry & Allard (1992a) survey Francophones as majority students and Anglophones as minority students in Quebec, as well as Anglophones as majority students and Francophones as minority students in New Brunswick. They find that when either Franco- or Anglophones are the majority group, they are dominant in their heritage language. However, their interpersonal networks seem to be the main factor affecting either maintenance of the first language or development of the second language.

Allard & Landry's (1987) study of Franco- and Anglophones in two Canadian provinces also lends empirical support to the importance of the notion of interpersonal networks and concludes that bilingualism is "more a question of where you live than who you are." Therefore, Allard & Landry emphasize the importance of the entire Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts (INLC), which comprises interpersonal contacts, contacts through the media, and educational support. Landry & Allard (1990) show consistent results supporting the importance of the INLC for L1 maintenance among members of minority groups.

However, two other studies with Franco- and Anglophones, one in two school districts in Maine (Landry & Allard, 1992b) and the other with students in Louisiana (Landry, Allard, & Henry, 1996) suggest the need to make available the institutional support these students need to acquire the second language and maintain their native language. They also emphasize that

students' interpersonal networks can fall short of providing them with the exposure and motivation they need to accomplish a high degree of bilingualism if societal factors are not favorable as well. As mentioned above, Hogg and Rigoli (1996) observe in their study a high correlation between language support at the societal level and language maintenance. They concluded that in the Italian-Australians they studied there was no relationship between their linguistic behavior and their INLC.

Most of these studies show a relationship between ethnolinguistic vitality and language behavior. Repeatedly, we see high subjective vitality associated with frequent language use and low subjective vitality associated with reduced language use. In one such study, Mae-Lombos Wlazlinski (1997) looks at the high rate of language shift in the Filipino community of Virginia Beach, Virginia in the last two generations, with a nearly total loss of Filipino. Sociological, socio-psychological, and psychological factors as well as language use and proficiency were investigated. The findings point to the group's identification of low objective vitality with use of the Filipino language as the main factor in language shift. As mentioned above, Yagmur et al. (1999) observe a high tendency for Turkish immigrants in Australia with a low level of education to assimilate into the culture of the foreign country, primarily by learning the majority language. Additionally, years of residence in the foreign country, and especially lack of educational support, may lead one beyond language shift to language attrition, and the native language may be forgotten.

Language attrition is an area of concern. Researchers using the ethnolinguistic vitality framework are working to unravel the factors contributing to language maintenance and shift. In so doing, they are also collaborating with a relatively new field of interest, language revival. Yet, EV studies should, it seems, precede and enlighten any effort to reverse language shift. Fishman (2001, p. xiii), in his preface to the book *Can Threatened Languages Be Saved?*, foresees the

need for a larger number of studies in this domain, with different perspectives that will help us to develop new theory and improve our understanding of this field. Dawn Marley's (1999) study of the Catalan language in the French portion of Catalonia documents the revival of Catalan. The history of Catalan and its current situation show how Catalan is resisting being overtaken by the French language. The high ethnolinguistic vitality there points toward language revival.

Mehroo Northover and Stephen Donnelly (1996) bring up the issue of language revival and the relationship between ethnic identity and use of language. They observe that, despite the economic, social, and political forces that brought about the shift from Irish to English under the sway of the United States and England, Irish enjoys high status as a cultural symbol. Nevertheless, ethnic group members do not see themselves as less Irish if they do not speak or use the language.

It is important to take into account Jasone Cenoz and José Valencia's (1993) findings in their study of native-Basque- and native-Spanish-speaking students. They conclude that higher EV does not necessarily lead to higher language competence, but it can lead to language maintenance and bilingualism for these two languages in contact. Again, this study provides evidence of the importance of socio-contextual and socio-psychological elements in social networks.

The various studies and literature reviewed in this section provide a framework for the various factors that need to be taken into account when conducting research and analyzing data on language maintenance and shift. The situation of Quichua speakers is an interesting setting in which to implement the ethnolinguistic vitality approach. The deprived situation of the Indigenous peoples in Ecuador has taken on a new context with the recent entry of the Indigenous into the political domain. At the same time, as Borman and Appelgryn (1997) point out, it is important to adapt this framework to fit the population under study.

According to Allard and Landry (1994b), the four types of cognitive orientation theory beliefs and the eight kinds of beliefs reflecting EV represent the categories of beliefs that contribute to a group's ethnolinguistic vitality (see Figure 1.1). "These beliefs may reflect the degree to which one's language behavior will contribute to or detract from his/her group's EV" (p. 126). Self, or egocentric beliefs, are those of the individual him/herself, whereas non-self, or exocentric beliefs, "refer to sociological factors and to the behavior of others" (pp. 126–7) as perceived by the individual. Allard and Landry maintain that egocentric beliefs regarding ethnolinguistic vitality are better predictors of language behavior than are exocentric beliefs. However, the macroscopic model created by Allard and Landry de-emphasizes the importance of subjective vitality and group identification and emphasizes such socio-psychological factors as interpersonal linguistic contacts, contacts through the media, and educational support. These three components of the socio-psychological level make up what Allard and Landry call the *individual network of linguistic contacts*. The INLC concept is related to the concept of *social network*, which has been defined by Hamers and Blanc (2003) as "the sum of all the interpersonal relations one individual establishes with others over time" (p. 101).

The INLC construct can be studied from several different perspectives. Even though a specific model's INLC construct—Landry and Allard's—has been featured in this study, theoretical constructs from other models can be used to complement it, and to provide a more three-dimensional perspective on language behavior as an extremely complex social phenomenon. Furthermore, Landry and Allard's model is based on a multidisciplinary approach to bilingualism that comprises both micro and macro dimensions. One study that has contributed a great deal to the development of the INLC construct features the concept of *social networks* (Milroy, 1980).

The social networks concept spawned a field of study that has been quite prolific since its inception, in the context of social anthropology, in the 1960s. Although the anthropologist Alfred Radcliffe-Brown had coined the term *social network* in 1940 to describe African social structure, Philip Mayer's (1962) studies of South African urban residents laid the foundation for this burgeoning field by emphasizing the importance of the social network as a *norm-enforcement mechanism.* William Labov (1966) set a new trend within this field of study—which was characterized by such variables as ethnicity, social class, sex, and age—by employing it in his study of sociolinguistic phenomena.

However, it was not until Leslie Milroy's (1980) ethnographic study of the role of social networks in Belfast working-class speech expanded the application of social networks research that the social network concept entered the field of sociolinguistics. The social networks concept has provided a better understanding of language behavior, and, consequently, has contributed not only to the field of sociolinguistics but also to other fields such as sociology, psychology, and political science. The concept of social networks has mostly been applied to migrant populations in the context of code-switching behavior (Milroy & Wei, 1995; Sabec, 1997; Reynolds and Akram, 2001), literacy (Mackey, 1992), and also ethnolinguistic and language maintenance studies (Cenoz & Valencia, 1993; Wei, 1994).

Milroy and other scholars have examined the influence on language maintenance of close-knit network structures, since they behave as norm-enforcement mechanisms (Hamers and Blanc, p. 101). Elizabeth Bott (1971) divides social networks into *close-knit* and *loose-knit*. Bott's concern is with the impact of social networks on people, both as social beings and as individuals. An individual is said to have a close-knit network when many of her/his acquaintances interact with each other, reach consensus on norms, and exert informal pressure to

reinforce them. An individual has a loose-knit network when many of her/his acquaintances do not interact with each other and have no consensus on norms. There is not much social control or solidarity among individuals in loose-knit networks because they have a one-on-one relationship with each individual in the network, but are not part of a solid and cohesive group. Bott employs the term *connectedness* to describe the relationships within networks.

Social networks can be studied according to structural criteria by looking at the **size** of the network; its **density**—i.e., cohesion; its **centrality**—as determined by the degree of affection between members, such that members who are more appreciated are at the core, whereas members who are less appreciated are more at the periphery (Blom & Gumperz, 1972); and finally at the presence of **clusters**—i.e., groups as determined by the degree of interaction, such that a person's primary cluster would consist of those who have the most consistent contact with and are of the greatest importance to a given individual (Milroy, 1980). Some other patterns of social networks that would be important to consider from an interactional perspective are the **frequency** (Sohn & Lee, 2005, Section 4: Factors affecting perceived interactivity, ¶ 8) and the **permanency**—i.e., stability—of the networks (Ethier, n.d., Section 4: Power and stability within groups, ¶ 1).

Social networks play an important role in determining the language behavior of individuals, particularly when the individual holds an active and central position in the network. The social networks that contribute the most to language behavior and cultural maintenance are those that comprise family, friends, classmates, teachers, neighbors, and workmates. These networks could also be seen as different domains, such as home, school, and work. Studies of social class take a macro approach, whereas studies of social network take a micro approach to social networks. Allard and Landry's (1987) individual network of linguistic contacts (INLC)

notion approaches the intersection of the individual and society, where the dynamics of language behavior can be observed.

Individual networks of linguistic contacts, media access, and educational opportunities do not exist in a vacuum; they are part of the power and status relationships that are present in society. Therefore, subtractive bilingualism is unheard of among majority language speakers. The minority language would hardly ever represent a challenge to the dominant language, whereas the subordinate language is frequently struggling to avoid being swallowed up by the strength and power of the superordinate language. Therefore, throughout the literature, it seems, additive bilingualism is a prerogative of the dominant groups and even more markedly of the middle and upper classes, whereas subtractive bilingualism is more likely to occur among subordinate groups of lower status.

Allard and Landry's (1994b) macroscopic model identifies factors influencing language maintenance or shift that are rooted in the relations among the various social and psychological factors. These factors are categorized according to three dimensions of analysis: the *sociological*, the *socio-psychological,* and the *psychological*. The individual network of linguistic contacts (INLC) represents the middle tier of the model, the socio-psychological, mediating between societal factors (demographic, political, economic, and cultural) and individual/psychological factors (beliefs on ethnolinguistic vitality).

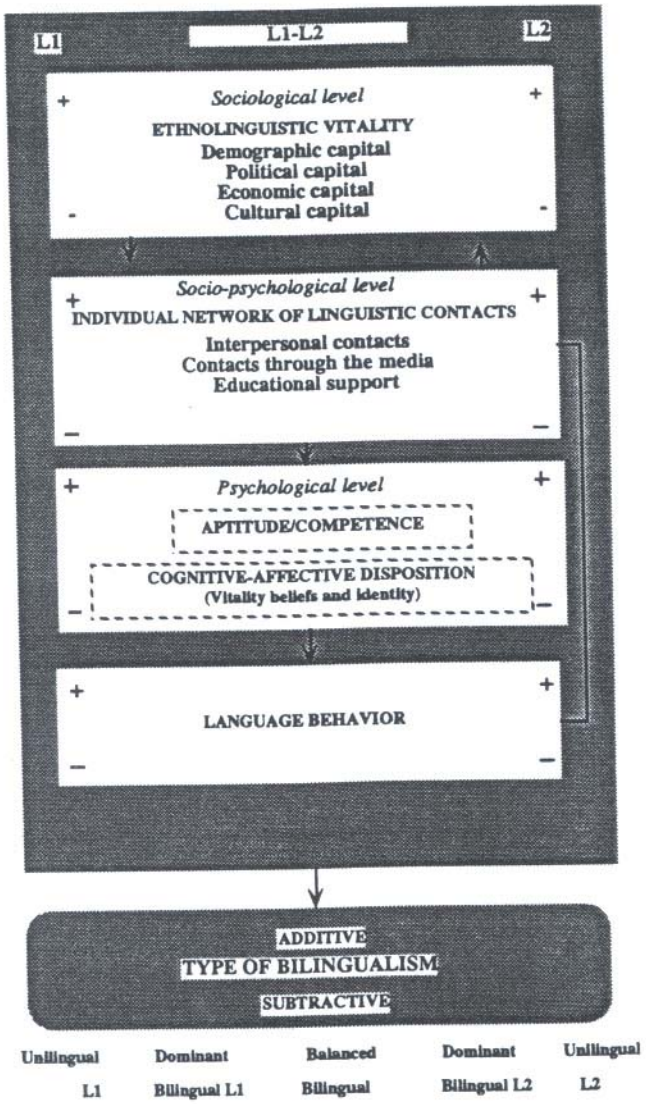

Figure 1. *A macroscopic model of the determinants of additive and subtractive bilingualis*

Figure 1.2. Reproduction of Allard and Landry's Figure Representing Their Macroscopic Model of the Determinants of Additive and Subtractive Bilingualism

Note. From "Language Contact and Bilingual Development: A Macroscopic Model; Contact des langues et développement bilingue: Un modèle macroscopique," by Rodrigue Landry and Réal Allard, 1990, *Canadian Modern Language Review, 46(3),* 527–553.

The *sociological level* of Allard & Landry's model borrows from Pierre Bourdieu (1980) the notion of *capital*, which was used "to denote four interrelated but relatively distinct fields in

which EV could be measured: *demographic, political, economic,* and *cultural* (Prujiner et al., 1984; Prujiner, 1987; Landry, 1982)" (as cited in Landry and Allard, 1994a, p. 22).

Demographic capital refers to the absolute number of community members that make up the ethnolinguistic group and the degree of concentration of its members throughout a particular urban, regional, or national territory. It also includes information such as the group's birthrate, group rates of emigration and immigration, and rates of endogamy and exogamy. According to Jake Harwood, Howard Giles, and Richard Bourhis (1994), these demographic factors represent the most fundamental assets of ethnolinguistic groups, since "strength in numbers can sometimes be used as a legitimizing tool to 'empower' groups with the 'institutional control' they need to shape their own collective destiny within the intergroup structure" (as cited in Harwood et al., 1994, p. 168; Bourhis, 1984; Wardhaugh, 1987).

Political capital refers to the degree of participation in politics by the group's members, the degree of pressure they are able to exert on behalf of their agenda, the extent of government functions and services provided to the community in its own language, the degree of respect for their language rights, and the degree to which government policies favor their interests. *Economic capital* can be inferred from the extent to which group members are present in and exercise control over commercial and industrial institutions, and from the extent to which their language is present in advertising, as much as by the economic situation of group members. *Cultural capital* can be determined by the degree of institutional support for group members in the fields of education, religion, culture, and the media.

Examination of the sociological dimension is important to ethnolinguistic vitality studies because it helps to identify those characteristics and factors that contribute to use of the group's language. According to Landry and Allard's (1992b) macroscopic model, the group's sociological dimension reflects its relative ethnolinguistic vitality, which influences its bilingual

development: “The relative EV of a group will influence bilingual development by limiting or by expanding the opportunities for linguistic contacts in each language” (p. 520).

To address the *socio-psychological level*, Landry and Allard (1994b) examine interpersonal contacts (INLC), contacts through media, and educational support. “It is in the INLC that the individual lives the totality of his ethnolinguistic experiences” (p. 121). The socio-psychological level constitutes a bridge between the sociological factors and the psychological factors that contribute to bilingualism; that is, the INLC serves as a bridge between objective vitality, which is analogous to the sociological level, and subjective vitality, which is analogous to the psychological level. The socio-psychological level can be measured by examining the interpersonal contacts and media-based contacts experienced in each language within the family and the socio-institutional and school environments. The INLC concept will facilitate evaluation of the use of each language in its different domains.

Landry and Allard (1992b) see minority languages as occupying a disadvantaged position in relation to the majority language with respect to the socio-institutional environment; therefore, they assert, via their model shown in Figure 1.3, that in order for a low-vitality group to achieve additive bilingualism (in which the second language does not replace the first language) and to be valorized, its L1 needs to be reinforced in the family and school environment. This means that “the lower the vitality of the group, the more the home and the school need to provide a strong L1 ambiance and the more extra support should be gathered from the overall L1 community” (Landry and Allard, p. 523).

In general terms, according to Landry & Allard (1992a), it can be said that a high vitality group can be developed if schooling allows for different contacts to occur. If schooling offers an opportunity to use the mother tongue, the child will not only be more likely to maintain the native language, but will also have a positive attitude toward it. Instruction in the L1 may

counterbalance the pressure the socio-institutional environment exerts on minority group members.

With respect to the *psychological level*, Allard and Landry (1994b) assert that an individual's INLC interactions are decisive in determining the linguistic competencies an individual will acquire, as well as the individual's cognitive-affective willingness to interact with in-/out- ethnolinguistic groups. According to Jim Cummins, linguistic competencies are fundamentally of two types: "…[C]ognitive-academic competencies are defined as the ability to use the language in context-reduced activities, and communicational competencies are defined as the ability to use a language in interpersonal relationships" (as cited in Allard & Landry, 1994b, p. 121–122).

Allard and Landry's (1994b) model emphasizes the impact of the INLC on the ethnolinguistic vitality of minority groups. Additionally, the model suggests the impact of the individual network of linguistic contacts on numerous other beliefs, such as the following:

> …ethnolinguistic group membership, beliefs on the legitimacy and stability of minority and majority group situations, perceptions of the ethnolinguistic behaviors of models, beliefs concerning one's personal efficacy in attaining personal objectives that are influenced by ethnolinguistic considerations, and beliefs concerning personal goals and desires of an ethnolinguistic nature (Allard & Landry, 1994b, p. 123).

How a group is perceived by its own members, as well as by outsiders, and how one group stands in relation to other groups according to the perceptions of the members of each group, allows these members to construct their individual social identity (Tajfel, 1974). Additionally, Tajfel says that a general negative social perception may induce members to take action to try to be perceived more positively. However, even as a negative perception can lead to a more cohesive attitude on the part of its members, it can also bring about the desire to disassociate from the in-group and be part of the other group. Members of a particular group often show

alliance with or disassociation from the group through the use of their own or the other's language. An individual's language behavior is also affected by the language behavior of members who are closely related to an individual within the in-group. Albert Bandura mentions other factors that are said to influence language behavior: the individual's self-reliance and belief in his ability to accomplish personal goals (as cited in Allard & Landry, 1994b). Moreover, the individual's cognitive-affective disposition to use one language or the other has to be analyzed, taking into consideration both the inter- and intra-group milieu.

In this chapter, I have highlighted various studies that are relevant to the ethnolinguistic vitality and the language behavior of the rural residents of Morocho and the urban residents of Otavalo. The theoretical framework reviewed the main precepts of ethnolinguistic vitality theory and other closely related concepts such as acculturation and social identity theories. These last theories provide a better understanding of the situation of each group with respect to their similarities and differences. Additionally, I looked at various studies that bear reference to the various factors included in Allard and Landry's macroscopic model, which together determine a group's ethnolinguistic vitality and, in turn, the likelihood that the group will either maintain its ethnic language, shift to the dominant language, or sustain a stable bilingual situation. The extent to which all these variables can be applied to the situation of these two communities remains to be seen. The following hypotheses will be tested:

Hypothesis 1: There is a statistically significant correlation between the ethnolinguistic vitality at the **socio-psychological level** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

Hypothesis 1A: There is a statistically significant correlation between the **individual networks of linguistic contacts** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

Hypothesis 1B: There is a statistically significant correlation between the **linguistic contacts through education** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

Hypothesis 1C: There is a statistically significant correlation between the **linguistic contacts through media** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

Hypothesis 2: There is a statistically significant correlation between the ethnolinguistic vitality at the **psychological level** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

Hypothesis 2A: There is a statistically significant correlation between the **exocentric beliefs** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

Hypothesis 2B: There is a statistically significant correlation between the **egocentric beliefs** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

Hypothesis 2C: There is a statistically significant correlation between the **factual beliefs** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

Hypothesis 2D: There is a statistically significant correlation between the **desired beliefs** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

In the following chapter, I will outline the methodology of this study. In the subsequent chapters, I will discuss the different variables pertaining to the three levels—sociological, socio-psychological, and psychological—of Allard and Landry's macroscopic model of ethnolinguistic vitality. I will also detail their relationship to the language behavior—i.e., language maintenance, bilingualism, or language shift—of the rural community of Morocho and the urban community of Otavalo, in Imbabura province. I hope that by extending the scope of ethnolinguistic vitality theory to encompass the study of an Indigenous ethnic group, I will be able to make a positive contribution this field.

2.0 CHAPTER 2. METHODOLOGY

This study examines three main dimensions, or levels, of the ethnolinguistic vitality of Quichua speakers living in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo: the **sociological** level, the **socio-psychological** level, and the **psychological** level. These levels are described in a research model that was developed by Landry and Allard (1987); I have adapted it for this study. Census and descriptive data were used to address the sociological level. To address the socio-psychological and the psychological levels, orally administered questionnaires were employed for the quantitative part and informal interviews for the qualitative part.

In this chapter, I describe the census and descriptive data that were used for the sociological level. Then, for the socio-psychological and psychological levels, within the quantitative part, I describe the questionnaires and the respondents to the questionnaires, as well as how these questionnaires were administered and how the results were scored. Next, I discuss the validity of the questionnaires for the socio-psychological level, e.g., Landry and Allard's (1987) Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts (INLC) Questionnaire. Because Landry, Allard, and Henry (1996) have discussed the validity but not the reliability of the questionnaires for the socio-psychological level, I discuss the reliability of my adaptations of these questionnaires in chapter 4: Results. Subsequently, I assess the reliability and validity of the questionnaires for the psychological level on which mine were based, i.e., Landry and Allard's (1987) Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaires. Finally, regarding the socio-

psychological and psychological levels within the qualitative part, I discuss the rationale for the elite interviews and the background of the Indigenous leaders who participated in them.

This study was conducted using mainly quantitative approaches. Qualitative approaches were used to further examine the quantitative results. As part of the qualitative approach, six elite interviews were conducted with Indigenous leaders at the regional level. For the main part of this study, the quantitative part, 100 questionnaires were conducted. All the respondents who participated in this study were read the IRB Consent Form, either in Spanish or in Quichua, according to their preference. Once the respondents had agreed to the terms of the IRB Consent Form (Appendix A), the questionnaires were administered. The respondents were asked for background information. They were then asked to complete a questionnaire to assess the extent to which their use of Spanish and/or Quichua approached a standardized variety, i.e., its **degree of standardization**. This questionnaire was based on one that Landry and Allard (1987) had developed to assess the standardization of language varieties in other contexts. Last administered were questionnaires based on those that Landry and Allard (1987) had developed to examine socio-psychological factors: the Interpersonal Communication Network Questionnaire (ICNQ), which measures the individual network of linguistic contacts (INLC); the Linguistic Contacts in Education Questionnaire (LCEQ); and the Linguistic Contacts Through the Media Questionnaire (LCMQ)—as well as the one that had been developed to examine psychological factors: the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ).

2.1 CENSUS & DESCRIPTIVE DATA PART

The original socio-structural factors that were thought to determine ethnolinguistic vitality had been established by Giles et al. (1977). These were regrouped by Bourdieu (1980) and Prujiner et al. (1984) as four types of *linguistic capital*: demographic, economic, political, and cultural. In this study, the data used to determine these four capitals were drawn from census data and other studies. Most of the census data came from the Instituto Nacional Ecuatoriano de Estadística y Censos–INEC (National Ecuadorian Institute of Statistics and Census). The last census, taken in 2001, failed to include questions about respondents' native language and ethnic self-identity. That is, the census data provided general information about the country and the Imbabura province, but did not provide information pertaining to demographics, economics, education, etc. that was specific to the Indigenous. The information obtained from the census was complemented by the information available at the Web site of the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador–CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador) and other sources cited in chapter 3, The Sociological Level. Information on the community of Morocho was provided by the Unión de Organizaciones Campesinas e Indígenas de Cotacachi–UNORCAC (Union of Peasant and Indigenous Organizations of Cotacachi), and the president (at that time) of the community of Morocho. Other information on the four types of capital that were mentioned above was obtained from books and articles. Three studies that were carried out in Imbabura province were of utmost assistance: *Quichua y Castellano en los Andes Ecuatorianos* (Habood, 1998); *Andean Entrepreneurs: Otavalo Merchants and Musicians in the Global Arena* (Meisch, 2002); and *The Native Leisure Class: Consumption and Cultural Creativity in the Andes* (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1999).

2.2 QUANTITATIVE PART

2.2.1 Participants

The respondents were 100 Indigenous persons living in Imbabura province in Ecuador. Half of the respondents were from the urban community of Otavalo, while the other half were from Morocho, a rural, predominantly Indigenous community. Males and females were about equally represented in the samples from both Otavalo and Morocho, meaning that approximately half of the respondents in each place were females and the other half males. All were between the ages of 18 and 25. By that time, they were supposed to have completed their primary and secondary education. The respondents were selected from Morocho and the different neighborhoods in Otavalo. Finding respondents—especially male respondents between the ages of 18 and 25—proved to be extremely difficult, because this segment of the population—that is, Indigenous Kichwas in this age group—seems to be in the process of emigrating, either to bigger cities or to other countries, in search of better job opportunities.

Strictly random selection of participants was not possible in Otavalo, since the government of the municipality was not able to provide a listing of Indigenous residents. Therefore, my assistant and I recruited participants by going from door to door and asking whether there were any Indigenous persons between the ages of 18 and 25 living in the household. If there were individuals living there who met this criterion, I would then explain the purpose of the study and request their participation. Everyone who was approached agreed to participate and informed consent consent was obtained from all participants.

Strictly random selection of participants was not possible in Morocho either, but for slightly different reasons. Morocho is has a population of about 750, so that finding 50

participants between the ages of 18 and 25 presented something of a challenge. We were fortunate to have the cooperation of the president of the community, who, at a town meeting, asked all the residents between those ages to meet later in the town plaza to participate in the study. Since we knew that many residents between those ages were accustomed to leaving the community to find work, but often returned on weekends, we also returned on three subsequent weekends to find additional participants and to attempt to obtain a sample that was as representative of the community as possible.

2.2.2 Quantitative Instrument: Questionnaires

The instrument used in the quantitative part of the study was a series of orally administered questionnaires. These questionnaires were adapted from those developed by Landry and Allard (1987) to test their macroscopic model; like those questionnaires, these were used to examine socio-psychological and psychological factors. The questionnaire items were in the form of Likert scales. Even though the questionnaires were closed-ended, those administering them wrote respondents' clarifications and comments next to their answers.

2.2.2.1 Questions on the Background of Respondents

Questions on the background of each respondent included date of birth, gender, school attended, level of education, and first and second (if any) language. Questions on the background of each respondent's parents included level of education, occupation, and first and second (if any) language.

2.2.2.2 Questions on Language Use of Respondents

The criterion variable, language use, was assessed via a section of the questionnaire in which participants reported the language variety used within their network of Quichua and/or Spanish speakers (See Appendices B1, B2, & B3)[4]. Language variety was assessed using a 7-point Likert scale that encompassed the following language varieties: (1) standard Spanish, (2) non-standard Spanish, (3) Spanish with some use of sentences or expressions in Quichua, (4) Quichuañol (a mixture of Quichua and Spanish), (5) Quichua influenced by Spanish, (6) non-standard Quichua, and (7) standard Quichua. This scale was used as an index of their predominant language and of language maintenance.

2.2.2.3 Socio-Psychological Factors

Landry and Allard (1987) have three questionnaires that are used to determine socio-psychological factors: the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts (INLC), (Appendices C1, C2, & C3), Linguistic Contacts Through Education (LCE), (Appendices D1, D2, & D3), and Linguistic Contacts Through Media (LCM), (Appendices E1, E2, E2).

Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts

The INLC section gauges the respondent's personal contacts. It includes 27 questions about each language—Spanish and Quichua—divided into four different parts for each language: 1)

[4] Appendix B1 corresponds to the English version of Allard and Landry's Language Variety Questionnaire, Appendix B2 corresponds to the Spanish translation, and B3 corresponds to the Quichua translation of this questionnaire.

proportion in network—i.e., the proportion of speakers of a language in the person's network of contacts, 2) **frequency of contacts**, 3) **quality of contacts**, and 4) **stability of contacts**. The first set of questionnaire items corresponds to these four aspects of the INLC and asks about contacts with Quichua speakers; the second set repeats the same questionnaire items with respect to contacts with Spanish speakers. These contacts included immediate family, cousins, aunts and uncles, friends, neighbors, former classmates, and fellow participants in social and cultural activities.

The INLC was assessed using 9-point Likert scales. The subscales measured the following:

Proportion in network—i.e., the proportion of speakers of a language in each respondent's network of contacts. On this subscale, (1) indicates that no one in the person's network is a Quichua speaker, (5) indicates that half of those in the network are Quichua speakers, and (9) indicates that all of those in the network are Quichua speakers. The proportion of speakers of Spanish in each respondent's network of contacts was then measured using the same Likert scale.

Frequency of contacts in a language. On this subscale, (1) indicates that within each respondent's network of contacts, the respondent rarely speaks Quichua (less than once a week), (5) indicates that the respondent speaks Quichua four or five times a week, and (9) indicates that the respondent speaks Quichua very often (several times a day); however, in this part of the questionnaire some respondents answered never; therefore, (0) was added to include this option. The frequency of contacts in Spanish within each respondent's network of contacts was then measured using the same Likert scale.

Quality of contacts in a language. On this subscale, (1) indicates that the respondent considers contacts with Quichua speakers in her/his network to be very unpleasant, (5) indicates

that the respondent considers contacts with Quichua speakers in her/his network to be neutral or indifferent, and (9) indicates that the respondent considers contacts with Quichua speakers in her/his network to be very pleasant. The quality of contacts in Spanish within each respondent's network of contacts was then measured using the same Likert scale.

Stability of contacts in a language. On this subscale, (1) indicates that the respondent was not able to maintain a stable relationship (over a long period of time, either for several years or throughout one's entire life) with any of the Quichua speakers in her/his network of contacts, (5) indicates that the respondent was able to maintain a stable relationship with half of the Quichua speakers in her/his network of contacts, and (9) indicates that the respondent was able to maintain a stable relationship with all of the Quichua speakers in her/his network of contacts. The stability of contacts in Spanish within each respondent's network of contacts was then measured using the same Likert scale.

Linguistic Contacts Through Education

This part had seven subscales: 1) **teaching in class**, 2) **teachers outside class**, 3) **students outside class**, 4) **school materials**, 5) **culture & sports**, 6) **communications**, and 7) **language of students.** Each of these seven subscales pertaining to linguistic contacts in education corresponded to one question, replicated for each school year, K-12. To answer each question, respondents had to estimate how much each language, Spanish and Quichua, was used in school. The first of the seven subscales, proportion of teaching in each language, was measured using a 7-point Likert scale, whereas the other six subscales were measured using 5-point Likert scales.

Thus, respondents first estimated the proportion for each language of 1) **teaching in class**—i.e., the proportion of teaching done in each language, on a scale ranging from (1) all of the teaching was done in Spanish, to (7) all of the teaching was done in Quichua; then

respondents estimated the proportion of each language for 2) **teachers outside class**—i.e, the proportion of each language spoken outside class by teachers, 3) **students outside class**—i.e, the proportion of each language spoken outside class by students, 4) **school materials**—i.e, the proportion of course materials in each language, 5) **culture & sports**—i.e, the proportion of cultural and sports activities organized in each language, and 6) **communications**—i.e, the proportion of posters hung in the school and the proportion of written material for parents given to the students in each language, on a scale ranging from (1) always in Spanish or in Spanish only to (5) always in Quichua or in Quichua only; and finally, respondents estimated 7) the **language of students**—i.e, the proportion of students speaking each language, on a scale ranging from (1) all were Spanish speakers to (5) all were Quichua speakers.

Linguistic Contacts Through Media

This part had 22 questions—11 pertaining to Spanish and 11 to Quichua—regarding the availability in the region of 1) **television programs**, 2) **radio programs**, 3) **movies**, 4) **music**, 5) **newspapers**, 6) **magazines**, 7) **books at home**, 8) **plays and concerts**, 9) **road signs**, 10) **signs inside stores**, and 11) **signs outside stores**. A 9-point Likert scale was first used to assess each respondent's exposure to these 11 different types of media in Quichua, with (1) indicating no exposure to a given medium (television, radio, movies, etc.) in Quichua, and (9) indicating that all exposure to all media was in Quichua. The same Likert scale was then used to assess each respondent's exposure to these same 11 types of media in Spanish.

Although the original wording of the media section refers to <u>access</u> or exposure to media, in the context of this study, respondents tended to interpret it as <u>availability</u> of media. In other words, respondents indicated that they had access to TV programs in Quichua simply because

they knew that such programs existed, even though they did not actually have access to them because they did not own a TV set. Likewise, respondents indicated that they had access to newspapers in Quichua simply because they knew that such newspapers existed, even though they did not actually have access to them, either because they lacked the literacy skills to read them or because they were not able to purchase them.

2.2.2.4 Psychological Level

Landry and Allard's (1987) questionnaire on ethnolinguistic vitality beliefs was used to assess the psychological level. This questionnaire has eight parts: 1) **present vitality**, 2) **future vitality**, 3) **social models**, 4) **legitimate vitality**, 5) **valorization**, 6) **belongingness**, 7) **personal efficacy**, and 8) **goals and desires**. To enable the reader to review the questions pertaining to each part and to see how the questionnaire measures each variable, the corresponding title, appendix number, and section are provided in parentheses. The different subscales that constitute Landry and Allard's Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ) were adapted as follows:

1) **Present vitality** was assessed using the questionnaire titled "The Present Resources of Spanish and Quichua Speakers in This Region" (Appendices F1, F2, & F3, Section 1). Using sets of 9-point Likert scales, respondents were asked to assess the resources available in their region at that time in terms of the following statements and questions, and to rate each one, first with respect to Spanish, and then with respect to Quichua: a) In this region, cultural activities (theatre, concerts, movies)—available in Spanish are— available in Quichua are—(1) nonexistent, to (9) extremely numerous; b) How much importance do this region's school boards place on the teaching of the mother tongue, that is—the teaching of Spanish to Spanish speakers?—the

teaching of Quichua to Quichua speakers?—(1) no importance, to (9) great importance; c) In this region, the language of work—is Spanish—is Quichua—(1) never, to (9) always; d) In this region, the degree to which businesses and industries are controlled—by Spanish speakers is—by Quichua speakers is—(1) extremely low, to (9) extremely high; e) In this region, how many of the provincial government's services are offered—in Spanish?—in Quichua?—(1) none, to (9) all; f) In this region, elected representatives at various levels of government (municipal, provincial, and federal)—use Spanish—use Quichua—(1) never, to (9) always; g) Those moving from elsewhere to settle in this region—use Spanish—use Quichua—(1) never, to 9) always; h) This region is a territory whose—Spanish cultural and linguistic character is—Quichua cultural and linguistic character is—(1) extremely weak, to (9) extremely strong.

2) **Future vitality** was assessed using the questionnaire titled "The Future Resources of Spanish and Quichua Speakers in This Region" (Appendices F1, F2, & F3, Section 2). Using sets of 9-point Likert scales, respondents were asked to estimate the resources that would be available in their region in the year 2020 in terms of the following statements and questions, and to rate each one, first with respect to Spanish, and then with respect to Quichua: a) How much importance will this region's school boards place on the teaching of the mother tongue, that is—the teaching of Spanish to Spanish speakers?—the teaching of Quichua to Quichua speakers?—(1) no importance, to (9) great importance; b) In this region, the language of work will be—Spanish—Quichua—(1) never, to (9) always; c) In this region, elected representatives at various levels of government (municipal, provincial, and federal)—will use Spanish—will use Quichua—(1) never, to (9) always; d) This region is a territory whose—Spanish cultural and linguistic character will be—Quichua cultural and linguistic character will be—(1) extremely weak, to (9) extremely strong.

3) **Social models** were assessed using the questionnaire titled "The Present Behavior of My Friends in This Region" (Appendices F1, F2, & F3, Section 4). Using a 9-point Likert scale—from (1) never to (9) always—respondents were asked to estimate the behavior of their friends in terms of the following statements, and to rate each one, first with respect to Spanish, and then with respect to Quichua: a) In their activities at school, my friends communicate—in Spanish—in Quichua; b) When they are at work in this region, the young adults I know use—Spanish—Quichua; c) In this region, if some of my friends wanted to succeed in exercising leadership at different levels of government (municipal, provincial, or federal) they would use—Spanish—Quichua; and d) The way the youth of this region use Spanish and Quichua in their daily activities tends to promote this region's—Spanish linguistic and cultural character—Quichua linguistic and cultural character.

4) **Legitimate vitality** was assessed using the questionnaire titled "What Would Be Just and Fair in This Region" (Appendices F1, F2, & F3, Section 3). Using sets of 9-point Likert scales, respondents were asked to consider, given the number of Quichua speakers and Spanish speakers in the region, the following statements, and to rate each one, first with respect to Spanish, and then with respect to Quichua: a) For things to be truly just and fair, school boards should give the teaching of the mother tongue, that is—Spanish to Spanish speakers—Quichua to Quichua speakers—(1) no importance, to (9) great importance; b) For things to be truly just and fair, the language used in the workplace should be—Spanish—Quichua—(1) never, to (9) always; c) For things to be truly just and fair, representatives elected to various levels of government (municipal, provincial, federal) should use—Spanish—Quichua—(1) never, to (9) always; d) For things to be truly just and fair, this region should be a territory whose—Spanish linguistic and cultural character should be—Quichua linguistic and cultural character should be—(1) extremely weak, to (9) extremely strong.

5) **Valorization** was assessed using the questionnaire titled "What You Consider to Be Important" (Appendices F1, F2, & F3, Section 5). Using a 9-point Likert scale—from (1) of no importance, to (9) of great importance—respondents were asked to determine what was important to them at that time in terms of the following statements and questions, and to rate each one, first with respect to Spanish, and then with respect to Quichua: a) How important is it to you to have the possibility of being educated—in Spanish?—in Quichua?; b) How important is it to you that the language you use at work—be Spanish?—be Quichua for Quichua speakers?; c) How important is it to you that your elected representatives at various levels of government (municipal, provincial, federal) be able to communicate with you—in Spanish?—in Quichua?; and d) How important is it to you that the cultural and linguistic character of this region be—Spanish?—Quichua?

6) **Belongingness** was assessed using the questionnaire titled "My Feelings of Belongingness" (Appendices F1, F2, & F3, Section 9). Using a 9-point Likert scale—from (1) not at all to (9) completely—respondents were asked to assess their interests, values, feelings, and behavior in terms of the following statements, and to rate each one, first with respect to Spanish, and then with respect to Quichua: a) In a broad sense, when I think of the values I have received in my environment and of the education I received in the schools I have attended, I have the feeling that I am—a Spanish speaker—a Quichua speaker; b) When I think of my tastes and preferences for the products sold by the businesses of this region, I have the feeling that I am—a Spanish speaker—a Quichua speaker; c) When I think of the way I utilize the services of my municipal, provincial, and federal governments (police, firefighters, health and postal services, etc.) I feel that I am—a Spanish speaker—a Quichua speaker; d) When I think of what it means to me to be a citizen of the territory where I live, I feel that I am—a Spanish speaker—a Quichua speaker.

7) **Personal efficacy** was assessed using the questionnaire titled "What I Am Capable of Doing" (Appendices F1, F2, & F3, Section 7). Using a 9-point Likert scale—from (1) not at all capable to (9) totally capable—respondents were asked to consider the following questions regarding how capable they felt of reaching various goals, and to rate each one, first with respect to use of Spanish, and then with respect to use of Quichua: a) Later on, if you were to pursue a course of study in a field that might interest you, do you feel you would be capable of reaching your goals by studying—in Spanish?—in Quichua?; b) Do you feel you are capable of reaching your career goals by working—in Spanish?—in Quichua?; c) If you had to meet with representatives from different levels of government (municipal, provincial, federal) do you believe you would be capable of making your needs known to them by communicating with them—in Spanish?—in Quichua?; d) Do you feel capable of accomplishing what you want to accomplish in life while living in a region whose cultural and linguistic character—is Spanish?—is Quichua?

8) **Goals and Desires** were assessed using the questionnaire titled "What I Want to Do or Be Able to Do in This Region" (Appendices F1, F2, & F3, Section 6). Using sets of 9-point Likert scales, respondents were asked to assess their goals and desires in terms of the following statements, and to rate each one, first with respect to Spanish, and then with respect to Quichua: a) In my activities at school, I want to communicate—in Spanish—in Quichua—(1) never, to (9) always; b) In the jobs I will have in the future, I want to use as the language I will work in—Spanish—Quichua—(1) never, to (9) always; c) I want my elected representatives at the municipal, provincial, or federal government levels to communicate with me—in Spanish—in Quichua—(1) never, to (9) always; and d) The territory in which I would most want to reside would have a—Spanish cultural and linguistic character that would be—Quichua cultural and linguistic character that would be—(1) extremely weak, to (9) extremely strong.

The first of the 8 sections, present vitality, has 16 questions—8 per language. According to previous studies, having 8 questions for that section improves its reliability coefficient. Each of the other 7 sections has 8 questions—4 per language. For these sections, 4 questions per language were shown to be sufficient to provide a high reliability coefficient (see Figure 2.2). The entire vitality beliefs section has 72 questions—36 per language.

2.2.3 Validity and Reliability of Allard and Landry's Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaires and Networks of Linguistic Contacts Questionnaires

This section will be devoted primarily to a discussion of the validity and reliability of the measures pertaining to the psychological level—i.e., the BEV questionnaires—since their development is Allard and Landry's major contribution to the study of ethnolinguistic vitality. The measures pertaining to the socio-psychological level—i.e., the networks of linguistic contacts questionnaires such as the INLC (measuring frequency of linguistic contacts, stability of linguistic contacts, quality of linguistic contacts, etc.)—have been established as valid instruments in other studies. One study that seems to confirm the criterion and construct validity of the INLC is Landry, Allard, and Henry's (1996) study of the ethnolinguistic vitality of the French community in Louisiana. Relationships were found between the self-reported proportion of French speakers in participants' networks (Part 1 of the INLC questionnaire) and all of the following measures: self-reported proficiency in French, exo-centric and ego-centric vitality beliefs (BEVQ), and a measure of the strength of French identity. However, Allard and Landry have not discussed the reliability of their questionnaires for the socio-psychological level; therefore, I discuss the reliability of my adaptations of these questionnaires when I present the results in chapter 4.

One of the most important constructs Allard and Landry (1987) developed for their model was the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality construct, which they developed to address the model's psychological—or individual—level. At this level, perceptions of EV are necessarily subjective. According to Allard and Landry (1994b), *Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality* is what will ultimately determine language and cultural maintenance or shift. Allard and Landry developed an instrument, the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ), to measure this construct. This instrument measures individual perceptions of a group's ethnolinguistic vitality. As can be seen in Appendix G, Allard and Landry demonstrate in their communication titled *Notes to Users of the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire* (p. 3) that the BEVQ instrument is both reliable and valid (personal e-mail communication, December 20, 2001).

2.2.3.1 Validity of the BEVQ

Validity, in general, refers to the degree to which an instrument measures what it is designed to measure (Brown, 2000). If the instrument being used is purported to measure beliefs that predict maintenance of the Quichua language, it ought to measure such beliefs. Within this general definition of validity are different specific types. Some of these different types of validity include construct validity, criterion validity, and predictive validity.

The term *construct* refers to "a nonobservable trait, such as intelligence, which explains behavior" (Gay, 1996, p. 140). Constructs can only be measured by indirect means. Allard and Landry (personal e-mail communication, December 20, 2001—see Appendix G) conducted a factor analysis of the BEVQ subscales to evaluate the construct validity of the BEVQ. The results supported the structure they hypothesized. A two-factor solution was produced. The

present vitality, **future vitality**, and **social models** subscales had high loadings on the first factor, which was interpreted as encompassing exocentric beliefs. The **goals**, **valorization**, **belongingness**, and **efficacy** subscales had high loadings on the second factor, which was interpreted as encompassing egocentric beliefs. The only departure from the hypothesized structure was that the **legitimacy** subscale, which was expected to be associated with exocentric beliefs, had approximately equal loadings on both factors. This result suggests that beliefs about legitimacy span both exocentric and egocentric beliefs.

There are certain concepts that are too complex to be measured easily—for example, "ethnolinguistic vitality" (EV). EV is a complex variable, or construct, that comprises such components as demographics, politics, economics, culture, and belief. "Complex instruments are used to measure complex constructs and are judged by what is called *criterion validity*…The data from an instrument that purportedly measures a construct are compared against some criterion that is already known to be valid" (Bernard, 1995, p. 41).

In 1986, Allard and Landry (1987) tested their BEVQ questionnaire with francophone parents who sent their children to the French school system and parents who sent their children to the English school system. As predicted, the results demonstrated that those parents who sent their children to the French school system scored higher on the BEVQ. (These results were shown for **normative beliefs**, **goal beliefs**, and **personal beliefs**; however, the scores between the two groups did not appear to be significantly different for **general beliefs**). Thus, the *known group* comparison technique can be used to establish the criterion validity of the BEVQ. That is, if we assume that enrollment in a French school system rather than an English school system is indicative of a family's belief in French ethnolinguistic vitality, and scores on the BEVQ correlate with French school system enrollment, criterion validity is established.

"*Predictive validity* is the degree to which a test can predict how well an individual will do in a future situation" (Gay, 1996, p. 142) Gay gives the example of an algebra aptitude test. "An algebra aptitude test that has high predictive validity will fairly accurately predict which students will do well in algebra and which students will not" (Gay, p. 142).

According to Allard and Landry (1994b), the subjective vitality questionnaire developed by Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal (1981, as cited in Allard and Landry, 1994b) only sampled the *general* component of a person's belief (described below); therefore, it could not be expected to be a reliable predictor of actual communicative behaviors. Allard and Landry base their Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire on cognitive orientation theory (Kreitler & Kreitler, 1972, 1976, 1982, as cited in Allard and Landry, 1994b, p. 124). Kreitler and Kreitler classified the beliefs that better serve to predict behavior into four types (See Figure 1.1): *general beliefs* refer to "the relative vitality of ethnolinguistic groups" and include present vitality, future vitality, and social models; *normative beliefs* are those "pertaining to what *should* exist as regards the vitality situation," i.e., legitimate vitality; *personal beliefs* are "about respondents' present behavior or situation" and include valorization, belongingness, and personal efficacy; and *goal beliefs* are "about respondents' own desires to behave in certain ways regarding key aspects of vitality," i.e., goals and desires (as cited in Harwood et al., 1994, p. 177). Allard and Landry used four subscales to measure these beliefs, as can be seen in Figure 1.1.

Various studies (Bourhis & Sachdev, 1984; Giles et al., 1985; Giles & Johnson, 1987; Sachdev, Bourhis, & D'Eye, 1987; Kraemer & Olshtain, 1989; Pierson, 1994; Ytsma, Viladot, & Giles, 1994; Currie & Hogg, 1994) have used the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ) to measure vitality perceptions. The SVQ and the BEVQ have been shown to be successful in predicting language behavior. However, the predictive validity of the BEVQ is much higher (Allard & Landry, 1994a, p. 10). Harwood et al. (1994) affirm the predictive validity of the

BEVQ. They unequivocally state, “The program of research undertaken by Landry and Allard with francophones across Canada has shown that the BEVQ can serve as a reliable predictor of a broad range of ethnolinguistic behaviors including language attitudes, language use, and additive and subtractive bilingualism” (Harwood et al., 1994, p. 179).

2.2.3.2 Reliability of the BEVQ

“Basically, reliability is the degree to which a test consistently measures whatever it measures. The more reliable a test is, the more confidence we can have that scores obtained from the administration of the test are essentially the same scores that would be obtained if the test were re-administered” (Gay, 1996, pp. 144–5).

Allard and Landry (2001) report the following reliability coefficients (Cronbach’s alpha) for the scales of the BEVQ:

Figure 2.1. Reproduction of Allard and Landry's Table Showing the Internal Consistency of the French-language Version of the BEVQ Scales

Internal Consistency of the BEVQ Scales

Table 1

Alpha coefficients[1] for 12 item, 8 item, and 4 item versions of the 8 scales of the French-language version of the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ) by Allard and Landry.

French-language BEVQ subscales	**Alphas for subscales with all 12 Items**	**Alphas with 8 items retained:** 1,3,4,6,7,9,11,12	**Alphas with 4 items retained:** 3,4,9,12
1. Present Vitality (English)	.85	.85	.75
Present Vitality (French)	.86	.84	.70
2. Future Vitality (English)	.89	.88	.79
Future Vitality (French)	.91	.89	.82
3. Legitimate Vitality (English)	.89	.89	.78
Legitimate Vitality (French)	.89	.88	.79
4. Social Models (English)	.88	.81	.75
Social Models (French)	.91	.86	.81
5. Valorization (English)	.89	.87	.79
Valorization (French)	.91	.89	.82
6. Goals (English)	.93	.92	.84
Goals (French)	.94	.92	.86
7. Personal Efficacy (English)	.94	.91	.88
Personal Efficacy (French)	.95	.92	.88
8. Belongingness (English)	.92	.88	.82
Belongingness (French)	.91	.86	.77

[1]These alpha coefficients were obtained following the administration of the French-language version of the BEVQ to a sample of 553 Grade 12 Francophone minority students in the provinces of New-Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island in Canada.

Note. From *Notes to Users of the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire* (p. 3), by Réal Allard and Rodrigue Landry, personal e-mail communication, December 20, 2001. (See Appendix G.) Reproduced with permission.

Figure 2.1 shows that the BEVQ is a reliable instrument. The majority of reliability coefficients are .8 or above. Because the four-item version of the **present vitality** subscale had the lowest reliability coefficient, I decided to use the eight-item form for this subscale and the four-item form for all other subscales in my translated and adapted version.

In this section, the validity and reliability of the BEV construct and the BEVQ instrument have been established. This instrument is one of Allard and Landry's most significant contributions to research on ethnolinguistic vitality.

2.2.4 Procedure

All the questionnaires were orally administered. They contained a total of 171 questions, in addition to those designed to elicit background information from the participant. It took approximately 45 minutes to complete all the questionnaires, which assessed socio-psychological and psychological factors as well as the extent to which the respondent's use of Spanish and/or Quichua approached a standardized variety.

First, I went to Otavalo to study the Quicha language, establish contacts, obtain demographic information, and conduct the elite interviews. During that time, I was able to meet different Indigenous leaders. Rumiñahui Anrango, who was an active participant in various projects with Unión de Organizaciones Campesinas e Indígenas de Cotacachi–UNORCAC (Union of Peasant and Indigenous Organizations of Cotacachi) and who was also the son of Indigenous leader Alberto Anrango, helped me to make contact with the president of the community of Morocho, who held a meeting with all of the residents of Morocho and asked them to participate in the project. The community was thrilled to be the focus of a study and

responded willingly. Rumiñahui Anrango was well received because of his involvement in many community-based projects.

I was also assisted in my field research in Otavalo and Morocho by Amanda Méndez, a bilingual *Mestiza*—a female of mixed-race, as opposed to one who was fully Indigenous—who had been raised in a predominantly Indigenous community, had interacted with the Indigenous, and had learned the Quichua language as a young child. She had also lived in Otavalo and Cotacachi, so she was well known to the inhabitants of that area. In Otavalo, she and I went to the different neighborhoods looking for Indigenous participants who were between 18 and 25 years old.

I wanted to allow participants to use the language they felt most comfortable speaking, either Spanish or Quichua. Therefore, I first translated the questionnaires from English into Spanish, and one of my classmates at the University of Pittsburgh, Armando Muyulema, who was a balanced Spanish/Quichua bilingual, checked this translation to make sure it was culturally relevant for Quichua speakers. Then, one of my assistants, Amanda Méndez, who was also a balanced Spanish/Quichua bilingual, translated these questionnaires into Quichua. This translation was double-checked by Rumiñahui Anrango, a native speaker of Quichua who was a resident of the Cotacachi *cantón*. He spoke the same regional dialect as the study participants and was also fluent in Spanish. Participants could choose whether to address their responses to me, a native speaker of Spanish, or to one of the native speakers of Quichua who were helping me administer the questionnaire. I considered the language the participants chose to speak in responding to the questionnaire to be another significant indicator of their proficiency in that language.

The questionnaires were administered mostly after work, either in late afternoon or on weekends, in an attempt to encounter a more representative sample of the population. Some

inhabitants of Otavalo and Morocho work in other towns and cities and return either in the afternoon or on weekends.

In Otavalo, I administered the questionnaire to some of the respondents, but my assistant Amanda Méndez administered it to most of them. In Morocho, most of the participants chose to respond in Quichua, so both of my assistants, Rumiñahui Anrango and Amanda Méndez, administered the questionnaire there. I helped them locate participants who were in the age group needed. Each of the three questionnaire administrators had a different ethnic identity—I was a seen as a *Blanca Mestiza*[5] and a foreigner in that community who had basic knowledge of Quichua; Amanda Méndez was seen as a *Mestiza* and a fluent bilingual speaker who was a resident of a neighboring area; and Rumiñahui Anrango was seen as an *Indígena* who was a fluent bilingual speaker and also a resident of the area. Therefore, each of us was assigned a code so that I would later be able to determine whether the identity of the person administering the questionnaire had made any difference in the results.

Prior to conducting the research, I provided a training session to my assistants to go over how to administer the questionnaire. I administered it to them separately, and then they administered it to each other. Finally, we gave the questionnaire to a group of people from another community. The main idea was to give my assistants experience with each and every question, and to make sure they understood each one thoroughly and could help the respondents without leading them or giving any type of direction to their answers. I was able to listen to many of the questionnaire sessions in this preliminary round and to clarify any doubts or concerns.

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[5] The designation *Blanca Mestiza* tends to be given to a person whose features seem to indicate European ancestry and/or whose cultural orientation is more closely aligned with a Western worldview than that of someone who is simply called *Mestiza*. However, the distinction is not simply a racial/racist one. For a more detailed explanation, see section 3.4, Cultural Capital.

The questionnaire was administered orally because of the varying levels of literacy—and even a certain percentage of illiteracy—within the population. Administering the questionnaire orally allowed us to create a more relaxed and conversational environment. It also allowed us to pursue clarification when a participant seemed not to have fully understood the question, or when a participant's answer seemed not to correspond to the question or to the Likert scale number the participant had selected.

2.2.5 Scoring of Results

2.2.5.1 Scoring of Socio-Psychological Factors

Scoring for the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts (INLC) Questionnaire was calculated by averaging each respondent's scores on the following indices: 1) **proportion in network**, 2) **frequency of contacts**, 3) **quality of contacts**, and 4) **stability of contacts**. This procedure was followed for each language, Spanish and Quichua.

Scoring for Linguistic Contacts Through Education (LCE) was calculated by averaging each respondent's scores on the following indices: 1) **teaching in class**, 2) **teachers outside class**, 3) **students outside class**, 4) **school materials**, 5) **culture & sports**, 6) **communications**, and 7) **language of students.** Likert scales for these indices featured Spanish on one end and Quichua on the other.

Scoring for Linguistic Contacts Through Media (LCM) was calculated by averaging each respondent's scores on the following indices: 1) **television programs**, 2) **radio programs**, 3) **movies**, 4) **music**, 5) **newspapers**, 6) **magazines**, 7) **books at home**, 8) **plays and concerts**, 9)

road signs, 10) **signs inside stores**, and 11) **signs outside stores**. This procedure was followed for each language, Spanish and Quichua.

2.2.5.2 Scoring of Psychological Factors

Scoring for the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality questionnaires was calculated by averaging each respondent's scores on the following indices: 1) **present vitality**, 2) **future vitality**, 3) **social models**, 4) **legitimate vitality**, 5) **valorization**, 6) **belongingness**, 7) **personal efficacy**, and 8) **goals and desires** (See Figure 2.1).

Then, the first three—present vitality, future vitality, and social models—were combined to determine both exocentric and factual beliefs, while legitimate vitality was used as an indicator of both exocentric and desired beliefs. Valorization, belongingness, and personal efficacy were combined to determine both egocentric and factual beliefs, while the goals and desires index was used as an indicator of both egocentric and desired beliefs.

Subsequently, exocentric and factual beliefs—i.e., present vitality, future vitality, and social models—were combined with and exocentric and desired beliefs— i.e., legitimate vitality—to provide a comprehensive view of the non-self or exocentric beliefs. The same procedure was followed with egocentric and factual beliefs—i.e., valorization, belongingness, and personal efficacy—to combine them with egocentric and desired beliefs—i.e., goals and desires—to provide a comprehensive view of the self or egocentric beliefs

Finally, all the different subcategories were scored together to provide a comprehensive score for Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality.

2.3 QUALITATIVE PART

2.3.1 Rationale for Conducting Elite Interviews

I conducted six elite interviews for the qualitative part of the study while doing my field research in the city of Otavalo and the community of Morocho in the summer of 2002. By elite interviews, I mean "discussions with people who are chosen because of who they are or what position they occupy. That is, by 'elite' I do not necessarily mean someone of high social, economic, or political standing; the term indicates a person who is chosen by name or position for a particular reason" (Hochschild, 2005, ¶ 1).

I went about finding these six interviewees by talking to several people from the city of Otavalo and the community of Morocho and asking them if they might be able to give me the names of some of the most respected Indigenous leaders in the region in different areas of expertise. Additionally, my assistants in administering the questionnaires for the quantitative part of the study put their heads together to come up with some of these names and then helped me to contact some of them.

I chose to interview Indigenous leaders to gain a better understanding of how the Indigenous leadership views the situation of the Indigenous peoples and the country. I wanted to be able to look at certain topics from different positions—my position as an outsider, the respondents to the questionnaires as ordinary people, and the Indigenous leaders as guides and sages for their group.

These Indigenous leaders were also able to provide different perspectives on different issues. They had different areas of expertise (i.e. education, human rights, economics, etc.), and a range of titles (from union trustee to mayor of the municipality). They all had experience in

community work, but some also had experience with organizations that serve as intermediaries between Indigenous communities and governmental institutions; others had experience with local, regional, or national organizations.

The interviews often took on a life of their own, depending on the background of the interviewee. Nevertheless, I tried to cover the following areas with most of them:

- Ecuadorian society and its relationship to the Indigenous peoples;
- The economic situation of the Indigenous peoples;
- The political situation of the Indigenous peoples;
- The most important symbols of identity for the Indigenous peoples;
- The use of Quichua in different domains; and
- The role of bilingual education for the Indigenous (and other aspects of bilingual education).

2.3.2 Participants in Elite Interviews and Their Affiliations

Luis Alberto Anrango Bonilla is an Indigenous Kichwa from Cotacachi, Imbabura. He is the former National Director of the Dirección Nacional de Educación Indígena Intercultural Bilingüe–DINEIIB (Department of Indigenous Intercultural Bilingual Education), and the current National Director of Defensa de los Pueblos Indígenas (Defense of the Indigenous Peoples).

DINEIIB is a quasi-governmental organization that is part of the Ministry of Education; at the same time, it is composed of members of the Ministry of Education and representatives of the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador–CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nations of Ecuador). “DINEIIB was created to administer the education system in

areas in which the population is more than half Indigenous" (Hornberger & King, 1996, p. 430). According to the Ecuadorian Constitution, one third of the education budget is earmarked for bilingual education; this portion is to be administered by DINEIIB, which is a decentralized institution that is managed by and for the Indigenous. Its main goals are to improve the quality of life of the Indigenous peoples and nations, and to build a plurinational and multilingual society through intercultural bilingual education and the involvement of the Indigenous communities. DINEIIB offers pre-school, elementary, and secondary education, as well as technical and university education. It provides training for schoolteachers in pedagogical institutes and in other areas as well. DINEIIB has its own personnel for the production of bilingual and Quichua teaching materials. It has 18 provincial offices and six offices for Indigenous nations.

Defense of the Indigenous Peoples is an organization that exerts pressure on the government to ensure that Agreement 169 of the World Labor Organization is enforced to protect the rights of the Indigenous peoples and to ban discrimination. It works in conjunction with the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, which has created a permanent Latin American forum against racial discrimination.

Luz Maria de la Torre is an Indigenous Kichwa from San Pablo del Lago, Imbabura. She studied linguistics in France at the Université René Descartes, and later in Ecuador, where she earned her B.A. in applied linguistics with a major in Quichua from the Universidad Católica del Ecuador. Later on, she earned a master's degree in political science from the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) – sede Ecuador.

She has been a Quichua language and culture teacher at various universities in Ecuador, Canada, and the United States. She has translated documents, materials, and books from Spanish, English, and French to Quichua. Not only has she been a consultant on Indigenous affairs for various nongovernmental organizations, she has written many books and articles about

Indigenous philosophy, culture, oral traditions, etc. She has worked for many years to promote bilingual education and Indigenous rights, and has been President of the National Indigenous Women's Council of Ecuador. Now she works in the Center for Indigenous Language and Policy on Latin America as Assistant Director and Professor of Quichua language and culture at Arizona State University.

Alfonso Morales is an Indigenous Kichwa from Cotacachi, Imbabura. He is a council representative for the municipality of Cotacachi, and a trustee of the Unión de Organizaciones Campesinas e Indígenas de Cotacachi–UNORCAC (Union of Peasant and Indigenous Organizations of Cotacachi).

According to its Web site, UNORCAC is a nonprofit organization comprising 41 peasant, Indigenous, and Mestizo communities. It is an organization that mediates between community organizations in the Andean zone of Cotacachi *cantón* in Imbabura province and governmental institutions at the local, regional, and national levels (Union of Peasant and Indigenous Organizations of Cotacachi [UNORCAC], n.d., Section 1: ¿Quienes somos?, ¶ 1).

UNORCAC spearheads community development in the 41 communities of Cotacachi, giving these communities a voice and serving as a bridge between the communities and the national and local governments. UNORCAC promotes unity and solidarity among members of the same and different communities; it also helps maintain and revitalize the values of Indigenous and Mestizo culture. In addition, it trains community members in the areas of sustainable agriculture, handicrafts, and tourism, and also in human, social, and economic development. UNORCAC is affiliated at the provincial level with the Dirección Provincial de Indígenas y Campesinos de Imbabura (Provincial Office of Indigenous and Peasants of Imbabura), and at the national level with the Federación Nacional de Campesinos Negros e Indígenas–FENOCIN (National Federation of Peasant, Black, and Indigenous Peoples).

José Benjamin Muñica is an Indigenous Kichwa from Otavalo, Imbabura. He is Vice President of the Federación Indígena y Campesina de Imbabura–FICI (Indigenous and Peasant Federation of Imbabura).

FICI is an organization that works on behalf of the Indigenous and Peasant communities of Imbabura and fights for the rights of the Indigenous peoples. Some of the main problems the people in this area have dealt with are mistreatment, marginalization, and exploitation. This organization was established in 1974 and was instrumental in the establishment in 1989 of the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador–CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nations of Ecuador), which has become the most important grassroots movement in the Americas.

Humberto Cotacachi is an Indigenous Kichwa from San Pablo del Lago, Imbabura. He has been working on improving the Ecuadorian system of education for 20 years. Since 1992, he has been working specifically to improve bilingual intercultural education, and is the former Regional Director of Bilingual Education for DINEIIB. He is active as a leader in Imbabura province.

Auki Tituaña is an Indigenous Kichwa from Cotacachi, Imbabura. He studied and earned a degree in economics from the Universidad de la Habana in Cuba. His name has been brought up several times as a possible presidential candidate. He is serving his third term as mayor of Cotacachi. His first two terms were characterized by the creation of an alternative model of local government that emphasized citizen participation, grassroots planning, the elimination of corruption, and self-government on the local level. In his third term, he has continued to develop and strengthen both his government and his service to the public, focusing on three major areas: health, education, and the environment. Cotacachi has won two international awards: the DUBAI

for transparency in government in 2000, and UNESCO's Cities for Peace award in 2002, due in large measure to Mayor Tituaña's successful model of grassroots democracy.

The information gathered from the interviews I conducted was used for the following purposes: (1) to triangulate this qualitative data with the quantitative data part of the study; (2) to better understand how these Indigenous leaders perceive the political and economic situation of their own ethnic group and other related aspects of ethnolinguistic vitality; and (3) to contrast the viewpoints of common residents of these two communities with those of their leaders.

3.0 CHAPTER 3. SOCIOLOGICAL LEVEL: OVERVIEW OF THE ECUADORIAN CONTEXT

Ethnic identity is at the heart of the issue of mobilization among the Indigenous peoples of the Ecuadorian highlands, according to Fredrikke Storaker Kilander: "Group consciousness is developed through social interaction, and according to [Fredrik] Barth only the differences that are seen by group members to be socially relevant become defining characteristics, or criteria for separating the group from others" (2001, p. 9). "Criteria such as language, religion and common history become defining characteristics of an ethnic group as a result of social interaction, boundary-drawing and self-definition" (p. 10). Consequently, Thomas Eriksen states that ethnic revitalization is a defensive reaction to cultural homogenization (as cited in Storaker Kilander, 2001, p. 14). Indigenous demands for basic infrastructure in their communities, for the return of land to Indigenous communities, for the right to a bilingual education, and for recognition as a multinational and multilingual state in the Constitution of Ecuador (CONAIE, 2000) are some of the ways in which Indigenous groups in Ecuador have exerted their right to be different.

It is indeed empowering for an Indigenous group to have a high degree of concentration within a territory, which facilitates the ability of its members to interact, to form networks and organizations, to use their language, and to develop the capacity to demand that the larger society respond to their needs.

In this chapter, four of the categories set forth by Allard and Landry (1987) will be addressed. These categories correspond to conditions that are required for ethnolinguistic vitality at the sociological level: 1) demographic capital, 2) political capital, 3) economic capital, and 4) cultural capital. By examining these different categories, one can determine whether or not a group has high ethnolinguistic vitality.

3.1 DEMOGRAPHIC CAPITAL

Demographic capital refers to "the total population of the group, and its concentration and distribution over a territory" (Hamers & Blanc, 2000, p. 383). The number of mixed marriages, the birth rate, and patterns of immigration and emigration are all relevant variables in determining the demographic capital of a particular group (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). In this section, I will first provide an overview of the demographic capital of the entire population of Ecuador, and show how the Indigenous population fits into this context. Second, I will provide demographic information pertinent to the *cantones* (municipalities) of Otavalo and Cotacachi, and finally, I will provide demographic information that is pertinent to the specific communities in both of the *cantones* that were studied—the city of Otavalo and the rural community of Morocho, respectively.

3.1.1 Demographic Capital in Ecuador

By the year 2001, Ecuador had an estimated population of 12,456,608. Its ethnic group composition was 65 percent Mestizo (people of mixed racial ancestry, especially mixed

European and Indigenous ancestry), 25 percent Indigenous, 7 percent Spanish and other ancestry, and 3 percent African Ecuadorians (GoEcuador.com, n.d., p.1)

Although GoEcuador.com (n.d.) states that Indigenous peoples represent 25 percent of the entire population, it is worth noting that the proportion of Amerindians reported in the population varies according to the source. The Ecuadorian Ministerio de Educación (Ministry of Education) states that 20 percent of the country's overall population is Indigenous (von Gleich, 1994, p. 95), while the Inter-American Development Bank (BID) maintains that as much as 40 percent of the population is Indigenous (von Gleich, 1990). Luis Macas, former President of the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador–CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador), concurs with the statistics provided by the BID, whereas Enrique Ayala Mora, historian and member of the Ecuadorian Partido Socialista (Socialist Party), claims that only 9 percent of the country's population is Indigenous (1998). However, some believe this lower percentage is being used as a political tool to minimize the social and political strength of the Indigenous peoples (Armando Muyulema, personal communication, April 2, 2002). The difficulty of accurately estimating the population is further complicated by the problem of definition: that is, how the term *Indigenous* is conceptualized, and who has the right to define it in the first place. For the purposes of this dissertation, GoEcuador.com (n.d.) estimates will be used.

The Indigenous population comprises 11 Indigenous nations that are distributed throughout the Ecuadorian territory, each with its own language. On the Pacific Coast live the Awa, the Chachi, and the Tsáchila; in the Sierra Highlands as well as in the Amazon Basin live

the Kichwa[6], and also in the Amazon Basin live the Cofán, the Siona-Secoya, the Shuar, the Achuar, and the Huaorani. Despite this apparent diversity, approximately 3,060,000 Amerindians, representing 90 percent of the entire Indigenous population, are Kichwa; the other ten Indigenous nations make up the remaining 10 percent (Haboud, 1998).

3.1.2 Demographics of Quechua/Quichua

Quechua refers to the language in general, whereas *Quichua* refers exclusively to the Ecuadorian dialect. Quechua is spoken throughout the Andes, from the southern part of Colombia to the northern part of Argentina and Chile. Quechua speakers are concentrated mainly in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia (Cerrón-Palomino, 1980). The total number of Quechua speakers in all the Andean territories is thought to be between 7 million and 11 million (Manelis, Klein, & Stark, 1985). They represent about 25 percent of the approximately 40 million Indigenous who live in the Americas. Consequently, the Quechua language is the Indigenous language most extensively spoken in the Americas (Hornberger & King, 2001). In Ecuador, Quichua is spoken in the Amazon Basin, which is located in the eastern part of the country, and in all the provinces of the Sierra Highlands, which are located in the central part of the country.

3.1.3 Demographics of Otavalo and Cotacachi

In Imbabura, a province in the highlands, live three main Indigenous groups: Otavalos, Natabuelas, and Caranquis. All of them together number about 70,000 ("Otavalos," n.d., ¶ 1).

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[6] Consistent with the use of this term by the key Indigenous organizations in the region, I use *Kichwa* to refer to the name of the Indigenous group, and *Quichua* to refer to the name of their language.

Otavalo *cantón* (municipality) is located in Imbabura province. The population of Otavalo *cantón*, including its urban and its rural areas, numbers 90,188 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos de Ecuador [INEC] [2001(a)], n.d., Población total, Otavalo). Most Indigenous Otavalos live not in the city of Otavalo, but in 75 communities spread throughout a valley surrounded by the *Taita* (Father) Imbabura and *Mama* (Mother) Cotacachi volcanoes (Meisch, 2002). Other Indigenous Otavalos live in Cotacachi, Ibarra, Quito, and other cities inside and outside Ecuador.

Cotacachi *cantón* is also located in Imbabura province. According to the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, "Cotacachi, Ecuador has a population of 33,250 inhabitants and is an urban-rural municipality composed of indigenous peoples (60%), mestizos (38%) and afro-Ecuadorians (2%)" (n.d., Section 1: Cotacachi, Ecuador: Children and youth as partners for local management, ¶ 1). However, according to Ecuador's Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, the population of Cotacachi *cantón*, including its urban and its rural areas, numbers 37,215 (INEC [2001(a)], n.d., Población total, Cotacachi). This total includes Indigenous—who represent 60 percent of the entire population—as well as Mestizos and Blacks. The town of Cotacachi has about 7,300 inhabitants, and its suburbs have about 5,000. There are 4,000 inhabitants living in the capitals of the parishes, whereas the rest of the population lives spread throughout rural areas all through the Andean highlands and the subtropical zone. Demographic growth in Cotacachi *cantón*, in both rural and urban areas, is below the national average. When Auki Tituaña was elected mayor of the city of Cotacachi in 1996, he implemented a "best practices" program developed by the United Nations to stem the tide of emigration, and address the poor living conditions that had left 80 percent of the population living below the poverty line ("Democratización de la gestión municipal," 2000, Section 1: Descripción; Part 1: La situación antes de la iniciativa, ¶ 1).

Otavalo *cantón* has experienced a rapid population increase in comparison with Cotacachi *cantón* and with the country as a whole. The population of Ecuador has increased by 29.9 percent: In the 1990 census, the figure is 9,589,514; in the 2001 census, it is 12,456,608. The population of Cotacachi *cantón* shows an increase of 11.9 percent: In the 1990 census, it is 33,250; in the 2001 census, it is 37,215. The population of Otavalo *cantón*, on the other hand, shows an increase of 62.4 percent: In the 1990 census, it is 56,286; in the 2001 census, it is 90,188. These figures appear even more striking when we compare the number of inhabitants with the size of the territory. Otavalo *cantón* has 90,188 inhabitants (INEC [2001(b)], n.d., Otavalo cantón; Tablas; 01. Población cantonal) in a territory of 528 square kilometers (Otavalo, 2002, Datos informativos, Límites, Superficie), whereas Cotacachi *cantón* has only 37,215 inhabitants (INEC [2001(b)], n.d., Cotacachi cantón; Tablas; 01. Población cantonal) in a territory of 1,809 square kilometers (Cotacachi the canton, Earth of the Sun, n.d., Information, General data of the Cotacachi canton, ¶ 2), an area more than three times as large as Otavalo *cantón*.

It is worth noting that whereas the town of Otavalo, located in Otavalo *cantón*, has a diversified population with a strong presence of national and international visitors, Morocho, located in Cotacachi *cantón*, is a more insular community with a predominantly Indigenous population. Although no statistics could be found on the number of endogamic and exogamic marriages, all the participants in this study in Morocho had an Indigenous father and mother. In Otavalo, the same results were observed, except that the father of one participant was Mestizo. It may thus be concluded that in most cases the Indigenous marry within their own ethnic group.

The distribution of the population in Imbabura province has changed radically. In 1962, 27 percent of the population lived in urban areas and 73 percent lived in rural areas. By the year 2001, the urban population had increased to 50 percent and the rural population had decreased to

50 percent (INEC [2001(c)], n.d., Evolución de la población urbana y rural, censo 1950-2001 – Imbabura).

3.1.4 Changing Demographics

Countrywide, the rural population has been forced to leave rural communities due to lack of employment and the impossibility of making a living from agriculture alone. Some Indigenous have moved to urban areas and become assimilated into the dominant Mestizo society; others have remained in rural areas and maintained their distinct identity. In Morocho, it was observed that many households had one member who had had to supplement the family's agricultural activities by looking for work in the area or in larger cities within Ecuador, although in both cases, depending on how far away the individual had to go, he or she returned to the community either after work or on weekends. A similar pattern was observed in Otavalo, where many of the Otavalos migrated to other parts of the country—but mostly outside it—to sell their own and other groups' handicrafts and to play music, yet still maintained a connection to the community and returned frequently.

Whereas demographic capital is a significant factor for ethnolinguistic vitality and language maintenance in the Ecuadorian context, contemporary political capital might prove to be at least as significant.

3.2 POLITICAL CAPITAL

Political capital refers to the degree of political participation of the group's members, the number of governmental functions and services provided to the community in its own language, respect for language rights, and governmental policies favorable to the community.

According to Marleen Haboud (1998) and Armando Muyulema (personal communication, April 2, 2002), the political situation may be the most influential factor determining language behavior in Ecuador. Furthermore, John Edwards establishes the "history and background of the group" as an important variable in understanding a minority language situation (as cited in Fase et al., 1992, p. 50).

3.2.1 The Indigenous Movement in Ecuador

It is important to understand the process of subjugation the Indigenous peoples have experienced and the mechanisms of resistance they have used, in Donna Lee Van Cott's (1996) words, "to persist into the 20th century as coherent social collectivities, providing contemporary social movements with a basis upon which to construct political identities" (p. 2).

The Indigenous movement in Ecuador has a long history, which began with the first rebellions against the Spanish conquest. This movement is the result of a long history of exclusion and oppression. Early leaders of rebellions included Rumiñahui, who directed the resistance to the Spanish invasion of 1535, and Jumandí, who led the rebellion of the Indigenous peoples of the Amazonian region in 1578. During the Republican period, in 1872, Fernando Daquilema started an uprising throughout the Chimborazo province in the central mountain region of the country against the conservative government of Gabriel García Moreno. Later,

during the early 20th century, Indigenous peoples from different regions of the country began to collaborate. During the first part of the 20th century, women took a leadership role in organizing resistance. Dolores Cacuango and Tránsito Amaguaña started the first agricultural union, which led to the first peasant strike in 1944. They also participated in the foundation of the Federación Ecuatoriana de Indios (Ecuadorian Indigenous Federation), and founded peasant schools where subjects were taught in Quichua. For this, they were persecuted and jailed (Lucas, 2004, Archivo: p. 16, Section 12: ¶ 1).

Half a century went by before the Indigenous movement burst onto the national scene. In 1989, Ecuadorian Indigenous united in the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de Ecuador–CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador), thereby increasing their clout. In June of 1990, this confederation carried out the biggest uprising in Ecuadorian history. They seized the highways and went into the *latifundios* (plantations). They held off the army, thereby preventing the *latifundistas* (plantation owners) from taking their products to market. They took control of public offices and initiated non-violent protests. According to Utta von Gleich, "The Ecuadorian ethnolinguistic communities [are] a unique phenomenon in the continent" (1994, p. 96). In an immediate response aimed at defending the large landowners, the army occupied the streets and invaded various communities. They beat and shot at the Indigenous, despite Partido Izquierda Democrática (Social–Democratic Party) President Rodrigo Borja's openness to dialogue.

Ecuador's return to democracy after ten years of military dictatorship prompted politicians to re-evaluate the role Indigenous peoples had played in Ecuadorian society. In 1979, "Jaime Roldós was sworn in as Ecuador's elected President. He made his first speech to the National Congress in Kichwa [Quichua]" (Saavedra, 2003, Section 1, ¶ 1).

The uprising of 1990, in addition to its symbolic value in signaling the emergence into modern politics of the Indigenous peoples, produced an internal shake-up in the armed forces. The officials and troops with more connections to the community began to approach the Indigenous through social assistance.

In October of 1992, rather than celebrating the quincentennial of the arrival of Columbus in America, the Indigenous peoples adopted the slogan "No bailaremos sobre la tumba de nuestros abuelos" (We will not dance on the tombs of our grandparents) (Lucas, 2000, p. 27). Groups of Indigenous peoples marched to Quito from different parts of the country to remind the country that they had marshalled "500 years of Indigenous resistance."

Since then, the Ecuadorian Indigenous movement has become the most influential social movement in Ecuador and one of the most well organized in Latin America. It has been the only movement capable of completely paralyzing the entire country from one day to the next. Miguel Lluco, a leader in the Indigenous movement, proclaims the viability of pluralism and diversity in Ecuador, which was widely recognized only when the Indigenous movement became an important force in the sociopolitical life of the country (Lucas, 2000, p. 18).

In the last ten years, there have been two military-Indigenous coups that have toppled democratically elected presidents: Abdala Bucaram in 1997, and Jamil Mahuad in 1999. That the Indigenous movement has shown great strength, due primarily to its remarkable unity, is undeniable. For instance, at the end of 1997, the Asamblea Nacional Constituyente, or Constitutional Congress, called on the Indigenous peoples to reform the Ecuadorian Constitution. Ten thousand Indigenous, from all different parts of the country, came to Quito to draft, together with other sectors of society, a new version of the constitution that was to include amendments guaranteeing the rights of Indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian citizens. The main demands of the Indigenous movement centered on access to land, a decrease in agro-industry and transportation

prices, and a reduction in property taxes. In addition, the Indigenous community successfully petitioned to amend the first article of Ecuador's constitution. The new constitution proclaims the country a multi-nation and multicultural state. The proposal brought by CONAIE to the Constitutional Congress allows for the democratic election of representatives from the *parroquias* (parishes), *cantones*, and provincial governments and also gives the Indigenous peoples more influence at the national level (Gerlach, 2003).

> "The new Constitution establishes special electoral districts for Indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian communities corresponding to newly recognized, self-governing Indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian territories. Autonomous functions that Indigenous authorities may exercise include the administration of Indigenous justice systems and the formulation and execution of economic development plans. The constitution is ambiguous with respect to whether the ethnic territories will constitute a separate level of government, whether they correspond to a specific sub-national level… or whether they may correspond to multiple levels" (Van Cott, 1996, p. 11).

According to Robert Andolina, their demands can be seen as a way to "end the colonial relations between the state and the Indigenous people without creating separate states" (as cited in Van Cott, 1996, p. 1).

Kendall King (1997) argues that the core of Indigenous philosophy is based on the principles of *indigenismo*, which became known through the Mexican Revolution of 1911 and later surfaced in Ecuador during the 1960s. Indigenismo purports to be "a social and political philosophy which emphasizes Indigenous self-determination, collective ownership of the land, and the strengthening of Indigenous languages and cultures" (King, p. 31–32).

The grassroots movement in Ecuador must be seen not as a sudden reaction to recent events, but rather as a movement that has gained force over time. The Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas (CONAIE) created the Movimiento de Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik–Nuevo País (The Pachakutik Pluri-national Unity Movement–New Nation), a political party that, at least initially, fostered political participation among the Indigenous. The

unprecedented Indigenous representation at the time President Lucio Gutiérrez took office in 2003 confirms this view. Lucio Gutiérrez won the presidential elections due mainly to the support of the Pachakutik party. For the first time in the nation's history, four Indigenous congressmen and seven Indigenous mayors were elected as representatives by popular vote. There were also a number of other Indigenous elected officials holding office throughout the country, such as ministers, town and city councilors, etc. (Gerlach, 2003).

However, there were many disagreements between the Pachakutik party and President Gutiérrez, which led to his ouster in 2005. The Pachakutik party disapproved of the President's neoliberal politics and his subservient attitude toward the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The coalition broke up, and the Indigenous leaders resigned their positions in the government. The Indigenous opposed neoliberalism because it limited the nation's autonomy and resulted in the privatization of strategic services and resources such as electricity, water, and petroleum, as well as in the interference of the IMF in national economic policies.

Nevertheless, some believe that neoliberalism is not inherently antagonistic to Indigenous rights. Although it is often depicted as a doctrine of free markets and individual rights, its proponents can nevertheless concede multiculturalism rights to ethnic groups without sacrificing a neoliberal agenda. Some scholars argue that many neoliberal governments have met Indigenous demands for self-determination, revealing yet another facet of neoliberalism. "Ironically, as Warren observes, in the 1990s decentralization—part of the neoliberal policy package—appears to have become an alternative route to the realization of Indigenous movements' aspiration for autonomy within the state" (as cited in Van Cott, 1996, p. 5). At this point, the strength of the Indigenous presence in President Rafael Correa's government—which came to power in 2007—is unclear. Neverthess, it is undeniable that the Indigenous movement is solid.

3.2.2 Local Political Organizations and Representatives

Most of the main leaders from CONAIE are Kichwas. Some of these leaders are from Imbabura, such as Representante de Relaciones Internacionales (External Affairs Officer) Blanca Chancoso and Representante de Tierras (Lands Officer) Manuel Cabascango. According to Mario Cabrera, Director of the organization Ecuador Runacunapac Riccharimui/Confederación de Pueblos de la Nacionalidad Kichwa del Ecuador–ECUARUNARI (Confederation of the Kichwa Peoples of Ecuador) in the province of Azuay, Otavalos are one of the "pillars of the Indigenous movement" (as cited in Storaker Kilander, 2001, p. 50). Furthermore, Imbabura has its own local organization, Imbabura Runacunapac Jatun Tantanacui, a.k.a. Federación Indígena y Campesina de Imbabura, or INRUJTA–FICI (Indigenous and Peasant Federation of Imbabura), from which the CONAIE was formed. This organization pursues objectives that include strengthening communal governments and institutions by seeking greater representation and more opportunities to express their needs and aspirations. This federation also maintains connections with different groups that include international, nongovernmental, and Indigenous organizations (INRUJTA–FICI, n.d., ¶ 8).

Imbabura has very distinguished Indigenous leaders such as the following: Nina Pacari, a lawyer who was the first woman to be elected Vice-Presidenta de la Asamblea Nacional (Vice President of Ecuador's National Assembly) and later Ministra de Relaciones Exteriores (Foreign Minister); Luis Maldonado, the former Ministro de Bienestar Social (Minister of Social Welfare); Mario Conejo, the Alcalde (Mayor) of Otavalo, who was elected to a second term; and Auki Tituaña, the Alcalde (Mayor) of Cotacachi, who was elected to a third term.

In Morocho, Cotacachi, the primary institutions of the community are *El Cabildo* (Town Council), *El Teniente Político* (Political Deputy), and *La Junta de Aguas* (Water Committee).

The main sociopolitical and economic activities in Morocho are *las mingas* (cooperative community work based on reciprocity) and the assemblies. All of the members of the community participate in both of these events on a weekly basis. The meetings are held in Quichua and Spanish.

The use of Quichua and Spanish in the Ecuadorian highlands was the focus of Thomas Büttner's (1993) study, which examined preferences for language use in various domains among the Kichwas of several provinces. He does not offer individual figures by community or city, but in general terms finds that 76.4 percent of the Kichwas in Imbabura prefer using Quichua in the *minga*, 73.3 percent prefer to use it in the assembly, and 17.5 percent in religious settings. The province of Imbabura is second only to the province of Chimborazo in the proportion of its population that reports a preference for the use of Quichua in the political domain. Büttner's study showed that the Indigenous prefer to speak Quichua in the political domain in their community. However, it has been difficult for the Indigenous to exert the right to speak their language when they are in the presence of Mestizo people.

Indigenous leaders in the city of Otavalo stated that the language in which they conduct a meeting or sustain a conversation is determined by who is participating; if there is at least one Mestizo present, they speak Spanish. However, they said that this practice is changing and there is a greater tendency to use Quichua even if Mestizos are present. The Indigenous value these efforts to accommodate Quichua in the political domain.

In the Ecuadorian context, progressive policies might be in place; however, they will not gain momentum without the support of economic capital. Furthermore, demographic capital is very closely related to economic capital; for example, a self-sufficient rural community with limited resources might have a greater chance of maintaining its language, whereas a rural or urban community with a high degree of migration and contact with the outside world might have

a lesser chance of maintaining its language. Many Indigenous persons are forced to leave their communities to find work in the bigger cities. As a result, the Indigenous are forced to deal with Mestizos and to speak Spanish.

3.3 ECONOMIC CAPITAL

A group's *economic capital* can be inferred from the degree of group members' representation in and control of commercial and industrial institutions, and from the presence of their language in advertising, as much as by the economic situation of group members. As was previously mentioned, many people from rural areas have been forced to seek work elsewhere. Some Indigenous who have moved to urban areas have become assimilated into the dominant Mestizo society, whereas those who have remained in rural areas have tended to maintain their distinct identity.

In Morocho, some men and women have had to move to larger cities in Ecuador to work, mainly as bricklayers and maids, respectively. It is unclear whether those who leave Morocho are able to maintain their connection with the community while they are living elsewhere. Others have had to find work in the surrounding area as day laborers, but return to their communities after work or on weekends. In all these cases, they are barely able to make ends meet in such low-paying jobs, and although they do take money home to their families, they are unable to invest in their community in the way Otavalos have invested in theirs. In contrast, many of the Otavalos who have migrated or traveled inside or outside the country to sell their own and other groups' handicrafts and perform Andean music have maintained a connection with their community by traveling, working, and living with other Otavalos and by returning frequently to

Otavalo. And, even more importantly, the profits from these economic activities are reinvested in the purchase and/or construction of houses, buildings, hotels, restaurants, bus lines, etc., in the Otavalo region, giving the Otavalos a very strong economic position in the region. A Mestizo who owns a language institute and some small businesses in Otavalo showed me all the buildings around the plaza and explained that it has become impossible for non-Indigenous people to buy property in the area; the Indigenous are now the ones who have buying power.

However, "Otavalos of both sexes cope with globalization as knitters, sewers, weavers, merchants, musicians, and small business owners (hotels, bus lines, restaurants, etc.) [and] launch commercial ventures in Otavalo and around the world" (Meisch, 2002, p. 3). Although they have made good use of their knowledge of handicrafts and Andean music, traveling constantly inside and outside the country to sell their products and services, most of them consistently return home and maintain a connection with their community.

3.3.1 Economic Overview

Until the early 1960s, Ecuador was mainly an agrarian society. At the beginning of the century, cacao, coffee, and bananas were the main exports (Microsoft Encarta Online Encyclopedia [MEOE], 2006, Section IV: Economy, ¶ 1). In the early 1960s, oil was discovered in the eastern part of the country. Petroleum brought progress in the areas of education, health, and housing, but the excess funds it brought into the country spurred national consumption, leading to inflation and increased foreign debt (2006, Section I: Introduction, ¶ 4).

In the 1980s and 1990s, the country was hit by the El Niño phenomenon, which caused a great deal of flooding, especially in the coastal provinces. The heavy rains and flooding also put pressure on the oil pipelines, which subsequently ruptured and left the country facing one of the worst currency devaluations in history (MEOE, 2006, Section VI: History, Part H: Economic

stagnation, ¶s 1 & 2). In order to curb this phenomenon, the government replaced the national currency with the U.S. dollar. (2006, Section IV: Economy, Part F: Currency and banking, ¶ 1)

During the six months of Abdalá Bucaram's presidency in 1997, there was a scandal involving mismanagement of federal funds. When Indigenous peoples protested along with other citizens, Bucaram attempted to fracture the Indigenous movement by offering governmental positions and bribes to a number of Indigenous regional leaders. During Jamil Mahuad's presidency in 1999, which lasted less than a year, five banks declared bankruptcy, and, as a result, the financial bourgeoisie benefited from a government bailout that absorbed private bank debts of $3 billion (M-L Communist Party of Ecuador [PCMLE], 2000, Section 1: A society in crisis, ¶ 4). As a consequence of the collapse of the country's financial institutions, the per capita income went from $1,619 a year in 1997 to $1,109 in 1999 (Piedra, n.d., Economic indicators, p. 4), making Ecuador the poorest country in the Andean region. While the Ecuadorian people became poorer, many bankers fled the country to enjoy their fortunes elsewhere.

The Citizens' Network on Essential Services—a nonprofit network that brings together U.S.-based organizations, communities, and individuals working on sustainability issues—listed the following statistics to illustrate a situation it called "nothing less than a social and economic catastrophe":

- Poverty increased to 44% from 38% in 1998;
- GDP fell by 7%;
- Consumer prices rose by nearly 60%;
- Unemployment increased by about 50%;
- Real wages decreased by more than 20%;
- Children between 6 and 15 years of age unable to afford schooling increased to 64% of the eligible population from 50% in 1998;
- Those unable to receive medical attention rose to 70% from 50% in 1998; and
- The value of the sucre fell by two-thirds. Hence, the frozen bank deposits and the valuation of the sucre at 25,000 to the dollar has eroded the real value of wages and the minimal savings of the poor and the middle class (2000, Section II: Background, ¶ 1).

As a consequence of the already weak economy, the crisis of the financial institutions, and the high unemployment rate, many Ecuadorians of various socioeconomic classes and educational levels emigrated from Ecuador to other countries. According to journalist Kintto Lucas, the Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos–INEC (National Institute of Statistics and Census) reveals that between 1999 and 2000, almost a million people—from a total of 12.5 million inhabitants—emigrated from Ecuador. Humanitarian organizations and governmental institutions have calculated that approximately 2.5 million Ecuadorians live abroad, mainly in Spain, the United States, Italy, and other Latin American countries. According to Lucas, the *remesas*—funds sent back to Ecuador by these emigrants—amounted to 1.425 billion dollars in 2002, an amount 15 times greater than foreign investment in the country, and corresponding to 60 percent of oil exports (2002, ¶s 2, 5, & 26).

It is unfortunate that most of this money is being spent either on day-to-day expenses such as rent, food, and medicine, or on durable goods such as cars and household appliances, while only a small amount of capital from these remesas has been invested in sources of employment, such as industry and construction. Nonetheless, according to Alberto Acosta, remesas have played an important role in stabilizing the economy (Lucas, 2002, ¶s 11 & 12). Roberto Ponce Alvarado, a high-ranking official in the Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores (Foreign Ministry) has stated: "Es una grave paradoja que los más pobres estén financiando la recuperación del país mientras los más adinerados tienen sus cuentas en bancos externos y sus fondos no se utilizan con estos fines (It's a grave paradox that the poorest are financing the country's [economic] recovery while the wealthiest have their accounts in foreign banks and their funds aren't contributing to this recovery)" (Quesada, 2003, p. 2).

Since the colonial period, the country's wealth has mainly been in the hands of people of Spanish descent, while the Indigenous peoples, who make up the greater part of the population,

have lived in poverty. According to Nina Pacari (2002), 67 percent of the country's population lives in poverty, and of this, 35 percent live in extreme poverty. She also points out that 90 percent of the rural population is Indigenous and almost all are impoverished (p. 1).

> According to a study by Friedlander (1975 in Tilley 1997:512), the Indian is a "modern fiction" constructed by non-Indian elites "in order to maintain a marginalized and therefore cheap labour force" (as cited in Storaker Kilander, 2001, p. 37).

The bankruptcy of Ecuadorian economic institutions that began in late 1999 resulted in losses for many families—including some who had held fortunes—and altered the socioeconomic configuration of the country. Remesas have provided purchasing power to a number of those who were marginalized, among them many inhabitants of the provinces of Azuay, Cañar, and Loja.

According to Storaker Kilander (2001), in spite of the disadvantaged status of highland Indigenous peoples, "in the last couple of decades Ecuador has witnessed the growth of an Indigenous middle class" (p. 47). It can be added that the "entrepreneur ethic" of Otavalos is "grounded in the virtues of industriousness and independence" (Colloredo-Mansfield, 1999, p. 83). Furthermore, as Les Field asserts, Otavalos have "created a model of Indigenous capitalism and exercised an important influence on the political platform…" (as cited in Storaker Kilander, 2001, p. 50). One could argue that this model has also had an important influence on the ethnic pride of Indigenous peoples.

3.3.2 Economic Situation in the *Cantones* of Otavalo and Cotacachi

As was stated above, the two sites studied were in Imbabura province: the city of Otavalo and the rural community of Morocho, which surrounds it. The province provides a great economic

contrast between the urban area, where the most prominent Kichwa people live, and the rural area, where the poorest and most marginalized inhabitants reside.

In the entire province of Imbabura, 25.8 percent of the population works in agricultural and related activities, 18.1 percent in commerce, 17.1 percent in manufacturing, and 16.8 percent in services (INEC [2001(d)], n.d., Población económicamente activa de 12 años y más, por estructuras porcentuales y tasas de crecimiento, según ramos de actividad económica – Imbabura). As these statistics imply, the main source of labor in Imbabura is the manufacture and sale of handicrafts, which include textiles such as ponchos, sweaters, and tapestries.

The textile industry in this area long predates the colonial period. Carlos Sampat Assadourian (1982) and Chantal Caillavet (1980), among others, have discussed the importance of the *obrajes* (forced labor, particularly in the manufacture of textiles and other goods, that was imposed on the Indigenous peoples during the colonial period) for the economy during that period (as cited in Rivera, 1988, p. 25).

The traditional skills of the people of Otavalo extend beyond handicrafts to encompass business acumen. The Indigenous of Otavalo have made their own way into the economy. They have not depended on government incentives or nongovernmental institutions to help them finance their cottage textile industry. They have not relied on upper or middle class Mestizos as middlemen to market and sell their products. They create partnerships, mainly with their own family members or members of their own ethnic group, finance their own craft production, and find buyers either in local or foreign markets.

Although there are many prominent Kichwas in the city of Otavalo who are economically self-reliant, my observations and my conversations with the people of Morocho indicate that in Cotacachi the main sources of income—leatherwork and agriculture—are mostly in the hands of Mestizos. Therefore, the Indigenous from this area, including Morocho, practice mainly

subsistence agriculture and ranching on small plots of land, but when they need to supplement the family income, they must work at places that require manual laborers, such as *haciendas* (estates); workshops that produce leather goods such as jackets, suitcases, and wallets; and, most recently, greenhouses where flowers are grown for export. In Morocho, cactuses were planted between the land plots to serve as raw material for a sisal bath mitt workshop. However, this workshop has been closed and the project abandoned, leaving the former employees, mainly women, without any cash for the purchase of goods to supplement the limited produce their subsistence farming provides. Consequently, in Morocho, family members have often had to migrate to larger cities, where the men usually work as bricklayers and the women as domestic servants.

While in some households a member of the family has had to migrate, the rest of the family remains in the community and the migrant returns in the evenings or on weekends, depending on the distance. Because its economy has traditionally been based on subsistence agriculture, Morocho has remained quite isolated, with communication between community members taking place mostly in the Quichua language. However, the most recent initiatives, such as the sisal bath mitt workshops and three new hostels, have provided some commercial contact with outside visitors. These hostels are part of an ecotourism project launched with funds provided by an NGO and managed regionally by Indigenous people through an office located in the Otavalo market plaza. This project provides the guests, who are mainly foreigners, with an opportunity to experience day-to-day Indigenous life. At the same time, community members have the opportunity to establish closer relationships with foreigners than with fellow Ecuadorians (Rumiñahui Anrango, personal communication, 2002).

In Otavalo, my 2002 observations indicate that the traditional and tourist markets are by and large run by Indigenous peoples. At the traditional market, locals buy and sell animals,

vegetables, fruit, and meat, as well as dye, yarn, and parts for their looms. These products are mainly targeted to the local market, as well as to people from such places as the city of Cotacachi and the community of Morocho, who frequent this market for its wide variety of products. Transactions among the Indigenous usually take place in Quichua. At the tourist market, some nationals, but mostly foreigners, buy handicrafts. Most of the transactions take place in Spanish, but it is not unusual to hear Otavalos speaking other foreign languages with the tourists. Additionally, wearing their traditional clothing and speaking Quichua have proven to help boost sales.

In Otavalo, Quichua is also used in store signs and menus. To attract nationals and foreigners, Spanish and other languages, especially English, are also used; in Morocho, a small community where everyone knows where everything is located, I noticed no advertisements anywhere, except for a couple of Coca-Cola signs outside the *tiendas* (locally owned convenience-type stores or corner shops).

3.4 CULTURAL CAPITAL

Cultural capital can be determined by the degree of institutional support in the fields of education, religion, culture, and media.

Although some scholars have equated ethnicity with "race" in Latin America, Frank Salomon states that the term *blanco* (White) represents more accurately a cultural than a racial category, and asserts that "whiteness" is associated as much with wealth, occupation, culture, and urbanity as it is with skin color. Additionally, a person may be seen as White in a rural context, but labeled Mestizo or perhaps Indian in an urban environment (as cited in Storaker

Kilander, 2001, p. 37; Weismantel & Eisenmann, 1998, p. 131). On the other hand, "Indigenous" is associated as much with rurality, a deprived economic situation, a non-Western culture, and certain occupations—in agriculture, the cottage textile industry, or cheap labor—as it is with a skin color.

A dearth of reliable phenotypical markers requires us to resort to other indicators to determine who is an Indigenous person and who is not (Storaker Kilander, 2001, p. 201). According to Meisch (2002), "…[I]ndígena is not a racial definition. Rather, an indígena is a person who speaks, lives, and dresses like other members of the Indian community" (p. 18). She considers dress the most important symbol of identity in the highland region. Giving up the traditional costume represents a step toward becoming Mestizo. According to my observations from many years of living in Ecuador, I would say that hairstyle is even more important than dress. Kichwas—both male and female—may adopt Western-style clothing but still maintain their long braided hair as a symbol of their identity. Meisch recognizes that the discrimination the Indigenous have had to endure contributes to the difficulty of maintaining certain traditions. Wearing Western-style clothes provides the Indigenous with the possibility of being a part of both worlds. I insist, however, that cutting their hair diminishes the possibility of their remaining a part of the Indigenous world. Yet, even beyond clothing and hairstyle, according to many of my interviewees, the major symbol of group identity is speaking the Indigenous language.

3.4.1 Education

Formal education, or lack of access to it, has played a major role in every nation, in part because it accentuates differences by promoting certain cultural identities and marginalizing others. "The nation's choice of official language(s), school curricula, and national symbols also reveal[s]

ideas about the worth and status of minority cultures within the state" (Storaker Kilander, 2001, pp. 79–80). In Ecuador, the state had traditionally denied the vote to those who could not read or write, which disproportionately affected Indigenous peoples because they had no tradition of literacy. It was not until the return of a democratically elected government in 1978 that illiterates were granted suffrage (Constitución de la República del Ecuador de 1979 reformado en 1984, n.d., Sección VI: De los derechos políticos, Artículo 33).

In the 1960s and 1970s, Ecuador began to experience a major expansion of educational opportunities as more Indigenous children gained access to primary education (Ramón, 1993, p. 229). The assimilation of the Indigenous population into a unified and modern state was at the forefront of the agenda of the Ministerio de Educación (Ministry of Education). Basically, school was supposed to serve as a "whitening" process.

> "The assumption was that Indians (who had overwhelming levels of illiteracy) would automatically become real Ecuadorians and identify themselves with the national culture if they were educated. Indeed by definition, Indians were seen as ignorant, because it was assumed that Indians who were educated would automatically become mestizos" (Clark 1998:203) (as cited in Storaker Kilander, 2001, p. 80).

Therefore, schools repressed such manifestations of Indigenous identity as native clothing—including *alpargatas* (rope-soled cloth shoes), ponchos, and hats—and the use of Indigenous languages. Although education aimed to create a unified nation, the Indigenous were treated as second-class citizens. As Carlos de la Torre reports, Indigenous children were sent to the back of the line when entering the classroom, and received corporal punishment more frequently than their Mestizo classmates (as cited in Storaker Kilander, 2001, p. 81).

In 1979, Ecuador's prospects opened up, with a return to democracy after ten years of military dictatorship. As was mentioned above, President Jaime Roldós gave his first inaugural speech to the Congreso Nacional (National Congress) in Quichua (Saavedra, 2003, Section 1, ¶

1). Not only did he show his firm support for the Indigenous community by making this important speech in Quichua, he also supported the bilingual education program developed by the Centro de Investigación de Educación Indígena–CIEI (Center for the Study of Indigenous Education) at La Universidad Católica de Quito (The Catholic University of Quito). Between 1980 and 1984, 300 new rural bilingual schools were created and 1,000 CIEI educators hired. This commitment to the promotion of literacy had positive results, as was demonstrated by a dramatic decrease in illiteracy from 25.7 percent in 1979 to 12.6 percent in 1984. The CIEI program went a step further by promoting a law that established the right of Indigenous children to bilingual education (Yánez-Cossío, 1991).

At the end of 1989, there was a paradigm shift in the educational system in Ecuador. The government established the Dirección Nacional de Educación Indígena Intercultural Bilingüe–DINEIIB (Department of Indigenous Intercultural Bilingual Education). Shortly after the creation of DINEIIB, the Ministerio de Educación y Cultura (Ecuadorian Ministry of Education and Culture) signed an agreement with the CONAIE, granting it extensive participation in the education of Indigenous peoples. As a subdivision of the Ministry of Education and Culture, DINEIIB was given the task of organizing and administering schools in areas where the majority of the population is Indigenous. "DINEIIB is charged with guaranteeing the unity, quality, and efficiency of Indigenous education throughout Ecuador" (DINEIIB, 1991, as cited in Hornberger and King, 1996, p. 430). DINEIIB's functions and responsibilities include designing and developing a bilingual intercultural education curriculum consistent with the requirements of the Indigenous population, creating didactic materials, and maintaining and increasing the use of standardized Quichua (DINEIIB, 1991, as cited in Hornberger and King, 1996).

Educación Intercultural Bilingüe–EBI (Intercultural Bilingual Education–IBE) in Ecuador has become a reality mainly as a result of constant pressure from the Indigenous and

through the support of UNICEF and other NGOs. A key aspect of IBE reform is the idea that bilingual education is an intercultural process in which relations among different ethnicities and cultures must develop equitably and differences among them be respected and valued. Proponents of IBE have realized that its bilingual education program cannot succeed if the Indigenous community does not play a leading role. The creation of DINEIIB marked the first time

> …in the educational history of Latin America that a Hispanic government allowed and supported the establishment of an independent educational administration for the Indigenous populations, transferring the right to develop culturally appropriate curricula and independent teacher-training and selection methods (Von Gleich & Wolck, 1994, p. 96).

The central government has ceded some of its power in creating DINEIIB as part of the Ministry of Education. DINEIIB has been somewhat restricted, however, because although 12 percent of the national budget is allocated for bilingual education, in fact only 4 percent actually goes to this purpose. Since few financial resources can be allocated to research, school equipment, creation of textbooks, training of bilingual teachers, and so on, DINEIIB faces major limitations. Partly due to the lack of infrastructure, materials, and teachers, many Indigenous parents do not send their children to bilingual schools (Humberto Cotacachi**,** personal communication, July 2002).

As a consequence of their lack of resources in comparison to their Hispanic counterparts, IBE schools have not been fully embraced by Indigenous communities. The Indigenous, whether as parents or as members of Indigenous organizations, have not participated fully or been an integral part of the reform process. It is important that they participate in shaping school curricula to fit the Indigenous socio-cultural context and environment (Humberto Cotacachi, personal communication, July 2002). Heritage language programs have a number of elements in common. Five of the most important similarities among components of different bilingual

education programs include 1) the partnership between language and culture that is created, 2) the importance of community support, 3) the need for parental involvement, 4) the outcomes they have in common—that is, they have each made a difference in their own communities, and 5) the revitalization of an endangered language (Bilingual Education Group, 2005, Section 7: Common components of heritage-language programs, ¶ 1).

Storaker Kilander (2001) argues that the resentment generated among the Indigenous population by increasing hardship might provide an incentive for mobilization. If adequate leadership and resources were available, the formation of an Indigenous professional and middle class in Ecuador might become an essential impetus for change.

In Imbabura, the median number of grades attended (according to the 2001 census) is 6.1. Within the province, the median number of grades attended in Otavalo *cantón* is 5.2; in Cotacachi *cantón*, it is 4.7. In Imbabura, 11.9 percent of the population is illiterate, but there is considerable difference between the urban and rural areas. In the urban areas, 5.3 percent of the population is illiterate, yet 13.5 percent of the urban population has at least some post-secondary education. However, in the rural areas, 19.1 percent of the population is illiterate, and only 2.5 percent of the rural population has at least some post-secondary education. Nevertheless, Imbabura is highly bilingual. With the exception of those in the González Suárez parish and the San Pablo parish, who are predominantly Spanish speakers, most of the Kichwas in Imbabura state that Quichua is their mother tongue (Büttner, 1993).

3.4.2 Religion

During the first years of the colonial period in Ecuador, there was substantial interest in the Quechua language and culture. Both the Spanish monarchy and the Catholic Church privileged

the use of Quechua as a lingua franca because it facilitated the processes of evangelization, Spanish enculturation, and conquest. In 1560, Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás produced the first Quechua grammar, and in 1607, the Jesuit Diego González de Holguín edited a second Quechua grammar, which focused on rhetoric. In 1567, the Concilio Provincial en Lima (Provincial Council of Lima) adopted Quechua as a mandatory subject for those preparing for the priesthood. The use of Quechua was widespread until the 18th century, when the Indigenous began to stage frequent uprisings, after which interest in Quechua declined because it was seen as a tool for subversion (Chiodi, 1990).

In Otavalo, 90 percent of the population is Roman Catholic, 1 percent is Protestant, and 9 percent practices native religions. Most of the communities in Imbabura speak more Quichua than Spanish at church, except in the parishes of González Suárez and San Pablo, where the situation is reversed (Büttner, 1993).

Blanca Muratorio (1982) has established that there are more Protestants among the Indigenous than among Mestizos. She argues that the Indigenous have become Protestants in gratitude for the treatment they have received from foreign missionaries. For example, the Indigenous have customarily been required to use the formal pronoun *Usted* and the honorifics *Señor/Señora/Señorita* with the last name when addressing their White overseers, whereas these overseers have customarily used the informal pronouns *tú* or *vos* and the person's first name when addressing their Indigenous laborers, regardless of their relative ages, thereby emphasizing their asymmetrical relationship and reinforcing the mistreatment the Indigenous have experienced at the hands of their oppressors since colonial times. When the foreign missionaries arrived, they addressed the Indigenous with the use of honorifics and the formal pronoun, which created a more symmetrical relationship.

3.4.3 Customs, Traditions, and Celebrations

The province of Imbabura, and especially Otavalo and the surrounding towns, have many celebrations. The most famous are the *Pawkar Taymi*, the *Inti Raymi*, *Yamor*, and *Huanuy Puncha*. The Pawkar Raymi is held at the beginning of each spring when the first corn and wild flowers come up. In this festival, flowers and holy water are ritually combined to honor the crop's sprouting. The celebration is a way to thank *Pacha Mama* (Mother Earth) for the crops that feed and give life to the people.

> Like many indigenous celebrations, Pawkar Raymi coincides with a Christian celebration, in this case Carnival. The reason for the coincidence is that many Christian celebrations are dependent on lunar and solar cycles as are indigenous and pagan celebrations. For example, Carnival (or Fat Tuesday, Mardi Gras) takes place each year exactly 41 days prior to the first Sunday (Easter) that follows the first full moon after the Spring Equinox (INSIDECUADOR, 2006, Pawkar Raymi, ¶ 3).

The Inti Raymi (sun feast) is held throughout the month of June when there is the most sunlight. The celebration is in honor of Pacha Mama. The Indigenous dance and recite poetry in Quichua in which men and women respond to each other and sing to the Sun God. The third celebration is held in September and is called Yamor (harvest feast), a fusion of the Incas' harvest celebration and the Catholic San Juan (Saint John) celebration. The Otavalo town council converted the feast into a Mestizo celebration. When the Indigenous tried to nominate an Indigenous girl as queen of the Yamor, the Mestizos did not accept it. This event caused the previously undefeated Mestizo mayor to lose to an Indigenous candidate in 2000. At the same time, a new feast, exclusively for the Indigenous, called *Sarañusta* (Corn Princess), began to be celebrated in conjunction with Yamor. Huanuy Puncha is a celebration that takes place in the month of November, the month

that begins the agricultural cycle in the Andean vision of the cosmos. During this ritual, the Indigenous honor their ancestors.

The Indigenous celebrations give us a partial understanding of Indigenous culture. However, at the heart of the Indigenous philosophy lie their guiding principles, *ama shua*, *ama quilla, ama llulla* (don't steal, don't lie, don't be lazy) which are not very far removed from the Judeo-Christian Ten Commandments.

Other key features of the Indigenous way of life are "solidarity, complementarity, and reciprocity" (Saavedra, 2003, Section 2: Uprising, ¶ 7). According to Rodrigo Collaguazo, a leader of the campesino social security union, this philosophy "is more than just a slogan—it's our economic system" (as cited in Saavedra, 2003, Section 2: Uprising, ¶ 7).

> In economic terms, "solidarity" means helping those who have less. "Complementarity" assumes that production is both a common right and a duty, so that communities cover shortfalls and distribute surpluses. "Reciprocity" equates to: "Today for you, tomorrow for me." These three principles underlie one of the Andean people's greatest strengths: the *minga*, communal work such as harvesting or building an irrigation system (Saavedra, 2003, Section 2: Uprising, ¶ 8).
>
> "Landowners misunderstood the *minga*," continues Collaguazo, "[T]hey thought of it as free indigenous labour for them—but that's serfdom. *Minga* means working together and everyone knowing that they'll get help when they need it. That's reciprocity" (as cited in Saavedra, 2003, Section 2: Uprising, ¶ 9).

3.4.4 Media

The Ecuadorian constitution guarantees freedom of speech, and journalists are able to report without obstruction. However, there is a certain amount of self-censorship on sensitive topics and issues pertaining to the government and the armed forces. In addition, the government has a quota of media airtime that allows the regime to transmit official broadcasts.

3.4.4.1 Newspapers

Most, if not all, of the newspapers are independently owned. Only one newspaper has an Indigenous columnist: Carlos Viteri, a Kichwa CONAIE leader, writes for *Hoy*, a more liberal, avant-garde newspaper. An interesting source of information is the *Boletín Yachana Publicación*, which is published by the Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas (Scientific Institute for Indigenous Culture), and can be accessed online or in hard copy. The director of this publication is Luis Macas, former President of CONAIE.

3.4.4.2 Television

There are seven privately owned broadcast television networks, including five national channels (Press Reference, n.d., Section 9: Broadcast media, ¶ 1). Different television stations throughout the country transmit programs in Quichua. For instance, in Imbabura, there is a local channel, Canal del Norte (Northern Channel), that transmits news and cultural programs in Quichua. However, there are certain rural areas, mainly populated by Indigenous peoples, that do not even have electricity (personal communication from various informants, 2002). Television is not accessible to everyone, and there are only 1,550,000 televisions in Ecuador, or approximately 117.6 for every one thousand residents (Press Reference, n.d., Section 1: Basic data, ¶ 2).

3.4.4.3 Cinema

In 1999, the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador–CONAIE invited all Indigenous and non-Indigenous producers to participate in a festival of film and video. The

festival topics explored different cultural aspects of Indigenous life. Films and videos were presented in 164 communities and cities all over the country. The initiative was intended to trigger major film and video production on issues affecting Indigenous peoples and to simultaneously offer a space for discussion and reflection on Indigenous culture and identity.

3.4.4.4 Radio

In Ecuador there are 324 AM and 49 FM radio stations that broadcast to 4.15 million radios (Press Reference, n.d., Section 9: Broadcast media, ¶ 2), or approximately 314.8 for every 1,000 residents (Press Reference, n.d., Section 1: Basic data, ¶ 2). The radio represents the only access to the media for those who live in more deprived situations with few economic resources and no electricity. Therefore, radio has played an important role in bringing marginalized people into the life of the nation. Two of the most successful literacy and adult education programs in the country have been radio programs. The first, known as Sistemas de Educación Radiofónica Bicultural Shuar–SERBISH (Shuar Bicultural Radio Education Systems) was the first locally managed Indigenous education program.

> The objectives of the SERBISH program are far reaching, including schooling the entire Shuar population between the ages of six and fifteen, encouraging mutual assistance between regionally dispersed Shuar groups, developing local cultures, and ensuring the permanence of the Shuar communities. With thirty-one radio centers in different communities, SERBISH reached 506 students in its first year, and has continued to grow ever since (King, 1997, p. 34).

The second educational radio program, known as Escuelas Radiofónicas Populares del Ecuador–ERPE (Popular Radio Schools of Ecuador) was established by the late Monsignor Leonidas Proaño, Bishop of Riobamba. The program has regional coverage throughout the entire Ecuadorian highlands. The ERPE used Quichua to teach reading and writing, evangelize, and

provide the type of education that Paulo Freire (1970) envisioned, one that would offer the possibility of liberating the Kichwas from a system of education that viewed them merely as empty vessels to be filled with knowledge, rather than as human beings capable of developing critical thinking skills. Other areas of learning, such as history, geography, home economics, and agriculture, were also developed. This program no longer fosters literacy but continues to transmit educational programs (Chiodi, 1993). Both of these radio programs have had an enormous impact on those people who have become literate because of them. As a consequence, many of these people have become bilingual and have also become Quichua teachers in their communities, thus educating a broader group.

There are also various local radio stations that offer programs in Quichua. For instance, Radio Latacunga in Cotopaxi is exclusively dedicated to broadcasting in Quichua. Radio La Voz de Ingapirca in Azuay offers bilingual programming with news, commentaries, music, commercials, etc. In other places where there are no radio stations exclusively dedicated to broadcasting in Quichua, radio frequencies have been assigned to various Indigenous communities and organizations.

3.5 CONCLUSION

Examination of the sociological dimension is important to ethnolinguistic vitality studies because it helps to identify those characteristics and factors that contribute to the use of the group's language. According to Landry and Allard's macroscopic model, the group's sociological dimension reflects its relative ethnolinguistic vitality, which influences its bilingual development. "The relative EV of a group will influence bilingual development by limiting or by

expanding the opportunities for linguistic contacts in each language" (Landry & Allard, 1992b, p. 520).

The demographic, political, economic, and cultural aspects of ethnolinguistic vitality are all interrelated. As Pacari (2002) notes, "[T]he Indigenous populations have called into question the formal democracies that exclude them, not only from political participation but also from equitable economic development" (p. 2).

She also points out that in the 1996 elections—in which the Indigenous movement participated for the first time—80 percent of Indigenous voters between the ages of 45 and 50 did not know how to vote, mainly due to the high degree of illiteracy (p. 5, # 2). Illiteracy and exclusion from the political process represent a vicious cycle in which, due to their lack of education and economic power, Indigenous peoples continue to be excluded from politics and the decision-making process. Furthermore, the Indigenous outlook on the world is far removed from Western concepts and political behavior. However, although Indigenous peoples have been in a disadvantaged position in terms of their political, educational, and economic situation, they have been able to gain power because of the existence of Indigenous middle and professional classes, their cohesion, and their capacity for mobilization.

Indigenous peoples have fought for recognition in the political arena to change their marginalized situation in all spheres—particularly in the economic sphere. The different spheres cannot be analyzed in isolation; they are closely linked to each other in a dialectical relationship. These different spheres can only be analyzed in what Spinoza called "least parts"—the tiniest details of an individual plant—so that they can later be understood as part what he called the "greatest wholes"—the structure and processes of plant communities and their relationship to the environment. According to Spinoza, human understanding requires relating the least parts to the greatest wholes, and human beings and human relationships are so complex as to require just this

sort of part/whole analysis (as cited in Scheff, n.d., Introduction, ¶ 4). As Diego Quiroga notes, the Indigenous uprising of 1990 revealed that the demands of the Indigenous were not only economic, but also sprang from social, ethnic, and spiritual realities. Indigenous peoples demanded—and continue to demand—respect for their non-Western way of life and their worldview (as cited in Whitten, 2003, p. 9).

4.0 CHAPTER 4. RESULTS AND ANALYSES: QUANTITATIVE APPROACH

In this chapter, results pertaining to those research hypotheses that correspond to the sociological, socio-psychological, and psychological levels of Landry and Allard's (1990) macroscopic model will be presented. The chapter will begin with a report on the reliability of the subscales of my questionnaires, which were adapted from the various questionnaires Landry and Allard developed to test their macroscopic model (1990). Then I will briefly discuss the level of significance. Next I will describe the criterion variable, *language use*, and correlate it with sociological data, specifically such demographic information as the language respondents chose to use in answering the questionnaires, the level of education of respondents and of their mothers and fathers, the respondents' first and second language, their parents' first and second language, and their parents' occupation. Finally, data corresponding to the socio-psychological and psychological levels will be presented, and their relationship to the degree of standardization of Quichua and Spanish in Morocho and Otavalo will be established.

4.1 RELIABILITY OF THE SUBSCALES OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES

Prior to carrying out the analyses pertaining to the research hypotheses, I examined the reliability of the subscales.

4.1.1 Reliability of the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts, Linguistic Contacts Through Education, and Linguistic Contacts Through Media Questionnaires

Table 4.1 shows the reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) for the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts Questionnaire, the Linguistic Contacts Through Education Questionnaire, and the Linguistic Contacts Through Media Questionnaire.

Table 4.1. Internal Consistency of Measures Pertaining to the Socio-Psychological Level

Questionnaire scales & subscales	Alpha coefficient
Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts Questionnaire	
Proportion in network in Quichua	.94
Frequency of contacts in Quichua	.95
Quality of contacts in Quichua	.93
Stability of contacts in Quichua	.92
Proportion in network in Spanish	.89
Frequency of contacts in Spanish	.91
Quality of contacts in Spanish	.98
Stability of contacts in Spanish	.87
Linguistic Contacts Through Education Questionnaire [a]	.96
Linguistic Contacts Through Media Questionnaire	
In Quichua	.85
In Spanish	.96

[a] This questionnaire does not have separate questions for Spanish and Quichua because all questions rate the use of each language on a Likert scale.

For all these measures, the reliability coefficients were consistently high; they ranged from a low of 0.85 to a high of 0.96 across the subscales.

4.1.2 Reliability of the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire

Table 4.2 shows the reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) for the subscales of the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire.

Table 4.2. Internal Consistency of Measures Pertaining to the Psychological Level

Subscales of the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire	Alpha coefficient
Present vitality in Quichua	.71
Present vitality in Spanish	.85
Future vitality in Quichua	.69
Future vitality in Spanish	.86
Legitimacy vitality in Quichua	.73
Legitimacy vitality in Spanish	.89
Social models in Quichua	.74
Social models in Spanish	.91
Valorization in Quichua	.71
Valorization in Spanish	.87
Goals in Quichua	.79
Goals in Spanish	.88
Personal efficacy in Quichua	.88
Personal efficacy in Spanish	.91
Belongingness in Quichua	.87
Belongingness in Spanish	.91

Note. For the 8 scales of the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire, a 4-item version was used for all subscales except **present vitality**, in which an 8-item version was used.

As Table 4.2 shows, the reliability coefficients for the subscales of the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire ranged from .69 to .91. Of the 16 ethnolinguistic vitality subscales, 10 had reliability coefficients greater than .8, and therefore would be considered to have high reliability. Five of the 16 subscales had coefficients between .7 and .8, and thus would be considered to have acceptable reliability. Only one subscale, future vitality in Quichua, had a coefficient slightly less than .7 (.69), which is still not far from being acceptable.

4.1.3 Level of Significance

Due to the fairly large number of multiple correlations applied to the many subscales, a more conservative level of significance was chosen to test the research hypotheses—a 0.01 level was adopted rather than a 0.05 level. As Jacob Cohen (1990) explains, "Using the .05 level for many tests escalates the experimentwise Type I error rate—or in plain English, greatly increases the chances of discovering things that aren't so" (Section 2: Less is more, p. 2).

4.2 SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON RESPONDENTS

4.2.1 Language Respondents Chose to Use in Answering the Questionnaires

Table 4.3 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo with respect to the language the respondents chose to use in answering the orally administered questionnaires.

Table 4.3. Language Chosen by Respondents in Morocho and Otavalo

Language chosen for questionnaires	Morocho		Otavalo	
	n	%	*n*	%
Quichua	43	87.8	3	6
Spanish	5	10.2	47	94
Both	1	2.0	0	0
Total	49	100.0	50	100

As shown in Table 4.3, most of the residents of Morocho chose to respond to the orally administered questionnaires in Quichua. Few residents of this rural community chose to respond to them in Spanish. The opposite trend was found in Otavalo, where most of the residents chose to respond to the questionnaires in Spanish and only a few chose to respond in Quichua.

4.2.2 First and Second Languages Spoken by Respondents

Table 4.4 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of the first and second languages of the respondents.

Table 4.4. First and Second Languages Spoken by Respondents in Morocho and Otavalo

L1 & L2 of respondents	Morocho						Otavalo					
Second language / Native language	Quichua		Spanish		None		Quichua		Spanish		None	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Quichua	--	--	47	98	0	0	--	--	21	45	1	2
Spanish	0	0	--	--	1	2	26	55	--	--	0	0

As indicated in Table 4.4, striking differences were found between the two communities with respect to respondents' first and second languages. Almost all respondents from Morocho reported speaking Quichua as their first language and Spanish as their second language. Respondents from Otavalo showed a less homogeneous tendency. More than half of the respondents reported speaking Spanish as their first language and Quichua as their second language, and slightly less than half of the respondents reported speaking Quichua as their first language and Spanish as their second language.

It is worth noting that most of the respondents are bilingual in both communities; the respondents who are monolingual constitute an exception. In each community, one person was monolingual. In Otavalo, this one person was a monolingual Quichua speaker, whereas in Morocho this one person was a monolingual Spanish speaker. The latter was born in Morocho but raised in some other place, and returned to Morocho as an adult.

4.2.3 First and Second Languages Spoken by Fathers of Respondents

Table 4.5 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of the first and second languages spoken by the fathers of the respondents.

Table 4.5. First and Second Languages Spoken by Fathers of Respondents in Morocho and Otavalo

L1 & L2 of father	Morocho						Otavalo					
Second language / Native language	Quichua		Spanish		None		Quichua		Spanish		None	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Quichua	--	--	39	98	1	2	--	--	4	9	26	61
Spanish	0	0	--	--	0	0	12	28	--	--	1	2

Table 4.5 shows differences between the first and second languages of the fathers of the respondents in both communities. Almost all the fathers of the respondents in Morocho, 98%, spoke Quichua as their first language and Spanish as their second language. The fathers of the respondents of Otavalo presented a fairly fragmented tendency in relation to their first and second languages, with 28% stating that Spanish was their first language and Quichua their second language. For 9% of the fathers of the respondents of Otavalo, Quichua was their first language and Spanish their second language. However, most of the fathers of the respondents,

61%, were monolingual Quichua speakers; only one (representing just 2%) was a monolingual Spanish speaker. In Morocho, most of the fathers of the respondents were bilingual, whereas in Otavalo most of the fathers of the respondents were monolingual Quichua speakers. In Morocho, none of the fathers of the respondents had Spanish as their first language, whereas in Otavalo 30% had Spanish as their first language, but only one person was a monolingual Spanish speaker.

4.2.4 First and Second Languages Spoken by Mothers of Respondents

Table 4.6 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of the first and second languages spoken by the mothers of the respondents.

Table 4.6. First and Second Languages Spoken by Mothers of Respondents in Morocho and Otavalo

L1 & L2 of mother	Morocho						Otavalo					
Second language / Native language	Quichua		Spanish		None		Quichua		Spanish		None	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Quichua	--	--	40	83	8	17	--	--	27	56	8	16
Spanish	0	0	--	--	0	0	11	22	--	--	3	6

Table 4.6 shows differences between the first and second languages of the mothers of the respondents in both communities. Most of the mothers of the respondents were bilingual in both communities. In Otavalo, 56% of the mothers of the respondents spoke Quichua as their first language and Spanish as their second language, whereas in Morocho, 83% of the mothers of the respondents spoke Quichua as their first language and Spanish as their second language.

Although in Otavalo 22% spoke Spanish as their first language and Quichua as their second language, in Morocho none of the mothers of the respondents spoke Spanish as their first language and Quichua as their second language.

A considerable percentage of the mothers of the respondents were monolingual in both communities. In Morocho, 17% of the mothers of the respondents were monolingual Quichua speakers, while in Otavalo, 16% were Quichua monolinguals and 6% were Spanish monolinguals.

With respect to Spanish, the tendency of the mothers of the respondents was similar to that of the fathers: In Morocho, none of the mothers of the respondents had Spanish as their first language, whereas in Otavalo, 22% of the mothers had Spanish as their first language and Quichua as their second language, and three of the mothers (representing 6%) were Spanish monolingual speakers.

4.2.5 Level of Education of Respondents

Table 4.7 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of the level of education of the respondents.

Table 4.7. Level of Education of Respondents in Morocho and Otavalo

Level of education of respondents	**Morocho**		**Otavalo**	
	n	*%*	*n*	*%*
No formal education	9	18	5	10
Completed some elementary school	20	40	9	18
Completed 6th grade	20	40	13	26
Completed some high school	1	2	10	20
Completed high school	0	0	13	26
Total	50	100	50	100

As indicated in Table 4.7, there are substantial differences in levels of education between the two communities. In Otavalo, 26% of the respondents had completed elementary school, 20% had completed some high school, and 26% had even finished high school. These groups totaled 72%. In contrast, although 80% of the respondents from Morocho had attended elementary school, only 40% had completed it; only one person (2%) had gone beyond elementary school, but this person did not finish high school.

Table 4.7 also shows that 58% of the respondents from Morocho either had no formal education (18%) or did not complete their elementary education (40%). In contrast, 28% of the respondents from Otavalo either had no formal education (10%) or did not complete their elementary education (18%).

4.2.6 Level of Education of Fathers of Respondents

Table 4.8 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of the level of education of the fathers of the respondents.

Table 4.8. Level of Education of Fathers of Respondents in Morocho and Otavalo

Level of education of father	**Morocho**		**Otavalo**	
	n	%	*n*	%
Invalid responses	1	2	2	4
No formal education	31	63	20	40
Attended elementary school	14	29	22	44
Attended high school	0	0	1	2
No father present	3	6	5	10
Total	49	100	50	100

Table 4.8 shows the different levels of formal education attained by the fathers of the respondents. It indicates that 63% of the fathers of the respondents in Morocho had no formal education, and 29% attended but did not complete elementary school. In Otavalo, 40% of the fathers of the respondents had no formal education; 44% attended but did not complete elementary school.

In the whole sample, there was only one respondent, in Otavalo, whose father had attended high school, but he did not finish. In Morocho, no father had even attended high school. In both communities, there were a few fathers who were not present in the life of the respondent.

4.2.7 Level of Education of Mothers of Respondents

Table 4.9 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of the level of education of the mothers of the respondents.

Table 4.9. Level of Education of Mothers of Respondents in Morocho and Otavalo

Level of education of mother	**Morocho**		**Otavalo**	
	n	%	*n*	%
No formal education	38	78	24	48
Attended elementary school	11	22	25	50
Completed high school	0	0	1	2
Total	49	100	50	100

Table 4.9 shows the different levels of formal education attained by the mothers of the respondents. Most of the mothers of the respondents in Morocho had not had any formal education (78%), but some had attended elementary school up to the second grade (22%). The mothers of the respondents in Otavalo showed a different profile. A high percentage of mothers

had not had any formal education (48%), but a slightly higher percentage (50%) had attended elementary school. One person (representing 2%) had even completed her high school education.

4.2.8 Type of Work Performed by Fathers of Respondents

Table 4.10 represents a comparison of the type of work performed by the fathers of the respondents in Morocho and Otavalo.

Table 4.10. Types of Work Performed by Fathers of Respondents in Morocho and Otavalo

Occupation of father	Morocho		Otavalo	
	n	%	*n*	%
Marketing handicrafts	1	2	8	16
Construction	6	12	4	8
Blue collar work	3	6	4	8
Producing handicrafts	3	6	17	34
Plantation	0	0	1	2
Agriculture	23	46	3	6
Day labor	9	18	3	6
Retired or unemployed	0	0	2	4
Father disabled or not present	5	10	8	16
Total	50	100	50	100

As can be seen in Table 4.10, there is not wide diversity in the types of work performed by the fathers of the respondents. Most of the fathers of the respondents in Morocho did some type of work related to agriculture (46%); others obtained day labor, mostly in agriculture (18%). Lower percentages of these fathers worked in construction (12%), had a blue-collar job (6%), or produced handicrafts (6%). Most of the fathers of the respondents in Otavalo worked in producing handicrafts (34%) or in marketing them (16%). Smaller percentages of the fathers of the respondents worked in construction (8%), performed a blue-collar job (8%), worked in agriculture (6%), or performed day labor (6%), and only a minuscule percentage worked on a

plantation (2%). In both communities, a considerable percentage of the fathers of the respondents were either disabled or were not present in the lives of the respondents.

4.2.9 Type of Work Performed by Mothers of Respondents

Table 4.11 presents a comparison of the types of work performed by the mothers of the respondents in Morocho and Otavalo.

Table 4.11. Types of Work Performed by Mothers of Respondents in Morocho and Otavalo

Occupation of mother	Morocho		Otavalo	
	n	%	*n*	%
Marketing handicrafts	1	2	14	28
Construction	1	2	0	0
Blue collar work	2	4	5	10
Producing handicrafts	2	4	12	24
Plantation	0	0	1	2
Agriculture	5	10	0	0
Housework	37	74	11	22
Mother disabled or not present	2	4	7	14
Total	50	100	50	100

Table 4.10 shows little diversity in the types of work performed by the fathers of the respondents; Table 4.11 does not show much diversity in the types of work performed by the mothers of the respondents either. However, the mothers and the fathers did not do the same types of work. In Morocho, most of the mothers of the respondents did housework (74%); often this also involved tending livestock animals and/or a small plot of land. In many cases, this was for home consumption. However, even when they took their surplus commodities to market, they still considered this type of work to be part of their housework. Some mothers worked in agriculture (10%). Mothers who were disabled or not present represented 4%. In Otavalo,

roughly equivalent percentages of the mothers of the respondents were engaged in three different types of work: commerce (28%), producing handicrafts (24%), or housework (22%). The rest were blue-collar workers (10%) or plantation workers (2%). The demographic information for the respondents that is provided in this section represents only part of the demographic information that pertains to the sociological level of Landry and Allard's (1987) macroscopic model. Demographic information for the Quichua-speaking population as a whole is taken from census data and other written sources and is presented in Chapter 3, Sociological Level: Overview of the Ecuadorian Context. The following section presents results pertaining to the socio-psychological level of Allard and Landry's macroscopic model.

4.3 SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

> **Hypothesis 1:** There is a statistically significant correlation between the ethnolinguistic vitality at the **socio-psychological level** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

In order to verify the first hypothesis, which concerns socio-psychological factors—comprising opportunities for exposure to the language—and their influence on the language use of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo, three major categories of variables will be examined: the **individual network of linguistic contacts**, **linguistic contacts through education**, and **linguistic contacts through media**. Prior to discussing the relationship between these variables and the criterion variable, *language variety*, I will present a comparison of the communities with respect to these variables.

4.3.1 Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts

4.3.1.1 Results of the Different Subscales of the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts Questionnaire

Table 4.12 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo on the different subscales of the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts Questionnaire in Quichua and Spanish.

Table 4.12. Subscales of the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts (INLC) Questionnaire in Morocho and Otavalo

INLC subscales	Morocho			Otavalo				
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*
Proportion in network								
Quichua	50	8.32	1.32	50	5.77	2.24	6.92	.000
Spanish	50	6.47	1.33	50	7.44	1.90	- 2.97	.004
Frequency of contacts								
Quichua	50	7.53	1.37	49	3.86	2.61	8.75	.000
Spanish	49	4.62	1.89	50	6.38	2.11	- 4.38	.000
Quality of contacts								
Quichua	50	8.02	1.41	46	6.43	2.25	4.17	.000
Spanish	50	6.84	2.45	50	7.99	1.53	- 2.80	.006
Stability of contacts								
Quichua	50	6.84	1.20	48	5.18	2.26	4.57	.000
Spanish	50	5.44	1.58	50	6.30	1.60	- 2.87	.008

Note. Scores are *averages of all respondents* on a 9 point scale: 1= no one in the network speaks the target language (Quichua or Spanish), 9 = everyone in the network speaks the target language.

As shown in Table 4.12, considerable differences were found between the two communities on every subscale of the INLC Questionnaire. The pattern that can be observed in Table 4.12 for Quichua is that means for **proportion in network**—i.e., the proportion of Quichua speakers in the network, **frequency of contacts** with Quichua speakers, **quality of**

contacts with Quichua speakers, and **stability of contacts** with Quichua speakers were all higher for Morocho than for Otavalo. The largest difference was found in the **frequency of contacts** with Quichua speakers, with a mean of 7.53 for Morocho and a mean of 3.86 for Otavalo. On the other hand, the opposite pattern was observed for Spanish, with all means being higher for Otavalo than for Morocho. Again, the largest difference, this time in favor of Otavalo, was found in the **frequency of contacts**, with a mean of 6.38 for Otavalo and a mean of 4.62 for Morocho.

Regarding the characteristics of the network in the two communities, Table 4.12 shows that, on average, residents of Morocho reported having a high proportion of Quichua speakers within their networks (*M*=8.32) but also a fairly high proportion of Spanish speakers (*M*=6.47). (Respondents are rating the same contacts with respect to both languages.) They reported having much more frequent contacts with Quichua speakers (*M*=7.53) than with Spanish speakers (*M*=4.62). They viewed their contacts with Quichua speakers as being fairly stable (*M*=6.84) and of very high quality (*M*=8.02). They viewed their contacts with Spanish speakers as being somewhat less stable (*M*= 5.44) but still of relatively high quality (*M*=6.84).

Table 4.12 reveals the opposite trend in Otavalo. Residents of Otavalo reported a higher proportion of Spanish speakers than Quichua speakers within their networks, more frequent and more stable contacts with Spanish speakers than with Quichua speakers, and also contacts of higher quality with Spanish speakers than with Quichua speakers.

Proportions of Contacts Occurring in Quichua and Spanish Within the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts

Table 4.13 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of the different socialization agents within the individual network of linguistic contacts in Quichua and Spanish.

Table 4.13. Proportions of Contacts Occurring in Quichua and in Spanish Within the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts in Morocho and Otavalo

Proportion in network	**Morocho**			**Otavalo**				
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*
Immediate family								
Quichua speakers	50	8.60	1.25	49	7.35	2.29	3.21	.002
Spanish speakers	50	6.30	1.83	50	7.20	2.41	-2.10	.038
Cousins								
Quichua speakers	50	7.88	2.28	49	6.11	3.10	3.07	.003
Spanish speakers	50	7.04	2.16	50	7.60	2.41	-1.64	.104
Aunts and uncles								
Quichua speakers	50	8.66	1.22	48	7.32	2.77	2.93	.004
Spanish speakers	50	4.86	3.02	48	6.73	3.09	-3.31	.001
Friends (from childhood)								
Quichua speakers	50	8.16	1.54	50	4.92	2.90	6.84	.000
Spanish speakers	50	7.04	1.48	50	7.64	2.08	-1.66	.100
Neighbors								
Quichua speakers	50	8.42	1.39	50	5.69	2.91	5.75	.000
Spanish speakers	50	6.14	1.85	50	7.34	2.24	-3.48	.001
Classmates								
Quichua speakers	43	7.95	1.70	45	3.96	2.64	7.89	.000
Spanish speakers	43	7.35	1.34	46	8.00	1.87	-1.87	.064
Social acquaintances								
Quichua speakers	49	8.45	1.32	47	4.62	2.62	9.00	.000
Spanish speakers	50	6.74	1.45	47	7.74	1.81	-3.02	.003

In interpreting Table 4.13, which shows **proportions of contacts in the network**, it is important to keep in mind that participants are rating the same target family members with respect to both languages. Considering immediate family members as an example, in Otavalo the means for the proportions of Quichua and Spanish speakers in the network are quite similar. This implies that most immediate family members are bilingual.

In Morocho, the different subscales measuring the proportion of Quichua speakers in the network of contacts show high mean scores for all the different members of the network; in Otavalo, however, the proportion of Quichua speakers among family members in the network of

contacts is high, whereas the proportion of other contacts (friends, neighbors, classmates, social acquaintances) who speak Quichua is more moderate.

It is important to clarify that the Quichua language is mainly spoken by the Indigenous; Mestizos only learn the language in exceptional cases. Additionally, there is an endogamous tendency within the Indigenous community; in other words, marriages are mainly between people who are Indigenous. Given these trends, the lower scores in the extended network of contacts in Otavalo reflect a more diverse environment that includes both Mestizos and Kichwas, whereas the higher scores across the board in Morocho reflect its dense concentration of Quichua speakers and its status as an Indigenous community.

The results presented in Table 4.13 provide a good example of a generational tendency. Quichua and Spanish scores tend to be inverted between generations in Otavalo. For example, the average score for aunts and uncles is 7.32 for Quichua and 6.73 for Spanish, whereas the average score for cousins is 6.11 for Quichua and 7.60 for Spanish. In Otavalo, the older generation shows higher mean scores for Quichua than for Spanish, whereas the younger generation exhibits higher mean scores for Spanish than for Quichua. In Morocho, a similar pattern exists—in that there are also more young people than older people who speak Spanish—but with larger differences between languages. However, in Morocho, Quichua and Spanish scores are not inverted between generations as they are in Otavalo—i.e., there is not a higher proportion of Spanish speakers than Quichua speakers among the younger generation in Morocho. For example, the average score for aunts and uncles is 8.66 for Quichua and 4.86 for Spanish; the average score for cousins is 7.88 for Quichua and 7.04 for Spanish. In Morocho, the younger generation (cousins) has higher scores for Spanish than the older generation (aunts and uncles), but the Spanish scores are not higher than the Quichua scores among the cousins.

In both communities, Morocho and Otavalo, it can be inferred that most of the aunts and uncles, as well as cousins, are bilingual, especially among the younger generation. Even the cousins, who have been shifting toward Spanish, nevertheless show high scores in Quichua.

Frequency of Contacts Within the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts

Table 4.14 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of the frequency of contacts within the individual network of linguistic contacts in Quichua and Spanish.

Table 4.14. Frequency of Contacts Occurring in Quichua and Spanish Within the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts in Morocho and Otavalo

Frequency of contacts	**Morocho**			**Otavalo**				
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*P*
Family								
Quichua speakers	50	7.90	1.49	44	5.73	3.10	4.41	.000
Spanish speakers	47	4.47	2.14	48	7.02	2.67	-5.14	.000
Friends								
Quichua speakers	50	7.84	1.56	41	4.24	2.96	7.43	.000
Spanish speakers	48	5.02	1.93	50	7.04	2.59	-4.37	.000
Neighbors								
Quichua speakers	50	7.66	1.32	42	4.43	2.81	7.24	.000
Spanish Speakers	49	4.29	2.33	49	6.27	2.30	-4.24	.000
Classmates								
Quichua speakers	43	6.51	1.99	35	3.09	2.55	6.67	.000
Spanish speakers	42	4.45	1.94	46	5.76	2.63	-2.63	.010
Social acquaintances								
Quichua speakers	50	7.46	1.59	39	4.38	2.67	6.75	.000
Spanish speakers	49	5.04	2.00	47	6.15	2.57	-2.36	.020

In interpreting Table 4.14, which shows **frequency of contacts**, once again it is important to keep in mind that participants are rating the same target family members with respect to both languages. It was already mentioned that high mean scores for the proportion of Quichua and Spanish spoken among family members in Otavalo indicate that most immediate family

members are bilingual. Although mean scores are not as high for the proportion of Spanish spoken among family members in Morocho, scores are fairly high for both languages, indicating that most family members are bilingual. Although most family members are bilingual in Otavalo, the means for Spanish and Quichua within each type of contact in Table 4.14 show that the residents of this urban town opt to speak Spanish more frequently than Quichua, whereas the residents of the rural town of Morocho opt to speak Quichua more frequently than Spanish.

The means for the **frequency of contacts** scale in Table 4.14 indicate that participants in Morocho speak Quichua frequently across all parts of their social network (family, friends, etc.) In Morocho, the different subscales measuring the **frequency of contacts** in Quichua show high mean scores for all the different members of the network; in Otavalo, however, the corresponding scores for contacts in Quichua are moderate for family members, and for other contacts (friends, neighbors, classmates, social acquaintances) they are below the midpoint (5.0).

In Morocho, the different subscales measuring the **frequency of contacts** in Spanish show fairly low mean scores; only friends and social acquaintances in the network of contacts show moderate mean scores. In Otavalo, the mean scores are high for the different subscales measuring the **frequency of contacts** in Spanish; lower mean scores seem only to indicate that residents of this urban town do not interact very often in either language with members of certain groups in their network of contacts, e.g., classmates.

It is important to note that, for contacts in Quichua, the ethnic identity of the interlocutors is almost always Indigenous, since almost all Quichua speakers are indigenous; however, for contacts in Spanish, the ethnic identity of the interlocutor is not easy to distinguish, because those speaking Spanish may be Indigenous or Mestizo. The nature of the questionnaire does not make it possible to distinguish between contact with Mestizos who speak only Spanish and contact with bilingual Kichwas who opt to speak Spanish. A high frequency of contact with

Spanish speakers could result either from a greater representation of Mestizos within a participant's social network or from more frequent use of Spanish among the Indigenous within a participant's social network. Therefore, we cannot ascertain whether the Indigenous sometimes simply prefer to speak Spanish among themselves, or whether there are truly more Mestizos in their networks of contacts, particularly in Otavalo.

In any case, Table 4.14 clearly indicates that residents of the rural town of Morocho speak Quichua more frequently than they speak Spanish, whereas residents in the urban town of Otavalo speak Spanish more frequently than they speak Quichua.

Quality of Contacts Within the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts

Table 4.15 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of the quality of contacts within the individual network of linguistic contacts in Quichua and Spanish.

Table 4.15. Quality of Contacts Occurring in Quichua and Spanish Within the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts in Morocho and Otavalo

Quality of contacts	**Morocho**			**Otavalo**				
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*
Family								
Quichua speakers	50	8.20	1.44	47	7.72	1.78	1.45	.149
Spanish speakers	48	6.98	2.56	49	8.14	1.53	-2.72	.008
Friends								
Quichua speakers	50	8.24	1.36	45	6.29	2.88	4.29	.000
Spanish speakers	50	6.88	2.41	50	8.12	1.49	-3.09	.003
Neighbors								
Quichua speakers	50	8.02	1.50	43	6.33	2.66	3.85	.000
Spanish speakers	50	6.72	2.65	49	8.04	1.53	-3.03	.003
Classmates								
Quichua speakers	43	7.58	1.71	39	5.18	3.09	4.41	.000
Spanish speakers	43	6.77	2.26	47	7.98	1.62	-2.94	.004
Social acquaintances								
Quichua speakers	50	7.90	1.56	43	6.35	2.72	3.43	.001
Spanish speakers	50	7.00	2.18	47	8.00	1.56	-2.59	.011

As shown in Table 4.15, differences were found between the two communities on every subscale of the **quality of contacts** scale. The pattern that can be observed in Table 4.15 for Quichua is that the means were noticeably higher for Morocho than for Otavalo on all subscales of the **quality of contacts** with Quichua speakers in the participant's network. However, the means for the **quality of contacts** in Quichua with family members are an exception; they are not significantly higher for Morocho than for Otavalo. On the other hand, the opposite pattern was observed for Spanish, with all means being noticeably higher for Otavalo than for Morocho.

It is worth noting that even though residents of Morocho felt more positive about the quality of their contacts in Quichua with different members of their network of contacts, the differences between the two languages were not noticeable. The difference between the **quality of contacts** with classmates and the **quality of contacts** with social acquaintances was minimal. On the contrary, residents of Otavalo felt more positive about the quality of their contacts in Spanish than they felt about their contacts in Quichua. Higher mean scores for Spanish than for Quichua on all subscales except contacts with family members show that residents in Otavalo felt more positive about the quality of their contacts in Spanish than about the quality of their contacts in Quichua.

Within each subscale of the quality of contacts scale, e.g., the **classmates** subscale, the difference between languages tends to be greater in Otavalo than in Morocho; the only exception to this trend occurs in the **family members** subscale, in which the difference between languages is minimal in Otavalo.

An interesting pattern can be seen with respect to the **classmates** subscale: In Morocho the difference between means for the two languages is smaller for classmates than for any other

part of the social network. By contrast, in Otavalo the difference between means for the two languages is larger for classmates than for any other part of the social network.

These results might indicate a certain tendency for younger generations in both communities to perceive contacts in Spanish in a more positive light than do older generations.

Stability of Contacts Within the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts

Table 4.16 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of the stability of contacts within the individual network of linguistic contacts in Quichua and Spanish.

Table 4.16. Stability of Contacts Occurring in Quichua and Spanish Within the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts in Morocho and Otavalo

Stability of contacts	**Morocho**			**Otavalo**				
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*
Family								
Quichua speakers	50	7.24	1.46	48	6.42	2.66	1.91	.059
Spanish speakers	49	5.73	1.86	49	7.22	2.00	-3.82	.000
Friends								
Quichua speakers	50	7.02	1.41	46	5.07	2.81	4.36	.000
Spanish speakers	50	5.07	1.64	50	6.52	1.98	-2.25	.027
Neighbors								
Quichua speakers	50	6.92	1.34	44	5.18	2.73	3.99	.000
Spanish speakers	50	5.18	1.85	48	6.25	2.11	-2.67	.009
Classmates								
Quichua speakers	43	5.70	1.64	42	3.79	2.46	4.22	.000
Spanish speakers	43	4.88	1.69	46	5.80	2.11	-2.26	.027
Social acquaintances								
Quichua speakers	50	7.08	1.34	44	4.93	2.49	5.29	.000
Spanish speakers	50	5.76	1.78	47	6.04	2.00	-.74	.463

Table 4.16 shows that across all parts of the social network, **stability of contacts** with Quichua speakers is rated higher in Morocho than in Otavalo, whereas **stability of contacts** with

Spanish speakers is rated higher in Otavalo than in Morocho. Within both communities, and regarding both languages, contacts with classmates are seen as less stable than contacts with other parts of the social network.

4.3.1.2 Correlations Between Subscales of the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts Questionnaire and Degree of Standardization of Quichua and Spanish

Table 4.17 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo on correlations between the different subscales of the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts Questionnaire and the degree of standardization of Quichua and Spanish.

Table 4.17. Correlations Between Subscales of the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts Questionnaire and the Degree of Standardization of Quichua and Spanish in Morocho and Otavalo

INLC	MOROCHO		OTAVALO	
	Degree of standardization, Quichua	Degree of standardization, Spanish	Degree of standardization, Quichua	Degree of standardization, Spanish
Proportion in network				
Quichua	.54**	-.46**	.52**	-.22
Spanish	-.12	.37*	-.19	.61**
Frequency of contacts				
Quichua	.33**	-.03	.47**	-.15
Spanish	-.50**	.61**	.20	.50**
Quality of contacts				
Quichua	.39**	-.08	.44**	-.22
Spanish	-.48**	.44**	-.05	.30*
Stability of contacts				
Quichua	.49**	-.19	.49**	-.30*
Spanish	-.35*	.33*	-.09	.38**

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

All correlations between the **individual network of linguistic contacts** (INLC) variables in each language and the degree of standardization for the same language were significant at the 0.01 level for both languages and both communities (*r*=.32 to *r*=.66) except the **proportion in network** subscale and the **stability of contacts** subscale in Spanish for Morocho (*r*=.37 and *r*=.33, respectively), and the **quality of contacts** subscale in Spanish for Otavalo (*r*=.30). Table 4.17 indicates that in both communities a higher proportion of Quichua speakers in a respondent's network, more frequent contacts with Quichua speakers, higher quality of contacts with Quichua speakers, and more stable contacts with Quichua speakers are all associated with use of a language variety that is closer to standard Quichua when the respondent is communicating with Quichua speakers. An analogous pattern can be observed with respect to Spanish, i.e., a higher proportion of Spanish speakers in a respondent's network, more frequent contacts with Spanish speakers, higher quality of contacts with Spanish speakers, and more stable contacts with Spanish speakers are all associated with use of a language variety that is closer to standard Spanish when the respondent is communicating with Spanish speakers.

Differences between the two communities are apparent when examining correlations between each of the INLC variables in one language and the degree of standardization respondents used when communicating with speakers of the other language. In Morocho, there are significant negative correlations between the frequency, quality, and stability of contacts with Spanish speakers and the degree of standardization used in communicating with Quichua speakers. More frequent, higher quality, and more stable contacts with Spanish speakers are associated with greater interference of Spanish in communications with Quichua speakers in Morocho. However, the corresponding correlations in Otavalo were not significant.

Also, in Morocho a significant negative correlation was observed between the proportion of Quichua speakers in the network and the degree of standardization used in communicating

with Spanish speakers, indicating greater interference of Quichua in communications with Spanish speakers in Morocho. The corresponding correlation in Otavalo was not significant.

4.3.2 Linguistic Contacts Through Education

4.3.2.1 Results of the Linguistic Contacts Through Education Questionnaire

Table 4.18 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo on the seven subscales of the Linguistic Contacts Through Education Questionnaire.

Table 4.18. Linguistic Contacts Through Education in Morocho and Otavalo

LCE	Morocho			Otavalo				
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*
Teaching in class[a]								
Grades 1-3	44	1.37	.84	46	1.01	0.98	2.87	.005
Grades 4-6	36	1.36	.87	43	1.02	0.10	2.60	.11
Teachers outside class[a]								
Grades 1-3	43	1.36	.75	46	1.10	0.31	2.20	.031
Grades 4-6	36	1.34	.67	43	1.05	2.17	2.65	.010
Students outside class[a]								
Grades 1-3	43	3.71	1.39	46	1.78	0.97	7.69	.000
Grades 4-6	36	3.56	1.48	43	1.47	0.83	7.86	.000
School materials[b]								
Grades 1-3	44	1.18	0.69	46	1.02	0.15	1.54	.128
Grades 4-6	36	1.19	0.75	43	1.03	0.16	1.40	.167
Culture & sports[b]								
Grades 1-3	44	1.86	1.19	46	1.17	0.55	3.59	.001
Grades 4-6	36	1.86	1.15	43	1.15	0.52	3.66	.000
Communications[b]								
Grades 1-3	44	1.27	0.73	46	1.09	0.59	1.33	.186
Grades 4-6	36	1.31	0.79	43	1.00	0.00	2.55	.013
Language of students[b]								
Grades 1-3	44	3.56	1.17	46	2.60	0.93	4.33	.000
Grades 4-6	36	3.53	1.23	43	2.36	0.94	4.77	.000

[a]Score for the teaching in class subscale is on a 7 point scale: 1= always in Spanish, 7= always in Quichua.
[b]Scores for all other subscales (teachers outside class, students outside class, school materials, culture & sports, communications, language of students) are on a 5 point scale: 1= always in Spanish, 5 always in Quichua.

Table 4.18 indicates that no significant differences in means were found between the two communities on the teaching in class, teachers outside class, school materials, and culture & sports subscales. For all these subscales, low average scores between 1.00 and 1.86 were found in both Morocho and Otavalo. These averages demonstrate a predominant use of Spanish in the school environment.

Low mean scores for Quichua on the **teaching in class**, **teachers outside class**, **school materials**, and **culture & sports** subscales of the Linguistic Contacts Through Education Questionnaire at both sites, Morocho and Otavalo, indicate a lack of opportunities to use Quichua at school, especially with teachers; conversely, such low scores indicate many opportunities to use Spanish at school.

However, differences between the two communities were found on means for **language of students**, and for language most often used by **students outside class** in the school environment. In Morocho, fairly equivalent moderate mean scores were found for **language of students** (3.56 and 3.53) and for language most often used by students outside class (3.71 and 3.56). These comparable moderate scores for **language of students** and for language most often used by students outside class show that, in Morocho, students who knew Quichua spoke it outside class. This was not the case in Otavalo, where moderately low means were found on **language of students** (2.60 and 2.36), and low means were also found on language most often used by **students outside class** (1.78 and 1.47). These differences in averages between language of students and language used by students outside class show that although some of the students spoke Quichua, they rarely spoke it outside class in Otavalo.

It is worth noting that although the low average scores for language of students in Otavalo show that modest numbers of Indigenous children attend city schools, the moderate average scores in Morocho suggest that some of the respondents may have attended schools

outside the community, since all the children attending school in the community are Indigenous. It is important to clarify that mean scores for secondary education are not presented because there was only one person in Morocho who went past the 6th grade (to 7th and 8th).

Results for Pre-School of the Teaching in Class Subscale of the Linguistic Contacts Through Education Questionnaire

Table 4.19 compares pre-school in the two communities, Morocho and Otavalo, on the first subscale, teaching in class (i.e., language used by the teacher in class), which is part of the Linguistic Contacts Through Education Questionnaire.

Table 4.19. Language Use in Pre-school in Morocho and Otavalo on the Teaching in Class Subscale of the Linguistic Contacts Through Education Questionnaire

LCE	Morocho			Otavalo				
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*
Teaching in class								
Pre-school	31	2.32	2.07	21	1.00	0.00	2.92	.005

Note. Scores for the **teaching in class** subscale are on a 7 point scale: 1= always in Spanish, 7= always in Quichua.

As can be seen in Table 4.19, not all the respondents participated in pre-school instruction. In Morocho, 62% of respondents, 31 out of 50, attended pre-school, and in Otavalo, 42% of respondents, 21 out of 50, attended pre-school. The mean score of 1.00 in Otavalo demonstrates that the teacher did not use any Quichua in class, whereas the mean score of 2.32 in Morocho shows a higher use of Quichua by the teacher in class, but not notably high. Mean scores for language used by teachers in class in pre-school reveal the extent of radical early total-immersion education in the majority language, Spanish.

4.3.2.2 Correlations Between Subscales of the Linguistic Contacts Through Education Questionnaire and Degree of Standardization of Quichua and Spanish

Table 4.20 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of correlations between the different subscales of the Linguistic Contacts Through Education Questionnaire and the degree of standardization of Quichua and Spanish.

Table 4.20. Correlations Between Subscales of the Linguistic Contacts Through Education Questionnaire and Degree of Standardization of Quichua and Spanish in Morocho and Otavalo

LCE	Morocho		Otavalo	
	Degree of standardization, Quichua	**Degree of standardization, Spanish**	**Degree of standardization, Quichua**	**Degree of standardization, Spanish**
Teaching in class				
Grades 1-3	-.00	-.12	-.15	-.04
Grades 4-6	-.11	-.14	-.15	-.04
Teachers outside class				
Grades 1-3	-.06	-.06	-.24	-.26
Grades 4-6	-.06	.12	-.52**	-.14
Students outside class				
Grades 1-3	.41*	.11	.32	-.11
Grades 4-6	.43*	.26	.24	.10
School materials				
Grades 1-3	.01	.18	-.12	.02
Grades 4-6	.05	.14	-.16	.01
Culture & sports				
Grades 1-3	.37	.05	-.08	.31
Grades 4-6	.37	.02	-.10	.41*
Communications				
Grades 1-3	.07	.10	-.12	.02
Grades 4-6[a]	.04	.04	--	--
Language of students				
Grades 1-3	.22	.15	.24	-.27
Grades 4-6	.19	.22	.08	-.27

[a]Communications in Otavalo in grades 4-6 were all in Spanish, so correlation could not be computed.
**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Most of the correlations presented in Table 4.20 were non-significant. An apparent explanation for this result is that variability was limited on many of the subscales of the Linguistic Contacts Through Education scale due to the predominance of Spanish as the language of instruction. However, a few significant relationships were found. In Otavalo, a significant relationship (r=-.52, p<.01) was found between the language used by teachers out of class and the respondent's degree of standardization of Quichua when communicating with Quichua speakers. The negative direction of the relationship indicates that more-frequent use of Quichua by teachers outside class is associated with *less* interference of Spanish when the respondent is communicating with Quichua speakers. In Morocho, positive relationships were found between the language used by students outside class and the degree of standardization used in communicating with Quichua speakers. This indicates that more-frequent use of Quichua by students outside class is associated with use of a language variety that is closer to standard Quichua.

4.3.3 Linguistic Contacts Through Media

4.3.3.1 Results of the Linguistic Contacts Through Media Questionnaire

Table 4.21 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo on the twelve subscales of the Contacts Through Media Questionnaire.

Table 4.21. Linguistic Contacts Through Media Subscales in Morocho and Otavalo

LCM	Morocho			Otavalo				
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*
Television programs in Q.	50	1.16	0.42	50	1.38	0.83	-1.67	0.098
Television programs in S.	50	7.94	1.72	50	8.12	1.71	-0.52	0.601
Radio programs in Q.	50	2.38	1.61	50	1.92	1.58	1.44	0.153
Radio programs in S.	50	7.44	1.98	50	7.80	1.63	-0.99	0.323
Movies in Q.	46	1.09	0.28	50	1.14	0.45	-0.68	0.498
Movies in S.	46	6.98	2.59	50	7.88	1.98	-1.93	0.057
Music in Q.	49	3.02	2.10	50	3.02	2.51	0.00	0.999
Music in S.	49	7.16	1.89	49	8.04	1.40	-2.62	0.010
Newspapers in Q.	48	1.48	1.18	47	1.06	0.32	2.32	0.023
Newspapers in S.	47	7.13	2.26	47	7.91	1.80	-1.87	0.065
Magazines in Q.	47	1.34	0.87	47	1.09	0.41	1.83	0.071
Magazines in S.	47	6.77	2.59	47	7.79	2.12	-2.09	0.039
Books at home in Q.	47	1.64	1.31	45	1.78	1.18	-0.54	0.594
Books at home in S.	47	6.85	2.26	45	8.02	1.60	-2.85	0.005
Plays and concerts in Q.	47	1.72	1.93	50	1.90	1.85	-0.46	0.647
Plays and concerts in S.	47	5.79	3.06	50	7.28	2.63	-2.58	0.011
Road signs in Q.	48	1.06	0.24	47	1.72	1.62	-2.79	0.006
Road signs in S.	48	7.35	2.30	47	8.09	1.95	-1.67	0.099
Signs outside stores in Q.	48	1.04	0.20	47	2.11	2.05	-3.59	0.001
Signs outside stores in S.	48	7.04	2.48	47	7.55	2.19	-1.06	0.290
Signs inside stores in Q.	47	1.11	0.37	47	1.81	2.00	-2.37	0.020
Signs Inside stores in S.	47	6.74	2.64	47	7.87	2.12	-2.28	0.025
Mail advertising in Q.	3	1.00	0.00	42	1.40	1.34	-0.52	0.609
Mail advertising in S.	3	4.33	4.04	42	8.21	1.55	-3.71	0.001

Note. Scores for the **contacts through media** subscales are on a 9 point scale: 1= never, 9= always.

Table 4.21 shows mean scores of less than 2.0 on most of the subscales pertaining to linguistic contacts through media in Quichua, in both Morocho and Otavalo, indicating few linguistic contacts through media in Quichua. It is worth noting that **music in Quichua** is the only medium of mass communication that has mean scores above 2.0 in both communities. In Morocho, the only other linguistic contacts through media subscale in Quichua that has mean scores above 2.0 is **radio programs in Quichua**, and in Otavalo, the only other ones are **signs inside stores** and **signs outside stores**. In Morocho and Otavalo, mean scores above the

midpoint of 5.0 indicate considerable media contact in Spanish. The results for most subscales show that, consistent with its urban and more-diverse milieu, Otavalo has more opportunities than Morocho for linguistic contacts through media in Spanish.

Table 4.22 compares linguistic contacts through media in the two communities of Morocho and Otavalo.

Table 4.22. Overall Comparison of Linguistic Contacts Through Media in Morocho and Otavalo

LCM	Morocho			Otavalo		
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*
In Quichua	47	1.57	.53	47	1.71	.95
In Spanish	47	7.08	1.87	47	7.90	1.66

As indicated in Table 4.22, mean scores of 1.57 and 1.71, in Morocho and Otavalo, respectively, show low opportunities for linguistic contacts through media in Quichua in both communities, whereas mean scores of 7.08 and 7.90, respectively, show high opportunities for linguistic contacts through media in Spanish in both communities.

4.3.3.2 Correlations Between Quichua and Spanish Linguistic Contacts Through Media and Degree of Standardization of Quichua and Spanish

Table 4.23 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of correlations between Quichua and Spanish linguistic contacts through media and the degree of standardization of Quichua and Spanish.

Table 4.23. Correlations Between Quichua and Spanish Linguistic Contacts Through Media and Degree of Standardization of Quichua and Spanish in Morocho and Otavalo

LCM	MOROCHO		OTAVALO	
	Degree of standardization, Quichua	**Degree of standardization, Spanish**	**Degree of standardization, Quichua**	**Degree of standardization, Spanish**
Quichua	.09	.04	-.12	-.10
Spanish	-.14	.35*	-.05	-.24

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

As Table 4.23 shows, no correlation was found between **linguistic contacts through media** and the degree of standardization of either language in either community, except between **contacts through media** and degree of standardization of Spanish in Morocho, where there was a positive correlation, but this correlation was significant at the α=0.05 level only. In Morocho, more frequent exposure to Spanish media was associated with use of a more standard variety of Spanish when communicating with Spanish speakers.

4.4 PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

> **Hypothesis 2:** There is a statistically significant correlation between the ethnolinguistic vitality at the **psychological level** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

In order to verify the second hypothesis, which concerns the *psychological level*—comprising individual beliefs on ethnolinguistic vitality—and its influence on the language variety used by Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo, different combinations of the four types of cognitive orientation theory beliefs elaborated by Allard and Landry will be examined. Figure 1.1 is repeated below as Figure 4.1 for the ease of the reader.

Figure 4.1. Reproduction of Allard and Landry's Figure Depicting Cognitive Orientation Beliefs and Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality

		OBJECT	
		Factual	Desired
SUBJECT	Non-self (Exocentric beliefs)	*General beliefs* Present vitality Future vitality Social models	*Normative beliefs* Legitimate vitality
	Self (Egocentric beliefs)	*Personal beliefs* Valorization Belongingness Personal efficacy	*Goal beliefs* Goals and desires

The four types of cognitive orientation theory beliefs (italics) and the eight kinds of beliefs reflecting EV defined in terms of their subjects and objects of reference.

Note. From "Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality: A Comparison of Two Measures," by Réal Allard and Rodrigue Landry, 1994b, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *108*, p. 125. Reproduced with permission.

4.4.1 Results for the Different Subscales of the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ)

Table 4.24 shows a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of the four types of cognitive orientation: general beliefs, personal beliefs, normative beliefs, and goal beliefs regarding ethnolinguistic vitality in Quichua and Spanish.

Table 4.24. Subscales of the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ) in Morocho and Otavalo

BEVQ	Morocho			Otavalo				
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*
General beliefs								
Spanish	50	5.64	2.26	51	7.83	0.80	-6.51	.000
Quichua	50	6.21	1.24	51	4.99	0.76	-6.46	.000
Normative beliefs								
Spanish	50	5.89	2.30	51	7.68	1.03	-5.07	.000
Quichua	50	7.16	1.49	51	7.54	1.01	-1.52	.131
Personal beliefs								
Spanish	49	4.96	1.88	50	6.82	1.07	-6.06	.000
Quichua	49	6.83	1.30	50	6.46	1.04	1.57	.120
Goal beliefs								
Spanish	49	5.66	2.35	51	7.02	1.28	-3.61	.000
Quichua	49	6.76	1.71	51	7.14	1.25	-1.27	.209

Table 4.24 shows that means on subscales pertaining to the ethnolinguistic vitality of Quichua are generally fairly high—above 6.0—in both communities. The only exception is the **general beliefs** subscale for Otavalo, on which means are almost at the scale midpoint of 5.0. These lower scores for **general beliefs** as to the ethnolinguistic vitality of Quichua in Otavalo reflect factual, non-self beliefs, according to cognitive orientation theory.

Table 4.24 shows that beliefs as to the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish were noticeably more positive in Otavalo than in Morocho on all of the subscales: **general beliefs**, **normative beliefs**, **personal beliefs**, and **goal beliefs**. By contrast, beliefs regarding the ethnolinguistic vitality of Quichua were noticeably more positive in Morocho than in Otavalo on only one subscale: **general beliefs**. There was no significant difference between the two communities with respect to Quichua on the following subscales: **normative beliefs**, **personal beliefs**, and **goal beliefs**.

In general terms, the average of the means of the four subscales on beliefs regarding ethnolinguistic vitality shows a higher average for Spanish in Otavalo than in Morocho, but no noticeable difference for Quichua between the two communities, except on the **general beliefs** subscale, on which the average scores are higher in Morocho.

General beliefs on the EV of Quichua and **personal beliefs** on the EV of Spanish obtained the lowest averages in Otavalo and Morocho, respectively, within these four categories of beliefs regarding ethnolinguistic vitality; therefore, it is worthwhile to examine the **general beliefs** and the **personal beliefs** subscales so as to better understand the results.

4.4.1.1 Results for the Subscales of General Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality

Table 4.25 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of the three subscales of general beliefs regarding the ethnolinguistic vitality of Quichua and Spanish.

Table 4.25. Subscales of General Beliefs Regarding Ethnolinguistic Vitality in Morocho and Otavalo

General beliefs	Morocho			Otavalo				
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*
Present vitality								
Spanish	48	5.73	2.07	50	7.70	.83	-6.26	.000
Quichua	48	5.89	1.31	50	4.27	.98	6.94	.000
Future vitality								
Spanish	48	6.32	2.37	50	7.78	1.20	-.388	.000
Quichua	48	5.85	1.75	50	6.03	1.39	-.569	.571
Social models								
Spanish	48	5.25	2.70	50	8.04	1.03	-6.81	.000
Quichua	48	6.78	1.54	50	4.68	1.27	7.38	.000

As can be seen in Table 4.25, there were significant differences between the two communities with respect to **general beliefs** on the EV of Spanish, with all three subscales—**present vitality**, **future vitality**, and **social models**—showing higher mean scores for Otavalo than for Morocho. These results suggest that, within their respective areas, residents of Otavalo believe that the present resources of Spanish are greater than do the residents of Morocho, and that the future resources of Spanish will be greater as well. Furthermore, residents of Otavalo believe that their friends use Spanish more frequently than residents of Morocho believe their friends do. With respect to **general beliefs** on the EV of Quichua, significant differences were found on the **present vitality** and the **social models** subscales, which show higher mean scores for Morocho than for Otavalo. Differences between the two communities in mean scores for the **future vitality** of Quichua were not significant. Thus, it can be observed that although residents of Morocho believe that the present resources of Quichua are greater than do residents of Otavalo, and believe that their friends use Quichua more frequently than residents of Otavalo believe their friends do, the two communities nonetheless hold similar views with respect to their belief that the future resources of Quichua in their respective areas will be great.

It can be said that mean scores in Morocho show a rather balanced situation between the two languages among all three subscales within the **general beliefs** aspect of the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ). However, a different situation can be observed in Otavalo, where the **present vitality** and the **social models** subscales of the **general beliefs** aspect of the BEVQ exhibit an unbalanced situation in favor of Spanish. The **present vitality** and the **social models** subscales for beliefs on the EV of Spanish have mean scores of 7.7 and 8.04, whereas the same subscales for beliefs on the EV of Quichua have mean scores below the scale midpoint of 5.0. It is worth noting that although the mean scores for beliefs on the EV of Quichua in Otavalo on the **present vitality** and the **social models** subscales were only 4.27 and 4.68, respectively, the mean score on the **future vitality** subscale, 6.03, was much higher. This was not the case for beliefs on the EV of Spanish in Otavalo, where mean scores on the **present vitality** and the **future vitality** subscales were comparable, at 7.7 and 7.78, respectively. In other words, respondents in Otavalo did not foresee Spanish having higher vitality in the future, whereas they did foresee Quichua's vitality increasing in that region.

4.4.1.2 Results for the Subscales of Personal Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality

Table 4.26 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of the three subscales of personal beliefs on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Quichua and Spanish.

Table 4.26. Subscales of Personal Beliefs Regarding Ethnolinguistic Vitality in Morocho and Otavalo

Personal beliefs	Morocho			Otavalo				
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*
Valorization								
Spanish	48	6.20	2.39	50	7.68	1.06	- 3.97	.000
Quichua	48	7.22	1.57	50	7.38	1.14	- 0.57	.573
Belongingness								
Spanish	47	4.90	2.78	50	6.98	2.40	-3.95	.000
Quichua	47	7.68	1.91	50	6.79	2.30	2.07	.041
Personal efficacy								
Spanish	47	3.93	2.06	49	5.79	1.79	-4.73	.000
Quichua	47	5.44	1.86	49	5.18	1.62	0.74	.461

As can be seen in Table 4.26, there were significant differences between the two communities with respect to **personal beliefs** on the EV of Spanish on all three subscales, with higher means for Otavalo than for Morocho. This suggests that residents of Otavalo place a higher value on Spanish, feel a greater sense of belonging with Hispanic culture, and consider themselves to be more proficient in Spanish than residents of Morocho. With respect to **personal beliefs** on the EV Quichua, the only difference was on the **belongingness** subscale, which shows a higher mean for Morocho. Thus, it seems that residents of Morocho feel a greater sense of belonging with Quichua culture than do residents of Otavalo.

A comparison of the means for the two languages within each community shows an interesting trend. There was no noticeable difference between the mean scores for the two languages in Otavalo on two of the three subscales of personal beliefs on ethnolinguistic vitality: **valorization** and **belongingness**. The mean scores for the **valorization** subscale were 7.68 for Spanish and 7.38 for Quichua, and the mean scores for the **belongingness** subscale were 6.98 for Spanish and 6.79 for Quichua. The subscale that did show a noticeable difference between both languages in Otavalo was the **personal efficacy** subscale, which had a mean score of 5.79 for Spanish and 5.18 for Quichua. Although in Otavalo minor differences in mean scores between

the two languages were found on all three subscales, the higher scores on all three subscales were for Spanish.

Conversely, in Morocho, there was a large difference between the mean scores for both languages on each of the three subscales of **personal beliefs** on ethnolinguistic vitality. The two subscales that exhibited the largest differences were the **belongingness** subscale, which had a mean score of 4.90 for Spanish and 7.68 for Quichua, and the **personal efficacy** subscale, which had a mean score of 3.93 for Spanish and 5.44 for Quichua. In Morocho, the **valorization** subscale revealed fairly high scores for both languages, but higher scores in favor of Quichua.

4.4.2 Results for Factual Beliefs and Desired Beliefs

Table 4.27 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of factual beliefs—which comprise general and personal beliefs—and desired beliefs—which comprise normative and goal beliefs—on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish and Quichua, according to the factual/desired paradigm seen in Figure. 4.1.

Table 4.27. Factual Beliefs and Desired Beliefs in Morocho and Otavalo

Beliefs on EV	**Morocho**			**Otavalo**				
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*
Factual beliefs								
Spanish	49	5.31	1.92	50	7.33	0.68	-7.00	.000
Quichua	49	6.53	1.05	50	5.73	0.72	4.47	.000
Desired beliefs								
Spanish	49	5.81	2.11	51	7.35	1.00	-4.69	.000
Quichua	49	6.95	1.34	51	7.33	0.94	-1.67	.098

With respect to beliefs regarding ethnolinguistic vitality according to a factual/desired paradigm, it is worth noting that there is no noticeable difference between **factual beliefs** and

desired beliefs on the EV of either Spanish or Quichua in Morocho. In Otavalo, although there is no noticeable difference between **factual beliefs** and **desired beliefs** on the EV of Spanish, there is a marked difference between **factual beliefs** (5.73) and **desired beliefs** (7.33) on the EV of Quichua. It can be inferred from these means that the residents of Morocho are fairly satisfied with the relative vitality of Spanish and Quichua, since they do not desire appreciably higher ethnolinguistic vitality for either language. However, in Otavalo, even though the residents seem fairly satisfied with the relative vitality of Spanish, they do desire higher ethnolinguistic vitality for Quichua.

Thus, people in Morocho see Quichua as having higher ethnolinguistic vitality than Spanish and want to maintain the status quo with respect to the ethnolinguistic vitality situation. Meanwhile, people in Otavalo see Spanish as having higher ethnolinguistic vitality than Quichua, but want Quichua to have as much ethnolinguistic vitality as does Spanish.

4.4.3 Results for Exocentric Beliefs and Egocentric Beliefs

Table 4.28 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of non-self (exocentric) beliefs—which comprise general and normative beliefs—and self (egocentric) beliefs—which comprise personal and goal beliefs—on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish and Quichua, according to the non-self/self paradigm seen in Figure 4.1.

Table 4.28. Exocentric and Egocentric Beliefs in Morocho and Otavalo

Beliefs on EV	**Morocho**			**Otavalo**				
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*
Exocentric beliefs								
Spanish	50	5.70	2.19	51	7.79	0.76	-6.42	.000
Quichua	50	6.45	1.17	51	5.63	0.73	4.26	.000
Egocentric beliefs								
Spanish	49	5.14	1.89	50	6.87	0.86	-5.92	.000
Quichua	49	6.82	1.27	50	6.63	0.94	0.81	.419

As shown in Table 4.28, **exocentric beliefs** on the EV of Spanish are significantly higher in Otavalo than in Morocho, whereas **exocentric beliefs** on the EV of Quichua are significantly higher in Morocho than in Otavalo. There was no significant difference between the two communities with respect to **egocentric beliefs** on the EV of Quichua, although **egocentric beliefs** on the EV of Spanish were significantly higher in Otavalo than in Morocho.

In both communities, means on scales pertaining to **exocentric beliefs** (pertaining to non-self) in the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish are higher than those pertaining to **egocentric belief**s (pertaining to self) in the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish. Conversely, in both communities, means for **egocentric beliefs** on the EV of Quichua are higher than those for **exocentric beliefs**. These averages indicate that self-belief in the EV of Quichua in both communities is higher than non-self belief, i.e., the beliefs of others.

In Morocho, the mean score for **egocentric beliefs** on the EV of Quichua is higher than the scores of all other belief categories, whereas in Otavalo the score for **exocentric beliefs** on the EV of Spanish is higher than the rest. It is worth noting that in Morocho, **self (egocentric) beliefs** on the EV of Quichua have the highest overall score within the category of beliefs on ethnolinguistic vitality, whereas in Otavalo **non-self (exocentric) beliefs** on the EV of Spanish have the highest overall score within the category of beliefs on ethnolinguistic vitality.

In Otavalo, mean scores on **egocentric beliefs** on the EV of Quichua and Spanish reveal that the self would like to have a certain equilibrium between both languages, whereas in Morocho, a higher mean score for **egocentric beliefs** on the EV of Quichua than on the EV of Spanish reveals that the self would like to maintain the predominance of Quichua in that region. However, in general terms it can be said that all the average scores for **exocentric beliefs** and **egocentric beliefs** on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish and Quichua are high, demonstrating strong belief in the ethnolinguistic vitality of both languages in both communities.

4.4.4 Correlations Between Subscales of the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire and Degree of Standardization of Quichua and Spanish

Table 4.29 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of correlations between the general, personal, normative, and goal beliefs subscales of the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire and the degree of standardization of Quichua and Spanish.

Table 4.29. Correlations Between Beliefs on the Ethnolinguistic Vitality of Quichua and Spanish and Degree of Standardization of Quichua and Spanish

	MOROCHO		OTAVALO	
Beliefs on EV	**Degree of standardization, Quichua**	**Degree of standardization, Spanish**	**Degree of standardization, Quichua**	**Degree of standardization, Spanish**
General beliefs				
Quichua	.13	-.22	.-.02	-.01
Spanish	-.49**	.06	.41**	-.31*
Normative beliefs				
Quichua	-.28	-.20	.22	-.31*
Spanish	-.41**	-.05	.05	-.30*
Personal beliefs				
Quichua	.11	.54**	.19	.09
Spanish	-.41**	-.48**	-.15	-.21
Goal beliefs				
Quichua	-.32*	.20	.36*	-.19
Spanish	-.21	-.32*	.08	-.26

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

As table 4.29 shows, significant correlations were found in both communities between **general beliefs** on the EV of Spanish and the degree of standardization of Quichua in both communities. It is interesting to note that whereas Morocho shows a negative correlation

between **general beliefs** on the EV of Spanish and the degree of standardization of Quichua, Otavalo shows a positive correlation between this same variable and language use.

Another significant negative correlation was found in Morocho between **normative beliefs** on the EV of Spanish and the degree of standardization of Quichua, whereas in Otavalo there was no significant correlation between **normative beliefs** on the EV of either Spanish or Quichua and the degree of standardization of either language.

In Morocho, high and significant correlations between **personal beliefs** on the EV of both languages and degree of standardization were observed. **Personal beliefs** on the EV of Spanish and degree of standardization of Quichua and Spanish had a negative direction correlation, whereas **personal beliefs** on the EV of Quichua and the degree of standardization of Spanish had a positive direction correlation. **Personal beliefs** on the EV of Quichua and degree of standardization of Quichua did not present a significant correlation. In Otavalo, no significant correlations were found between **personal beliefs** on the EV of either Spanish or Quichua and the degree of standardization of either language.

4.4.5 Correlations Between Exocentric and Egocentric Beliefs on the Ethnolinguistic Vitality of Quichua and Spanish and Degree of Standardization of Quichua and Spanish

Table 4.30 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of correlations between exocentric and egocentric beliefs on the EV of Quichua and Spanish and the degree of standardization of Quichua and Spanish.

Table 4.30. Correlations Between Exocentric and Egocentric Beliefs on the Ethnolinguistic Vitality of Quichua and Spanish and Degree of Standardization of Quichua and Spanish

	MOROCHO		OTAVALO	
Beliefs on EV	**Degree of standardization, Quichua**	**Degree of standardization, Spanish**	**Degree of standardization, Quichua**	**Degree of standardization, Spanish**
Exocentric beliefs				
Quichua	.01	.03	.06	-.11
Spanish	-.48**	-.22	.35*	-.34*
Egocentric beliefs				
Quichua	.01	-.46**	-.11	-.26
Spanish	-.41**	.48**	.28	.06

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

As Table 4.30 shows, significant negative correlations were found in Morocho between both exocentric and egocentric beliefs on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish and the degree of standardization of Quichua. These negative correlations indicate that higher scores on these two beliefs, exocentic and egocentric, on the EV of Spanish correspond to use of a less-standardized form of Quichua. Another significant negative correlation was found between **egocentric beliefs** on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Quichua and the degree of standardization of Spanish in Morocho. This negative correlation indicates that higher scores on **egocentric beliefs** on the EV of Quichua correspond to use of a less-standardized form of Spanish. A significant positive correlation was found between **egocentric beliefs** on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish and the degree of standardization of Spanish in Morocho. This positive correlation indicates that higher scores on the **egocentric beliefs** on the EV of Spanish subscale correspond to use of a more-standardized form of Spanish. In Otavalo, no significant correlations were found at the $p > 0.01$ level between exocentric and egocentric beliefs in the ethnolinguistic vitality of Quichua and Spanish and the degree of standardization of Quichua and Spanish.

4.4.6 Results of Correlations Between Factual and Desired Beliefs on the Ethnolinguistic Vitality of Quichua and Spanish and Degree of Standardization of Quichua and Spanish

Table 4.31 presents a comparison between Morocho and Otavalo of correlations between factual and desired beliefs in the EV of Quichua and Spanish and the degree of standardization of Quichua and Spanish.

Table 4.31. Correlation Between Factual and Desired Beliefs Regarding the Ethnolinguistic Vitality of Quichua and Spanish and Degree of Standardization of Quichua and Spanish

	Morocho		**Otavalo**	
Beliefs on EV	**Degree of standardization, Quichua**	**Degree of standardization, Spanish**	**Degree of standardization, Quichua**	**Degree of standardization, Spanish**
FACTU				
Quichua	.15	.38**	.25	.06
Spanish	-.50**	-.38**	.13	-.35*
Desired beliefs				
Quichua	-.28	.11	.25	-.19
Spanish	-.42**	-.29*	.08	-.26

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 4.31 shows that significant negative correlations were found in Morocho between **factual beliefs** and **desired beliefs** on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish and the degree of

standardization of Quichua. These negative correlations indicate that higher scores for these two beliefs, **factual** and **desired**, on the EV of Spanish correspond to use of a less-standardized form of Quichua. Another significant negative correlation was found between **factual beliefs** on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish and the degree of standardization of Spanish in Morocho. This negative correlation indicates that higher scores for **factual beliefs** on the EV of Spanish correspond to use of a less-standardized form of Spanish. A significant positive correlation was found between **factual beliefs** on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Quichua and the degree of standardization of Spanish in Morocho. This positive correlation indicates that higher scores for **factual beliefs** on the EV of Quichua subscale correspond to use of a more-standardized form of Spanish. In Otavalo, no significant correlations were found at the 0.01 level between either factual or desired beliefs on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Quichua and Spanish and the degree of standardization of Quichua and Spanish.

5.0 CHAPTER 5. RESULTS: QUALITATIVE PART

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with six Indigenous leaders of the province of Imbabura who held or had held political positions at the provincial or national level. Three of these leaders had worked extensively in bilingual education, and the other three had worked to address various types of problems affecting the Indigenous population. The interviews were conducted to triangulate the results obtained through questionnaires, which correspond to the quantitative part, and through census and descriptive data. The use of multiple methods and sources may serve to corroborate the data or tap into different aspects of the indigenous reality. Social phenomena are extremely complex. Using different methods and sources provides different viewpoints that may reveal convergent, inconsistent, or contradictory outcomes. Triangulation will be more likely than a singular view of the phenomenon to provide a rich and complex picture of the Indigenous reality (Webb, Campbell, Schwarz, & Sechrest, 1966, as cited in Gredler, n.d., p. 2).

The information presented in this part is divided into six main topics: 1) politics, 2) economics, 3) education, 4) symbols of identity, 5) use of Quichua, and 6) language maintenance. The first three topics complement the sociological level data, which comprise census and descriptive data. The fourth topic corresponds to the psychological level data, which were gathered through questionnaires. The fifth and sixth topics place the issues that were discussed in the theoretical framework in the context of the Quichua reality.

I have tried to maintain the integrity of the Indigenous voices and to present them as accurately as possible. To this end, I have tried to avoid paraphrasing or deleting vernacular expressions or other conversational strategies used by the interviewees; however, especially in the English translation, I have had to make some modifications for the sake of clarity. It is important to keep in mind that my comments are included here to provide a context for the quotes from the interviews, but the central point is to present the Indigenous from the perspective of the Indigenous leaders themselves, and to present their insights on their own situation and language.

5.1 POLITICAL SITUATION OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Since their colonization, Indigenous peoples have been subjugated by Whites and Mestizos. The entry of Indigenous peoples into national politics allows their leaders to transcend the Indigenous world. By moving into key positions, they become role models who guide the future of the Indigenous group. It is clear that these leaders have certain outstanding characteristics that have allowed them to play a leadership role. Given that their role demands that they deal with White Mestizos as well as with other Indigenous groups, they have become mediators who know how to successfully manage both worlds. It seems odd at first glance to observe that these Indigenous leaders, who tend to interact more with White Mestizos, reinforce and cling to the symbols of their Indigenous identity more tenaciously than do other Indigenous who have had less contact with Whites and Mestizos and whose contact has been more indirect and asymmetrical. Surveys of these leaders provide important insight, not necessarily into the typical behavior or philosophy

of Indigenous peoples, but into the vision and mission of their leaders. These leaders are the ones who will be most influential in changing policies at the state and federal levels.

Political capital pertains to participation in politics, or to the political pressure exerted by a group's members, in this case, the Kichwa. Therefore, the Indigenous leaders' view of their in-group's notion of politics provides a starting point for defining Indigenous political participation in Indigenous terms.

5.1.1 Differing Concepts of Politics Among Western and Indigenous Peoples

According to a number of Indigenous leaders, the Indigenous way of conceptualizing politics is different from the Western way. José Muñica, vice president of the Federación Indígena y Campesina de Imbabura (Indigenous and Peasant Federation of Imbabura), comments on differences between the ways the Western world and the Indigenous world select their leaders. He says that Indigenous candidates do not answer to the electorate merely as individuals, but also as social entities. An Indigenous leader is valued for his human qualities, his family support, and the actions he has taken in his community—as opposed to a western leader, who, says Muñica, is valued for his demagoguery:

> ¿Qué pasa en cambio acá? Yo voy y voto y ni le conozco al candidato, ni quien es. Y eso sucede en todo el mundo occidental. Yo voto por las ideas que yo creo que él va a ejecutar y sabemos que él no va a ejecutar... Si queremos elegir a una persona en nuestra comunidad, lo primero que buscamos es si tiene apoyo familiar, si tiene capacidad de gestión. De acuerdo a lo que ha hecho en la comunidad vemos que tipo de hombre es: ha trabajado, no ha trabajado, tiene sentido de servicio, espíritu de servicio... Nosotros pensamos que si alguien quiere ser candidato, debe tener las condiciones humanas que nos competen a todos—encima mantener una entidad humana, antes de una entidad económica o política. ... Los beneficios que hemos obtenido es fortalecer nuestra propia identidad.

> What happens here, on the other hand? I go and vote and I don't know the candidate, or even who he is. And that happens throughout the Western world. I vote for the idea that I believe he will put into practice and we know that he isn't going to.... If we want to elect someone in our community, the first thing we look for is whether he has family support, if he's capable of serving. We see what kind of man he is by what he's done in the community: he's worked, he hasn't worked, he has a sense of service, a spirit of service.... We think that if someone wants to be a candidate, he should first possess those human qualities that are incumbent on all of us to uphold—above all to be a human being first and foremost, and then an economic or political being… The benefits we've obtained fortify our own identity.

Traditionally, in Western society, there has been a pyramidal type of leadership in which the politicians decide what is right for the people. The Indigenous privilege a "bottom up" process in their leadership. A strategic plan for the administration is put in place by working with the organized groups—the transportation association, the artisans' league, the communities, etc. And the work is launched by optimizing natural and human resources. Economist Auki Tituaña, Mayor of Cotacachi, describes his notion of participatory democracy, which has its roots in the traditional system of municipal service that entails representation and decision-making by the mayor and his seven council members. Tituaña explains how his style takes this philosophy a step further in that the entire community is nourished by grassroots participation in the process of building and managing the community infrastructure and its resources:

> Nosotros creemos que la comunidad tiene mucho que aportar. Hay una gran riqueza de experiencias prácticas en el manejo de la tierra, el manejo de los bosques, del agua, el manejo de relaciones intercomunitarias, sociales, y también hay un manejo directo de mano no calificada en el manejo de proyectos y obras, así que como desperdiciar un factor tan clave para la democracia local como dejar de ver esta riqueza tan importante del cantón y del sistema democrático?

> We believe the community has a lot to contribute. We have here in our midst a great richness of practical experience in working the land, managing forests and water, handling social and intercommunity relations. We have an experienced unskilled labor force that is handling projects and public works, so why should we waste such a key factor for local democracy and fail to benefit from this richness in our own *cantón* and in our own democratic system?

Economist Auki Tituaña stresses that ordinarily those in power are out for their own benefit and that of their immediate circle, leaving the rest of the people in precarious conditions—that way these ordinary people won't scrutinize the books. He emphasizes that his administration, on the contrary, is conceived of the people and by the people and thus citizens may have access to the budget. The fact that the books are in the public domain allows citizens to see how each and every penny has been spent; furthermore, when there is a budget shortfall, citizens can see that as well, so that those in government will not be allowed to become demagogues.

> La fórmula de mantener al pueblo analfabeto, irresponsible, da justamente resultados para aquellos que quieren vivir de estas instancias de gobierno local, de gobierno nacional quieren beneficiarse en su círculo pequeño, en su negocio, en sus actividades—unas lícitas, otras ilícitas. De modo que nosotros no tenemos nada que ocultar, y el pueblo tiene que conocer los recursos, la disponibilidad de recursos, la capacidad financiera municipal, para que sean conscientes y que también para que no empiecen a exigir una serie de obras... como también ha ocurrido en el pasado. De tal manera que … nuestra misión, [usa] como base al ser humano, al hombre y la mujer cotacachense, que... tienen mucho que aportar.
>
> The formula of keeping people illiterate and irresponsible is useful exactly to those who want to live off of these local governmental entities, those in national government who want to benefit their small circle, their business, their activities—some legal, others illegal. So, we have nothing to hide, and the people need to know the resources, the availability of resources, the municipal financial limits, so that they're aware and also so that they don't start demanding a series of projects... which has also occurred in the past. So that … our mission, [uses] people, Cotacachense men and women, as a foundation… They have a lot to offer.

The federations and organizations have a mediator role between the communities and the governmental and non-governmental organizations. Alfonso Morales is a senior official in UNORCAC, the Unión de Organizaciones Campesinas e Indígenas de Cotacachi (Union of Peasant and Indigenous Organizations of Cotacachi). The picture he presents of the workings of this organization provides another example of bottom-up leadership:

> [N]osotros bajamos hacia abajo; hacia las bases que son las comunidades. [También nos orientamos] hacia arriba, hacia la provincia, hacia la nacional, desde aquí los contactos a nivel provincial y nacional. Bueno, el planteamiento, es más lo que hacen las comunidades, porque nosotros tenemos que ser los portavoces de ellos más que todo porque para eso tenemos el plan de desarrollo parroquial... hecho en el '98.
>
> We come down to [the grassroots level], to the community itself. [Also, we reach up] to the province, to the national level, to provincial and national contacts. Well, the plan is really developed by the communities, because we have to be their spokespeople; above all because that's why we have the parish development plan… created in '98.

Humberto Cotacachi, former regional director of bilingual education with the Ministry of Education in the Dirección Nacional de Educación Indígena Intercultural Bilingüe–DINEIIB (Department of Indigenous Intercultural Bilingual Education), conceives of political participation as an opportunity for unity and service:

> …. [Y]o creo que tenemos derecho para poder participar en política, pero sin intereses personales, por decir... . Yo pienso de que la política debe servir, también como el proceso de EBI, para unirnos, ¿no? Y dar apertura y dar ese espacio que en verdad necesitan sean los Afro-Ecuatorianos, los Indios, los Mestizos, ¿no?
>
> .... I believe we have the right to be able to participate in politics, but without a personal interest, I mean…. I think politics should also serve as a process that unites us, just as the IBE does, right? And to create an opening and give the Afro-Ecuadorians, the Indigenous, the Mestizos the space they need, right?

He also thinks that the Indigenous in general, despite not taking a leadership role, also have an important commitment to society. They need to support and assist their leaders so they can have a successful campaign.

> Yo pienso que hay que colaborar y es obligación de nosotros como Indígenas quienes podamos dar la mano a tal o cual autoridad [Indígena] que está por elección popular, que está en tal o cual posición pública, entonces estar junto a esa persona. Y más que todo esperar practicar el principio de los indios como es el de no mentir, no robar y no ser ociosos.

> I think that we have to collaborate, and it's our responsibility as Indigenous people who can lend a hand to this or that [Indigenous] authority who is up for election, in this or that public position, so as to support that person. And above all expect to practice native principles like not lying, not stealing, and not being lazy.

Cotacachi predicts not only that Indigenous leaders, when elected, will have greater visibility and act as role models to other Indigenous persons, but mainly that they will embody the Indigenous principles—since they are chosen because they embody them—and represent the Indigenous appropriately and suitably. Furthermore, these leaders coincide in their contention that the Indigenous have a bottom-up leadership that works directly with the communities and mediates between these communities and the governmental and non-governmental institutions that serve them. Therefore, their organizations represent a wide spectrum of Indigenous peoples, providing services and promoting unity among all parties. Additionally, they maintain that all Indigenous peoples need to work for the group's cause by raising their concerns and providing the manpower to execute the work.

The Indigenous leaders' accounts of their group's conceptions of politics provide an important perspective on the degree to which Indigenous political pressure is brought to bear on politics at the national and local levels. These accounts complement the descriptive and census data on the number of Indigenous persons participating in politics at the national and local levels.

5.1.2 Politics as an Opportunity to Create a Space for Dialogue

The participation of the Indigenous peoples in the politics of the country cannot be gauged without a better understanding of the relations among different Indigenous groups as well as between the Indigenous and other ethnic groups.

In a participatory democracy, as it is understood by Economist Auki Tituaña, the purpose of leadership is twofold. One, it allows different ethnic groups to communicate with one another and to get to know one another other and appreciate each other's differences and similarities. And, two, it provides a space for different organizations to work together and incorporate the needs of all the citizens.

> Yo confío que el proceso nos va a dar, como en caso de Cotacachi, la oportunidad de conocernos en el trabajo, y no vernos como mejores o peores sino simplemente como distintos, como diversos en lo cultural, en la parte externa, de expresiones pero que somos seres humanos con necesidades, con sentimientos, con sueños de tener una mejor sociedad. De tal manera que en Cotacachi estamos construyendo las condiciones para que exista un diálogo permanente sin complejos y que todos nos veamos como importantes y como útiles y necesarios en nuestra relación interétnica inter-binacional...

> I trust that the process will give us, as in the case of Cotacachi, the opportunity to get to know each other in our work, and not see ourselves as better or worse but simply as different, as culturally diverse, on the outside, in how we outwardly express ourselves, but that we're human beings with needs, with feelings, with dreams of having a better society. So, for that reason in Cotacachi we're creating the conditions for a permanent dialogue without [psychological] complexes and so that we all see ourselves as important and useful and necessary in our interethnic, inter-bi-national [Mestizo and Indigenous nations] relations...

5.1.3 Indigenous Incursion into Politics

5.1.3.1 Ecuadorian Society's Perspective on Indigenous Political Participation

During the colonial period, Spaniards held all positions of power. Since the post-colonial period, Blanco-Mestizos, people of mixed ancestry or ethnic heritage but with a prevalent component of European ancestry, have held positions of power. The incursion of Indigenous peoples into politics is a fairly recent phenomenon, marked by the consolidation of the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas Ecuatorianas (CONAIE), the strongest grassroots organization in the Americas, in the late '80s. Indigenous participation in politics has not come without a reaction from the rest of society, since the dominant groups have had to share power. The reaction of Ecuadorian society to the Indigenous incursion into the political arena provides a better understanding of the type of resistance the Indigenous face. It also provides insight into the following aspects of Indigenous social identity: how Indigenous leaders think Ecuadorian society views their contribution, how Indigenous leaders view themselves, and what characteristics the Indigenous attribute to their own group.

Economist Auki Tituaña believes the Indigenous nations have a prominent role to play in the country's development and feels this role is not valued in Ecuadorian society:

> Es importante para el país; yo creo que el esfuerzo que hacemos los pueblos y nacionalidades indígenas por formarnos, por contribuir desde nuestra cosmovisión al desarrollo local o nacional, debería ser tomado más en cuenta, más en serio.
>
> It's important for the country; I believe that the effort the Indigenous peoples and nations make to develop our communities, to contribute from our vision of the cosmos to local or national development, should be taken more into account, more seriously.

Traditional politicians, according to Tituaña, often do not really want to establish an interethnic dialogue; by addressing requests for only the most basic infrastructure, they hope to silence the Indigenous peoples:

> A veces se quiere simplemente como justificar momentos de rompimiento de relaciones en el diálogo con la simple atención con obras físicas.
>
> Sometimes [the authorities] simply want to justify breaking off dialogue [with the Indigenous], merely [focusing] attention on public works [projects].

Ecuadorian society and all of humanity could learn from the Indigenous and their worldview. Tituaña notes that the wisdom of their age-old traditions was evident in the advances that distinguished the Inca Empire from other contemporaneous civilizations:

> Los pueblos indígenas creo que podemos aportar no sólo al Ecuador sino a la humanidad con muchos aspectos que hemos sabido conservar y desarrollar en estos últimos siglos y que no es valorado por el estado ecuatoriano. De manera que nuestra misión es salvar a la democracia ecuatoriana de un proceso de estancamiento en el que se han ubicado los diferentes partidos políticos y nos arrastran a toda la sociedad.
>
> I believe the Indigenous nations can contribute, not just to Ecuador but to humanity, many aspects [of life] that we have known how to preserve and develop throughout these past centuries and that are not valued by the rest of the nation. That is, our mission is to save Ecuadorian democracy from the stagnation in which the different political parties are mired, stagnation that is dragging down the whole society.

Successful leadership depends not on having more resources, he believes, but on applying a new style of leadership—collective planning. That is how Ecuadorian society as a whole can profit from the Indigenous and their way of viewing the world.

> Creemos que es un esfuerzo valioso en la medida en que vamos obteniendo resultados positivos—se demuestra que se puede hacer más con los mismos recursos, se demuestra que se puede avanzar a pesar de la crisis nacional, de la crisis política, crisis económica.

> We believe that it is a valuable effort to the extent that we're obtaining positive results—it shows that one can do more with the same resources, it shows that one can progress in spite of the national crisis, the political crisis, the economic crisis.

Tituaña cites his successful leadership of the town of Cotacachi as a vivid example of how economic scarcity can be overcome by making use of the human and organizational resources already available in the community:

> En el cantón Cotacachi hemos avanzado en la ejecución democrática, en la ejecución de una planificación colectiva. Los recursos se han duplicado, triplicado cuando se maneja con transparencia. Hay una suma de voluntades y de recursos; el milagro de la multiplicación de los panes y de los peces en la religión católica es posible en este cantón—autogestión con participación, con planificación.
>
> In Cotacachi *cantón* we have made progress in implementing democracy, in implementing collective planning. The resources have doubled, tripled [because they've been] managed with transparency. There is a coming together of wills and of resources; the miracle of the loaves and fishes in the Catholic religion is possible in this *cantón*—self-governing with participation, with planning.

The following quotation is from an article by Christine Inglis (n.d.) that was published by UNESCO. It is worth noting that this excerpt seems to echo some of the concerns underlying the statements of the different Indigenous leaders I interviewed:

> Multiculturalism emphasizes that acknowledging the existence of ethnic diversity and ensuring the rights of individuals to retain their culture should go hand in hand with enjoying full access to, participation in, and adherence to, constitutional principles and commonly shared values prevailing in the society. By acknowledging the rights of individuals and groups and ensuring their equitable access to society, advocates of multiculturalism also maintain that such a policy benefits both individuals and the larger society by reducing pressures for social conflict based on disadvantage and inequality (Section 4: Multiculturalism and the need for new policy responses to ethnic diversity, ¶ 5).

José Muñica echoes these sentiments, contending that Ecuadorian society must respect the distinct worlds that make up the country's different nationalities and combine them in an equitable way:

> La prioridad es la construcción de una nueva sociedad donde... tanto el mundo indígena como estos mundos que no son indígenas, construyamos nosotros mismos, nuestro propio porvenir, y nos respetemos en ese proceso.
>
> The priority is building a new society in which… the Indigenous world as well as these non-Indigenous worlds together construct our own future and respect each other in that process.

Muñica likens this process to a game, but a cooperative rather than a competitive one, and one that must nevertheless take place on a level playing field, to create a win-win situation for all players:

> Es como entrar en un juego, pero un juego de iguales, pero tiene sus particularidades, Usted también; pero hay algo que nos une y eso que nos une tiene que potenciarnos a todos, no ir a desunir y peor a desbaratar, a no ir a construir una sociedad equitativa o justa. Como pueblos indígenas vemos que todos los problemas pueden solucionarse de esta manera.
>
> It's like entering into a game, but a game between equals, but each with its own idiosyncrasies, you also; but there's something that unites us and the thing that unites us has to strengthen everyone, not divide us, or worse, tear us apart, or keep us from building an equitable or just society. As Indigenous peoples, we see that every problem can be resolved in this way.

These leaders' views on Ecuadorian society and on the Indigenous and their role in society are relevant not only to their situation but also to their expectations. They paint a clearer picture of the concept of political capital and its relationship to ethnolinguistic vitality and to social identity theory. Thus, some predictions can be made about the ethnolinguistic vitality of the target group, its social identity, and the plausibility of its members taking action as individuals or as a group.

5.1.3.2 Indigenous Perspectives on Political Participation

The participation of Indigenous peoples in politics has brought with it a heavy burden of responsibility for Indigenous leaders, who function not only as models for their own group, but also as representatives of their group to Ecuadorian society as a whole. This surge in political participation has provided great gains with respect to Indigenous rights, which have been written into the constitution, and, in general, into government policies. However, written policies may not always produce the desired changes in the society or may not produce them as fast as one might hope. These leaders' accounts of this Indigenous incursion into politics provide a more comprehensive perspective on how changes in policy toward the Indigenous affect the Indigenous themselves.

Once again, changes in the constitution have not gone hand in hand with changes in the nation itself. Humberto Cotacachi recognizes the emergence of capable Indigenous leaders:

> Y creo que el pueblo indígena, por ejemplo, ya está, ya tiene líderes preparados—por ejemplo, tiene Lucho Macas, Nina Pacari; ahí tenemos Auki Tituaña... Hay mucha gente de nuestra provincia; ahí tenemos un Antonio Vargas, por ejemplo.
>
> And I believe that the Indigenous people, for example, already... already have capable leaders, for example, Lucho Macas, Nina Pacari; we have Auki Tituaña.... There are many people from our province; we have Antonio Vargas, for example.

In addition, he believes that the Indigenous feel proud of their leaders when they demonstrate effective leadership. Indigenous groups have lived in Ecuador in a marginal situation. CONAIE—the representative body of Ecuador's Indigenous organizations—and the Indigenous leaders have become the voice of the Indigenous peoples, ready to express their needs and exert their rights. Since the Indigenous have been so stigmatized, it is crucial that their leaders be successful in public life. These leaders carry a double load—they are the models for their in-

group, and at the same time, they are the representatives of their group in the eyes of Ecuadorian society.

> O sea, se ha visto, por ejemplo, a la población indígena en la provincia, quien, por ejemplo, ¿Qué persona indígena no ha hablado de Auki como alcalde de Cotacachi? ¿Quién no sabe que es una persona, una autoridad, que no sólo se lo conoce a nivel de Cotacachi, sino a nivel de provincia, sino a nivel nacional e internacional? Cuando se sienten bien representados, hablan bien.
>
> That is, we've seen, for example, the Indigenous population in the province, who, for example, What Indigenous person has not talked about Auki as the mayor of Cotacachi? [Everybody] knows that he's a person, an authority [figure], who is not just known in Cotacachi, but also throughout the province, and even nationally and internationally. When they feel well represented, they speak well [of Indigenous leaders].

As international concern for the rights of Indigenous peoples mounted, and as CONAIE grew into a well-organized and representative body, pressure on the government resulted in an amendment to the constitution formally recognizing Ecuador as a multicultural state. The consolidation and strengthening of the CONAIE, the strongest grassroots movement of the Americas, has made the rest of the country more aware of Indigenous demands and has increased Indigenous participation in politics. However, their new power has often been usurped by other groups in power who claim to speak for them. Having a different way of looking at the world and managing their resources has prompted the Indigenous—or some of their leaders—to set as their goal the self-determination of the Indigenous nations. José Muñica sees progress in the situation of Indigenous peoples in Ecuador, but at the same time feels that it is important to continue to fight for this goal:

> Bueno, el futuro lo vemos, todavía, por un lado de forma optimista, pero por otro lado también tenemos un duro camino que recorrer. Nosotros pensamos de que los pueblos indígenas tenemos que mantener... por ejemplo, el aspecto de la territorialidad; en la comuna sabemos que tenemos los límites y dentro de esa comuna vivimos una población que manejamos el Quichua, sabemos que somos indígenas y tenemos actividades económicas, artísticas, culturales, de todo tipo de manifestaciones culturales, pero no somos reconocidos como entidades autónomas.

> Well, on the one hand, we still see the future in an optimistic way, but on the other, we also have a hard road to travel. We think that the Indigenous nations need to maintain... for example, with respect to the land, in the communal land we know that we have borders and within that communal land those of us who live there use Quichua; we know that we are Indigenous and we have economic, artistic, and cultural activities, and all sorts of cultural manifestations, but we are not recognized as autonomous entities.

Although as Indigenous peoples they have many common cultural manifestations, they nevertheless see themselves as distinct pueblos who wish to assert their autonomy and be recognized as such by the government.

> Entonces, la intención nuestra es armar a esas comunidades dentro de un pueblo, en este caso, por ejemplo, la identidad del pueblo Cayambe, que es muy distinta, y la identidad del pueblo Otavalo. Tendremos el mismo idioma pero diferimos en todas las otras manifestaciones culturales. Y lo que vemos es que tenemos que constituirnos y tener una auto-determinación para tener nuestras propias instituciones, nuestras propias autoridades que puedan trabajar por nosotros. Pero sin olvidarnos de que ellos están alrededor de nosotros, a nivel de nosotros, junto a nosotros... Es lo que estamos peleando, que el estado reconozca nuestra autoridad, reconozca nuestras instituciones, y en ese sentido también asigne los recursos.

> So, our intention is to bring these disparate communities together to form one [Kichwa] nation, [uniting], in this case, for example, the identity of the Cayambe people, which is very distinct, and the identity of the Otavalo people. We will have the same language but we're different in all of the other cultural manifestations. And what we see is that we have to set ourselves up and have self-determination in order to have our own institutions, our own authorities that can work for us. But without forgetting that they are around us, at our level, next to us... That's what we're fighting for, for the state to recognize our authority, recognize our institutions, and then also to allocate resources to us.

According to Indigenous leaders, the society has not been able to change its way of thinking with respect to equal rights for different ethnic groups. Cotacachi thinks that the Mestizo perspective on Indigenous peoples has not changed at the level of the society as a whole, but rather, exclusively at the level of the individual. In Ecuadorian society, there is always a feeling of Mestizo superiority underlying relations with the Indigenous.

> Bueno, en su totalidad, por ejemplo, no se ha cambiado. Sí, hay determinados gente blanca, mestiza de que reconoce que el indígena tiene derechos a llegar a ocupar espacios. Pero de la misma forma, hay gente que, bueno, con su mentalidad de antes de que el indígena prácticamente no debe surgir, no debe salir hacia adelante y si es que tiene esa posibilidad de ocupar alguna dignidad casi no se le da paso.
>
> Well, as a whole, for example, it hasn't changed. Yes, there are certain white, Mestizo people who recognize that the Indigenous have the right to [hold political office]. But at the same time, there are people who, well, have the same old mentality that the Indigenous almost shouldn't emerge, should not advance, and if [the Indigenous] have the possibility of holding some position they almost don't let it come to pass.

In contrast, economist Auki Tituaña believes that there have been substantial changes in Ecuadorian society thanks to the efforts of the Indigenous peoples themselves. However, the relationship between the Indigenous peoples and the rest of the society is an ongoing process that requires a significant and constant amount of work.

> .... [H]emos logrado cambios significativos en la relación del pueblo Mestizo, del pueblo negro para con el pueblo indígena—más el pueblo Mestizo para con el pueblo indígena... Nos hemos ganado; no es ningún favor ni de ningún gobierno, los niveles de tolerancia. Creo que ha sido nuestro propio trabajo, nuestro propio esfuerzo.
>
> .... [W]e have achieved significant changes with respect to [the attitudes of] Mestizo people and of Black people toward the Indigenous peoples— [those of] Mestizos toward the Indigenous peoples [even] more so.... We've won; [these increased] levels of tolerance are not a gift, nor are they from any [particular] government. I think it's been our own work, our own effort.

Tituaña questions what has really triggered this change with respect to the attitudes of Mestizos and Afro-Ecuadorians toward the Indigenous peoples—is it a question of fear or a product of a more ethnic-conscious attitude?

> Indudablemente hay un cambio de actitud todavía no muy consciente—tal vez es un temor porque los Indios son capaces de paralizar el país, de botar a un gobierno, luchar contra estos grupos de poder...

> Without a doubt, there is a change in attitude, not very conscious yet—perhaps there's some fear [there as well], because the Indians are capable of paralyzing the country, of tossing out the government, [of] fighting against these powerful groups....

However, Tituaña recognizes that regardless of what has triggered these changes, changes have indeed occurred and will continue to occur:

> [Hay] cambios importantes que se ha logrado en el liderazgo de hombres y mujeres, cambios importantes que se han logrado en la iglesia—ya no se nos ven simplemente como las almas perdidas (rezar y que el buen comportamiento en la tierra les llevará directamente al cielo)—la relación con la universidad, la relación con los empresarios, los contratistas. No es del todo acabada esa relación, no es del todo perfecta, pero creo que ha habido cambios que el país los irá desarrollando.
>
> [There are] important changes that have been achieved in the leadership of men and women; important changes... that have been won in the church—now they don't see us just as lost souls (prayer and… good behavior on earth will take them directly to heaven)—[in] relations with the university, relations with business people, [with] contractors. That relationship is not completely settled, it's not all perfect, but I believe that there have been changes that the country will go on developing.

According to José Muñica, the Indigenous have emerged from the obscurity to which they had been relegated by the rest of the country and by Ecuadorian society itself, and have become a unified social and political entity. This has given the Indigenous nations a tangible benefit and at the same time has redefined the situation of the Indigenous within Ecuadorian society. Again, Muñica emphasizes that the Indigenous way of handling their own institutions and their own political process is different from the Mestizo way, and that the autonomy of the Indigenous peoples within their own territories has to be maintained within the Ecuadorian state:

> En los últimos 25 años nosotros hemos ganado bastante. Primero es la presencia que hemos logrado, la identidad social que ahora ya reconocen no sólo el estado, sino la sociedad. Antes no sabían ni siquiera que existíamos, a pesar de que eramos mayoría. Luego viene nuestra lucha por una identidad política, es decir, sí sabemos que hay un sistema político establecido por el estado, por el gobierno. [E]s lo que hemos mantenido y estamos reforzando—tenemos nuestras propias instituciones, nuestras propias autoridades, nuestra propia forma de elección, que es directa y en forma nominal.

> In the last 25 years, we have gained quite a bit. First is the presence we've achieved, the social identity that not only the state now recognizes, but also the society. Before they didn't even know we existed, even though we were the majority. Then comes our fight for political identity, that is, yes, we know there's a political system established by the state, by the government. It's what we've maintained and are reinforcing—we have our own institutions, our own authorities, our own form of election, which is direct and personal.

Economist Auki Tituaña suggests that, after overcoming their economic, political, ideological, and religious subjugation, the Indigenous movement's greatest conquest has been the recovery of its self-esteem. Therefore, Indigenous leaders represent a means of gaining not only political power, but also status and prestige.

> Tal vez una recuperación de nuestra autoestima inclusive. Hemos vivido sometidos a estos sistemas económicos [y] políticos, acompañados también por un proceso de imposición ideológica y de la religión que obviamente cuesta superarlos. [Y] la recuperación de la autoestima también está acompañada de una recuperación de un proyecto, de un papel histórico que tenemos—un papel político, de manera que no sigamos explotando malamente a un grupo de ecuatorianos y beneficiándose unos pocos. Hay otras formas de agresión, de métodos genocidas.
>
> Perhaps even a recovery of our self-esteem. We have lived in subjugation to these economic and political systems, also accompanied by a process of ideological and religious imposition that is obviously difficult to overcome. [And] the recovery of self-esteem is also accompanied by the recovery of our goal, of our role in history—a political role, so that we don't continue wrongly exploiting one group of Ecuadorians and benefiting just a few. There are other forms of aggression, of genocidal methods.

As can be seen from these accounts, Indigenous leaders perceive that their situation has changed, at least to a certain degree, due to their own initiatives and the pressure they have brought to bear on the political system. These leaders show varying degrees of optimism about the changes that have occurred in the Indigenous society, but it seems that they all agree that Ecuadorian society has had a lethargic reaction to these changes. One of these leaders states that the most significant result of Indigenous participation in politics has been the recovery of their self-esteem. These

perspectives provide a better understanding of the *political capital* dimension of Indigenous society as well as insight into the Indigenous beliefs that influence the ethnolinguistic vitality of the group.

5.2 ECONOMIC SITUATION

Economic capital refers to the degree to which group members participate in and control commercial and industrial institutions and the extent to which their language is present in advertising. The former can be assessed via the information provided in the sociological level chapter, whereas the latter can be assessed via the linguistic contacts through media data that were presented with the results of the quantitative part in chapter 4. However, another important dimension of economic capital is the economic situation of group members. This can be partly inferred from the sociological level findings, but it is difficult to assess, due partly to a lack of statistical data, but mainly to the completely different conceptions of the Western world and the Indigenous world about the fundamental notion. These interviews of Indigenous leaders are important to an understanding of Indigenous concepts and standards.

Although the Indigenous leaders did not comment much on the economic aspect of Indigenous life, communal work was mentioned. The *minga* and the *randi-randi* (reciprocity) were emphasized as elements that are fundamental to an understanding of the Indigenous vision of the cosmos—and of the economy. José Muñica explains that although the Indigenous are involved in the Western world to a certain extent, their economic conceptions are very different from those of Westerners.

According to José Muñica, Indigenous Ecuadorians have their own economic conceptions that cannot be fully understood when viewed from a Western perspective. Furthermore, he asserts, the Ecuadorian state needs to develop a better understanding of the Indigenous perspective in order to become an entity that truly fosters the economic development of this group:

> Bueno, las políticas estatales siempre tratan de homogenizar, por un lado, y por el otro, también hay una tendencia abierta hacia integrar al indígena al desarrollo nacional. Nosotros vemos que nosotros tenemos nuestro propio sistema económico. Y ahora que el Ecuador ya está dolarizado, nuestra moneda, el sucre, no ha desaparecido en la mentalidad de los indígenas. ¿Hasta que punto nos han insertado en ese proceso? Más bien nosotros estamos construyendo desde nuestra perspectiva un mundo diferente—tenemos un mundo diferente; lo que pasa es que el estado no nos reconoce. Ahí está el gran lío, y no nos quiere reconocer, a pesar de ahora que ya hay algunos derechos y algunos artículos incluidos en la Constitución.
>
> Well, state policies always try to homogenize on the one hand, and on the other, there is also an overt tendency toward integrating the Indigenous into national development. We see that we have our own economic system. And now that Ecuador is using the dollar, our currency, the sucre, has not disappeared in the Indigenous mentality. To what extent have they involved us in that process? Rather, we have been constructing a different world from our own point of view—we have a different world; the thing is that the state doesn't recognize us. That's the big problem, and they don't want to recognize us, even though now [we have] some rights and some articles included in the Constitution [that guarantee them].

Even the concept of poverty is defined differently by the Indigenous peoples: not solely in monetary but also in humanitarian terms.

> Dentro de nuestro sistema económico, por ejemplo, se habla mucho de pobreza. Alguien que tiene un ingreso diario de un dólar por persona, dice que es un pobre, pero nuestros indígenas en un mes no ganan en dólares. Entonces estamos basados sobre lo que tenemos, en la producción real, las parcelas normales... nos alimentamos de lo que tenemos ahí... Nosotros vemos que las personas indígenas son pobres mas bien cuando no tienen familiares; por eso decía que nuestra condición es distinta. Acá por ejemplo, hay personas que son pobres porque no ganan un dólar diario para subsistir, pero acá decimos que son pobres porque tiene muy poca familia o no tiene familiares.

> Within our economic system, for example, poverty is discussed a lot. Someone with a daily income of one dollar per person is said to be poor, but in one month, our Indigenous may not even have earnings in dollars. So [our economic system] is based on what we have, in real production, the usual small plots... we feed ourselves from what we have there. We see that Indigenous persons [see ourselves as] poor when we don't have family; that's why we say that our situation is different. Here, for example, there are people who are poor because they don't earn a dollar a day to subsist on, but here we say that they're poor because they have few family members or none [at all].

The interviewees bring up the word *struggle* again and again to describe the situation: "us"—the Indigenous—struggling against "them"—the Mestizos. They echo a constant cry to assert the Indigenous right to be different. Traditionally, mainstream society has attempted to "whiten" the Indigenous peoples; at the same time, it has discriminated against them whenever they have shown any trace of their Indigenousness. Often the Indigenous are stigmatized because of their poverty. José Muñica emphasizes that the Indigenous cannot be evaluated using Western criteria. Their economic situation cannot be measured simply by how much money they happen to have. Their well-being is closely linked to the well-being of their family and their community.

> Si [los indígenas] tienen familiares, es porque tienen quien pueda ir a ayudar, a colaborar, a participar, a vivir. En ese sentido, la pobreza no es solamente financiera como nos hace ver el mundo occidental; para nosotros es más humana. Concomitantemente con eso, si toda la familia a lo mejor no tiene que comer, toda la familia sufre de hambre. Pero eso no es solamente un parámetro financiero, sino de muchas otras cosas más.
>
> If [the Indigenous] have family, … they have someone who can come to help, to collaborate, to participate, to live…. In that sense, poverty is not just financial, as the Western world [tries to] make us see [it]; for us it is more human. Concomitantly with that, if the whole family … doesn't have any food, the whole family suffers from hunger. But that's not just a financial parameter, but rather many other things as well.

However, as Muñica points out, the state fails to consider the Indigenous conception of poverty and, in its paternalistic fashion, tries to impose its vision and its solutions on the Indigenous community:

> En ese sentido, el estado no contribuye en nada a arreglar las condiciones de vida porque primero, no respetan nuestro pensamiento, y segundo, piensan que todas son cosas macroeconómicas y cuestiones financieras y que arreglando el sistema financiero están arregladas todas las cosas. Por eso vienen, por ejemplo, los estados dando unas salidas alimentarias, ¿no? En esas ayudas alimentarias, de forma oculta, podría decir, subyacen algunos pensamientos, como el mantener el paternalismo, ¿no?
>
> In that sense, the state contributes nothing toward improving our living conditions because first, they don't respect our way of thinking, and second, they think that everything is macroeconomics and financial questions and that if you fix the financial system everything is fixed. That's where, for example, the government giving food aid comes from, right? You could say that hidden in that food aid are some ideas, like maintaining paternalism, right?

5.3 BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Cultural capital can be determined by the degree of institutional support in the fields of education, religion, culture, and the media. All of these domains have been addressed in chapter 3, which covers the sociological level of Landry and Allard's (1990) macroscopic model. Education and the media have also been addressed in chapter 4, which covers the quantitative results, specifically those pertaining to linguistic contacts through education and linguistic contacts through media. These interviews with Indigenous leaders provide a perspective from within the target group. These leaders include two former top education officials, one at the national and the other at the regional level. They provide a historical account of bilingual education from its inception to the current era. They evaluate, from their perspective, the objectives, the achievements and failures, and the supporters and detractors of bilingual education; they also assess the impact of Hispanic education as opposed to bilingual education, and the future of the latter.

5.3.1 The Creation and Objectives of Bilingual Education in Ecuador

According to Alberto Anrango, former director of the national bilingual education program, the primary objective of bilingual education is as follows:

> El objetivo principal de la educación fue que a través de la educación bilingüe rescatemos nuestros idiomas indígenas, que estaban en proceso de acabarse, y también de fortalecer nuestra cultura indígena.
>
> The primary objective of [bilingual] education was [that] through bilingual education we would rescue our Indigenous languages, which were in the process of dying out, and also strengthen our Indigenous culture.

Economist Auki Tituaña, mayor of Cotacachi *cantón*, speaks of the historic moment when bilingual education was instituted:

> En el ’88, cuando avanza este programa de educación bilingüe, la organización indígena estaba recién constituida. En los últimos dos años, había tenido incidencia la CONAIE especialmente, y la primera propuesta fue acceder a un servicio que dio el estado en materia educativa más a la mano de las comunidades. Yo creo que no se tenía un proyecto acabado sobre la educación bilingüe... Creo que no se ha[bía] desarrollado por la misma inestabilidad política en el país, de gobierno, y la falta de visión de verle al Ecuador como un todo, como un sistema integro en el que se deben cuidar la aplicación de políticas que nos beneficien a todos.
>
> In ’88, when this program of bilingual education was developed, the Indigenous organization had recently been formed. In the previous two years, CONAIE especially had had an impact, and the first proposal was to consent to a bilingual education service offered by the state that was more accessible to the communities. I believe there was no fully developed bilingual education project [in existence prior to this one]... I think it had not been developed because of the political instability of the country, [and] of the government, and [because of] the failure to see Ecuador as one whole, as an integral system in which care should be taken to implement policies that benefit all of us.

Anrango has seen the objective of bilingual education crystallize to some extent; nonetheless, he thinks that teachers lack the education and training they need to make the process more successful:

> Yo creo que se está consiguiendo eso, pero como que falta más compromiso de los profesores, más conciencia y también más formación profesional como para llevar a cabo de manera muy exitosa el cumplimiento de este objetivo.
>
> I believe we're getting there, but we need more commitment on the part of the teachers, more awareness, and also more professional education in order to achieve greater success in reaching this objective.

In addition, Anrango feels that bilingual education is a constant process of consciousness-raising and self-valuing of Indigenous cultures and languages:

> Yo creo que las escuelas indígenas bilingües deben seguir trabajando para que se cree mayor conciencia y auto-estima hacia lo que es lo nuestro—nuestro idioma, nuestra cultura...
>
> I think that the bilingual Indigenous schools should keep working to create greater awareness and self-esteem [to keep] what's ours—our language, our culture...

Anrango defines the mission of the Dirección Nacional de Educación Indígena Intercultural Bilingüe–DINEIIB (Department of Indigenous Intercultural Bilingual Education) as follows:

> La Dirección Nacional Bilingüe tiene que ver con todo lo que es educación [y] formación de todas las organizaciones [y] nacionalidades indígenas del país en diferentes lenguas y rescatando todo lo que es la cultura indígena y capacitando a los profesores [y] elaborando materiales en diferentes lenguas.
>
> The Dirección Nacional Bilingüe [takes on] everything pertaining to the education and training of all the Indigenous organizations and nationalities in the country, in [all the] different [Indigenous] languages, [and with] rescuing everything having to do with Indigenous culture, training the teachers, and creating materials in [these] different languages.

5.3.2 Supporting and Inhibiting Factors in the Development of Bilingual Education

5.3.2.1 Support and Neglect on the Part of the Ecuadorian Government

With respect to support or lack of support from the Ecuadorian government for education in the country as a whole, and specifically for bilingual education, Anrango speaks in particular of the lack of funds provided for education:

> ...[E]l gobierno ecuatoriano, no nos ha dado la debida importancia. La educación no es tomada en cuenta en el país; el 30 por ciento que está establecido en la Constitución, ahora creo que están aportando el 12 por ciento nada más. No le dan la legítima importancia a la educación. Creo que es un gran error; por eso, el Ecuador está en la situación en la que se encuentra. Del 12 por ciento que se le da a la educación, yo creo que la educación bilingüe nos estarían dando el 4 o 5 por ciento.
>
> ...[T]he Ecuadorian government hasn't [shown the proper respect for bilingual education]. Education is not taken into account in this country; [of] the 30 percent that's budgeted [for it] in the Constitution, I believe they're now providing only 12 percent. They don't give education its legal due. I believe it's a big mistake; that's why Ecuador is in the situation it's in. Of the 12 percent given to education, I believe they're giving us 4 or 5 percent for bilingual education.

These data agree with the figures provided by Humberto Cotacachi, previous provincial director from Imbabura for intercultural bilingual education. In addition, he says that Indigenous congressional representatives have insisted that Congress allocate funding exclusively for bilingual education:

> ...la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe [EBI], a través de los diputados indígenas que están en el Congreso Nacional se ha pedido un presupuesto exclusivamente para educación bilingüe. Pero Usted ve que el presupuesto debe darse el 30 por ciento para la educación en el país y apenas estamos con el 11 o 14 por ciento. Nosotros somos parte de ese 14 por ciento, la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe.
>
> ...Intercultural Bilingual Education, through the Indigenous members who are in the National Congress, has requested a budget item exclusively for bilingual education. But you see that 30 percent of the budget should be given to education in this country, and we're barely at 11 or 14 percent. We're part of that 14 percent, the Intercultural Bilingual Education.

5.3.2.2 Support from Non-Governmental Organizations

Due to the lack of support for bilingual education from the Ecuadorian government, DINEIIB is forced to turn to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to strengthen bilingual education in concrete areas. Humberto Cotacachi says that it's thanks to the NGOs that Educación Intercultural Bilingüe–EBI (Intercultural Bilingual Education–IBE) has been able to be carried out:

> Si no existieran las ONGes, no sé que se podría decir de la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe, porque ellos son los que en verdad han ayudado para que la educación bilingüe salga hacia adelante. No sé me ocurre ahorita otra cosa negativa de la EBI, no.
>
> If the NGOs didn't exist, I don't know what would become of intercultural bilingual education, because they are the ones who have really helped bilingual education move forward. No other negative thing occurs to me right now about IBE, no.

Alberto Anrango speaks of the support of the Deutsche Gessellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit–GTZ (German Society for Technical Cooperation):

> ...[T]uvimos un convenio con la GTZ de Alemania para que ellos nos apoyen en todo, pero sobre todo en lo que tiene que ver con capacitación para profesores y evaluación de unos materiales didácticos urgentes. Ellos nos han apoyado... para que la educación bilingüe avance.
>
> ...[W]e had an agreement with the GTZ from Germany. They were to provide technical support… especially for training teachers and for evaluating teaching materials, some of which were urgently needed. They have supported us in advancing bilingual education.

Alfonso Morales of the Unión de Organizaciones Campesinas e Indígenas de Cotacachi–UNORCAC (Union of Peasant and Indigenous Organizations of Cotacachi) re-emphasizes the

vital importance of NGO support for the various projects his organization is carrying out, including educational projects. He says that UNORCAC's entire budget comes from NGOs:

> Las fuentes que vienen, más que todo a nivel de organización, son fondos internacionales, porque nosotros no tenemos ningún presupuesto del estado, nada de eso.
>
> The [funding] sources [we receive, especially] at the organizational level, are international funds, because we don't have any budget from the state, nothing.

5.3.3 Pros and Cons of Bilingual Intercultural Education

5.3.3.1 Achievements of Bilingual Intercultural Education

The different Indigenous leaders synthesize, according to their perspective, the main achievements of the process of intercultural bilingual education in Ecuador.

Humberto Cotacachi emphasizes how bilingual education has brought the community together:

> Bueno, primero, de que la educación, la parte positiva, por ejemplo, la educación bilingüe ha permitido, por decir, de que haya la unidad, o la participación de los actores sociales en una comunidad, como son los niños, los profesores, los moradores, los miembros de la comunidad, las organizaciones—la unidad de los actores sociales de los procesos de educación.
>
> Well, first of all, with respect to education, the positive part, for example, is that bilingual education has allowed there to be, so to speak, unity, or participation of the social actors in the community—including children, teachers, residents, members of the community, organizations—the unity of the social actors in the educational process.

Cotacachi also points out that bilingual education has enabled the Indigenous peoples to recover not only their customs and traditions, but also their self-respect:

> Segundo, es muy importante porque se rescata las costumbres y tradiciones—prácticamente la cultura en sí—de los pueblos indígenas. Entonces, lo que se ha estado perdiendo, [es que] teníamos vergüenza de decir "Tal persona es mi padre," o "Yo soy indio," y se cambiaban de ropa y todas esas cosas. Hoy vemos—¡Que orgullo!—tenemos dirigentes y líderes que están saliendo, jóvenes, por ejemplo, en defensa de los pueblos indígenas, reclamando los derechos que tienen los pueblos indígenas.
>
> Second, it's very important because the customs and traditions of the Indigenous peoples—practically the culture itself—are being rescued. Therefore, what we've been casting off [is that] we used to feel ashamed to say "That person is my father" or "I'm an Indian," and they used to change [from their traditional dress into Western] clothing and that sort of thing. Today we're proud that we have authorities and young leaders who are emerging, for example, to defend the Indigenous peoples, to reclaim the rights of the Indigenous peoples.

Cotacachi points out that the schools used to have a very high dropout rate, especially among children brought up speaking only Quichua, but incorporating Quichua in the schools reduced the dropout rate significantly:

> Tercero, [el EBI ha rebajado] el índice de alumnos que pierden el año, de desertores...
>
> Third, [IBE has reduced] the dropout rate...

Cotacachi also observes that bilingual education has fostered intercultural exchange among the various Indigenous nations, because members of each one are being educated in both Spanish and their own Indigenous language:

> Cuarto, siempre ha habido la reunión, por ejemplo, la reunión a nivel nacional donde hay ese cambio de vivencias de los pueblos indígenas, porque es diferente la realidad de los indígenas de Cañar, por ejemplo, del Azuay, del Chimborazo—porque la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe, por ejemplo, se entrega o se da de acuerdo a cada uno de los idiomas que hablan en los pueblos indígenas; por ejemplo, los Shuar—la educación de ellos es el español con el idioma Shuar, de acuerdo a su nacionalidad.

> Fourth, we have always had our [annual] meeting, for example, the national meeting where we [foster intercultural ex]change among the Indigenous peoples, because the reality of the Indigenous of Cañar, for example, is different from that of the Azuay, of the Chimborazo—because intercultural bilingual education, for example, is provided in each of the languages spoken in the Indigenous nations; for example, the Shuar—their education is in Spanish and the Shuar language, according to their nationality.

Bilingual education also provides equal opportunity for the Indigenous to move forward as individuals and as Indigenous communities, and to move the country forward as an integrated whole, says Cotacachi:

> Y quinto, yo pienso que esto permite de que nos integremos... como pueblos indígenas pero que nos integremos a la sociedad ecuatoriana para poder trabajar como verdaderos ecuatorianos y sacar adelante al país, porque nosotros no podemos estar como indígenas a un lado y los hispanos al otro lado, sino mas bien nos permite estar en igualdad de condiciones y salir adelante, para poder sacar adelante a nuestro país.

> And five, I think that this allows us to be united… as Indigenous peoples, but also to integrate ourselves into Ecuadorian society in order to be able to work as true Ecuadorians and move the country forward, because we can't have the Indigenous on one side and the Hispanics on the other, but instead this allows us to have equal conditions, to go forward, and to move our country forward.

Alberto Anrango refers, in more general terms, to the achievements of the IBE process. He considers the IBE to be one of the Indigenous movement's greatest achievements—the ability to use their own language and their own geographic points of reference:

> De manera sintética, podría decir que es un avance muy importante del movimiento indígena ecuatoriano el de haber logrado un sistema de educación intercultural bilingüe netamente para las nacionalidades indígenas del Ecuador. Yo creo que con la creación de esta instancia legal, los indígenas pueden hacer uso de su misma lengua, de su misma cultura, de sus mismos referentes geográficos para formarse en el pensamiento indígena, y también conservando, retomando lo que están perdiendo, lo que está desapareciendo: las lenguas indígenas.

> To synthesize, one could say that it's a very important advance for the Ecuadorian Indigenous movement to have achieved an intercultural bilingual educational system specifically for the Indigenous nationalities of Ecuador. I believe that the creation of this legal entity is enabling the Indigenous to make use of their own language, of their own culture, of their own geographic reference points to educate themselves in Indigenous philosophy, and, at the same time, preserving, rescuing what they're losing, what's disappearing: the Indigenous languages.

Anrango agrees with Humberto Cotacachi that in this case bilingual education allows the Indigenous themselves to be actors in the educational process in favor of the recovery of their language, their culture, and their vision of the cosmos:

> Y es importante también porque la educación bilingüe está vinculada estrechamente a las nacionalidades, a las organizaciones indígenas... Entonces, así como digo... es un aspecto sumamente importante en el avance educativo, legal, de re-vindicación educativa de los indígenas en el país.

> And it's also important because bilingual education is closely linked to the [Indigenous] nations, to the Indigenous organizations.... So, as I said.... this is an extremely important aspect of our educational and legal progress, of our educational justice for the Indigenous in this country.

Anrango also believes that bilingual education has created a consciousness in the country as a whole of the importance of providing an educational program that is tailored to the needs of students of different ethnic backgrounds. If they are to be successful in school, Indigenous students cannot simply be swallowed up by an educational system that is tailored to the Spanish-speaking elite.

> Yo creo que otro de los avances que hemos conseguido es que haya conciencia de los indígenas del país para que tomen como un plan, un programa nacional propio en el campo educativo.

> I believe that another of our achievements is the consciousness among the country's Indigenous of [the need for] a plan, [the need for] their own national educational program.

According to José Muñica, vice president of the Federación Indígena y Campesina de Imbabura (Indigenous and Peasant Federation of Imbabura), or FICI, the most positive aspect of the IBE is the validation it gives to the Indigenous language as a means of communication and learning:

> Los aciertos, primero es que se enseñe y se aprenda el quichua. Muy diferente a que... que se valore nuestro idioma; eso sería lo fundamental. Bueno, habría también como aciertos, el poner maestros bilingües—no había. Ahora uno de los requisitos para ser maestro de una escuela EBI es que sepa ambos idiomas. También otro acierto es que se tenga ya una estrategia, varios años, para introducir en el sistema de educación intercultural bilingüe el quichua como nuestro medio de comunicación y de aprendizaje…
>
> The primary achievement [of IBE] is that Quichua is taught and learned. Very different from... valuing our language; that would be the fundamental thing. Well, there have been other achievements [of IBE]: putting in bilingual teachers—there weren't any [before]. Now one of the requirements for being a teacher in an IBE school is knowing both languages. Another good thing is that now there's a strategy, over several years, to introduce Quichua into the intercultural bilingual education system as our means of communication and learning.

5.3.3.2 Future Goals and Improvements for Intercultural Bilingual Education

In general, economist Auki Tituaña thinks the principal goals the IBE should work on are the following:

> [Con respecto a la educación bilingüe, es importante desarrollar] políticas de estado y también construcción desde la visión, desde la cosmovisión de las organizaciones indígenas. En ese sentido, habrá que hacer un esfuerzo mayor por seguir profesionalizando también a hombres y mujeres indígenas de las diferentes nacionalidades para que sean los protagonistas de este cambio. No sean antropólogos, sociólogos externos los que únicamente vengan a darnos—haciendo las cosas. [Tenemos] la necesidad de una preparación para construir en nuestras propias manos un modelo de educación bilingüe.
>
> [With respect to bilingual education, it is important to develop] state policies, and also to build on the vision, on the worldview of the Indigenous organizations. In this regard, one will also need to make a great effort to continue professionalizing Indigenous men and women from the different [Indigenous] nationalities to be the protagonists of this change. That way it won't be just foreign anthropologists and sociologists who come here to give us things, to do things for us. [We] need to prepare ourselves to build a model of bilingual education with our own hands.

These Indigenous leaders also acknowledge that the IBE still has a long way to go to meet its goals. Alfonso Morales feels that it is necessary to define precisely what the IBE is, and to come to a consensus on the responsibilities that different organizations have at the communal, provincial, and national levels:

> Bueno, yo creo que ahí mismo a nivel de estructuras... la nacional, las provinciales, que se llegue a concretarse, o sea, ¿qué es la educación intercultural bilingüe? Porque a veces cada director o cada supervisor que entra también no están en esas... en esa onda de lo que es la educación bilingüe a veces... Entonces sería de reestructurar... lo que es la nacional, las provinciales. Y también, el tercero sería la coordinación, la coordinación tanto de instituciones que están trabajando en estos temas de capacitación y todo eso. A veces todo el mundo queremos capacitar, pero después vuelta no sabemos ni que mismo, en que líneas capacitar a la gente.
>
> Well, I believe that right there at the structural level... the national [structure], the provincial [structures], that should be specified; that is, What is intercultural bilingual education? Because sometimes each director or supervisor who comes in also isn't on that wavelength of what bilingual education is.... So, it would be restructuring... [bilingual education at] the national [and] the provincial [levels]. And also, the third would be coordination, coordination [among] the institutions that are working on these themes of training and all of that. Sometimes everyone wants to do training but then later we don't even know what, what to train people in.

Morales addresses the involvement and commitment of the community and the parents, specifically in the IBE. He also points out that the teachers often lack knowledge of the Indigenous languages and lack commitment to the community and to IBE. In addition, he questions both the attitude of the teachers toward the community and the attitude of the community toward the teachers:

> Bueno, el problema es que nosotros hemos luchado mucho en lo que es hablar nuestra propia lengua materna; entonces ahí tenemos profesores que no hablan. Entonces, también hemos dicho, o sea, hay gente que necesita trabajo y presentan carpetas. Entonces, no están en ese deseo de trabajar por las comunidades; solamente están por tener el trabajo nada más. Entonces a veces los profesores en las comunidades tienen que apoyar... o sea, trabajar conjuntamente con padres de familia, ir capacitando a los padres de familia también para que ellos puedan dar seguimiento.

> Well, the problem is that we have fought hard to speak our own mother tongue; then we have teachers who don't speak it. So, we've also said, that is, there are people who need work and [can] present a portfolio. So, they don't have that desire to work for the communities, they're just after the job, nothing more. So sometimes the teachers in the communities have to teach... that is, work together with the parents, so that they can follow up [on their children's education].

Morales cites as problems not only the lack of adequate supervision of teachers by the Dirección Nacional de Educación Bilingüe, but also the lack of mutual respect between the teachers and the community in which they are teaching:

> Entonces ahí, desde la dirección bilingüe también no hay una supervisión más puntual... Y a veces no hay un respeto hacia los profesores también y de los profesores hacia la comunidad.

> Well, there in the bilingual administration, there's also no... [direct] supervision [of teachers]. And at times, there is a lack of respect for the teachers [on the part of the community] and also [a lack of respect] for the community on the part of the teachers.

Humberto Cotacachi brings up one negative point—many parents lack appreciation for bilingual education:

> Ahora, en el caso... de las debilidades... por ejemplo, determinados padres de familia [piensan] de que nuestra educación intercultural no vale.

> So, in the case...of [program] weaknesses... for example, there are certain parents [who think] our intercultural education has no value.

Cotacachi cites the lack of a specific budget granted by the state as another downside:

> Negativo también en este proceso: No tenemos, por ejemplo, un presupuesto específico para la educación bilingüe.

> Another negative thing in this process: We don't, for example, have a specific budget for bilingual education.

Alberto Anrango agrees with Cotacachi with respect to the lack of state support for the IBE:

> Como debilidades, podría decir... el incumplimiento total del estado en apoyar a todo lo que es la educación bilingüe...
>
> As for weaknesses, I could say …the state's complete failure to support any aspect of bilingual education…

And, like Alfonso Morales, Anrango alludes to a specific problem with the teachers, but his point centers on the lack of integrity on the part of both the teachers and the teaching institutions with respect to teacher training:

> [Adicionalmente], los profesores que se graduaron en ese programa intensivo, algunos como que se quedaron ahí, sacaron su título, y no pusieron interés por continuar preparándose para ser mejores docentes. Y eso se ve a las claras, que los profesores una vez que tuvieron su título fueron a trabajar pero no hicieron innovaciones pedagógicas. No había un avance pedagógico...
>
> [Additionally, as for] the teachers who graduated from that intensive program, some of them stayed there, got their degree, and showed no interest in continuing their training to be better educators. And that's crystal clear, that once the teachers got their degree they went to work but didn't implement pedagogical innovations. There was no pedagogical progress...

Anrango also objects to the way in which many Indigenous organizations have politicized bilingual education and, in attempting to exercise control over it, have served to divide the Indigenous movement:

> Los otros aspectos negativos, es como que se viene a politizar la educación bilingüe, no desde el campo del factor político, sino de las mismas organizaciones. Una organización quería manejar para sí, otra organización quería manejar para sí; es decir, este, como sectorizando el movimiento indígena, ¿no [es] cierto? Y se quería sectorizar también la educación bilingüe... [L]a educación bilingüe era para todos los indígenas del país, y por lo tanto, los indígenas tienen que asumir responsablemente el apoyo a la educación bilingüe, en sus re-vindicaciones, movimientos, levantamientos.
>
> Another negative aspect is that bilingual education is being politicized, not in the political arena, but by the [Indigenous] organizations themselves. One organization wants to manage things by itself, another organization wants to manage things by itself; that is, uh, like segmenting the Indigenous movement, isn't it? And they also wanted to segment bilingual education… [B]ilingual education is for all of the country's Indigenous peoples, and for that reason, the Indigenous have to give responsible support to bilingual education in their movements and uprisings in defense of their rights.

José Muñica strongly believes that parents should play a greater role in rescuing the language for future generations by insisting on bilingual education for their children:

> En desaciertos creo que está no haber iniciado un proceso serio de rescate del idioma. Creo que son los padres de familia que deberían rescatar esto.
>
> One of the [IBE's] mistakes, I believe, is not having initiated a serious process of rescuing the language. I believe it's the parents who should do this.

Muñica questions whether the IBE is serious about the process of rescuing the language and deplores the Ecuadorian state's lack of interest in taking responsibility, as a multilingual nation, for creating such policies and carrying them out:

> Otro desacierto [por parte] del estado... [es] no considerar que el Ecuador es multilingüe y [por lo tanto, requiere] tener políticas en ese sentido... Hay escuelas interculturales bilingües porque nosotros creemos en eso, mas no porque... [sea] una política estatal. El gobierno debería insertarse en esa forma de hacer política y abrir espacios para cada uno de estos idiomas, ¿no? En el momento que se pierde el idioma se pierde toda una cultura.
>
> Another mistake [on the part of] the state… [is] to not consider that Ecuador is multilingual and [therefore, requires] policies to that effect… There are intercultural bilingual schools because we believe in that, not because [it's] state policy. The government should get involved in making policy and make room for each of these languages, right? The moment you lose a language, you lose an entire culture.

5.3.4 Considerations for Choosing Between Bilingual and Hispanic Schools

Alberto Anrango explains that organized Indigenous communities and organizations are the primary supporters of the IBE:

> Sabe que, cuando la gente indígena es organizada, de hecho apoya la educación bilingüe, porque sabe que es un triunfo de las organizaciones indígenas, y también los compañeros organizados saben que nuestro idioma indígena, cualquiera que sea, es importante de rescatar y de valorizar, igualmente todo lo de nuestra cultura, nuestros conocimientos centrales.

> You know, when the Indigenous peoples are organized, they in fact support bilingual education, because they know it's a triumph of the Indigenous organizations, and the organized activists also know that our Indigenous language, whichever it is, is important to rescue and to value, as well as all of our culture, our central knowledge.

Anrango thinks that an Indigenous organization's main responsibility is to value and support the IBE. Indigenous leaders have begun to scrutinize both the schools and the teachers so that bilingual education can function better:

> La misma organización indígena tenemos que ir fortaleciendo. Ellos, porque son organizados, dan ese valor, y han estado apoyando. Desde ahí, veo que los líderes han estado criticando a los profesores, por ejemplo, cuando no cumplen con sus funciones, el incumplimiento de sus horarios...
>
> We have to keep strengthening that same Indigenous organization. Because they're organized, they value it, and they have been supporting [it]. From there, I see that the leaders have been criticizing the teachers, for example, when they don't fulfill the responsibilities of their position, and do not maintain the required schedule....

Anrango observes that there are differences between those rural communities that are located far from an urban center and those that are adjacent to cities, with respect to their cultural and linguistic loyalties:

> Yo diría que [las lealtades] cambian en las comunidades que son independientes, más que nada en las más cercanas a las ciudades, por ejemplo, Otavalo, Riobamba. Las comunidades vecinas a las ciudades, ellas como que se han mestizado y no han dado el valor que se merece el programa de educación intercultural bilingüe.
>
> I would say that [loyalties] change in those communities that are independent, above all, in those [that are] closest to the cities, for example, Otavalo [and] Riobamba. The communities [that are adjacent to cities]... have become Mestizo and haven't given the intercultural bilingual education program the value it deserves.

Anrango also notes that the influence of nearby cities has led many Indigenous young people to reject bilingual education and to enroll in Hispanic schools:

> Entonces... los jóvenes estudiantes... quieren ir a una escuela central hispana, negando el programa de educación intercultural bilingüe.
>
> So... young students... want to go to a central Hispanic school, refusing [to participate in] the intercultural bilingual education program.

Alberto Anrango points out that some Indigenous parents prefer to send their children to Hispanic schools because they do not value their own teachers:

> [S]e ha hecho un análisis pero ellos dicen como que no se da la estima suficiente a nuestros hermanos, profesores bilingües. Se cree que porque son indígenas, a veces no tienen la capacidad de un profesor blanco-mestizo. Todavía hay esa tendencia en la mente de algunos indígenas.
>
> An analysis has been done, but they say that our brothers, bilingual teachers, aren't held in high enough regard. It's believed that since they're Indigenous, sometimes they don't have the [intellectual] capacity of a White-Mestizo teacher. There is still that tendency in the minds of some Indigenous persons.

Anrango also observes that many Indigenous parents are concerned that their children will not learn Spanish well enough unless they focus all their attention on it, so if they can afford it they insist that their children attend schools in which all classes are taught in Spanish:

> Y en segundo lugar, no quieren que las clases sean impartidas en la lengua indígena; quieren castellano... y yo creo que también en algunos casos, se considera que si pueden solventar los gastos de la escuela urbana hispana, les mandan.
>
> And in the second place, they don't want classes to be taught in the Indigenous language; they want Spanish... and I believe that in some cases... if they can afford the cost of the urban Hispanic school, they send them [there].

5.3.5 Specific Projects to Improve IBE

5.3.5.1 Creation of Infrastructure

Alfonso Morales speaks of specific projects the UNORCAC has undertaken to improve education in Cotacachi, from providing classroom facilities to addressing the problems of teacher education and housing:

> A nivel de educación, lo que nosotros hemos hecho más que todo, en las comunidades, ha sido demasiado baja la educación, entonces para eso nos han dicho, nos han sugerido que los profesores son de otras partes y van hacia las comunidades. A veces llegan martes y se alzan jueves [porque no tienen un lugar para quedarse en la comunidad]; ...entonces para que no tengan problemas de vivienda todo eso, se ha hecho en las comunidades lejanas... vivienda para los profesores, se ha hecho las aulas, se ha hecho digamos de implementar con el gobierno nacional mismo.
>
> In terms of education, what we've done above all is, in the communities, [the teachers' level of] education has been too low, so we've been told that [to address that], it's been suggested that the teachers come from elsewhere and go into the communities. Sometimes they arrive on Tuesday and leave on Thursday [because they don't have a place to stay in the community]; …so that they don't have problems with lodging [and] all that, in the distant communities… we've built housing for the teachers, we've built classrooms, we've built, let's say, [with the support of] ...the national government itself.

5.3.5.2 Training and Evaluation of Teachers

Alberto Anrango says that Indigenous organizations have been working together with international institutions to maximize the time spent in the classroom by evaluating the teachers when they are teaching and using vacation days rather than in-service days for training:

> ...[C]on diferentes instituciones internacionales estamos capacitando a los profesores para que la educación llegue hacia las comunidades... entonces ahora nuevamente hemos planificado días de vacaciones ahí [en las comunidades para] capacitar a los profesores, y en cambio vuelta, cuando ya vienen las clases, salir a las comunidades, ir evaluando a los profesores, como están dando el seguimiento de esto [la capacitación].

> ...[W]e've been training the teachers [in cooperation] with different international institutions so that education will come to the communities, …so now once again we've planned [to use] vacation days to train the teachers there [in the communities] and then we come back when classes begin and go out into the communities to evaluate the teachers, to see how they're following up with this [training].

Anrango says that initially there were pedagogical institutes devoted to the training of bilingual teachers, but he feels that now that a number of good teachers have been trained, the best current teachers should be chosen to train new teachers in these institutes:

> En un tiempo había siete institutos pedagógicos superiores para formar a los profesores bilingües... Entonces yo pienso que ahí esta la clave: poner en los institutos pedagógicos bilingües a los mejores profesores bilingües para que ellos formen a los docentes mejores, ¿no [es] cierto?
>
> There used to be seven teaching colleges to train bilingual teachers.... So I think that's the key: put the best bilingual teachers in the bilingual pedagogical institutes so they can train the best educators, right?

Alberto Morales says that the UNORCAC is fighting to get bilingual teachers to come to rural, and even to urban areas:

> Y también, lo que decimos, el quichua, a nivel urbano, al menos, hemos estado diciendo que debemos tener un profesor bilingüe por lo menos, porque casi la mayoría de los niños de las comunidades—porque, diciendo [los que viven en las comunidades rurales] que es mala educación en la comunidad—han bajado al nivel urbano [donde ni se enseña ni se usa el quichua]. Entonces, ahí al menos estamos perdiendo lo que es el quichua. Entonces, también estamos en conversaciones de tener profesores bilingües a nivel urbano también, porque eso ha sido una de las cosas más difíciles.
>
> And also, with respect to Quichua, in the urban context, at least, we've been saying that we should have at least one bilingual teacher, because almost the majority of the children from the communities—because [the residents of these rural communities are] saying that the quality of education in the community is poor—are sent to urban schools [where Quichua is neither taught nor used]. So, there at least we're losing …Quichua. So, we're also in talks about having bilingual teachers in the urban schools too, because that's been one of the hardest things.

5.3.6 The Struggle for Acceptance of Indigenous Cultures in Hispanic Schools

Morales emphasizes the importance of respect for Indigenous cultural identity, particularly as it is manifested in dress. Indigenous leaders maintain that even when parents choose to send their children to urban Hispanic schools, they must retain the right to send them in traditional Indigenous attire:

> [En] las escuelas hispanas, de la unidad urbana... ahí también, nosotros hemos luchado de decir nuestra propia ropa que se pueda utilizar, porque todos nos querían uniformarnos de acuerdo a lo que es la parte urbana, la parte mestiza, ¿no [es] cierto? Entonces en eso también hemos luchado y hemos ganado, o sea, porque nosotros hemos luchado, hemos dicho nuestra identidad cultural es tanto la vestimenta también.

> [In] the Hispanic schools, in the urban district... there too, we've fought to say [that] our own clothes could be worn, because they all wanted to put us in uniform according to the urban way, the Mestizo way, right? So in that too we've fought and we've won, that is, because we've fought, we've said [that] our clothing is also part of our cultural identity.

5.4 USE OF QUICHUA IN THE SCHOOLS

According to social identity theory, the elements that constitute the minimal criteria for membership in a particular group will vary with each group. In the case of the Indigenous, most of the leaders cited speaking Quichua as one of the most important Indigenous identity markers. Cotacachi went so far as to state that not speaking Quichua is an act of disloyalty to the Indigenous nation. Since language behavior is linked to an individual's self-reliance and belief in his ability to accomplish personal goals, if the individual needs his group in order to achieve his goals, he will comply with the group's demands and conform to group behavioral standards.

According to Humberto Cotacachi, an Indigenous person who doesn't speak Quichua betrays his Indigenous nationality:

> Usted, por ejemplo, si es que no habla el quichua siendo un indio, está practicamente traicionando a la raza de uno, y no digamos raza sino a la nacionalidad de uno, y si hay casos de que, siendo indígena, dice "no sé hablar el quichua," entonces está desconociendo a sus padres, está desconociendo a su nacionalidad.
>
> You, for example, if you are an Indian and don't speak Quichua, you're practically betraying your race, and let's not say one's race but rather one's nationality, and if there are cases in which an Indigenous person says "I don't know how to speak Quichua," then that person is disowning his parents, and disavowing his nationality.

5.4.1 Bilingual Education as a Means of Revitalizing the Use of Quichua

An individual's language behavior is also affected by the language behavior of members who are closely related to an individual within the in-group. Therefore, the individual networks of linguistic contacts in the various domains are pivotal to the revitalization of the language at the macro and micro levels. Expanding the domain of Quichua from the home to the school may increase the community's chances of maintaining and invigorating the language, and may also expand the Indigenous individual's network of linguistic contacts that speak the language.

Muñica contends that the struggle of the Indigenous peoples to have bilingual education has spawned interest among Indigenous groups in the revitalization of Quichua, sometimes with code-switching between Quichua and Spanish:

> Realmente, hay un cambio; bueno, hay varios cambios. El primero estaría dirigido hacia el mantenimiento del quichua como tal. Y en ese sentido hay la educación intercultural bilingüe, que fue una pelea nuestra y que el estado ya nos entregó en 1988 como un sistema de educación propio de los pueblos indígenas. Entonces estamos manejando el quichua, tratando de rescatar, a lo mejor que estaba cayendo en desuso. Estamos fortaleciendo nuestra forma de hablar y escribir en quichua. El otro cambio es de la influencia que hemos tenido tanto del castellano como de otros idiomas. Entonces, por ejemplo, se escucha el quichua mezclado con castellano, o el castellano mezclado con el quichua.

> Really, there's a change; well, there are various changes. The first would be directed toward the maintenance of Quichua as such. And to that effect there is intercultural bilingual education; that was our fight, and in 1988 the state granted us an educational system for the Indigenous peoples. So we've been working with Quichua, trying to rescue [it]; it was probably falling into disuse. We're strengthening our way of speaking and writing in Quichua. The other change is in the influence we've had both from Spanish and from other languages. So, for example, you hear Quichua mixed with Spanish, or Spanish mixed with Quichua.

5.4.2 Issues in the Implementation of Instruction in Quichua

With respect to schools where instruction in Quichua has been introduced, several issues come to mind: Where in the curriculum has literacy in Quichua been introduced? What materials are being used? How is it being done? What is the cultural and language background of the teacher? How well trained are the teachers to do this? How are the results being measured? How is the literary component being supported by the oral part? Until what grade level should students be taught in Quichua? What proportion of class time should be devoted to instruction in Quichua and what proportion to instruction in Spanish? How is the school contributing to the maintenance of oral and written Quichua? And how is this helping the students to be more successful in Spanish and in school in general? How do the attitudes of the parents contribute to the maintenance and revitalization of Quichua in the school domain? Are school and community leaders reinforcing the importance of the use of Quichua in the schools?

With respect to the introduction of Quichua in the IBE schools, Muñica believes there is still a great deal to be accomplished.

> [N]o significa que podamos comunicarnos libremente en forma oral o escrita... Podríamos decir que hemos ganado un buen espacio, en el sentido que antes no lo teníamos.

> [I]t doesn't mean that we can freely communicate orally or in writing.... We could say that we've gained some ground, in the sense that before we didn't have it.

Morales feels that Quichua should be taught in at least the first three years of elementary school, because that makes it more likely to be maintained in the family sphere.

> Bueno, el uso de la lengua, yo creo que sí debemos tener por lo menos, lo que hemos dicho es que a nivel de, digamos, primer año... hasta eso de tercero tengamos tal vez una materia de quichua... porque Usted ya no puede cuando ya están grandes meter el quichua. Yo lo que digo es que desde la primera de básica debe ir por lo menos hasta tercero, tener libros en quichua... Porque yo creo que ahora en las comunidades los niños más lo que quieren es hablar español. Porque quichua por lo menos... los papás hablan, pero ya después un poco como que ellos se esfuerzan por más hablar el español.

> Well, with respect to language use... I think that we should have at least... let's say, from first to third grade let's have Quichua as a subject...because once they're older you can no longer introduce Quichua. What I'm saying is that [we] should have books in Quichua...from first to third grade... Because I believe that nowadays in the communities, what children want most is to speak Spanish. Because at least their parents speak Quichua, but after a while it's like they make an effort to speak more Spanish.

Muñica notes that the majority of parents want their children to learn only Spanish in school, but others support the strengthening of Quichua:

> ...[E]n la escuela ya tenemos maestros bilingües, para que se fortalezca tanto el quichua como el castellano en los indígenas, porque no vamos a poder desentendernos del castellano. Entonces, [hay] casos en los cuales los mismos padres de familia han dicho "No queremos [quichua]," pero también hay casos, ya sí pormenorizados, [en los cuales] padres de familia dicen, "Hay que defender lo nuestro, y lo nuestro es el quichua, y estamos dispuestos a apoyar y a hacer una recuperación del idioma." Hay apoyo hacia el fortalecimiento... y... mejoramiento [del conocimiento] del quichua.
>
> ...[I]n school we already have bilingual teachers to strengthen both Quichua and Spanish among the Indigenous [students], because we're not going to be able to ignore [the need to learn] Spanish. So, [there are] cases in which… parents have said, "We don't want [Quichua]," but there are also cases, already detailed, [in which] parents say, "We have to defend what's ours, and what's ours is Quichua, and we're prepared to support and recover the language." There's support for strengthening and improving [knowledge of] Quichua.

Alberto Anrango feels that when parents reinforce the notion that learning Spanish is important, in many cases they disregard the importance of learning their own language and culture at the same time. However, when Indigenous leaders stress the importance of maintaining the Quichua language and culture, many Indigenous realize just how important it is:

> ...[E]n algunas comunidades, sí, se ha dado que los padres han dicho, "No queremos que nuestros hijos aprendan en el idioma indígena; queremos urgentemente [que aprendan] castellano." Yo les he dicho [que] tienen razón. Yo creo que una forma de liberarnos los indígenas es aprendiendo el idioma occidental, el castellano. Pero a veces como que se le da mucha importancia a eso y se menosprecia el idioma propio—menospreciando la cultura indígena. Hay esos casos, pero después los indígenas se dan cuenta [de] lo que es expresar nuestra cultura, nuestro idioma.
>
> …[I]n some communities, yes, it's happened that parents have said, "We don't want our children to learn the Indigenous language; we urgently want [them to learn] Spanish." I have told them they're right. I believe that one way for the Indigenous to liberate ourselves is to learn the Western language, Spanish. But sometimes a lot of importance is given to that and one's own language is disdained—[they] disdain the Indigenous culture. There are those cases, but later the Indigenous realize what it is to express our culture, our language.

5.4.3 Existent and Nonexistent resources in the Quichua Language

5.4.3.1 Nonexistent Resources

The success of Indigenous students in the school system in general may be related to the content of the curriculum that schools, in general, are teaching, and in the bilingual schools, to the value the students and the Quichua community assign to literacy in their native language. Morales regrets that the Indigenous do not value having books in Quichua:

> Claro, no hay mucha utilización de eso [los libros en quichua]. Entonces, [es] como que no le valoramos a eso. Entonces, tienen los libros pero no valoran eso, no lo enseñan a los niños.

> Of course, [books in Quichua] are not used much. So, it's like we don't value them. So, they have books but don't value them, don't [use them to] teach their children.

In addition, Morales believes that the education the children receive is disconnected from the daily reality of the Indigenous population:

> También hay que enseñar a los niños de acuerdo a cada realidad que vivimos, también porque la educación debería ir de sus bases mismas.

> You also have to teach the children according to each reality that we're living, because their education should be based on their own culture.

5.4.3.2 Existent Resources

The introduction of literacy must be preceded by the availability of materials written in Quichua. In addition to providing a source for school materials, written traditions, stories, and literary works provide a sense of pride and give value to the language, the culture, and literacy itself.

With respect to publications in Quichua, Muñica observes that although there are some trilingual publications in Quichua, English, and Spanish, the subject matter seems to indicate that these are mainly geared toward tourists.

> Sí existen. Hay varias investigaciones que se han realizado y si está destinada a la población quichua... escriben... en inglés, en quichua y en castellano. Y en... la educación básica, por otro lado, ya se utiliza más textos quichuas y con eso se logra... fortalecer el quichua.

> Yes, they exist. There are various studies that have been done, and if [these publications] are targeted to the Quichua population they're written in English, in Quichua, and in Spanish. And in ...elementary schools, on the other hand, now they're using more Quichua texts and that's how they're managing to ...strengthen Quichua.

5.4.4 Expanding Domains

Alberto Anrango thinks that for the Indigenous to maintain Quichua, each generation should first speak it at home, then in the community, and then at school:

> [D]espués del hogar, donde el papá y la mamá son los primeros [contactos lingüísticos del niño]... es la comunidad donde el niño puede reforzar su identidad cultural—lo que es el idioma—con sus amigos, con su vecindad…. [E]s un medio muy importante, decisivo en la formación de la identidad de un niño, sea hombre o mujer.
>
> [A]fter the home, where the father and mother are the [child's] first [language contacts] ...the community is the place where a child can strengthen his cultural identity—which is [primarily manifested in] language—with his friends, with his neighborhood…. [Language] is a very important medium [that is] decisive in the formation of a child's identity, whether male or female.

Anrango sees the moment the child attends a Hispanic school as a breaking point in terms of the use of Quichua:

> [L]a escuela, la escuela... puede fortalecer o desviar, si Usted quiere... [E]s en la escuela donde puede sufrir un cambio brusco el niño o la niña indígena, dependiendo de donde vaya. Pero si va a una escuela central donde se imparte desde el sistema hispano, ciertamente se produce un cambio, lógico,... en la mentalidad del niño.
>
> [T]he school, the school… can strengthen or divert, if you like... [S]chool is where Indigenous boys and girls may suffer an abrupt change, depending on where they go [to school]. But if they go to a school where students are taught from the Hispanic perspective, certainly this will produce a change, logically, … in the child's mentality.

According to the economist Tituaña, the maintenance of Quichua demands work on the part of the family, the community, and the Indigenous organizations, so that the contexts where the language is used (home, community, work, school, mass media) are expanded and, therefore, the language may be preserved and developed:

> [L]a organización [indígena] se preocupe por impulsar políticas en cuanto a la enseñanza del idioma, y también tener acceso a medios de comunicación como la radio, la televisión, la prensa escrita—medios de comunicación en general. Esa es una tarea, creo, muy fuerte para poder conservar y desarrollar el idioma.

> [T]he [Indigenous] organization is concerned with fomenting policies pertaining to the teaching of the language, and also with gaining access to media such as radio, television, newspapers—media in general. That's a very effective strategy, I believe, for preserving and developing the language.

5.4.4.1 Use of the Two Languages in Organizations and Institutions

The expansion of the use of Quichua from the private to the public domain increases the chances that Indigenous children will maintain the language and become more proficient in it.

Morales observes that in the organization for small farmers known as UNORCAC, both Quichua and Spanish are used:

> Bueno, al menos nosotros sí usamos eso porque a nivel de lo que son las reuniones al menos usamos las dos partes. En las reuniones con las comunidades, al menos por respeto a la gente mestiza, hablamos en español, y después hablamos en quichua también. [Los indígenas] entienden más fácil cuando se habla en quichua.

> Well, at least we use [both languages] in meetings.... In our meetings with the [various] communities, out of respect for the Mestizo people, we first speak in Spanish and then in Quichua. They [the Indigenous] understand more easily when we speak in Quichua.

Furthermore, Humberto Cotacachi recalls that when he was in the Dirección Provincial de Educación Bilingüe, he also communicated with the Indigenous in Quichua:

> En la Dirección Provincial de Educación con los compañeros vamos hablando en quichua, ¿no?.... [P]ero con personas que son hispano-hablantes [que] van a visitarnos siempre [hablamos] en español, pero en lo posible, hemos hablado que la comunicación en la Dirección Provincial ha sido en quichua.

> In the Dirección Provincial de Educación we speak in Quichua with colleagues, right? .... [W]hen Spanish-speaking people come to visit us [we] always [speak] in Spanish, but to the extent that it's possible, we've [always] said that our communication within the Dirección Provincial should be in Quichua.

5.4.4.2 Use of Quichua in Public in the Presence of Mestizos

The following account of changes in language use sheds light on the role of the individual network of linguistic contacts and on the pressure they should exert on the Indigenous individual to use his native language. This is another example of the expansion of Quichua from the private to the public domain.

Muñica explains that in the past, an Indigenous person would code-switch from Quichua to Spanish in the presence of a Mestizo person, even though everyone else within earshot was a Quichua speaker, but this has changed. Now, an Indigenous person would tend more to speak Quichua with a Quichua-speaking audience regardless of the presence of non-Quichua speakers.

> Sí, antes nosotros ni siquiera para conversar, podíamos hacerlo en quichua y si alguien—imaginémonos que habían cien indígenas, y todos hablaban quichua, y ahí estaba algún mestizo que sólo hablaba castellano, la tónica era hablar en castellano para que él entienda, y los demás aun cuando no entendamos—en cambio ahora no. El señor que sabe castellano tendrá que tratar y hacer modos de entender... Ese cambio de mentalidad ha sido muy duro, y vamos viendo en ese sentido también que el quichua como un idioma para el aprendizaje es un proceso lento que tal vez no se va a dar en un día, en un año...

> [B]efore, we couldn't even converse in Quichua, and if someone—let's imagine that there were a hundred Indigenous, and all of them spoke Quichua, and there was some Mestizo there who only spoke Spanish, the tendency would have been to speak Spanish so that he would understand, even when the rest of us wouldn't—but not now. The man who knows Spanish will have to try and find a way to understand.... That change in mentality has been very hard, and we're seeing in that sense also that [using] Quichua as a language for learning is a slow process that maybe won't happen in a day, in a year...

5.4.4.3 A Step Forward: From Oral Tradition to Literacy

To increase the use of Quichua in Indigenous communities, Muñica supports attempts to foster literacy in Quichua among Quichua speakers and at the same time to maintain the oral tradition that is essential to the culture:

> Bueno, yo he dicho primero [debemos] empezar a escribir, [a] hablar—bueno ya hablamos, pero hay que mejorar también nuestra forma de hablar, pero hay que también escribir. Creo que la diferencia está en que nuestra cultura es oral y práctica; por eso es que para nosotros todavía la palabra es ley—es todo.
>
> Well, I've said that first [we have to] start to write, [to] speak—well, we already speak, but we also have to improve our way of speaking, and we also have to write. I believe that the difference is that our culture is oral and practical; that is why for us the word is still law—it's everything.

Muñica nevertheless expresses concerns about whether the oral tradition can be maintained, as many view the written word as more and more important:

> Pero ya conforme se va avanzando en la parte escrita, como que [nuestra tradición oral]... se va dejando a un lado o pierde importancia para darle más valor a lo escrito.
>
> But as we improve our writing skills, it seems like [our oral tradition] is getting left behind or losing importance and greater value is being placed on the written [word].

But Muñica begins to vacillate over the value placed on the written as opposed to the spoken word, trying to formulate what he sees as the problem and to come up with its solution. Nevertheless, he believes in fostering both speaking and writing skills:

> Tampoco tendríamos problema si es que escribiríamos en quichua, y esa es una de nuestras dificultades. Podemos hablar fácilmente en quichua, pero en el momento que queremos escribir, se complica el asunto. Entonces lo primero que tenemos que hacer es hablar y escribir en quichua.

> We also wouldn't have a problem if we were able to write in Quichua, and that's one of our problems. We can speak easily in Quichua, but the moment we want to write, it gets complicated. So the first thing we have to do is speak and write in Quichua.

5.4.4.4 Creating a Space for Quichua in Mass Media

In terms of the use of Quichua in the mass media, Muñica says that there are a few television channels that broadcast in both languages. He thinks that Indigenous peoples should also begin to create a space for Quichua in the press:

> Bueno, hay la televisión a nivel de la parte norte del Ecuador. La televisión tiene ciertos programas que mantienen tanto en quichua como en castellano. Es lo que decía, ir a pelear contra los medios de comunicación sería difícil, pero insertarnos con nuestro propio idioma y hacer programas en quichua en esos medios de comunicación, se nos hace más fácil, y es una estrategia mucho más convincente para nosotros.
>
> Well, there are television stations in the northern part of Ecuador. The television has some programs that are in Quichua as well as Spanish. As I said, doing battle with the media would be difficult, but to get ourselves in there with our own language and create programming in Quichua for those media would be very easy for us and is a much more effective strategy for us.

Muñica acknowledges that there is some programming in Quichua, and cites his Indigenous organization's station, radio Ilumán, as an example:

> Entonces sí ha habido [algunos programas en quichua]. Bueno, como federación [FICI] tenemos una radio totalmente se realiza la programación en quichua... es la radio Ilumán, y también tiene programas en castellano; es decir, los dos idiomas.
>
> Well, yes, there has been [some programming in Quichua]. Our federation [FICI] has a radio station that offers all programming in Quichua... it's called radio Ilumán, and it also has programs in Spanish; that is to say, in both languages.

Muñica believes it is important to have newspapers in Quichua, and thinks that the Indigenous still need to work toward this goal:

> El objetivo primordial de esto es que el quichua también se introduzca con la tecnología en cada una de las comunidades. [N]os faltaría eso en cuanto a mantener una prensa escrita en quichua, ¿no?, a nivel provincial y también para las comunidades, y creo que en ese proceso quedamos y poco a poco lo lograremos y lo tendremos.
>
> The fundamental objective is to introduce Quichua in each of the communities via [media] technology. [W]hat is missing is the press. We don't have newspapers in Quichua at the provincial level or in the communities, [but] I believe that we'll stay in this process and little by little we'll achieve this as well.

With regard to the type of programming available in Quichua in the media, Muñica believes that all types are needed:

> En la radio Ilumán se maneja todo tipo de programas [en quichua]—ambientales, sobre género, sobre niños, todo. En cambio, en la televisora nacional, me parece que existen noticias [en quichua].
>
> On radio Ilumán we handle all types of programming [in Quichua]—environmental [programs], [those] about gender, about children, everything. In contrast, on national television, it seems to me that they [only] have news [in Quichua].

Economist Tituaña states that there are limitations with regard to the type and quantity of programming in Quichua because the vast majority of media outlets are not managed by Indigenous persons:

> La idea que [los medios] está[n] en manos de sectores ajenos a los pueblos indígenas—poco o nada se ha hecho al respecto.
>
> The idea that [the media are] in the hands of sectors that are unconnected with the Indigenous peoples—little or nothing has been done in this regard.

Tituaña provides some examples of the programs available in Quichua, and emphasizes how limited the programming still is:

> Ha habido ciertos programas cada semana en quichua... en la televisión. En la radio, también han [habido]... programas más o menos pequeños en la madrugada o en la tarde. Entonces hay todavía limitaciones al respecto y habrá que seguir trabajando.

> There are certain programs every week in Quichua on television. On the radio, there have been a few short programs before sunrise or in the afternoon. So there are still limitations with respect to this and we have to keep working.

5.5 LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

5.5.1 Language Maintenance Through Interaction

Having the opportunity to speak Quichua in various domains and having social contacts who speak the language does not necessarily ensure that a given individual will actually speak it. Therefore, these factors influencing language maintenance crystallize when the individual actually takes advantage of opportunities to speak the language.

Humberto Cotachi adds that the best way to maintain Quichua is to take advantage of any opportunity to interact with Quichua speakers:

> Para mantener el quichua, siempre dialogar, conversar, comunicarse, ya sea con su familia, con la gente de su medio, con el grupo social que pueda conversar y hable el idioma. Siempre estar en permanente comunicación en el idioma: El diálogo tiene que ser en quichua.

> To maintain Quichua, always dialogue, converse, communicate, be it with your family, with people you know, with a social group that can converse and speak the language. Always be in permanent communication in the language: Dialogue has to be in Quichua.

5.5.2 Use of Quichua to Interact with Indigenous Persons from Rural Areas

The concentration of the members of a group in a given territory influences language use. Therefore, if a rural area is predominantly Indigenous, there will be more chances to speak Quichua.

In urban areas where there is no bilingual education, Muñica observes that there is a generalized use of Quichua among the Indigenous, especially when they interact with other Indigenous from rural communities:

> Bueno, yo puedo hablar de Otavalo. En Otavalo se maneja el quichua, los indígenas sin ningún problema. Todos tienen una relación con la comunidad. Y estamos viendo que con los indígenas que están aquí y hablan el quichua no hay problema, porque van mejorando [su uso del quichua].
>
> Well, I can tell you about Otavalo. In Otavalo the Indigenous use Quichua without any problem. They all maintain relationships with [the Indigenous from the rural areas]. And we're seeing that with the Indigenous who are here and who speak Quichua, there's no problem, because they're improving [their use of Quichua].

5.6 SYMBOLS OF IDENTITY

José Muñica gives his opinion on which symbols of identity are the most important to the Indigenous in Ecuador:

> ...[L]o que nos diferencia [es principalmente] el idioma; no sé si es [un] símbolo, pero parte de ahí. Lo segundo es la vestimenta... Y luego, las manifestaciones y tradiciones que cada pueblo tiene—por ejemplo, el inti-raymi, el manejo de todos los recursos naturales, nuestra alimentación.
>
> ..[W]hat makes us different [is primarily our] language; I don't know if it's a symbol, but it starts there. Second is [our] clothing... And then, the traditions that every group of people has—for example, the inti-raymi, [our] management of natural resources, our food.

Humberto Cotacachi refers to the symbols of the Indigenous in quite similar terms:

> Por ejemplo, la indumentaria... por ejemplo, el idioma, por decir... mantener sus costumbres y las manifestaciones que debe presentar uno, pues, de acuerdo a su lugar, de acuerdo a su identidad...

> For example, [our] dress... [our] language, that is to say… maintaining one's regional customs and the [cultural] expression that is particular to each locale… according to one's [cultural] identity...

According to Alberto Anrango, language is the fundamental symbol of ethnic identity, more so than community and clothing:

> La lengua, la lengua es un símbolo importantísimo para darnos cuenta que la persona es o no es indígena... principalmente. Claro que también personas que no son indígenas han aprendido la lengua indígena, pero esos son casos muy especiales... Eso también, lo contrario, que, siendo indígenas—especialmente por la influencia de la modernidad, de lo occidental—van negando lo de su cultura.
>
> Language, language is an extremely important symbol, [one] that lets us know that a person is or isn't Indigenous... mostly. Of course, there are also people who aren't Indigenous who have learned the Indigenous language, but those are very special cases... Also, the opposite, that, [despite] being Indigenous—especially because of the influence of modernity, of [whatever is] Western—they are denying their culture.

Anrango believes that another important symbol of identity is the importance placed on communitarian work:

> Otro ejemplo sería también la puesta en práctica de lo comunitario. Un indígena, en cualquier lugar que esté—en el país, en la comunidad, en cualquier ciudad del país, o en el exterior incluso—muestra ese sentimiento de solidaridad.
>
> Another example would be the practice of communal living. An Indigenous person, regardless of where he lives—within the country [Ecuador], in the community, in any [Ecuadorian] city, or even abroad—would show that feeling of solidarity.

Anrango mentions clothing as another symbol of ethnic identity:

> Otro de los símbolos de identifica[ción] es el vestuario.
>
> Our dress is yet another way of expressing our identity.

According to economist Auki Tituaña, language is a vital symbol of Indigenous cultural identity:

> Yo creo con tantas amenazas [a nuestra identidad cultural] que hemos tenido, externas y también internas… [L]a cuestión del idioma es un valor importante... del pueblo.
>
> I believe that with all of the threats [to our cultural identity] we've had, both external and internal… [Our] language is an important value...of the people.

In addition, Tituaña emphasizes that the Indigenous are not a homogenous group. In Ecuador, there are various Indigenous nations with their own cultural symbols:

> [H]ay que también reconocer la variedad de pueblos que existimos en el Ecuador. La Amazonía, por ejemplo, no tiene un símbolo de religiosidad como nosotros tenemos—a los cerros, a los lagos, al sol, a la luna. Ellos tienen otro tipo de referentes... [por ejemplo], la serpiente [y] otro tipo de animales de la selva—hay diversidad.
> One also has to recognize the variety of peoples we have in Ecuador. [Those living in] the Amazon, for example, do not have the same religious symbols we have—the mountains, the lakes, the sun, the moon. They have other types of referents… [for example], the snake [and] other types of rainforest animals—there is diversity.

Tituaña highlights the nature symbols that are relevant to Quichua pueblos in northern Imbabura:

> Pero en lo que respecta a nosotros, los pueblos quichuas del norte de Imbabura, diríamos que uno de los principales símbolos [de nuestra cultura] es la relación con los cerros, con los lagos, con la madre tierra y con el sol.
>
> But for us, the Quichua peoples of the north of Imbabura, we would say that one of the main symbols [of our culture] is our relationship with the mountains, with the lakes, with mother earth, and with the sun.

According to Morales, clothing, long hair, and the distinctive hats the Indigenous wear represent their most visible symbols of identity:

> Bueno, yo creo que nuestro símbolo como identidad—bueno, la vestimenta hemos usado mucho, y de tener el pelo largo, y entonces el sombrero.

> Well, I believe that our symbol of identity—well, the clothing we normally wear, and our long hair, and then our hats.

However, some Indigenous no longer wear traditional clothing, and some wear it less often. Alfonso Morales points out some of the reasons why:

> Y lo que hemos dicho es que nuestra vestimenta, también—al menos, hemos dicho que por el alto costo... se ha ido perdiendo también. Entonces... es difícil, pero... se pone [nuestro traje tradicional] también para las ocasiones más solemnes, pero hemos dicho [que] por lo menos [necesitamos usar] el pantalón blanco, las alpargatas y el sombrero... hemos tenido mucho [rechazo del traje tradicional]... en los jóvenes... la televisión ha avanzado [e incrementado el rechazo]...
>
> And we have said that our clothing, also—at least, we have said that because of its high cost it's also being lost. So it's… difficult, but… we still wear [our traditional dress] for the most solemn occasions, but we've said [that] at least [we should always wear our] white pants, our alpargatas [traditional sandals], and our hats... we've had a lot of [rejection of traditional dress] among young people; …television has increased [this rejection]…

Morales had previously mentioned television as a major influence on the Indigenous shift to Mestizo customs. He also cites migration as a contributing factor, but hopes that the Indigenous communities will put in place some rules and regulations strongly encouraging their members to wear traditional Indigenous attire:

> [L]a migración, entonces eso nos ha causado problemas que los jóvenes ya vienen viendo en otros lados, a la moda, entonces comienzan a ponerse sus cosas, a veces hasta el corte de pelo, todo eso. Antes era… más que todo en las comunidades, que haiga una reglamentación interna de las comunidades un poco también para fortalecer.
>
> [M]igration has also caused us problems in that young people are coming back [after] looking elsewhere, at fashion, so they start to wear their things, sometimes even cutting their hair, all that. Well, there used to be... especially within the communities, some form of internal regulation of the communities… to [help us] strengthen [our traditions].

Morales points out that community punishment, like the *minga*, is an integral part of the Indigenous cultural heritage that enables the community to remain true to its ethnic traditions. The use of such punishment had been decreasing, but recently it has been revived:

> Ahora lo que hemos visto también es que la cultura ancestral se ha ido perdiendo mucho, y... [que el castigo comunitario ha sido] más efectivo en [solucionar] cualquier problema que tenían en cada una de las comunidades; por decir... habían robos en la comunidad, y [los culpables] hacían su castigo comunitario [y el problema fue solucionado]. Eso se ha ido perdiendo, y entonces ahora, nuevamente, estamos recuperando eso por lo que hemos luchado... eso también para ir reglamentando con las leyes que están vigentes… [E]n las comunidades no conocen las leyes; entonces hemos tenido que ir socializando nuevamente.
>
> Now, what we've also seen is that the ancestral culture has been losing its way... and [that communal punishment has been] a more effective [solution] to any problem they've had in any one of the communities; that is, …there were thefts in the community, and [the perpetrators] took their communal punishment [and the problem was solved]. That was being lost, and so now, again, we're recovering what we've fought for... [I]n the communities they don't know the laws, so we've had to re-socialize [the people].

Morales explains what communitarian justice entails:

> La justicia comunitaria se trata del baño ritual con ortiga, y se hace a nivel público, en una asamblea de comunidad. Entonces eso ha sido más efectivo [que las formas de justicia establecidas por la ley], porque cuando les mandamos a la cárcel, a veces les pagan a los policías, salen más rápido, y regresan con más venganza hacia la comunidad. Entonces en cambio se le hace en la comunidad, y eso ha sido más efectivo, porque ven todas las personas, todos han visto, y ellos piden disculpas. Y eso ha sido más efectivo: jóvenes que han estado en problemas así ahora están trabajando con su familia. Yo creo que eso es una cosa muy buena.
>
> Communitarian justice involves a ritual bath with nettles and a public community assembly. So, it's been more effective [than mainstream forms of justice], because when we send [the perpetrators] to jail, sometimes they pay off the police, get out sooner, and return with greater vengeance toward the community. So instead it's done in the community, and that's been more effective… because everyone sees [the perpetrators being punished], and… asking for forgiveness. And that's been more effective: young people who have had these types of problems are now working with their families. I believe that's a very good thing.

The comments of the interviewees cited above raise a number of pertinent questions. What happens when an Indigenous person stops dressing like one, or stops speaking the language, Does he continue to be Indigenous? Are these characteristics immutable? What impact do the mass media, migration, and globalization have on this phenomenon? Can one stop being Indigenous? Who decides each individual's identity? Below are the reflections of some of these leaders. The positions of these leaders toward other Indigenous peoples will be reviewed in greater detail in the discussion chapter.

José Muñica observes that some people who come and go from Imbabura deal better with cultural differences than others. There are some who can go to another country and function well there, and can then re-insert themselves into their own community and work well there too. He also points out that change occurs not only for those who leave the country, but also for those who stay; they are not immune to such changes, since they are exposed to them through the mass media:

> Sí, hay un cambio, sobre todo en la parte de Otavalo. Gente que ha tenido un contacto más directo con el exterior, y... también [con extranjeros] en el contexto de Otavalo... ya es diferente. Ha cambiado totalmente. Es decir, como decía, hay indígenas que se han insertado muy bien en el otro sistema y han aprendido a trabajar en distintos sistemas. Ahora cuando llega a su comunidad tiene que mantener la misma relación comunitaria que mantuvo con su familia. Entonces, cuando trabajo allá, trabajo de una manera, pero cuando estoy acá tengo que operar de otra manera. Entonces, sí hay un cambio, como dije. En cambio, nos hemos mantenido en nuestras comunidades; vemos que poco a poco, la televisión, los medios de comunicación—bueno, la tecnología han ingresado también.
>
> Yes, there's been a change, above all in… Otavalo. People who've had more-direct contact with foreign countries, and… also [with foreigners]... in… Otavalo… it's already different. It's completely changed. That is to say, as I was saying, there are Indigenous who have adapted very well to the other system and have learned to work in different systems. Now, when they come back to their community they have to maintain the same community relationship they had with their family. So, when I work there, I work one way, but when I'm here, I have to operate another way. So, yes, there is a change, as I said. On the other hand, we've maintained ourselves in our communities; we see that little by little, television, the mass media—well, technology has come in as well.

5.7 INTERCULTURALITY AND GLOBALIZATION

Morales cites his own intercultural background as an example of a positive balance between maintaining one's own cultural identity and embracing the positive aspects of Mestizo culture:

> [N]o le quiero decir que nosotros los indígenas debemos prepararnos de manera a, entre indígenas. Yo soy miembro de una organización nacional que es la Organización de las Naciones Campesinas e Indígenas del Ecuador. Me he criado en un ambiente donde hemos compartido lo indígena con lo blanco-mestizo; también soy muy intercultural.
>
> I don't mean by saying this that we Indigenous should [live in a way] that serves to isolate us from those who are not Indigenous. I'm a member of a national organization, the Organization of Peasants and Indigenous Nations of Ecuador. I was raised in an environment in which we shared Indigenous and White-Mestizo cultural traits; I'm also very intercultural.

Furthermore, Morales believes that the Indigenous should not walk away from globalization, whether in the area of technology or that of intercultural relations:

> Yo no soy del grupo de indígenas que piensa que los indígenas tienen que avanzar solo como indígenas, aislados. Yo pienso que sería un error a estas alturas, cuando el mundo se está globalizando, ¿no? Cierto que nosotros nos tengamos que ayudar como indígenas... [pero no] negar los avances de la ciencia, la tecnología moderna... [o] las relaciones con los blanco-mestizos, con los que sean. Yo pienso que es hora de que compartamos la interculturalidad con todos los grupos sociales que existan en el país, en el medio, a nivel provincial y nacional.
>
> I'm not one of the group of Indigenous who think that the Indigenous have to progress just as Indigenous, on our own. I think it would be a mistake at this juncture, when the world is becoming globalized, right? Certainly, we need to help ourselves as Indigenous … [but not] deny ourselves access to the advances of science, of modern technology… [or to] relationships with White-Mestizos, with whomever. I think it's time we shared interculturalism with all of the social groups that exist in the country, in our [social] circles, at the provincial and at the national level.

Morales reiterates his belief in the importance of embracing globalization in a way that remains true to Indigenous traditions.

> Y nosotros también tenemos que entrar en esta corriente de la globalización, pero eso sí, no acogiéndonos a lo que dice el capitalismo. Nosotros también [estamos] sacando a flote, revalorizando lo que es nuestra lengua, nuestra cultura, nuestra forma de trabajar, nuestro trabajo comunitario. Yo pienso que también debemos globalizar[nos], pero desde nuestros conocimientos indígenas, nuestros conocimientos centrales, nuestras propuestas como indígenas que somos, pero siempre tomando en cuenta que el Ecuador es un país diverso culturalmente, no [es] cierto?
>
> And we also have to embrace the trend toward globalization, but still not getting caught up in what capitalism says. We're also putting our language, our culture, our way of working, our communal work, on a sound footing, giving it value again. I also think that we should globalize, but out of our Indigenous knowledge, our central consciousness, our proposals as the Indigenous we are, but always taking into account that Ecuador is a culturally diverse country, isn't that right?

In this chapter, I have presented most of the comments—on politics, economics, education, symbols of identity, the use of Quichua, and language maintenance—made to me by the Indigenous leaders I interviewed. The perspectives of these Indigenous leaders on these different topics represent an interesting comparison with the descriptive data that were presented in chapter 3 to address the sociological level, and also with the results of the questionnaires for the quantitative part of this study that were presented in chapter 4 to address the socio-psychological and psychological levels. Sometimes the viewpoints of these leaders coincide with those of the participants from rural Morocho and urban Otavalo; sometimes they differ from them. It is safe to say that the Indigenous leaders' comments seem to overlap more often with those of the participants from Otavalo than with those of the participants from Morocho. In general terms, major differences might be attributed to the vision these Indigenous leaders are expected to offer their group, but even more so, to the status they have gained as Indigenous leaders and to the interaction they have maintained with both in-group and out-group members. Thus, it is not surprising that their comments coincide more closely with those of urban residents. Furthermore, the positions these leaders have expressed on issues affecting the Indigenous seem to be more

well thought-out—not only with respect to the out-group, but also the in-group—than those of the questionnaire respondents. Additionally, these leaders show a clear understanding of the role of the state, both in the larger national context and in the context of the intercultural relations among the different ethnic groups at various levels. It is important to note that these Indigenous leaders are very proud to acknowledge their ethnic identity and their group membership, as Indigenous persons and as Kichwas, portraying their in-group as one whose cosmovision (worldview) and many desirable attributes can make important contributions to the country and to the world. In the next chapter, chapter 6, I will present a summary and discussion of the previous chapters and their results.

6.0 CHAPTER 6. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The present discussion is drawn from quantitative and qualitative data obtained from census and descriptive information, from questionnaires, and from interviews. It takes into consideration factors at the sociological, socio-psychological, and psychological levels that have been hypothesized by Allard and Landry (1987, 1992, 1994b) and Landry and Allard (1990, 1992a, 1992b, 1994a) to determine language variety and language behavior. In this final chapter, I will summarize the key findings of this study and discuss them in relation to the major research premises and to previous research in the area of ethnolinguistic vitality, drawing from research on social identity and acculturation orientation.

6.1 PERSONAL BACKGROUND FACTORS AND THE ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY OF THE KICHWA[7]

Questions on the background of the participants in the study included those pertaining to their first and second (if any) language and their level of education. In order to learn something about patterns of language shift, questions on the background of the parents of the respondents were

[7] *Kichwa* is the name of the Indigenous group; *Quichua* is the name of their language.

also included. Questions on their parents' first and second (if any) language, their parents' level of education, and their parents' occupation help us to see if the ethnic language has been maintained, or if there has been a generational shift to the majority language. In Morocho, there are still some (17%) mothers of respondents who are Quichua monolinguals, whereas all (except one) of the fathers of the respondents—and all of the respondents—are bilingual, Quichua being their first language. In contrast, Otavalo presents a more complex picture. Many of the parents of the respondents are Quichua monolinguals (16% of mothers and 61% of fathers) and some parents of respondents are Spanish monolinguals (6% of mothers and 2% of fathers), whereas all of the respondents are bilingual, Spanish being the first language for some of them and Quichua for others.

These data show that there has been a certain shift toward Spanish among the residents of Morocho, such that no one in the younger generation is Quichua monolingual; this indicates that bilingualism is particularly important for the members of the community. This situation also seems to prevail among the residents of Otavalo, since there has been a certain shift toward Spanish, and even more importantly, a revival of Quichua. Thus, in contrast to their parents, no one in the younger generation is either a Quichua monolingual or a Spanish monolingual.

Differences in rural and urban areas can be seen in the occupations of the parents of the respondents. In Morocho, most of the parents of the respondents work in agriculture, which includes day labor and housework. This agricultural work is perceived differently according to gender, such that when women work in agriculture, tending livestock animals and/or a small plot of land for home consumption, such activities tend to be viewed as housework. In Otavalo, most of the parents of the respondents work either in producing handicrafts or in marketing them. These types of work, in either handicrafts or agriculture, are done mostly within the realm of the Indigenous group. Therefore, the Indigenous of both Morocho and Otavalo have been largely

self-reliant and have not had to depend on the out-group to provide them with a source of income. Because they are economically autonomous, they are more prone to maintain their minority language than are those members of both communities who have had to look for work in order to complement subsistence agriculture or the production of handicrafts, and have had to find work as construction workers, blue-collar workers, day laborers, etc. For these residents, especially in Morocho, working in jobs that are not part of the Indigenous tradition, having to be dependent on the dominant group for employment, and often working outside their own community or migrating to find work in other places, all represent challenges to their traditional way of life and to the maintenance of their native language.

Changes in their traditional ways of life might trigger other changes. For instance, it is worth noting that the level of education has increased among the younger generation. In Morocho, most of the parents of the respondents have no formal education (78% of mothers and 63% of fathers) and others have attended some elementary school (22% of mothers and 29% of fathers). In contrast, while some of the respondents themselves have no formal education (18%), a higher percentage has some elementary education (40%) and another equivalent percentage has completed 6th grade (40%). Although these figures still show a dramatic percentage of residents having no secondary education, or no formal education at all, they nevertheless show some improvement, in that the percentage of the younger generation (the respondents) who have either attended some elementary school or have completed it has increased. As often occurs in urban areas, Otavalo shows an even higher boost in the educational level of the younger generation: A high percentage of the parents of the respondents have no formal education (48% of mothers and 40% of fathers) and others have attended some elementary school (50% of mothers and 44% of fathers), with only 2% of parents having completed high school. In contrast, some of the respondents themselves have no formal education (10%), but some have completed some

elementary education (18%), even more (26%) have completed 6th grade, a number of respondents (20%) have some high school education, and an even higher percentage (26%) have completed high school. These figures show evidence of the differences between rural and urban communities and older and younger generations. The limited opportunities for schooling, especially secondary schooling, in rural areas, coupled with the view on the part of the younger generation that their opportunities for upward social mobility are slim to none regardless of their educational achievements, are all obstacles to the pursuit of higher levels of education. Nevertheless, when compared with their parents, the respondents in both sectors have shown a dramatic increase in their level of education, and therefore, in the impact that school and the Spanish language have had on their lives.

In Otavalo, Spanish is clearly dominant among the younger generation of this urban town. This represents an irrefutable indication of the impact that Hispanic schools and migration have had—particularly in this area. Most of the respondents in Otavalo (94%) chose to respond to the questionnaire in Spanish, whereas most of the respondents in Morocho (87.8%) chose to respond to the questionnaire in Quichua. However, if these signs are analyzed more carefully within a broader picture, in Morocho, the remaining minority of respondents who chose to answer the questionnaire in Spanish (10.2%) represents a dramatic shift when compared with what their parents would have done, since their parents are mostly monolingual or Quichua-dominant speakers who would almost certainly have chosen to answer the questionnaire in Quichua. In Otavalo, although the percentage of Spanish-dominant speakers in the younger generation is high, it is important to keep in mind that all of the respondents are bilingual, whereas within the older generation (parents of respondents) there are some monolingual Spanish speakers (6%). This indicates a revitalization of the Quichua language in this urban town.

6.2 SOCIOLOGICAL LEVEL VARIABLES (DEMOGRAPHIC CAPITAL, CULTURAL CAPITAL, POLITICAL CAPITAL, AND ECONOMIC CAPITAL)

No correlation between the sociological level variables and the language behavior of Quichua speakers can be established, because no instruments were available to measure these sociological variables. Constructing a valid and reliable instrument to measure these variables would have entailed conducting an additional research project in its own right. For example, to measure the social-economic status of the Indigenous, it is not enough to simply ask them their income or their occupation. Asking such questions will not be sufficient to provide an accurate assessment of their socio-economic status. It will also be necessary to ask questions about such factors as the size of their small plots, the type and number of animals they possess, their other belongings, and so forth.

Furthermore, census and other descriptive data pertaining specifically to the Indigenous, which I had hoped would enable me to garner more precise information on this group's objective ethnolinguistic vitality at the sociological level (demographic, cultural, political, and economic capitals), turned out not to be available. In other words, the census was not designed to distinguish one ethnic group from another; hence, there were no statistics available on, for example, what proportion of the population of Otavalo was Indigenous, what proportion of the population of Otavalo spoke Quichua as their native language, etc. However, some relationships between the sociological level factors and the language behavior of the Indigenous of the rural community of Morocho and the urban community of Otavalo are evident: Within the sociological level, demographic factors carry the most weight because of their strong influence on networks of linguistic contacts, which provide opportunities for the Indigenous to interact

with other speakers of Quichua. Therefore, demographic factors have the greatest influence on the language behavior of these two groups.

Landry and Allard's (1987) macroscopic model hypothesizes that ethnolinguistic vitality will be determined by the objective dimension—i.e., the sociological level, which consists of demographic, political, economic, and cultural factors. They also hypothesize that this objective dimension will in turn influence the linguistic contacts of individual speakers—i.e., the socio-psychological level. These networks will in turn influence the subjective dimension—i.e., the psychological level, which consists of various beliefs. These beliefs will in turn influence language behavior, i.e., the disposition of the individual to use a particular language variety. When many individuals choose to interact with Spanish speakers using a language variety that is closer to standard Spanish and to interact with Quichua speakers using a language variety that is closer to standard Quichua, these behaviors reflect a stable bilingual situation in which the dominant language has been incorporated into the linguistic repertoire without subtracting from the subordinate language.

6.2.1 Sociological Level Variables: Demographic Capital

Demographic factors have a strong influence on the vitality of the group, and, therefore, on its language use. Although the rural community of Morocho, Imbabura, has a fairly low number of Indigenous in-group members, their language use is strongly influenced by their high concentration in the area and by the homogeneity of the population. In such a situation, Quichua speakers are largely restricted to linguistic contacts with other Quichua speakers. In the urban community of Otavalo, Imbabura, a large population of Indigenous in-group speakers is located in a fairly densely populated area, yet the cultural diversity of the population as a whole provides

opportunities for contacts with both Quichua and Spanish speakers. Despite opportunities for contacts with speakers of the majority language, Quichua speakers nevertheless tend to marry within their own group, which acts as a counterbalancing force for language maintenance, not only in Morocho, but also in Otavalo. These findings corroborate the observations of both Clyne (1982) and Paulston (1994), who stress the important role of endogamy in language maintenance: When parents belong to the same ethnic group and speak their ethnic language at home, their children are more likely to maintain their ethnic language. Interestingly enough, although the parents of the respondents in Otavalo were in almost all cases Indigenous, there were some (of 50 respondents, one father and three mothers) who were monolingual Spanish speakers (that is, they may have been either Mestizos or Indigenous persons who had shifted to Spanish), yet the respondents themselves were all bilingual. This finding may indicate an incipient trend among the younger generation toward asserting their ethnic identity by speaking Quichua. This phenomenon among the Otavalo Indigenous can most likely be attributed to their endogamy, their political participation at the local and national levels, and their unprecedented economic success.

Rural and urban areas face different realities that affect the ethnolinguistic vitality of each community. In rural Morocho, ethnolinguistic vitality has decreased somewhat, primarily because of the economic crisis of the early ’90s and the resulting migration of members of the community of Morocho to other areas in search of work, while in urban Otavalo ethnolinguistic vitality has increased since that time, primarily because of Indigenous political movements led by Otavalos. Nevertheless, ethnolinguistic vitality is still higher in Morocho. In the rural community of Morocho, widespread subsistence agriculture and ranching on small plots of land have allowed the residents to be generally economically autonomous and somewhat isolated; therefore, they rely on their own group for any extra help they might need to improve their labor,

economic, or political situation. Thus, their linguistic behavior is reinforced by their in-group. Consistent with Tara Goldstein's (1995) findings, there are huge differences between the lives of the Indigenous living in the rural community of Morocho and those of the dominant group. These rural dwellers do not foresee the possibility of gaining upward social mobility. In their view, any opportunities for improving their individual and collective well-being are inextricably linked to the group itself, and, therefore, to speaking their own language. For example, according to José Muñica, if members of the Indigenous community want to be elected to political office, they will be selected on the basis of their accomplishments as family and community members. The demographics of the community are very important to their chances of success. It is only with the backing of their family and community that they will have any chance of becoming leaders. The presence and the support of the Indigenous community in a particular territory drives the need, the motivation, and the desire to maintain the Indigenous language and culture.

6.2.2 Sociological Level Variables: Cultural Capital

A group's cultural capital can be determined by the degree of institutional support it receives in the fields of education, religion, culture, and the media, yet the cultural domain affords the Indigenous the greatest measure of control over their own affairs. Culture plays an important role in the ethnolinguistic vitality of Quichua because social and cultural gatherings take place within the Indigenous in-group and in Quichua. Customs, traditions, and celebrations constitute a fundamental expression of group identity; consequently, their minority language has played a major role in the formation of their common social identity. Nevertheless, cultural differences do exist between the rural and the urban areas. In the community of Morocho, traditions have stayed true to their origins, whereas in the community of Otavalo, traditions have gone through a

syncretization process. Nevertheless, the Inti Raymi, the Huanuy Puncha, and the Yamor festivals attract national and international tourists to Otavalo and are a symbol of cultural pride.

Additionally, certain institutions have had a major role in the maintenance of Indigenous language and culture. The Church is one of these institutions. In the pre-Colombian period, religion was an essential part of Inca society. Later, throughout most of the colonial period, the Church used Quichua as a lingua franca to evangelize the Indigenous. Today, Quichua still plays an important role in religious practice. Quichua is seen by both Catholic and Protestant missionaries as an effective way to get their message across. Buttner (1993) observes that in most of the communities in Imbabura, residents speak more Quichua than Spanish at church. As for the media, it is undeniable that radio has played an important role in literacy campaigns in the rural and urban sectors and in the broadcasting of programs in Quichua. Another medium worth mentioning is the Internet. Although in rural Morocho the Internet is nonexistent, in the city of Otavalo Internet cafés have sprouted up everywhere, some owned by the Indigenous, and, most importantly, frequented by many Indigenous, especially young men and women. As yet, there have been no studies that have looked at what language(s) the Indigenous use on the Internet. Organizations such as the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador–CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador) and the Federación Indígena y Campesina de Imbabura–FICI (Indigenous and Peasant Federation of Imbabura), as well as municipalities such as Cotacachi, have used the Internet to disseminate information about their work in Quichua, Spanish, and English. When I asked a few Kichwas what language they typically use to communicate on the Internet, they said that it depends on the correspondent, but they use both Spanish and Quichua on a regular basis. In contrast, the impact of television, newspapers, and magazines on language maintenance and shift has been negligible. Perhaps in

this new era, more attention can be given to Indigenous issues and to use of the Quichua language.

Most of the Indigenous leaders I interviewed agreed that the most important symbol of their ethnic identity is language, followed by traditional dress, long hair, traditions and customs, communal living (which includes feelings of solidarity, the *minga*, and communitarian justice), a relationship with nature, etc. However, they also asserted that contact with foreign countries and the influence of television were leading Indigenous youth in particular to shift to Western customs and the Spanish language. It is interesting to note that in the quantitative part of this study, television was not found to be a factor influencing language behavior. Nevertheless, Indigenous leaders considered television to be a cause of alienation from the Kichwa way of life, and as a result, they decided to take a more active role in promoting Quichua, and spoke to various Indigenous communities in the area to urge all their members to continue speaking Quichua, wearing Indigenous attire, and celebrating their own traditions and customs. These leaders also enlisted various Indigenous organizations, the presidents of Indigenous communities, and the older generation in general to encourage the younger generation to preserve Indigenous traditions. They also cited the need to migrate to larger cities to find work or to augment the family income as a factor that has tested the ethnolinguistic vitality of Indigenous groups, since it initiates a cycle of departure and return that brings outside ideas and ways of speaking back to the community.

6.2.3 Sociological Level Variables: Economic Capital

Economic capital can be inferred from the extent to which group members are present in and exercise control over commercial and industrial institutions, and from the extent to which their

language is present in advertising, as much as by the economic situation of group members. The economic situation of the rural residents of Morocho and the urban residents of Otavalo is very different. In the urban community of Otavalo, the Indigenous have been able to work among themselves as Andean musicians or in the production and sale of handicrafts in local markets or in other cities or countries. They buy products and sell some of them to majority-group members, but their main consumers are foreigners. They do not rely for the most part on the majority group to provide them with a source of income. Speaking Spanish allows them to function in their diverse environment and to communicate with the dominant group and with some foreigners. Speaking Quichua, on the other hand, allows them to communicate among themselves and with those who produce these handicrafts, who are either Quichua-dominant or Quichua-monolingual. Furthermore, speaking Quichua seems to lend the stamp of authenticity to their products in the eyes of members of the dominant group, as well as foreign tourists. It is also important to keep in mind that Otavalos have ventured capital in foreign markets, which has enabled them to invest in the prosperity of their own towns. As one Mestizo small-business owner in Otavalo noted, the Indigenous are now the ones with buying power who are purchasing real estate and building in the area. In addition to this commercial middle class, a new middle class has arisen in the last two decades as increasing numbers of Kichwas, particularly Otavalos, have become professionals and political leaders. The newfound economic prosperity of some Otavalos and their entrance into politics have clearly had a positive impact on the ethnic pride of the Indigenous. Their higher economic status has bolstered their ethnolinguistic vitality and, as such, has increased their chances of maintaining their ethnic language. However, José Muñica emphasized that the Indigenous have value in human rather than economic terms. He argued that family support is what will guarantee Indigenous prosperity and well-being. Yet, it is important to keep in mind that while this may hold true within the Indigenous world, in the Western world,

where people are more often viewed in strictly economic terms, the economic situation of the Indigenous might still be seen as outweighing all other considerations. Nevertheless, Indigenous economic success fosters increased ethnolinguistic vitality, which, paradoxically, may enable the Indigenous to avoid internalizing such Western norms and value judgments.

6.2.4 Sociological Level Variables: Political Capital

Political capital refers to the degree of political participation among group members, the number of government functions and services provided to the community in its own language, respect for language rights, and government policies favorable to the community. The president of the community of Morocho is Indigenous and was born and raised in the community. The mayor of Cotacachi *cantón* is also an Indigenous leader. The organizations that mediate between community organizations and governmental institutions at the local, regional, and national levels are Indigenous organizations. These objective factors have increased the political capital of the Morocho Indigenous and helped them to maintain their minority group language.

More importantly—according to Indigenous leaders—the Indigenous entrance into politics has brought about a paradigm shift in the way political leadership is conceptualized. Indigenous peoples now play an active role in the decision-making process, since it is a grassroots movement. Auki Tituaña described it as a space that allows Indigenous persons from different backgrounds to work together and to get to know Mestizos. However, it remains to be seen whether this space will prompt the Indigenous to assimilate into Mestizo culture or to assert their own ethnic identity and language. In the case of the Indigenous leaders I interviewed, it was evident throughout the interviews that a more direct and symmetrical relationship with Mestizos

had prompted these leaders to reaffirm their ethnic identity and to advocate even more strongly for the maintenance of Quichua in their communities.

6.2.5 Sociological Level Variables: Their Relative Influence

In Otavalo, as in Morocho, the organizations that mediate between community organizations and governmental institutions at the local, regional, and national levels are Indigenous. The mayor of Otavalo *cantón*, who is now in his second term, is the first Indigenous leader to serve in that position in Otavalo. Furthermore, some Indigenous leaders from Otavalo have come to occupy important political positions at the local, regional, and national levels. Marleen Haboud (1998) and Armando Muyulema (personal communication, April 2, 2002), see the political situation as the most influential factor determining language behavior in Ecuador. As Appel and Muysken (1987) state, an ethnic group's participation in politics fortifies and valorizes the group, more so if the minority language is used in the public sphere. The use of Quichua in recent speeches by Mestizo politicians is one example of its valorization[8]. Another is that Indigenous organizations that normally conduct sessions in Quichua now continue in Quichua even in the presence of Mestizos, whereas they used to code-switch to Spanish if even one Mestizo was present. As the different Indigenous leaders note, the presence of the Indigenous in the political arena has filled the Indigenous community at large with pride (Cotacachi, personal interview, July 2002). It has also won them a place in Ecuadorian society (Muñica, personal interview, July 2002), opened a space for dialogue between the Indigenous and other groups, and provided an opportunity for

[8] "One concept central to this dynamic interaction between the societal and the individual level is valorisation. By valorisation we mean the attribution of certain positive values to language as a functional tool, that is, as an instrument which will facilitate the fulfillment of communicative and cognitive functioning at all societal and individual levels" (Hamers & Blanc, 1982, as cited in Hamers & Blanc, 2003, p. 9)

these groups to get to know one another and to work together (Tituaña, personal interview, July 2002).

According to the Indigenous leaders I interviewed, Indigenous participation in politics allows Ecuadorian society to be enriched by the Indigenous worldview and the ancestral knowledge of Indigenous peoples. It also allows Ecuador to become a truly multi-nation, multicultural, and multilingual state. Furthermore, it creates Indigenous role models who are constructively influencing future generations.

Although the Indigenous are an underprivileged minority group, they do not stand alone, but gather strength and self-esteem from the wider community. There are about 40 million Indigenous persons living in the Americas, and of these, approximately 25 percent are Quechua speakers. International support for the Indigenous was unreservedly expressed with the awarding of the 1992 Nobel Peace Prize to Indigenous Guatemalan activist Rigoberta Menchú and the United Nations declaration of an International Decade of the World's Indigenous People from 1995–2004. Furthermore, in 1989, pressure was brought to bear on the different states by the International Labour Organization (ILO), Convention 169, to turn their countries into multicultural and multilingual states recognizing the rights of different minorities to maintain their ethnic identity.

These international organizations have provided support and guidelines for change in the different countries. For example, the 1989 ILO conference coincided with the establishment of the Dirección Nacional de Educación Indígena Intercultural Bilingüe–DINEIIB (National Administration of Bilingual Indigenous Intercultural) by the Ecuadorian government. An agreement between the Ministerio de Educación y Cultura (Ecuadorian Ministry of Education and Culture) and the newly formed Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador–CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nations of Ecuador) soon followed. According to the

Indigenous leaders I interviewed, CONAIE's importance as the biggest and most well-organized grassroots organization in the Americas, as well as the active part it has played in the intercultural bilingual education of the Indigenous, has brought about a paradigm shift: Indigenous peoples have been put in charge of their own system of bilingual education.

In this respect, Ecuador has been forced to move from an assimilationist ideology to a more pluralist ideology and to provide support for minority groups seeking to maintain their own ethnic cultural heritage. In theory, the state has adopted a civic ideology in the sense that there are laws mandating financial support for the activities of ethnic minorities, but such financial resources are not always made available in practice. For example, bilingual education has not been fully funded and has not been able to develop to its full potential. Nonetheless, this change in ideological stance has had some positive effects. For example, in the past, the Spanish language and a Hispanic education were imposed upon the Indigenous in an effort to "civilize" and "modernize" them, whereas now the Indigenous can opt to learn either in Spanish or in both languages and to have either a Hispanic or a bilingual education. According to Humberto Cotacachi, former Regional Director of Bilingual Education, one of the most important merits of bilingual education is that it has bolstered the self-esteem of the Indigenous.

In the new constitution, a shift from paternalistic to empowering laws is evident. Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that changes in laws do not necessarily go hand in hand with changes in the mentality of the people. As advocates of multiculturalism assert, however, laws serve to acknowledge the rights of individuals and groups and to reduce the tensions caused by disadvantage and inequality (as cited in Christine Inglis, n.d., Section 4, ¶ 5). Therefore, laws may trigger a gradual change in people's mentality.

All the Indigenous leaders who were interviewed agree that positive changes have occurred in Ecuadorian society. However, over time, an assimilationist/exclusionist orientation

has prevailed within the superordinate group. The dominant group has expected the minority group to give up its own culture and to embrace the superordinate group's culture, but has not enabled them to achieve the same opportunities or status. In the mindset of many superordinate—and even many subordinate—group members, it is the responsibility of minorities to assimilate into mainstream Ecuadorian society. The possibility of maintaining one's ethnic culture and achieving success at the same time has been difficult for many to fathom. Thus, the Indigenous have often blamed themselves for maintaining their own culture and for refusing to embrace Mestizo culture. Consequently, many have also blamed themselves for their deprivation. In other words, they have been trapped into a false consciousness under the ideological control of the superordinate group.

According to social identity theory, the Indigenous are the possessors of an ancestral and distinct culture; as such, they have been categorized by Ecuadorian society and have been assigned negative and positive values. They have been portrayed—recreating a stereotype from the colonial period—as "inferior" and "uncivilized," and at the same time, they have been seen—recreating a stereotype from the independence period—as nostalgic and romantic symbols of the splendor of pre-Colombian civilizations. The Indigenous can profit from learning Spanish, yet even when they do, their access to the advantages enjoyed by the dominant group remains restricted, largely because of the color of their skin, their accent, and other Indigenous markers. Hence, in most cases, they try to identify with their own ethnic group and to achieve positive self-esteem through group membership. Group members, especially Indigenous leaders (see chapter 5), compare their own minority group to the majority group, and portray their own group as the only one that demonstrates strong solidarity, authentic democratic leadership (bottom-up or grassroots), a special expertise in agriculture and medicinal plants, and, in general terms, a different worldview that is more suitable for sustainable living. All of these factors encourage

them to maintain their minority language, and, at the same time, to become bilingual. Although it is possible for the minority group to shift to the majority language and lose its ethnic language (Giles & Johnson, 1981, 1987), yet maintain its ethnic cultural identity, ethnolinguistic theory reminds us of the importance of language as a salient marker of group membership and social identity.

The Kichwas of Ecuador, especially those living in the city of Otavalo, have been striving to achieve—according to Paulston's (1994) concepts—structural incorporation; in other words, they have been seeking equal access to the nation's goods and services. Rather than acquiesce to cultural assimilation, they have been fighting to maintain their values and beliefs. Their political strength and their accomplishments have provided incentives for the Indigenous to maintain their minority language. Residents of Morocho have been able to live, study, work, socialize, and celebrate their traditions with their in-group in their ethnic language. In contrast, Indigenous residents of Otavalo have mingled with Mestizos, the out-group, with whom they have studied, worked, socialized, celebrated traditions from both cultures, and spoken both languages. Their frequent social interaction with the dominant group and their perception that the dominant group's language and culture are gaining ground might be seen as an indication of an irrevocable decrease in the vitality of their ethnic language and culture. However, according to Storaker-Kilander, "Group consciousness is developed through social interaction." Furthermore, Barth states that "only the differences that are seen by group members to be socially relevant become defining characteristics, or criteria for separating the group from others" (as cited in Storaker-Kilander, 2001, p. 9). Thus, social interaction may spur the Indigenous to emphasize ethnic cultural features such as Indigenous attire, solidarity, and language. Therefore, constant interaction with the dominant group may prompt the subordinate group to increase rather than decrease the use of its ethnic language.

6.3 SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL LEVEL VARIABLES (INDIVIDUAL NETWORK OF LINGUISTIC CONTACTS, CONTACTS THROUGH EDUCATION, AND CONTACTS THROUGH MEDIA)

> **Hypothesis 1:** There is a statistically significant correlation between the ethnolinguistic vitality at the **socio-psychological level** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

Among the socio-psychological variables, the **individual network of linguistic contacts** (INLC) was shown to be the only important factor influencing language behavior in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo. In other words, **contacts through education** and **contacts through media** had almost no bearing on the language variety respondents used in speaking either Quichua or Spanish in either of these two communities. These findings could be attributed to respondents' relatively limited exposure to either education or media. Among the socio-psychological dimension variables, all the variables pertaining to the **individual network of linguistic contacts** in each language were found to be significant predictors of the language variety used in that language. For instance, high scores for Quichua for **proportion in network**, i.e., having a high proportion of Quichua speakers in one's network of linguistic contacts, was highly associated with use of a language variety that was closer to standard Quichua. These findings support the importance of the social network as a norm-enforcement mechanism (Mayer, 1962).

6.3.1 Socio-Psychological Level Variables: Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts

Hypothesis 1A: There is a statistically significant correlation between the **individual networks of linguistic contacts** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

The findings of this study corroborate those of Blom and Gumperz in that the more economically deprived Indigenous rural residents of Morocho were members of *closed* networks (Blom and Gumperz, 1972, as cited in Govindasamy & Nambiar, 2003, p. 26). This means that these speakers generally interact within a defined territory; therefore, the social network of one individual is the social network of the rest, since all of them know each other. In contrast, the more economically prosperous Indigenous urban residents of Otavalo had personal networks that were more *open*, since they had a more extensive pool of contacts from school and work. However, in general terms, the Indigenous living in both rural and urban areas usually have networks that are relatively closed.

It was evident in both communities that the social network that contributes the most to language maintenance is the family. These **individual networks of linguistic contacts** (immediate family, cousins, aunts and uncles, friends, neighbors, classmates, and social acquaintances) can also be seen as different domains. In both communities, the home domain is the one that has the greatest influence on language behavior. Often the Indigenous in both rural and urban communities "reside, marry, and earn their livelihood among people of their own kind; they tend to be linked to each other in more than one capacity—as [co-workers], kinsmen, and friends" (Govindasamy & Nambiar, 2003, p. 26) This type of network relation is what Milroy (1987) calls *multiplex*, or many-stranded. Even many of the most prosperous Indigenous urban residents of Otavalo have multiplex social networks. Although they go to school and live in a

more diverse setting, they rely on family members to help them manufacture and sell their handicrafts. According to various anthropologists, this specific type of social network—the multiplex social network system, or bonded group—can generate a domino effect, imposing on the group a particular language variety and fostering the maintenance of an ethnic language (Govindasamy & Nambiar, 2003, p. 26).

Other relationships generated by social networks are what Milroy (1987) calls **exchange**. This concept entails a "mechanism both for exchanging goods and services and for imposing obligations and conferring corresponding rights upon its members" (Govindasamy & Nambiar, 2003, p. 27). This type of interchange can be seen in both communities, especially in the rural community of Morocho, but it transcends the type of socio-economic situation, since the concept of reciprocity stands at the heart of the Quichua philosophy. The best example of a reciprocal institution is the *minga*, which is work done for the community itself or for someone in the community as a contribution to the well-being of the group. Of course, this type of exchange does not have to be as tangible as physical work; it may also consist of providing support to one another, being a godfather or godmother, or just being a friend.

The concept of exchange, in turn, reflects the obligation generated by the goods or services provided, especially if they are more valuable. The network thus becomes, as Milroy puts it, "a mechanism whereby pressures, resulting from obligations contracted within the network, are applied to influence an individual's behaviour. If the individual wishes to protect social relationships, these constant obligations must be honoured" (as cited in Govindasamy & Nambiar, 2003, p. 27). Such obligations, in turn, influence language behavior, as was evident in Milroy's study of three communities in Belfast, and as was supported in Buttner's (1983) finding that the language most used in the *minga* in the province of Imbabura was Quichua. Nevertheless, because Quichua is a language almost exclusively spoken by the Indigenous, and

because it is very rare to find Mestizos who speak it, the presence of a Mestizo with whom an Indigenous person or group has any type of relationship, be it a client, a neighbor, a classmate, etc., usually imposes an obligation to speak the dominant language. This situation does not represent a challenge to language maintenance in the rural community of Morocho, since it is a community that is almost exclusively inhabited by the Indigenous, but it does represent a constant challenge in the urban community of Otavalo, since that community has a much more diverse population.

Language use is determined by the ethnolinguistic vitality of each community. As such, the ethnolinguistic vitality of each community corresponds to the quantity and quality of contacts. Scores for **proportion in network**—i.e., the proportion of (Quichua) speakers in each respondent's network of linguistic contacts, **stability of contacts**, and **quality of contacts** subscales in Quichua were high in both communities. Even so, all the respondents were bilingual, and it is undeniable that the dominant language has trespassed even into the home domain in the urban community of Otavalo. It is important to note that although scores for these different subscales of the INLC were high for Quichua in Otavalo, they were even higher for Spanish there, especially **frequency of contacts** with Spanish speakers. In contrast, as predicted, in Morocho scores for all the INLC subscales were higher for Quichua than for Spanish, especially **frequency of contacts** with Quichua speakers.

A closer inspection of the **proportion in network**—i.e., the proportion of (Quichua and Spanish) speakers in each respondent's network of linguistic contacts—illustrates the role of closed versus open networks in these two communities, as well as the influence of multiplex networks on language behavior. In Otavalo, the mean for the proportion of family members who speak Quichua (7.35) is quite similar to the mean for the proportion of family members who speak Spanish (7.20). Likewise, in Morocho, although the mean for the proportion of family

members who speak Quichua was higher (8.60), the mean for the corresponding subscale for Spanish speakers was moderately high (6.30). Considering that in both communities the respondents were rating the same target family members with respect to both languages, it is safe to say that most of their family members are bilingual. The two communities show different degrees of bilingualism. The residents of Morocho are Quichua-dominant, whereas the residents of Otavalo are either Spanish-Quichua balanced bilingual or Spanish-dominant. Differences in individual networks of linguistic contacts within each of the two communities appear to exert a marked influence on the language behavior of the residents.

There were a number of differences between the two communities with respect to the proportion of Quichua and Spanish speakers among respondents' other contacts, such as friends, neighbors, classmates, and social acquaintances. In Morocho, scores for the **proportion in network** are high for Quichua among all the different members of respondents' networks of linguistic contacts; in Otavalo, however, scores for the **proportion in network** are high for Quichua among family members, whereas scores for the proportion of other contacts (friends, neighbors, classmates, social acquaintances) who speak Quichua are more moderate. It is important to keep in mind that the Quichua language is spoken almost exclusively by the Indigenous, and also that there is an endogamous tendency within the Indigenous community. The lower scores for Quichua in the extended networks of contact in Otavalo reflect an open network, or more diverse environment, that includes both Mestizo and Indigenous individuals, whereas the higher scores for Quichua across the board in Morocho reflect its closed network, or dense concentration of Quichua speakers, and the status of Morocho as an Indigenous community. The results provide a good example of a generational tendency: Even though scores are high for the proportion of Quichua speakers among family members in Otavalo, they are higher for aunts and uncles (7.32) than for cousins (6.11); scores are also high for the proportion

of Spanish speakers among family members in Otavalo, but they are higher for cousins (7.60) than for aunts and uncles (6.73). In Morocho, a similar pattern exists, but with larger differences between languages, such that aunts and uncles have a very high score for Quichua (8.66) and a moderate score for Spanish (4.86), whereas cousins score high for Quichua (7.88) and for Spanish (7.04). In both communities, it can be inferred that most of the aunts and uncles as well as the cousins of the respondents are bilingual, especially among the younger generation.

Consistent with Evelyn Yee-Fun Man's (1997) findings within the Chinese community in Toronto, these data show that having a high proportion of Quichua speakers in one's network of linguistic contacts in conjunction with a closed and multiplex network is associated with greater **frequency of contact** with ethnic speakers and greater opportunities for Quichua use. The higher the scores for the different variables—proportion, frequency, stability, and quality of contacts with Quichua speakers—the greater the likelihood that Quichua will be maintained. In Morocho, because of their closed and multiplex networks, participants show high scores for contacts with Quichua speakers across the different subscales measuring their social networks (INLC). Thus, participants from rural Morocho speak Quichua across all parts of their social network. In Otavalo, because of their open and only somewhat multiplex networks, participants show only moderate scores (5.73) for the **frequency of contacts** with Quichua-speaking family members in their networks of contacts, and low to moderately low (3.09–4.43) scores for the **frequency of contacts** with others who speak Quichua (friends, neighbors, classmates, social acquaintances). As can be expected, in Morocho, scores are moderately low (4.29–4.47) for the different subscales measuring the frequency with which Spanish is spoken within the networks of linguistic contacts; only friends (5.02) and social acquaintances (5.04) in the networks of contacts show moderate scores. In contrast, in Otavalo, scores are high for the different subscales measuring the frequency with which Spanish is spoken within the networks. It bears repeating

that the ethnic identity of an interlocutor speaking Quichua is evident, since almost all Quichua speakers are Indigenous; however, for contacts in Spanish, the ethnic identity of the interlocutor is not easy to distinguish, because those speaking Spanish may be Indigenous or Mestizo. Thus, it cannot be ascertained whether some Indigenous persons sometimes simply prefer to speak Spanish among themselves, mainly in the urban community of Otavalo, or whether there are truly more Mestizos in their networks of contacts.

It comes as no surprise that **stability of contacts** with Quichua speakers is rated higher in Morocho than in Otavalo, whereas **stability of contacts** with Spanish speakers is rated higher in Otavalo than in Morocho. Within both communities, and regarding both languages, contacts with classmates are seen as less stable than contacts with other parts of the social network. Thus, it can be inferred that their classmates from school do not often become part of their social network. This also casts doubt on the impact the school experience has on fostering and valorizing the ethnic language of minority-group members.

As predicted, scores for **quality of contacts** with Quichua speakers in participants' networks were all noticeably higher in Morocho (7.58–8.24) than in Otavalo (5.18–7.72); the highest score in Otavalo is for family members (7.72); the next highest score in Otavalo is for social acquaintances (6.35). On the other hand, the opposite pattern was observed for Spanish, with all scores being noticeably higher for **quality of contacts** in Otavalo (7.98–8.14) than in Morocho (6.72–7.0). Remarkably, even though participants from Morocho felt more positive about the quality of their contacts in Quichua with different members of their networks of contacts than about the quality of their contacts in Spanish, the difference between the two languages was not great. More predictable were the results in Otavalo, where participants felt more positive about the quality of their contacts in Spanish with different members of their

networks of contacts than about the quality of their contacts in Quichua; however, with respect to family members, the differences between languages was slight.

There are some inferences that can be drawn from these results. First, I would argue that residents in Morocho feel almost as comfortable speaking one language as the other because they are doing so within their closed network of linguistic contacts, or in other words, within their in-group. And, second, since residents in Otavalo interact in an open network of linguistic contacts, dealing with both Mestizo and Indigenous persons in situations that often require them to speak Spanish if there is even one Mestizo present, they feel more comfortable speaking Spanish. Furthermore, some respondents from Otavalo said they were more proficient in Spanish and, therefore, felt more comfortable speaking it. This is another illustration of the role schools have played in promoting proficiency in the dominant language, but not in the minority language. It is not clear whether such gains in proficiency result from instruction in Spanish or from contact with Spanish speakers in the school domain.

This study's findings on **individual networks of linguistic contacts** (INLC) and their correlation with the degree of standardization of each language confirm the results found in other studies (Allard & Landry, 1992, 1994b; Landry & Bourhis, 1997). In this study, almost all correlations between the **individual network of linguistic contacts** (INLC) variables in each language and the degree of standardization of the same language were significant for both languages and both communities (r=.32 to r=.66). The only exceptions pertain to the **proportion in network** subscale and the **stability of contacts** subscale for Spanish in Morocho (r=.37 and r=.33, respectively), and to the **quality of contacts** subscale for Spanish in Otavalo (r=.30). The results indicate that a higher proportion of Quichua speakers in one's network, more frequent contacts with Quichua speakers, higher quality of contacts with Quichua speakers, and

more stable contacts with Quichua speakers are all associated with use of a language variety that is closer to standard Quichua when respondents communicate with Quichua speakers.

No significant correlations between the **proportion in network** subscale or the **stability of contacts** subscale for Spanish in Morocho and the degree of standardization of Spanish were found. This finding can most likely be explained by the closed network of contacts among the residents of this rural area. In Morocho, there are Indigenous who are bilingual and who are also part of the proportion of Spanish speakers in respondents' networks of linguistic contacts. However, rural residents do not usually communicate in Spanish among themselves. Therefore, it is the frequency with which they speak Spanish with their contacts and the quality of those contacts that determine how close to standard Spanish their language variety will be when they actually engage in conversation with Spanish speakers.

No significant correlations between the **quality of contacts** subscale for Spanish in Otavalo and the degree of standardization of Spanish were found. This finding could be explained by the high mean scores for **quality of contacts** in Spanish. In other words, respondents from Otavalo felt that all their contacts in Spanish were generally of high quality.

Differences between the two communities are apparent when one examines correlations between each of the INLC variables for one language and the degree of standardization of the language variety respondents used when communicating with speakers of the other language. In Morocho, there are significant negative correlations between the frequency, quality, and stability of contacts with Spanish speakers and the degree of standardization of the language variety used when communicating with Quichua speakers. More frequent, higher quality, and more stable contacts with Spanish speakers are associated with greater interference of Spanish in communications with Quichua speakers in Morocho. However, the corresponding correlations in Otavalo were not significant.

In Morocho, a significant negative correlation was also observed between the proportion of Quichua speakers in respondents' networks and the degree of standardization of the language variety used in communicating with Spanish speakers, indicating greater interference of Quichua in communications with Spanish speakers. The corresponding correlation in Otavalo was not significant.

Interference from linguistic contacts in one language with the language variety respondents used when communicating with speakers of the other language was found in Morocho but not in Otavalo. One possible explanation for this finding may have to do with the language proficiency of the rural residents as compared to the urban residents. Indigenous urban residents of Otavalo tend to be Spanish-Quichua bilingual speakers, as opposed to Indigenous rural residents of Morocho, who tend to be Quichua-dominant bilingual speakers. The effects of language proficiency in Quichua and Spanish can also be seen in respondents' perceptions of personal efficacy, which will be described later when I discuss the psychological level.

6.3.2 Socio-Psychological Level Variables: Contacts Through Education

> **Hypothesis 1B:** There is a statistically significant correlation between the **linguistic contacts through education** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

Results of the questionnaire on **contacts through education** indicate that school represents an important domain influencing language behavior, but only in the dominant language. According to these data, in neither one of these communities is there any trace of a real effort on the part of the schools or the teachers to target the language needs of the Indigenous population or to provide them with opportunities to use Quichua.

No significant differences were found between the two communities with respect to means for **teaching in class**, **teachers outside class**, **school materials**, **culture & sports**, or written **communications**. In both communities, mean scores on all these subscales were very low. These low averages demonstrate that the use of Spanish is predominant in the school environment. The main differences between the two communities can be seen in the scores for **language of students**—i.e., the proportion of Spanish to Quichua speakers among classmates—and those for language most often used by **students outside class** in the school environment. In Morocho, similar moderate averages in scores for the proportion of Spanish to Quichua speakers and in language used by **students outside class** show that those students who knew Quichua spoke it outside class. This was not the case in Otavalo, where the contrast between moderately low averages in scores for the proportion of Spanish to Quichua speakers and low averages in scores for language used by **students outside class** shows that although some students spoke Quichua, they barely spoke it outside class. Clearly, the school domain is not one that is contributing to the maintenance of ethnic languages. Still, attending school in their Indigenous community does allow the rural residents of Morocho the opportunity to speak their native language with their peers outside class, whereas attending school in a predominantly Mestizo environment often inhibits Indigenous urban residents from speaking their own ethnic language for fear of being even more stigmatized.

It comes as no surprise that most correlations were non-significant between **contacts through education** and degree of standardization of the language. In the school domain, no effort whatsoever has been made to valorize or to maintain the ethnic language in either community. According to Wallace E. Lambert (as cited in Hamers & Blanc, 2003), development of an additive form of bilingualism is possible if both languages and cultures are valorized in the various domains of the students. Only under these conditions will the second language be safe

from the threat of replacement by the first language. However, these data show that the only significant relationship found was between the language used by **teachers outside class** in Otavalo and the degree of standardization of the language variety used when communicating with Quichua speakers. The negative direction of the relationship indicates that more-frequent use of Quichua by **teachers outside class** is associated with less interference of Spanish when respondents are communicating with Quichua speakers. This indicates that giving the ethnic language a space in the school domain can have beneficial consequences for the maintenance of Quichua.

6.3.3 Socio-Psychological Level Variables: Contacts Through Media

> **Hypothesis 1C:** There is a statistically significant correlation between the **linguistic contacts through media** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

Once again, the public domain is important in influencing language behavior in the dominant language only. Scores for **contacts through media** in Quichua were very low for almost all types of media, indicating that these media have little influence on language behavior in either community. It is worth noting that **music** in Quichua is the only medium that has even moderately low scores in both Morocho and Otavalo. In Morocho, the only other subscale in Quichua having moderately low scores was **radio programs**; in Otavalo, the only other ones having moderately low scores were **signs inside stores** and **signs outside stores**.

It is evident that the media have not valorized the Quichua language or catered to the needs of the Indigenous population, probably because the mass media are owned by Mestizos. Once they see the Indigenous as important consumers with purchasing power, this situation may change. On the other hand, it is interesting to observe that in Otavalo, signs inside and outside

stores are in Quichua to attract not only the Indigenous population, but also populations of tourists, who often feel that their experience is more authentic if they see signs in Quichua. The Quichua language has come to have an important role in validating the authenticity of Indigenous products. It comes as no surprise that no correlation was found between **contacts through media** and the degree of standardization of either language in either community. To date, the media are controlled by speakers of the dominant language and provide no chance for minority groups to gain more exposure to their own language through the media or to valorize it through the media.

6.4 PSYCHOLOGICAL LEVEL VARIABLES (INDIVIDUAL BELIEFS ON ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY)

Among the psychological level variables, only some of the variables pertaining to individual **beliefs on ethnolinguistic vitality** have been shown to determine language behavior in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo. Interestingly enough, only one of the individual **beliefs on ethnolinguistic vitality** variables for Quichua—**general beliefs**—was found to be a significant predictor of the variety of Quichua spoken by respondents in both Morocho and Otavalo. There were other individual beliefs on ethnolinguistic vitality variables for Quichua and Spanish—**personal beliefs** and **normative beliefs**—that were significant predictors of language behavior, but only in Morocho. In contrast, all the socio-psychological level variables pertaining to the **individual network of linguistic contacts** for each language

were found to be significant predictors of the language variety used in that language. For instance, high scores for the proportion of Quichua speakers in one's network of linguistic contacts was strongly associated with use of a language variety that was closer to standard Quichua. These findings affirm the importance of the social network as a norm-enforcement mechanism (Mayer, 1962). As Allard and Landry point out, certain variables might be more pertinent or appropriate than others to the study of a given group's vitality (as cited in Willemyns, Pittam, & Gallois, 1993). For the Kichwa in these two communities, general beliefs were found to be of greater importance for perceptions of EV than were other types of beliefs.

6.4.1 Individual Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality: General Beliefs, Normative Beliefs, Personal Beliefs, and Goal Beliefs

Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal (1981) put forward their subjective ethnolinguistic vitality theory as a way to take into consideration individuals' cognitive representations of the societal conditions that had affected their intergroup relations (Moscovici, 1981, as cited in Johnson, Giles, & Bourhis, 1983). Needless to say, one of the purposes of measuring subjective ethnolinguistic vitality was to compare it with objective ethnolinguistic vitality. More importantly, the impact of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality on language behavior is thought to be greater than the impact of objective ethnolinguistic vitality. Giles and Johnson suggest that individuals' perceptions of their group's EV trigger not only their inclination to learn a second language and become proficient in it, but also their attitudes toward the use of the dominant language, the ethnic language, or a language variety that features frequent code-switching between the first two. They also assert that individual perceptions of the out-group's EV strongly influence intergroup behavior (Bourhis et al., 1981). According to Bourhis and Bédard (1988, also cited in Allard & Landry, 1994b), Allard and Landry's (1987) Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic

Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ) is a better predictor of language use than is Bourhis et al.'s (1981) Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (SEVQ). In accordance with the theory previously discussed, the following hypothesis was formulated:

> **Hypothesis 2:** There is a statistically significant correlation between the ethnolinguistic vitality at the **psychological level** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

In this study, although not all of the beliefs on EV show a significant correlation with the degree of standardization of either language, **general beliefs** on the EV of Spanish seem to be a very revealing predictor of the degree of standardization of Quichua in both communities. Negative correlations were found in Morocho between **general beliefs**, **normative beliefs**, and **personal beliefs** on the EV of Spanish and the degree of standardization of Quichua. These results indicate that high scores for **general beliefs**, **normative beliefs**, and **personal beliefs** on the EV of Spanish are associated with greater interference of Spanish when respondents speak Quichua in the rural community of Morocho. In the urban community of Otavalo, however, the only correlation found between scores for beliefs on EV and degree of standardization was a positive correlation that was found between **general beliefs** on the EV of Spanish and the degree of standardization of Quichua. This last result shows that a high score for **general beliefs** on the EV of Spanish is associated with use of a language variety that is closer to standard Quichua when Quichua is spoken in this urban community.

It is important to remember that **general beliefs** refer to the relative vitality of ethnolinguistic groups and include **present vitality**, **future vitality**, and **social models**. With respect to **general beliefs**, the results obtained indicate a clear difference between Morocho and Otavalo, owing to their differing socio-political situations. Divergent results in these two communities could be attributed to what Tajfel (1974) calls *social comparison* and *social*

categorization processes. According to Tajfel, these two processes are important to the development of the individual's social identity. Membership in a group that is viewed in a negative light can spur group members to carry themselves in a way that will allow them to be viewed in a positive light so that they can attain a more gratifying social identity.

Thus, the more importance the rural dwellers see attached to the dominant group, the dominant culture, and the dominant language in their area, the more inclined they will be to code-switch using Spanish when they are speaking Quichua. Conversely, "Group members who perceive illegitimate differences in the status of groups may strive to bring about changes that will better meet criteria of social justice and equity by having recourse to social competition and social creativity" (Tajfel, 1978, as cited in Allard and Landry, 1994b, p. 123). Social competition and social creativity can be manifested through language behavior. Thus, the more importance these urban dwellers see accorded to the dominant group and language in their area, the more inclined they will be to assert their ethnic identity through the use of a language variety that is closer to standard Quichua when speaking Quichua. This phenomenon illustrates the importance of language as a tool and symbol of social solidarity.

Furthermore, as Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz point out, whether minority groups are assimilated or integrated into the dominant group not only shapes their language use, but also highlights the importance of language as the seeder and the preserver of social identity and ethnicity (as cited in Hansen & Liu, 1997, p. 568). Whether a person is monolingual or bilingual is a central aspect of that person's social identity. Moreover, Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz found in their research that code-switching—whether between dialects of the same language or between different languages—indicates a variety of memberships and identities. As such, the rural residents of Morocho might perceive their underprivileged situation as a legitimate situation resulting from their inability to adapt to mainstream society by becoming totally proficient in

Spanish, which would thereby allow them to gain access to the same goods and services the Mestizo group enjoys. In other words, these rural dwellers might have bought into the discourse of the majority group and assumed that their situation and their desire to maintain their own ethnic culture, instead of adopting the majority group culture, is the cause of their underprivileged situation. This situation might be felt more deeply now that their small subsistence plots are insufficient for sustaining the entire family, forcing some family members to migrate and to face the Mestizo world. In contrast, the Indigenous urban residents of Otavalo might perceive their unprecedented economic success and their participation in local and national politics as a way to assert their identity and to question an illegitimate situation that continues to repress the Indigenous, who, despite their achievements and their proficiency in the Spanish language, are still not seen as equals by the Mestizo group. As EV theory makes clear, "These beliefs may reflect the degree to which one's language behavior will contribute to or detract from his/her group's EV" (Allard & Landry, 1994b, p. 126). In the case of those living in rural areas, the perception that the majority language and culture are omnipresent in their community detracts from the use of their ethnic language, whereas, in the case of those living in urban areas, this same perception serves to reaffirm their ethnic identity and foster the use of their ethnic language. These results corroborate the findings of Rudman, Feinberg, and Fairchild (2002), who note that "[m]inorities [who were] relatively high in status showed more implicit in-group bias than [did] minorities [who were] relatively low in status" (p. 294).

As expected, scores for **general beliefs** on the EV of Spanish are significantly higher in Otavalo (7.83) than in Morocho (5.64), whereas scores for **general beliefs** on the EV of Quichua are significantly higher in Morocho (6.21) than in Otavalo (4.99). In the case of Morocho, the moderately high scores for **general beliefs** on the EV of Spanish are striking, since Morocho is a community that is fairly homogeneously populated by the Indigenous. These high scores seem to

support Harwood and Giles's (1991, as cited in Kristiansen, Harwood, & Giles, 1991, p. 446) findings in their analyses of objective/subjective and qualitative/quantitative aspects of vitality in a Danish-American community of adolescent and adult Danish and Anglo-Americans. They found a *perceptual distortion*, as they call it, in favor of the Anglo out-group, which they attributed to a defeatist attitude toward the Danish people and language, especially among elderly Danes. The defeatist attitude Harwood and Giles describe was seen in Morocho, but not in Otavalo.

On closer inspection, significant differences between the two communities are apparent with respect to the **general beliefs** scale and its subscales. Scores for all the subscales—**present vitality**, **future vitality**, and **social models**—of **general beliefs** on the EV of Spanish are significantly higher in Otavalo than in Morocho, whereas scores for the **present vitality** and **social models** subscales of **general beliefs** on the EV of Quichua are significantly higher in Morocho than in Otavalo. No significant differences were found between the two communities with respect to the **future vitality** of Quichua subscale. These results seem to confirm the objective presence of Spanish and its frequent use among the younger generation of the Indigenous in both Morocho and Otavalo.

In both communities, participants were optimistic about the **future vitality** of Quichua, as evidenced by high mean scores for this subscale. A comparison of scores for the **present vitality** and the **future vitality** of Quichua in Otavalo indicates that these urban residents see the **future vitality** of Quichua increasing in the region. It is in the interest of the urban residents to value the **future vitality** of both languages, since they serve as a bridge between the two cultures and languages. Because of their different socio-economic status and level of education, urban residents of Otavalo perceive both languages as important: they recognize the importance of Spanish without disavowing their ethnic language.

As Harwood et al. emphasize, subjective ethnolinguistic vitality can be seen as comparable to objective ethnolinguistic vitality in terms of its predictive value for assessing the EV of both in-groups and out-groups (as cited in Willemyns, Pittam, & Gallois, 1993). However, as Willemyns et al. point out, even if the group's assessment of its EV is not accurate, it can be argued from a social-psychological point of view that "subjective assessments of vitality are more revealing than objective assessments, in examining the influence of vitality upon inter-group relations, as individuals behave in response to their perceptions of reality, rather than to 'objective' reality" (p. 484).

Mean scores show that residents of Otavalo see the future vitality of Quichua surpassing its present vitality. A closer inspection of the subscales of the general beliefs scale reveals that the residents of the rural community of Morocho see the present vitality of Quichua (5.89) as slightly higher than the present vitality of Spanish (5.73) in their area; furthermore, they see the future vitality of Spanish (6.32) surpassing the future vitality of Quichua (5.85). Also, as expected, residents of the urban community of Otavalo see the present vitality of Spanish as much higher (7.70) than the present vitality of Quichua (4.27). Even though the urban residents of Otavalo still anticipate the future vitality of Spanish (7.78) being higher than the future vitality of Quichua (6.03), they see the future vitality of Quichua increasing considerably in this area. One inference that could be drawn from these data is that although the vitality of Quichua might seem to be high at the present time in Morocho, residents see Spanish having a future detrimental impact on their ethnic language, which may lead to language shift. In contrast, while Spanish seems to have high vitality at the present time in Otavalo, residents see that Quichua is making a comeback, which may lead to its expansion into additional domains—that is, beyond language maintenance to language revival. Although future vitality is an important predictor of language

behavior, it is only one measure, making it difficult to predict the direction each community's language behavior will take.

Migration—caused by the need to complement subsistence agriculture and ranching on small plots of land—has imposed the Spanish language and the dominant culture on the residents of Morocho and made knowledge of that language and culture a necessity. In Otavalo, however, economic success, coupled with the awareness that Indigenous leaders from Otavalo occupy political positions at the local, regional, and national levels, has highlighted the importance of their own ethnic language and culture.

Other significant correlations were found in Morocho: A negative direction correlation was found between **personal beliefs** on the EV of Spanish and the degree of standardization of Spanish, whereas a positive direction correlation was found between **personal beliefs** on the EV of Quichua and the degree of standardization of Spanish. These results indicate that in Morocho, stronger **personal beliefs** on the EV of Spanish are associated with greater interference of Quichua when respondents communicate with Spanish speakers; furthermore, stronger **personal beliefs** on the EV of Quichua are associated with use of a language variety that is closer to standard Spanish when respondents communicate with Spanish speakers. This situation bears out findings in the literature that demonstrate how important it is for various institutions to valorize and support the ethnic language. Such support encourages in-group members to valorize the ethnic language as well, and provides a basis for successful second language learning. According to Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977), for example, valorization is a key determinant of a group's EV and of its language behavior. Therefore, if a group's minority language is valorized, in-group members will not only have higher proficiency in their own language, but in a second language as well. These concepts are borne out by Wallace E. Lambert's (1975) additive bilingualism theory, which holds that learning a second language need not interfere with or replace the first

language. In Otavalo, however, no correlations were found between **personal beliefs** on the EV of either Spanish or Quichua and the degree of standardization of either Spanish or Quichua.

It is worth examining the scores participants assigned to each subscale within the **personal beliefs** variable so as gain an understanding of how these correlations trace very different profiles for each of these two communities. Considering that **personal beliefs** refer to respondents' present behavior or situation and include **valorization**, **belongingness**, and **personal efficacy** subscales, it is to be expected that participants in the rural community of Morocho will rate their personal beliefs on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Quichua (6.83) much higher than their personal beliefs on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish (4.96), whereas participants in the urban community of Otavalo will rate their personal beliefs on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish (6.82) just slightly higher than their personal beliefs on the EV of Quichua (6.46). In other words, participants in Otavalo rate their **valorization** (what is important for them), their **personal efficacy** (what they are capable of doing in a given language), and their **belongingness** (feeling that they belong) almost as high in Quichua as in Spanish. In contrast, participants in Morocho rate their **valorization**, their **personal efficacy**, and their **belongingness** much higher in Quichua than in Spanish.

Although the participants in Morocho show higher scores for **valorization** of Quichua (7.22) than of Spanish (6.20), they still value Spanish highly. Even more importantly, participants in Morocho give a fairly low rating to their sense of **belongingness** (3.93) and their **personal efficacy** in Spanish (4.90). Yet, the scores they assign to their **personal efficacy** in Quichua (5.44) are only moderate. These results indicate that participants in Morocho do not feel they would be very capable of reaching the goals itemized in the questionnaire when communicating in the dominant language—Spanish—in their activities at school, in a future job, with their local and national political representatives, etc. Furthemore, they feel they would be

only moderately capable of reaching these goals when using Quichua. In contast, participants in Otavalo feel they would be moderately capable to capable (6.98) of reaching these goals when using Spanish and just moderately capable (6.79) of reaching these goals when using Quichua. These results reveal the two groups' differing perceptions of their level of competence in each language and show how these perceptions influence the ethnolinguistic vitality of each group. These results may also reflect the impact of the schools in each community: their success—or lack thereof—in raising the level of education, and the degree to which they valorize—or fail to valorize—the ethnic culture and language. They can also be viewed in terms of the secluded and underprivileged situation of the rural residents of Morocho, and as an indication of "how inequitable relations of power limit the opportunities L2 learners have to practice the target language outside the classroom" (Pierce, 1995, p. 12).

It is important to view language development in broader terms. Bruner (as cited in Hamers & Blanc, 2003, p. 16) frames language development as part of a general model of cognitive development that is rooted in social interaction. Yet, when Indigenous minority groups try to preserve their own culture and their own forms of social interaction they face a continuous struggle. This struggle can be seen in terms of the acculturation process. Not only will the state, the superordinate group, and subordinate groups all have differing positions on acculturation, but the position each group takes may also fluctuate. My elite interviews with Indigenous leaders clearly show that these leaders embrace an integration approach. Census and descriptive data, questionnaires, and personal conversations with residents all show that the Otavalo Indigenous also embrace an integration approach; however this group has experienced a transculturation process, which has created a different intergroup dynamic; whereas the acculturation approach within the Morocho Indigenous is not very clear. What is clear is that the Morocho Indigenous as a group have not achieved proficiency in the dominant language; this may be traced to a

devalued sense of self, a history of seclusion, and a lack of opportunities. If this is the case, speaking and being proficient in the dominant language can be seen as an invaluable asset. The superordinate group has taken a contradictory stance, a Eurocentric position that privileges urbanization and Western culture and suppresses the Indigenous heritage, combined with a certain idealization of the Indigenous figure, especially of the Otavalos, who have been able to succeed economically and politically and transcend their borders by asserting their ethnic identity.

The state, on the other hand, has clearly favored an assimilationist policy as a means of modernizing the nation; however, the political strength of the Indigenous movement and the pressure this movement has exerted on the state and on the superordinate group, as well as the presence of more progressive governments in power, has recently triggered a change in state ideology from an assimilationist policy to a more pluralist one. However, the government has not always been willing to support economically or socially any minority group initiatives to help maintain and promote the ethnic cultural interests of the different minorities.

The dynamics between the superordinate group, the subordinate group, and the state are not static; they are in a state of flux. Society in the Western world values individuals according to their possessions, their commodities. Therefore, hegemonic instances such as schools, government institutions, the Church, etc. see the Indigenous as marginal and contaminating. Thus, the subordinate group appropriates the discourse of these hegemonic instances as a structural factor, not as a personal option. This result can be seen in lower status groups, such as the Indigenous in Morocho, who are trapped into speaking the superordinate-group language and conforming to the superordinate-group norm. However, different factors at the national and regional levels have created a different feeling among the Indigenous in Otavalo. The rise of a middle class of professional Indigenous leaders in Otavalo, concomitant with the flourishing of

the Indigenous movement, has strengthened these urban residents and bolstered their sense of identity.

6.4.2 Individual Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality: Egocentric Beliefs and Exocentric Beliefs

Hypothesis 2A: There is a statistically significant correlation between the **exocentric beliefs** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

Hypothesis 2B: There is a statistically significant correlation between the **egocentric beliefs** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

Self, or **egocentric beliefs**, are those of the individual him/herself, whereas non-self, or **exocentric beliefs**, "refer to perceptions of sociological factors and to the behavior of others" (Allard & Landry, 1994b, p. 126) as perceived by the individual. Whereas Allard and Landry maintain that **egocentric (self) beliefs** regarding ethnolinguistic vitality are better predictors of language behavior than are **exocentric (non-self) beliefs**, the results of this study seem to show the reverse. In Morocho at least, **exocentric beliefs** seem to be better predictors of differences in the language behavior of respondents than are **egocentric beliefs**. In this rural community, higher scores for **exocentric beliefs** on the EV of Spanish seem to correspond to use of a language variety that is farther from standard Quichua when respondents communicate with Quichua speakers. These results lend support to Jost and Banaji's (1994) system justification theory, in that those minorities with the least status are the most susceptible to automatic in-group devaluation; thus, group members distance themselves from their in-group language and approach the out-group language. Such differences can be observed between the two Kichwa communities with respect to their status, since the higher status of the Otavalo Kichwas has

allowed them to assert their in-group culture and language rather than reject them, as some Morocho Kichwas have done. It is important to note that although **exocentric beliefs** on the EV of Spanish show a significant correlation with language behavior in both communities, only in Morocho do **egocentric beliefs** on the EV of both Spanish and Quichua show a significant correlation with language behavior—except **egocentric beliefs** on the EV of Quichua and degree of standardization of Quichua. Once again, this can be explained by system justification theory, which holds that a history of oppression can lead subordinate groups to accept negative attitudes toward their own group as a means of justifying the status quo.

6.4.3 Individual Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality: Factual Beliefs and Desired Beliefs

Hypothesis 2C: There is a statistically significant correlation between the **factual beliefs** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

Hypothesis 2D: There is a statistically significant correlation between the **desired beliefs** and the language behavior of Quichua speakers in the rural setting of Morocho and the urban setting of Otavalo.

Consistent with the previous results, high scores for **factual beliefs** and **desired beliefs** on the EV of Spanish in Morocho correspond to greater interference of Spanish when respondents communicate with Quichua speakers. Thus, their **factual egocentric (self)** and **factual exocentric (non-self) beliefs** on the EV of Spanish and their **desired egocentric (self)** and **desired exocentric (non-self) beliefs** in the EV of Spanish may discourage respondents in Morocho from speaking a language variety that is closer to standard Quichua when communicating with Quichua speakers. This is not the case in the urban community of Otavalo, where no correlations were found between either **factual beliefs** or **desired beliefs** on the EV of

Spanish and the degree of standardization of Quichua when respondents speak Quichua. Once more, this last result attests to the importance of perception: residents of Morocho who believe that the EV of their own ethnic language is strong tend to speak a language variety that is closer to standard Spanish when they communicate with Spanish speakers. That is, the perception that the EV of Quichua is strong is associated with improved competence in Spanish. This highlights the consequences of the psychological aspect of ethnolinguistic vitality for language behavior.

6.4.4 Individual Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality: Importance of the Different Beliefs

The only significant correlation between beliefs on EV and language behavior that both communities have in common is between **general** (**factual and exocentric**) beliefs on the EV of Spanish and degree of standardization of Quichua. In sum, three of the four subscales measuring individual beliefs on ethnolinguistic vitality—**general beliefs**, **normative beliefs**, and **personal beliefs**—show significant correlations between the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish and the degree of standardization of Quichua in the rural setting of Morocho. Other correlations shown to be significant were those between both **normative beliefs** and **personal beliefs** on the EV of both languages and the degree of standardization of both languages, but only in the rural community of Morocho. High correlations between **personal (factual and egocentric) beliefs** on the EV of Quichua and the degree of standardization of Spanish reveal the great influence of these beliefs on the use of a language variety that is closer to standard Spanish when residents of Morocho communicate with Spanish speakers**.** Allard and Landry (1994b) give more weight to the impact of **egocentric beliefs** on language behavior than to the impact of other types of beliefs. However, in this study, **factual and exocentric beliefs** were shown to have the greatest

impact on language behavior in both communities, and **factual and egocentric** beliefs were shown to have an even greater impact on language behavior, but only in the rural community of Morocho.

In future studies, researchers could revisit the Kichwa of these two communities to replicate this study, examining the weight of the various factors to determine whether EV theory, particularly with respect to measures of present and future vitality, is adequate for predicting whether language maintenance or shift will occur. Harwood et al. remark on "the potential utility of fusing ethnographic and quantitative techniques to advance theory development" (as cited in Kristiansen, Harwood, & Giles, 1991, p. 446); I have employed this combination of techniques in this study in order to shed light on the complex social, socio-psychological, and psychological processes that determine whether language maintenance, a stable bilingual situation, or shift will take place among a given ethnic group.

APPENDIX A: IRB CONSENT FORM

University of Pittsburgh
Institutional Review Board

Exempt and Expedited Reviews
Christopher M. Ryan, Ph.D., Vice Chair

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Suite 105
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Phone: 412.578.3424
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TO: Sonia Lenk

FROM: Christopher M. Ryan, Ph.D., Vice Chair

DATE: September 10, 2002

PROTOCOL: Socio-Psychological Factors in Language Behavior: A Question of Ethnolinguistic Vitality
IRB Number: 020792

The above-referenced protocol has been reviewed by the University of Pittsburgh Institutional Review Board. This protocol meets all the necessary requirements and is hereby designated as "exempt" under section 45 CFR 46.101(b)(2). Exempt protocols must be re-reviewed every three years. If you wish to continue the research after that time, a new application must be submitted.

- If any modifications are made to this project, please submit an 'exempt modification' form to the IRB.
- Please advise the IRB when your project has been completed so that it may be officially terminated in the IRB database.
- This research study may be audited by the University of Pittsburgh Research Conduct and Compliance Office.

Approval Date: September 10, 2002
Renewal Date: September 10, 2005

APPENDIX B1: LANGUAGE VARIETY

LANGUAGE VARIETY SPOKEN DURING YOUR CONTACTS WITH FRANCOPHONES

Depending on circumstances, or by habit, one may speak different varieties of the same language or even a different language. In this section, we ask you to indicate which language variety would be the most typical in the different contacts you have had with francophones. For your answers, use the following 1 to 7 scale :

1. "Standard" English (very close to the English taught in school).
2. "Non standard" English (many words or expressions different from standard English).
3. English, but with the occasional use of French sentences and expressions.
4. "Frenglish" (a very pronounced mixture of French and English within the same sentence).
5. French influenced by English (occasionally one or two English words in a French sentence).
6. "Non standard" French (many words or expressions different from standard French, very little English influence).
7. "Standard" French (very similar to the French taught in school).

X. Another language than French or English. ENCIRCLE THE X ALSO IF THE QUESTION DOES NOT APPLY TO YOU.

Using the 1 to 7 scale described above, encircle the number which best describes the language variety most often spoken by :

a) Your francophone family members or relatives?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
b) Your francophone friends?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
c) Your francophone neighbours?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
d) Francophone students who have attended the same schools as you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
e) Francophones who have participated with you in social and cultural activities?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

LANGUAGE VARIETY SPOKEN DURING YOUR CONTACTS WITH ANGLOPHONES

Depending on circumstances, or by habit, one may speak different varieties of the same language or even a different language. In this section, we ask you to indicate which language variety would be the most typical in the different contacts you have had with anglophones. For your answers, use the following 1 to 7 scale :

1. "Standard" English (very close to the English taught in school).
2. "Non standard" English (many words or expressions different from standard English).
3. English, but with the occasional use of French sentences and expressions.
4. "Frenglish" (a very pronounced mixture of French and English within the same sentence).
5. French influenced by English (occasionally one or two English words in a French sentence).
6. "Non standard" French (many words or expressions different from standard French, very little English influence).
7. "Standard" French (very similar to the French taught in school).

X. Another language than French or English. ENCIRCLE THE X ALSO IF THE QUESTION DOES NOT APPLY TO YOU.

Using the 1 to 7 scale described above, encircle the number which best describes the language variety most often spoken by :

a) Your anglophone family

members or relatives?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	
b) Your anglophone friends?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	
c) Your anglophone neighbors?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		(Line 3)
d) Anglophone students who have attended the same schools as you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	(16)
e) Anglophones who have participated with you activities?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	(17) (18)

(19)

APPENDIX B2: LANGUAGE VARIETY

VARIEDAD LINGÜÍSTICA HABLADA DURANTE SUS CONTACTOS CON QUICHUA- HABLANTES

Dependiendo de las circunstancias, o por hábito, pueda que uno hable diferentes variedades de la misma lengua o inclusive diferentes lenguas. En esta sección, le pedimos que indique cuales variedades lingüísticas serían las más típicas al estar con los diferentes contactos quichua-hablantes que Usted ha tenido. Para sus respuestas, use la siguiente escala del 1 al 7:

1. Español "estándar" (muy parecido al español que se enseña en la escuela)
2. Español "no estándar" (muchas palabras o expresiones diferentes del español estándar)
3. Español pero con uso de algunas oraciones o expresiones en quichua.
4. "Quichuañol" (una mezcla muy pronunciada de quichua y español en la misma oración)
5. Quichua influenciado por el español (ocasionalmente una o dos palabras en español en una oración en quichua)
6. Quichua "no estándar" (muchas palabras o expresiones diferentes del quichua estándar, muy poca influencia del español)
7. Quichua "estándar" (muy similar al quichua que se enseña en la escuela)

X. Otro idioma diferente al quichua o al español. También HAGA UN CÍRCULO ALREDEDOR DE LA X SI L PREGUNTA NO SE APLICA A SU CASO.

Usando la escala del 1 al 7 descrita arriba, haga un círculo en el número que mejor describa la variedad lingüística más usada por:

a) Los miembros de su familia o parientes quichua-hablantes?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X
b) Sus amigos quichua-hablantes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X
c) Sus vecinos quichua-hablantes?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X
d) Estudiantes quichua-hablantes que asistieron al mismo colegio que Usted?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X
e) Quichua-hablantes que han participado en actividades sociales y culturales?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X

VARIEDAD LINGÜÍSTICA HABLADA DURANTE SUS CONTACTOS CON HISPANO-HABLANTES

Dependiendo de las circunstancias, o por hábito, pueda que uno hable diferentes variedades de la misma lengua o inclusive diferentes lenguas. En esta sección, le pedimos que indique cuales variedades lingüísticas serían las más típicas al estar con los diferentes contactos de hispano-hablantes que Usted ha tenido. Para sus respuestas, use la siguiente escala del 1 al 7:

1. Español "estándar" (muy parecido al español que se enseña en la escuela)
2. Español "no estándar" (muchas palabras o expresiones diferentes del español estándar)
3. Español pero con uso de algunas oraciones o expresiones en quichua
4. "Quichuañol" (una mezcla muy pronunciada de quichua y español en la misma oración)
5. Quichua influenciado por el español (ocasionalmente una o dos palabras en español en una oración en quichua)
6. Quichua "no estándar" (muchas palabras o expresiones diferentes del quichua estándar, muy poca influencia del español)
7. Quichua "estándar" (muy similar al quichua que se enseña en la escuela)

X. Otro idioma diferente al quichua o al español. También haga un círculo si la pregunta no se aplica a su caso.

Usando la escala del 1 al 7 descrita arriba, haga un círculo en el número que mejor describa la variedad lingüística más usada por

a) los miembros de su familia o parientes hispano-hablantes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X
b) sus amigos hispano-hablantes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X
c) sus vecinos hispano-hablantes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X
d) estudiantes hispano-hablantes que asistieron al mismo colegio que Usted	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X
e) hispano-hablantes que han participado en actividades sociales y culturales	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X

APPENDIX B3: LANGUAGE VARIETY

KICHWA SHIMITA IMA MODO PARLANKI

Mana kulpi rurankuna parlanchik igual shimi kichwata. Shukkunaka chapuchiska caastillanuan parlan. Kutin shukkunaka mana alli kichwata parlan.Chaimanta tapuchnchi yachankapa ima mudusta kan parlanki kichwata.

1. Castillanuta ima mudu parlanki, castillanu yachachik iscuelapi.
2. Mana Igual Castillanuta)
3. Castillanuta chapuchiska kichuwawan.
4. Kichuwata chapuriska castillanuwan
5. Astawan Kichiwa shimi asha castillanu
6. Asta kichwa shimilla
7. Quichua shimi parlanki igual iscuelapi yachachin

X. Yachanki sikan simi mana kichwa, mana castillanu

Ruray suk rumpata mana kanpa tikrachi kan kichwa shimi, castillanu shimi.

Japispa maijan númeruta shuk astawan canchiskaman maijanta kan yuyanki alli kan tikrachi.

a) Kanpa ayllukuna ima mudu parlan kichua shimita, castillanu shimita

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X

b) Kanpa mashikuna ima mudu parlan kichwa shimita, castillanu shimita

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X

c) Kanpa vicinukuna ima mudu parlan kichwa shimita, castillanu shimita

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X

d) Kanpa mashikuna yachana huasipi ima mudu parlan kichwa shimita, castillanu shimita

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X

e) Kanpa llactamanta runakuna ima mudu parlan kichwa shimita, castillanu shimita

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X

CASTELLANU SHIMITA IMA MODO PARLANKI

Mana kulpi runankuna parlanchik igual shimi castellanutaa. Shukkunaka chapuchiska kichwawan parlan. Kutin shukkunaka mana alli castellanutaa parlan.Chaimanta tapuchinchi yachankapa ima mudusta kan parlanki castellanuta

1. Castillanuta ima mudu parlanki, castillanu yachachik iscuelapi
2. Mana Igual Castillanuta)
3. Castillanuta chapuchiska kichuwawan
4. Kichuwata chapuriska castillanuwan
5. Astawan Kichiwa shimi asha castillanu
6. Asta kichwa shimilla
7. Quichua shimi parlanki igual iscuelapi yachachin

X.Yachanki sikan simi mana kichwa, mana castillanu

Ruray suk rumpata mana kanpa tikrachi kan kichwa shimi, castillanu shimi.

Japispa maijan númeruta shuk astawan canchiskaman maijanta kan yuyanki alli kan tikrachi.

a) Kanpa ayllukuna ima mudu parlan castellanu shimita ,kichwa shimita

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X

b) Kanpa mashikuna ima mudu parlancastellanu shimita, kichwa shimita

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X

c) Kanpa vicinukuna ima mudu parlan castellanu shimita, kichwa shimita

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X

d) Kanpa mashikuna yachana huasipi ima mudu parlan castellanu shimita, kichuwa shimita

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X

e) Kanpa llactamanta rurakuna ima mudu parlancastellanuta shimita,kichwa shimita

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X

APPENDIX C1: INDIVIDUAL NETWORK OF LINGUISTIC CONTACTS (INLC)

Code _____

INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION NETWORK

Thank you for participating in our survey. This questionnaire is designed to help us better understand your experiences in your use of your first and second languages in your family, with relatives, friends, fellow students and neighbours, as well as in your cultural and social activities. In order that the questionnaire provide us with reliable and valid information, it is important that you answer all questions as precisely as possible. If certain questions don't seem clear to you, don't hesitate to call upon us for further explanations.

A. GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Name_____ 2. Date of birth____/____/____
   year month day
3. Homeroom teacher_____
4. Level of English course_____
5. School_____

ENCIRCLE THE NUMBER WHICH CORRESPONDS TO YOUR ANSWER

6. Type of French program

   1. Core (regular)
   2. Early immersion
   3. Late immersion
   4. Other (specify) _____

7. Sex

   1. Female 2. Male

8. Your mother tongue (first language learned and still spoken)

   1. English 2. French 3. Other _____

9. Your second language

   1. English 2. French 3. Other _____ 4. None

10. Father's or male guardian's mother tongue (first language learned and still spoken)

    1. English 2. French 3. Other _____

11. Father's or male guardian's second language

1. English 2. French 3. Other _____ 4. None

12. Mother's or female guardian's mother tongue (first language learned and still spoken)

1. English 2. French 3. Other _____

13. Mother's or female guardian's second language

1. English 2. French 3. Other _____ 4. None

14. Name of the city or town in which you now reside _____

15. Father's or male guardian's occupation

a) What type of work does your father or male guardian do?
(If he is unemployed, what is the last type of work he did?)

_____

b) What is (was) the name of his profession or job?

_____

16. Mother's or female guardian's occupation

a) What type of work does your mother or female guardian do?
(If she is unemployed, what is the last type of work she did?)

_____

b) What is (was) the name of her profession or job?

_____

17. Father's or male guardian's education

1. Completed six years or less of schooling
2. Completed junior high or part of it (grades 7, 8, 9)
3. Completed part of high school (grades 10, 11)
4. Completed high school
5. College studies (e.g. community college, specialized non-university studies, partially completed university studies)
6. University studies completed (Baccalaureate)
7. Graduate studies (Master's or Doctorate)

18. Mother's or female guardian's education

1. Completed six years or less of schooling
2. Completed junior high or part of it (grades 7, 8, 9)
3. Completed part of high school (grades 10, 11)
4. Completed high school
5. College studies (e.g. community college, specialized non-university studies, partially completed university studies)
6. University studies completed (Baccalaureate)
7. Graduate studies (Master's or Doctorate)

B. FRANCOPHONE NETWORK: YOUR CONTACTS WITH FRANCOPHONES

DEFINITIONS: Your communication network consists of all of your linguistic contacts, that is, all of the occasions you've had to communicate in one language or another. Your francophone communication network consists of all of the contacts you've had with francophones.

A francophone is someone whose first language learned is French and who can still speak French.

INSTRUCTIONS: In your responses to all of the following questions, you are to consider only the francophones you have known personally. If certain persons have passed away, you can still consider them in your answers if you knew them for a significant length of time.

The questions asked below refer to all of your linguistic experiences with francophones from your early childhood until the present. In your answers, therefore, you are to consider not only the present but also all of your past experiences with francophones.

Example:
Among all your friends, how many were francophones?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
None				Half of them				All

To answer this question, you would consider all of the friends you've had from your early childhood to the present, not only the friends you have now. This is why most of the questions are written in the past tense.

For each of the questions, you choose the number which, in your own estimation, most closely corresponds to your situation.

IF A QUESTION DOES NOT APPLY TO YOU, ENCIRCLE THE X AT THE END OF THE SCALE.

1. PROPORTION OF FRANCOPHONES IN YOUR NETWORK

In this part of the questionnaire, you are asked to estimate, for each of the groups of persons mentioned below, how many were francophones?

	NONE				HALF				ALL	
a) Immediate family (parents, brother(s), sister(s), grandparents)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
b) Cousins	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
c) Aunts and uncles	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
d) Friends you've had since your early childhood	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
e) Neighbours (that is, persons who have resided near your home)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
f) Students who have attended the same schools you have attended	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

g) Persons who have participated with you in social and cultural activities (for example, team sports, cultural associations, youth movements, religious activities, social clubs, etc…)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

2. FREQUENCY OF YOUR CONTACTS WITH FRANCOPHONES

In this section, we are interested in knowing how often you have had the opportunity to speak to or to be in contact with francophones.

IF A QUESTION DOES NOT APPLY TO YOU, ENCIRCLE THE X AT THE END OF THE SCALE.

In a typical week, how often have you had the opportunity to speak to or to be in contact with

	RARELY (less than once a week)			FOUR OR FIVE TIMES A WEEK			VERY OFTEN (several times a day)			
a) Your francophone family members or relatives?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
b) Your francophone friends?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
c) Your francophone neighbours?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
d) Francophone students who have attended the same schools as you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
e) Francophones who have participated with you in social and cultural activities?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

3. QUALITY OF YOUR CONTACTS WITH FRANCOPHONES

In this section, we ask you to estimate how pleasant or unpleasant your contacts with francophones have been.

IF A QUESTION DOES NOT APPLY TO YOU, ENCIRCLE THE X AT THE END OF THE SCALE.

How pleasant have been your contacts with

	VERY UNPLEASANT			NEUTRAL OR INDIFFERENT			VERY PLEASANT			
a) Your francophone family members or relatives?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
b) Your francophone friends?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

c) Your francophone neighbours?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
d) Francophone students who have attended the same schools as you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
e) Francophones who have participated with you in social and cultural activities?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

4. STABILITY OF YOUR CONTACTS WITH FRANCOPH0NES

In this section, we ask you to estimate how stable your contacts have been with francophones you have known. A stable contact is one that is maintained over a long period of time (e.g. several years or during all of one's life).

For the groups of francophones mentioned below, estimate with how many you were able to maintain a stable contact over the years.

IF A QUESTION DOES NOT APPLY TO YOU, ENCIRCLE THE X AT THE END OF THE SCALE.

	NONE				HALF				ALL	
a) Your francophone family members or relatives?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
b) Your francophone friends?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
c) Your francophone neighbours?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
d) Francophone students who have attended the same schools as you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
e) Francophones who have participated with you in social and cultural activities?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

ANGLOPHONE NETWORK: YOUR CONTACTS WITH ANGLOPHONES

DEFINITIONS: Your communication network consists of all of your linguistic contacts, that is, all of the occasions you've had to communicate in one language or another. Your anglophone communication network consists of all of the contacts you've had with anglophones.

An anglophone is someone whose first language learned is English and who can still speak English.

INSTRUCTIONS: In your responses to all of the following questions, you are to consider only the anglophones you have known personally. If certain persons have passed away, you can still consider them in your answers if you knew them for a significant length of time.

The questions asked below refer to all of your linguistic experiences with anglophones from your early childhood until the present. In your answers, therefore, you are to consider not only the present but also all of your past experiences with anglophones.

Example:
Among all your friends, how many were anglophones?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
None				Half of them				All

To answer this question, you would consider all of the friends you've had from your early childhood to the present, not only the friends you have now. This is why most of the questions are written in the past tense.

For each of the questions, you choose the number which, in your own estimation, most closely corresponds to your situation.

IF A QUESTION DOES NOT APPLY TO YOU, ENCIRCLE THE X AT THE END OF THE SCALE.

1. PROPORTION OF ANGLOPHONES IN YOUR NETWORK

In this part of the questionnaire, you are asked to estimate, for each of the groups of persons mentioned below, how many were anglophones.

	NONE				HALF				ALL	
a) Immediate family (parents, brother(s), sister(s), grand parents)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
b) Cousins	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
c) Aunts and uncles	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
d) Friends you've had since your early childhood	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
e) Neighbours (that is, persons who have resided near your home)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
f) Students who have attended the same schools you have attended	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

g) Persons who have participated with you in social and cultural activities (for example, team sports, cultural associations, youth movements, religious activities, social clubs, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

2. FREQUENCY OF YOUR CONTACTS WITH ANGLOPHONES

In this section, we are interested in knowing how often you have had the opportunity to speak to or to be in contact with anglophones.

IF A QUESTION DOES NOT APPLY TO YOU, ENCIRCLE THE X AT THE END OF THE SCALE.

In a typical week, how often have you had the opportunity to speak to or to be in contact with

	RARELY (less than once a week)			FOUR OR FIVE TIMES A WEEK			VERY OFTEN (several times a day)			
a) Your anglophone family members or relatives?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
b) Your anglophone friends?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
c) Your anglophone neighbours?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
d) Anglophone students who have attended the same schools as you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
e) Anglophones who have participated with you in social and cultural activities?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

3. QUALITY OF YOUR CONTACTS WITH ANGLOPHONES

In this section, we ask you to estimate how pleasant or unpleasant your contacts with anglophones have been.

IF A QUESTION DOES NOT APPLY TO YOU, ENCIRCLE THE X AT THE END OF THE SCALE.

How pleasant have been your contacts with

	VERY UNPLEASANT			NEUTRAL OR INDIFFERENT			VERY PLEASANT			
a) Your anglophone family members or relatives?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
b) Your anglophone friends?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

c) Your anglophone neighbours?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
d) Anglophone students who have attended the same schools as you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
e) Anglophones who have participated with you in social and cultural activities?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

4. STABILITY OF YOUR CONTACTS WITH ANGLOPHONES

In this section, we ask you to estimate how stable your contacts have been with anglophones you have known. A stable contact is one that is maintained over a long period of time (e.g. several years or during all of one's life).

For the groups of anglophones mentioned below, estimate with how many you were able to maintain a stable contact over the years.

IF A QUESTION DOES NOT APPLY TO YOU, ENCIRCLE THE X AT THE END OF THE SCALE.

	NONE				HALF				ALL	
a) Your anglophone family members or relatives?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
b) Your anglophone friends?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
c) Your anglophone neighbours?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
d) Anglophone students who have attended the same schools as you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
e) Anglophones who have participated with you in social and cultural activities?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

APPENDIX C2: INDIVIDUAL NETWORK OF LINGUISTIC CONTACTS (INLC)

RED DE COMUNICACIONES INTERPERSONALES

Gracias por participar en esta encuesta. Este cuestionario está diseñado para ayudarnos a entender mejor sus experiencias en su uso de la primera y segunda lengua con su familia, sus parientes, amigos, compañeros y vecinos, tanto como en sus actividades culturales y sociales. Para que el cuestionario nos provea con información confiable y válida, es importante que Usted responda a todas las preguntas de la forma más precisa que le sea posible. Si hay preguntas que no le resultan muy claras a Usted, no dude en preguntarnos.

INFORMACION GENERAL

1. Nombre _____ 2. Fecha de nacimiento ___ / ___ / ___
   año mes día
3. Maestro _____
4. Nivel de curso de español _____
5. Colegio _____

HAGA UN CIRCULO EN EL NUMERO QUE CORRESPONDA A SU RESPUESTA.

6. Tipo de programa de quichua

a) Regular
b) Inmersión temprana
c) Inmersión tardía
d) Otro (especifique) _____

7. Sexo
   1. Mujer 2. Hombre

8. Su primera lengua (primera lengua que aprendió y habla todavía)
   1. Español 2. Quichua 3. Otra _____

9. Su segunda lengua
   1. Español 2. Quichua 3. Otra _____ 4. Ninguna

10. La primera lengua de su padre o padrastro (primera lengua que aprendió y habla todavía)
    1. Español 2. Quichua 3. Otra _____

11. La segunda lengua de su padre o padrastro
   1. Español 2. Quichua 3. Otra _____ 4. Ninguna

12. La lengua materna de su madre o madrastra (primera lengua que aprendió y habla todavía)
   1. Español 2. Quichua 3. Otra _____

13. La segunda lengua de su madre o madrastra
   1. Español 2. Quichua 3. Otra _____ 4. Ninguna

14. Nombre de la ciudad o pueblo en el que Usted vive _____

15. Ocupación del padre o padrastro

a) ¿Qué tipo de trabajo hace su padre o padrastro?
(Si no tiene trabajo actualmente, ¿qué tipo de trabajo hizo la última vez que trabajó?)

_____

b) ¿Cuál es (era) el nombre de su profesión o trabajo?

_____

16. Ocupación de la madre o madrastra

a) ¿Qué tipo de trabajo hace su madre o madrastra?
(Si no tiene trabajo actualmente, ¿qué tipo de trabajo hizo la última vez que trabajó?)

_____

b) Cuál es (era) el nombre de su profesión o trabajo?

_____

17. Educación de su padre o padrastro

1. Completó 6 años o menos de escuela
2. Completó todo o parte del ciclo básico (1ero., 2do., 3er. Curso)
3. Completó parte del ciclo diversificado (4to., 5to., 6to. Curso)
4. Completó todo el ciclo diversificado (4to., 5to., 6to. Curso)
5. Estudios superiores. Especifique _____
6. Completó estudios universitarios (Licenciatura) _____
7. Estudios a nivel graduado (maestría o doctorado) _____

18. Educación de su madre o madrastra

1. Completó 6 años o menos de escuela
2. Completó todo o parte del ciclo básico (1ero., 2do., 3er. Curso)
3. Completó parte del ciclo diversificado (4to., 5to., 6to. Curso)
4. Completó todo el ciclo diversificado (4to., 5to., 6to. Curso)
5. Estudios superiores. Especifique _____
6. Completó estudios universitarios (Licenciatura) _____
7. Estudios a nivel graduado (maestría o doctorado) _____

B. RED DE QUICHUA-HABLANTES: SUS CONTACTOS CON QUICHUA-HABLANTES

DEFINICIONES: Su red de contactos comunicativos consiste en todos sus contactos lingüísticos; es decir, en todas las ocasiones que Usted ha tenido que comunicarse en una lengua u otra. Sus contactos comunicativos con quichua-hablantes consisten en todos los contactos que Usted ha tenido con quichua-hablantes.

Un quichua-hablante es alguien que primero aprendió a hablar quichua y que todavía puede hablar quichua.

INSTRUCCIONES: En sus respuestas a las siguientes preguntas, Usted debe considerar sólo a los quichua-hablantes a los que Usted ha conocido personalmente. Si algunas personas han muerto, Usted también puede considerarlos a ellos en sus respuestas si Usted los conoció por mucho tiempo.

Las preguntas que se hacen a continuación se refieren a todas sus experiencias lingüísticas con quichua-hablantes desde su corta niñez hasta la actualidad. En sus respuestas, Usted tiene que considerar no sólo el presente pero también todas sus experiencias pasadas con quichua-hablantes.

Ejemplo: Entre todas sus amistades, ¿cuántos son quichua-hablantes?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Ninguna			La mitad de mis amistades					Todas

Para contestar a esta pregunta, Usted considerará todos los amigos que Usted ha tenido desde su corta niñez hasta la presente fecha, no sólo los amigos que Usted tiene ahora. Es por esto que la mayoría de las preguntas están escritas en el tiempo pasado.

Para cada pregunta, Usted escoge el número que de acuerdo a su estimación más cercanamente corresponda a su situación.

SI UNA PREGUNTA NO SE APLICA A SU CASO, HAGA UN CIRCULO ALREDEDOR DE LA X AL FINAL DE LA ESCALA.

1. PROPORCION DE QUICHUA-HABLANTES EN SU RED DE CONTACTOS

En esta parte del cuestionario, se le pide que Usted estime, para cada uno de los grupos de personas mencionadas a continuación, ¿cuántos son quichua-hablantes?

	NINGUNO ↓			LA MITAD ↓				TODOS ↓	
a) Familia inmediata (padres, hermano(s), hermana(s), abuelos)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

b) Primos	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
c) Tíos	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
d) Amigos que Usted ha tenido desde su corta niñez	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
e) Vecinos (eso incluye personas que han vivido cerca de su casa)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
f) Estudiantes que han asistido al mismo colegio que Usted asistió	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
g) Personas que han participado en actividades sociales y culturales (por ejemplo, deportes en equipo, asociaciones culturales, movimientos juveniles, actividades religiosas, clubes sociales, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

2. FRECUENCIA DE SUS CONTACTOS CON LOS QUICHUA-HABLANTES

En esta sección, estamos interesados en saber cuan seguido Usted ha tenido la oportunidad de hablar o estar en contacto con quichua-hablantes.

SI UNA PREGUNTA NO SE APLICA A SU CASO, HAGA UN CIRCULO ALREDEDOR DE LA X AL FINAL DE LA ESCALA.

<u>En una semana típica</u>, con qué frecuencia Usted tuvo la oportunidad de hablar o de estar en contacto con

	RARAS VECES ↓				4 o 5 VECES A LA SEMANA ↓				FRECUENTEMENTE (varias veces al día) ↓	
a) Los miembros de su familia o sus parientes quichua-hablantes?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
b) Sus amigos quichua-hablantes?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

c) Sus vecinos quichua-hablantes?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
d) Estudiantes quichua-hablantes que han asistido al mismo colegio que Usted	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
e) Quichua-hablantes que han participado con Usted en actividades sociales y culturales?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

3. CALIDAD DE SUS CONTACTOS CON QUICHUA-HABLANTES

En esta sección, le pedimos que estime cuan agradable o desagradable han sido sus contactos con quichua-hablantes.

SI UNA PREGUNTA NO SE APLICA A SU CASO, HAGA UN CIRCULO ALREDEDOR DE LA X AL FINAL DE LA ESCALA.

Qué tan agradables han sido sus contactos con

	MUY DESAGRADABLE ↓			NEUTRO O INDIFERENTE ↓				MUY AGRADABLE ↓		
a) Los miembros de su familia o parientes quichua-hablantes?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
b) Sus amigos quichua-hablantes?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
c) Sus vecinos quichua-hablantes?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
d) Estudiantes quichua-hablantes que asistieron al mismo colegio que Usted?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
e) Quichua-hablantes que han participado en actividades sociales y culturales?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

4. ESTABILIDAD DE SUS CONTACTOS CON QUICHUA-HABLANTES

En esta sección, le pedimos a Usted que estime cuan estable han sido sus contactos con los quichua- hablantes que Usted ha conocido. Un contacto estable es aquel que se puede mantener por un tiempo prolongado (por ejemplo: varios años o durante toda la vida).

Para el grupo de quichua-hablantes mencionados a continuación, estime con cuántos llegó a mantener un contacto estable a través de los años.

SI UNA PREGUNTA NO SE APLICA A SU CASO, HAGA UN CIRCULO ALREDEDOR DE LA X AL FINAL DE LA ESCALA.

	NINGUNO ↓			LA MITAD ↓					TODOS ↓	
a) Los miembros de su familia o parientes quichua-hablantes?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
b) Sus amigos quichua-hablantes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
c) Sus vecinos quichua-hablantes?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
d) Estudiantes quichua-hablantes que asistieron al mismo colegio que Usted?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
e) Quichua-hablantes que han participado en actividades sociales y culturales?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

RED DE CONTACTOS CON HISPANO-HABLANTES

DEFINICIONES: Su red de contactos comunicativos consiste en todos sus contactos lingüísticos; es decir, en todas las ocasiones que Usted ha tenido para comunicarse en una lengua u otra. Sus contactos comunicativos con hispano-hablantes consisten en todos los contactos que Usted ha tenido con hispano-hablantes.

Un hispano-hablante es alguien que primero aprendió a hablar español y que todavía puede hablar español.

INSTRUCCIONES: En sus respuestas a las siguientes preguntas, Usted solo debe considerar a los hispano-hablantes a los que Usted conoce personalmente. Si algunas personas han muerto, Usted también puede considerarlos a esas personas en sus respuestas, si Usted las conoció por mucho tiempo.

Las preguntas que se hacen a continuación se refieren a todas sus experiencias lingüísticas con hispano-hablantes desde su corta niñez hasta la actualidad. En sus respuestas, Usted tiene que considerar no sólo el presente pero también todas sus experiencias con hispano-hablantes.

Ejemplo:

Entre todas sus amistades, ¿cuántos eran hispano-hablantes?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
↓				↓				↓
Ninguna				La mitad de mis amistades				Todas

Para contestar a esta pregunta, Usted considerará todos los amigos que Usted ha tenido desde su corta niñez hasta la presente fecha, no solo los amigos que Usted tiene ahora. Es por esto que la mayoría de las preguntas están escritas en el tiempo pasado.

Para cada pregunta, Usted escoge el número que, de acuerdo a su estimación, más estrechamente corresponda a su situación.

SI UNA PREGUNTA NO SE APLICA A SU CASO, HAGA UN CIRCULO ALREDEDOR DE LA X AL FINAL DE LA ESCALA.

1. PROPORCION DE HISPANO-HABLANTES EN SU RED DE CONTACTOS

En esta parte del cuestionario, se le pide que Usted estime, para cada uno de los grupos de personas mencionadas a continuación, ¿cuántos son hispano-hablantes?

	NINGUNO ↓				LA MITAD ↓				TODOS ↓	
a) Familia inmediata (padres, hermano(s), hermana(s), abuelos)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
b) Primos	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
c) Tíos	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
d) Amigos que Usted ha tenido desde su corta niñez	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
e) Vecinos (esto incluye personas que han vivido cerca de su casa)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
f) Estudiantes que han asistido al mismo colegio que Usted	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

g) Personas que han participado en actividades sociales y culturales (por ejemplo, deportes en equipo, asociaciones culturales, movimientos juveniles, actividades religiosas, clubes sociales, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

2. FRECUENCIA DE SUS CONTACTOS CON LOS HISPANO-HABLANTES

En esta sección, estamos interesados en saber con que frecuencia Usted ha tenido la oportunidad de hablar o estar en contacto con hispano-hablantes.

SI UNA PREGUNTA NO SE APLICA A SU CASO, HAGA UN CIRCULO ALREDEDOR DE LA X AL FINAL DE LA ESCALA.

En una semana típica, con qué frecuencia Usted tuvo la oportunidad de hablar o de estar en contacto con

	RARAS VECES ↓				4 o 5 VECES A LA SEMANA ↓				FRECUENTEMENTE (varias veces al día) ↓	
a) Los miembros de su familia o sus parientes hispano-hablantes?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
b) Sus amigos hispano-hablantes?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
c) Sus vecinos hispano-hablantes?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
d) Estudiantes hispano-hablantes que han asistido al mismo colegio que Usted?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
e) Hispano-hablantes que han participado con Usted en actividades sociales y culturales?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

3. CALIDAD DE LOS CONTACTOS CON HISPANO-HABLANTES

En esta sección, le pedimos que estime cuan agradable o desagradable ha sido su contacto con hispano-hablantes.

SI UNA PREGUNTA NO SE APLICA A SU CASO, HAGA UN CIRCULO ALREDEDOR DE LA X AL FINAL DE LA ESCALA.

Qué tan agradables han sido sus contactos con

	MUY DESAGRADABLE ↓			NEUTRO O INDIFERENTE ↓				MUY AGRADABLE ↓		
a) Los miembros de su familia o parientes hispano-hablantes?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
b) Sus amigos hispano-hablantes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
c) Sus vecinos hispano-hablantes?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
d) Estudiantes hispano-hablantes que asistieron al mismo colegio que Usted?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
e) Hispano-hablantes que han participado en actividades sociales y culturales?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

4. ESTABILIDAD DE SUS CONTACTOS CON HISPANO-HABLANTES

En esta sección, le pedimos a Usted que estime cuan estable han sido sus contactos con los hispano-hablantes que Usted ha conocido. Un contacto estable es aquel que se puede mantener por un período prolongado de tiempo (por ejemplo: varios años o durante toda la vida).

Para el grupo de hispano-hablantes mencionados a continuación, estime con cuantos llegó a mantener un contacto estable a través de los años.

SI UNA PREGUNTA NO SE APLICA A SU CASO, HAGA UN CIRCULO ALREDEDOR DE LA X AL FINAL DE LA ESCALA.

	NINGUNO ↓			LA MITAD ↓				TODOS ↓		
a) Los miembros de su familia o parientes hispano-hablantes?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
b) Sus amigos hispano-hablantes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
c) Sus vecinos hispano-hablantes?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
d) Estudiantes hispano-hablantes que asistieron al mismo colegio que Usted?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
e) Hispano-hablantes que han participado en actividades sociales y culturales?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

APPENDIX C3: INDIVIDUAL NETWORK OF LINGUISTIC CONTACTS (INLC)

TUPARINAKUNA SHUK SHIMIKUNAWAN

Paki trikrachiskamanta, kay tapuikuna ruranchik yachankapa imata yuyanki, alli , mana allichu ,parlana ischay shimita . Kan parlanki shuk shimita ayllukunawan wasipi , vicinukunawan tantanuakuipil llactapi. Tkrachi kanpa kawsaimanta.

A. WILLACHIKUNA

1. Shuti _____2. Pacha kanpa wachariskamanta ___ / ___ / ___
wata killa punlla

3. Yachachik _____
4. Masnata Yachanki castillanuta _____
5. Yachana wasi _____

RURAY SHUK RUMPATA MAIPI KANPA TIKRACHI

6. Ima kichwata yachanki
a. Asha
b. Uchillapi yachajurkanki
c. Jatunpi yachajurkanki

Suk willachi _____

7. Ima Kanki

1. Warmi 2. Kari

8. Ima Shimita yachakurkanki parlankapa uchillamanta katunkaman
1. Castillanu 2. Kichwa 3. Shuk _____

9. Shuk shimita yachanki maikan

1. Castellanu 2. Kichwa 3. Shuk _____ 4. Nimaikan

10. Kanpa Yaya ima shimita Parlan Kunankaman

1. Castillanu 2. Kichwa 3. Shuk _____

11. Astawan ima shimita parlan kanpa yaya

1. Castillanu 2. Kichwa 3. Shuk _____ 4. Nimaikan

12. Kanpa mama ima shimita Parlan Kunankaman
1. Castillanu 2. Kichwa 3. Shuk _____

13. Astawan ima shimita parlan kanpa mama

1. Castellanu 2. Kichwa 3. Shuk _____ 4. Nimaikan

14. Kanpa llacta shiti maipi kausanki _____

15. Imata ruran kanpa yaya
Imata yankan kanpa yaya
Mana yankaita charikpi imata ruran kanpa yaya
_____

Ima shuti yanchay kanpa yayapa _____

16. Imata ruran kanpa mama
Imata yankan kanpa mama

Mana yankaita charikpi imata ruran kanpa mama
_____

Ima shuti yanchay kanpa mamapa _____

17. Kanpa yaya yachana wasiman yaikurka
tukuchirka iscuelata
Yaikurka Culikiuman (1ero., 2do., 3er. Curso)
Tukuchirka Kulikiuta (4to., 5to., 6to. Curso)

Jatun yachana wasiman yaikurka maikaman _____
Tukuchirka jatun yachana wasita (Licenciatura) _____
Astawan yachajurka (maestría o doctorado) _____

18. Kanpa mama yachana wasiman yaikurka
tukuchirka iscuelata
Yaikurka Culikiuman (1ero., 2do., 3er. Curso)
Tukuchirka Kulikiuta(4to., 5to., 6to. Curso)

Jatun yachana wasiman yaikurka maikaman _____
Tukuchirka jatun yachana wasita (Licenciatura) _____
Astawan yachajurka (maestría o doctorado) _____

B. TUPARINA SUK RUNRAKUNAWAN KICHWA SHIMITA PARLAN.

Tukuikuna tuparinchik shuk riksikunawan kichwa shimita parlayuk, chaita shuti kan tuparina shuk shimikunawan. Riksikunawan kul´pi runakuna rimanchik, yachankapa ima kawsay, ima shuti, ima tapunkapak . Kulpi rurnakuna shimi kichwata ministinchik parlankapak

Wawamanta yachanchik kichwa shimita parlana, astawanpash shuk shimitapash parlanchik.

RURANA.- Kay tapuikuna kan yachankapa ima shimita parlanki, piwan parlanki, imauramanta parlanki. Tikrachipay, allikuta, mana pantaspa.

Tikrachinkapa yuyari wawamanta astawan jatunkaman ima kawsaskanki

Shina rurana
Kan riksikunaka kichwa shimita parlana kan,

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
↓				↓				↓
Nimaijan				chaupi runakuna				kulpi

Tikrachinkapa yuyana kanki wawamanta kanpa riksikuna ima shimita parlankarka
Willachina kanki pi parlanakarka churankapa numerukunapi
Tikrachi mana kay pankapi tiyan x churana kan

1. MASNA RURAKUNAWAN KICHWA SHIMITA PARLANKI

NIMAIJAN CHAUPI KULPI

a) Kanpa ayllukuna, yayakuna tutikuna panikuna maijankuna kichwa shimita parlan

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

b) Primukuna maijankuna kichwa shimita parlan

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

c) Tíukuna maijankuna kichwa shimita parlan

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

d) Kanpa mashikuna wawakakpi maijan kichwa shimita parlan

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

e) Vicinukuna maijan kuna kichwa shimita parlan

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

f) Yachana wasiman rispa kanpa mashikuna maijankuna kichua shimita parlan karka

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

g) Kanpa llaktapi rurnakuna, tantanakuipi maijankuna kichwa shimita parlan

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

2. IMAURA TUPARINKI SUK RURAKUNAWAN KICHWA SHIMITA PARLANKAPA

Kaipi munanchik yachankapa masnata parlanki kichwa shimita shuk runakunawan

TIGRACHIPAY KANPA KAWSAIMANTA

semanapi masna tiumputa tuparinki shuk ranakunawan kichwa shimita parlankapa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X
↓		↓		↓		↓		↓	
nimaura		raras		varias veces		frecuentemente		siempre	

a) Kanpa Ayllukunawan imaurata tuparinki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

b)Kanpa mashikunawan imaurata tupainki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

c) Kanpa Vivinukunawan imaurata tuparinki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

d) Kanpa mashikunawan yachana wasimanta imaurata tuparinki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

e) Rurakunawan kanpa llactamanta imaurta tuparinki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

3. ALLICHU MANA ALLICHU TUPARINA SHUK RUNAKUNAWAN KICHWA SHIMITA PARLAMNKAPA

Kaipy munanchi yachankapa kan, imata ninki, valin mana valin shuk runakunawan tuparina kichwa shimita parlankapa

Tikrachi mana kay pankapi tiyan x churana kan
Tuparina shuk rurakunawan kan imata yutyanki.

Mana Alli			shin shina				sumac alli	
↓			↓				↓	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

a) Kanpa ayllukunawan valin, mana valin kichwa shimita parlana

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

b) Kanpa mashikunawan valin, mana valin kichwa shimita parlana

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

c) Kanpa Vivinukunawan valin, mana valin kichwa shimita parlana

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

d) Kanpa mashikunawan yachana wasimanta valin, mana valin kichwa shimita parlana

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

e) Rurakunawan kanpa llactamanta valin, mana valin kichwa shimita parlana

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

4. MASNA TIMPUTA KICHWA SHIMITA PARLANKI SHUK RURAKUNAWAN

Kaipi munanchik yachankapa riksikunakuan uchillamanta kunankamanchu parlanki pay kunawan

Tikrachi mana kay pankapi tiyan x churana kan

Nmaijan chaupi kulpi
↓ ↓ ↓
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

a) Kanpa ayllukunawan piwan kunankaman kichwata parlanki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

b) Kanpa mashikunawan piwan kunankaman kichwata parlanki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

c) Kanpa vivinukunawan piwan kunankaman kichwata parlanki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

d) Kanpa mashikunawan yachana wasimanta piwan kunankaman kichwata parlanki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

e) Rurakunawan kanpa llactamanta piwan kunankaman kichwata parlanki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

5. TUPARINA SHUK RUNANKUNAWAN CASTILLANU SHIMITA PARLAN

Tukuikuna tuparinchik shuk riksikunawan Castillanu shimita parlayuk, chaita shuti kan tuparina shuk shimikunawan. Riksikunawan kul´pi runakuna rimanchik, yachankapa ima kawsay, ima shuti, ima tapunkapak . Kulpi rurnakuna shimi kichwata ministinchik parlankapak

Wawamanta yachanchik kichwa shimita parlana, astawanpash shuk shimitapash parlanchik.

RURANA.- Kay tapuikuna kan yachankapa ima shimita parlanki, piwan parlanki, imauramanta parlanki. Tikrachipay, allikuta, mana pantaspa.

Tikrachinkapa yuyari wawamanta astawan jatunkaman ima kawsaskanki

SHINA RURANA:
Kanka mashikuna maijan castillanu rimayuk karka?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
↓				↓				↓
Nimaijan				chaupi runakuna				kulpi

Tikrachinkapa yuyana kanki wawamanta kanpa riksikuna ima shimita parlankarka

Willachina kanki pi parlanakarka churankapa numerukunapi

Tikrachi mana kay pankapi tiyan x churana kan

6. MASNA RUNAKUNAWAN KICHWA SHIMITA PARLANKI

NIMAIJAN CHAUPI KULPI

a) Kanpa ayllukuna, yayakuna turikuna panikuna maijankuna castellanu shimita parlan

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

b) Primukuna maijankuna castellanu shimita parlan

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

c) Tíukuna maijankuna castellanu shimita parlan

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

d) Kanpa mashikuna wawakakpi maijancastellanu shimita parlan

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

e) Vicinukuna maijan kuna castellanu shimita parlan

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

f) Yachana wasiman rispa kanpa mashikuna maijankuna castellanu shimita parlan karka

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

g) Kanpa llaktapi rurnakuna , tantanakuipi maijankuna castellanu shimita parlan

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

2. IMAURA TUPARINKI SUK RURAKUNAWAN CASTELLANU SHIMITA PARLANKAPA

Kaipi munanchik yachankapa masnata parlanki castellanu shimita shuk runakunawan

TIGRACHIPAY KANPA KAWSAIMANTA
semanapi masna tiumputa tuparinki shuk ranakunawan castellanu shimita parlankapa

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X
↓ ↓ ↓
asha punlla astaka punlla kulpi punlla

a) Kanpa Ayllukunawan imaurata tuparinki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

b) Kanpa mashikunawan imaurata tupainki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

c) Kanpa Vivinukunawan imaurata tuparinki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

d) Kanpa mashikunawan yachana wasimanta imaurata tuparinki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

e) Rurakunawan kanpa llactamanta imaurta tuparinki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

3. ALLICHU MANA ALLICHU TUPARINA SHUK RUNAKUNAWAN CASTELLANU SHIMITA PARLANKAPA

Kaipy munanchi yachankapa kan, imata ninki, valin mana valin shuk runakunawan tuparina castellanu shimita parlankapa

Tikrachi mana kay pankapi tiyan x churana kan

Tuparina shuk rurakunawan kan imata yutyanki.

Mana Alli shin shina sumac alli
↓ ↓ ↓

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

a) Kanpa ayllukunawan valin, mana valin castellanu shimita parlana

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

b) Kanpa mashikunawan valin, mana valin castellanu shimita parlana

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

c) Kanpa Vicinukunawan valin, mana valin castellanu shimita parlana

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

d) Kanpa mashikunawan yachana wasimanta valin, mana valin castellanu shimita parlana

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

e) Runakunawan kanpa llactamanta valin, mana valin castellanu shimita parlana

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

4. MASNA TIMPUTA CASTELLANU SHIMITA PARLANKI SHUK RUNAKUNAWAN

Kaipi munanchik yachankapa riksikunakuan uchillamanta kunankamanchu parlanki pay kunawan

Tikrachi mana kay pankapi tiyan x churana kan

Nmaijan chaupi kulpi
↓ ↓ ↓
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

a) Kanpa ayllukunawan piwan kunankaman castellanuta parlanki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

b) Kanpa mashikunawan piwan kunankaman castellanuta parlanki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

c) Kanpa vivinukunawan piwan kunankaman castellanuta parlanki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

d) Kanpa mashikunawan yachana wasimanta piwan kunankaman castellanuta parlanki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

e)) Runakunawan kanpa llactamanta piwan kunankaman castellanuta parlanki

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 X

APPENDIX D1: LINGUISTIC CONTACTS THROUGH EDUCATION (LCE)

1. Name_____ 2. Date of birth_____/_____/____
   year month day
3. Homeroom teacher_____
4. Level of English course_____
5. School_____

EDUCATIONAL SUPPORT IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH

In this questionnaire, we wish to measure the degree of schooling you've had in English and in French. It is important that you answer each question as precisely as possible. Do not hesitate to raise your hand if some questions do not seem clear to you. We'll give you the needed information.

1. Indicate the proportion of teaching you've received in English and in French for each of the school years listed below by making a check mark in the rectangle which applies. (Note: If you've repeated a year, consider that school year once only).

School year	All of the teaching was done in English	All of the teaching was done in English with the exception of a course in French	Most of the teaching was done in English	Approximately half of the teaching was done in English, the other half was in French	Most of the teaching was done in French	All of the teaching was done in French with the exception of a course in English	All of the teaching was done in French	Other, or not applicable
Preschool								
Grade 1								
Grade 2								
Grade 3								
Grade 4								
Grade 5								
Grade 6								
Grade 7								
Grade 8								
Grade 9								
Grade 10								
Grade 11								
Grade 12								
Grade 13								

2. Outside of class, which language was most often used by the teachers when they spoke to students? Make a check mark in the rectangle which best applies for each of the school years indicated below.

School year	Always English	English most of the time	English and French approximately equally	French most of the time	Always French	Other or not applicable
Preschool						
Grade 1						
Grade 2						
Grade 3						
Grade 4						
Grade 5						
Grade 6						
Grade 7						
Grade 8						
Grade 9						
Grade 10						
Grade 11						
Grade 12						
Grade 13						

3. Outside of class, which language was most often used by the students when they spoke among themselves at school? Make a check mark in the rectangle which best applies for each of the school years indicated below.

School year	Always English	English most of the time	English and French approximately equally	French most of the time	Always French	Other or not applicable
Preschool						
Grade 1						
Grade 2						
Grade 3						
Grade 4						
Grade 5						
Grade 6						
Grade 7						
Grade 8						
Grade 9						
Grade 10						
Grade 11						
Grade 12						
Grade 13						

4. For each of the school years given below, indicate the proportion of school materials (e.g. books, exercise books, documents, etc.) which were in English and in French. Make a check mark in the rectangle which best applies for each of the school years given below.

School year	Always English	English most of the time	English and French approximately equally	French most of the time	Always French	Other or not applicable
Preschool						
Grade 1						
Grade 2						
Grade 3						
Grade 4						
Grade 5						
Grade 6						
Grade 7						
Grade 8						
Grade 9						
Grade 10						
Grade 11						
Grade 12						
Grade 13						

5. Were the school's cultural and sports activities organized in English or in French? Make a check mark in the rectangle which best applies for each of the school years given below.

School year	Always English	English most of the time	English and French approximately equally	French most of the time	Always French	Other or not applicable
Preschool						
Grade 1						
Grade 2						
Grade 3						
Grade 4						
Grade 5						
Grade 6						
Grade 7						
Grade 8						
Grade 9						
Grade 10						
Grade 11						
Grade 12						
Grade 13						

6. The posters (e.g. posters hung up in the classroom or in the hallways), the messages given to the students (e.g. written and oral messages communicated to students by the school administrators) and the memos and letters sent by the school to your parents or tutors were

School year	In English only	More often in English than in French	In English equally as often as in French	More often in French than in English	In French only	Other or not applicable
Preschool						
Grade 1						
Grade 2						
Grade 3						
Grade 4						
Grade 5						
Grade 6						
Grade 7						
Grade 8						
Grade 9						
Grade 10						
Grade 11						
Grade 12						
Grade 13						

7. Indicate the proportion of anglophone and francophone students who went to your school in each of the years given below. Make a check mark in the rectangle which best applies.

School year	All were anglophones	Most were anglophones	Approximately half were anglophones and half were francophones	Most were francophones	All were francophones	Other or not applicable
Preschool						
Grade 1						
Grade 2						
Grade 3						
Grade 4						
Grade 5						
Grade 6						
Grade 7						
Grade 8						
Grade 9						
Grade 10						
Grade 11						
Grade 12						
Grade 13						

APPENDIX D2: LINGUISTIC CONTACTS THROUGH EDUCATION (LCE)

1. Nombre: _____ 2. Fecha de nacimiento_____/_____/____
   año mes día
3. Maestro(a): _____
4. Nivel del curso de español: _____
5. Colegio: _____

APOYO EDUCATIVO EN ESPAÑOL Y QUICHUA

En este cuestionario, queremos medir el grado de escolaridad que Usted ha tenido en español y en quichua. Es importante que Usted conteste cada pregunta con la mayor precisión que le sea posible. No dude en preguntarnos si hay alguna pregunta que no le queda clara. Nosotros le daremos la información necesaria.

1. Indique la proporción de enseñanza que Usted ha recibido en español y en quichua por cada año de escuela señalada a continuación poniendo un visto bueno en el rectángulo que se aplica a su caso (Nota: Si Usted repitió un año, considere ese año sólo una vez).

Año escolar	Toda la enseñanza se realizaba en español	Toda la enseñanza se realizaba en español con excepción de un curso en quichua	La mayor parte de la enseñanza se la realizaba en español	Aproximadamente la mitad de la enseñanza se realizaba en español y la otra mitad en quichua	La mayor parte de la enseñanza se la realizaba en quichua	Toda la enseñanza se realizaba en quichua con excepción de un curso en español	Toda la enseñanza se realizaba en quichua	Otro idioma o no se aplica
Pre-escolar								
Primer grado								
Segundo grado								
Tercer grado								
Cuarto grado								
Quinto grado								
Sexto grado								
Primer curso								
Segundo curso								
Tercer curso								
Cuarto curso								
Quinto curso								
Sexto curso								

2. Fuera de clase, ¿qué lengua usaba con más frecuencia su maestro cuando hablaba con estudiantes? Ponga un visto bueno en el rectángulo que mejor se aplique a cada uno de los años escolares indicados a continuación.

Año escolar	Siempre español	Español la mayor parte del tiempo	Español y quichua casi de forma equitativa	Quichua la mayor parte del tiempo	Siempre quichua	Otro idioma o no se aplica
Pre-escolar						
Primer grado						
Segundo grado						
Tercer grado						
Cuarto grado						
Quinto grado						
Sexto grado						
Primer curso						
Segundo curso						
Tercer curso						
Cuarto curso						
Quinto curso						
Sexto curso						

3. Fuera de clase, ¿qué lengua usaban con mayor frecuencia los estudiantes cuando hablaban entre estudiantes en la escuela? Ponga un visto bueno en el rectángulo que major se applique a cada uno de los años escolares indicados a continuación.

Año escolar	Siempre español	Español la mayor parte del tiempo	Español y quichua casi de forma equitativa	Quichua la mayor parte del tiempo	Siempre quichua	Otro idioma o no se aplica
Pre-escolar						
Primer grado						
Segundo grado						
Tercer grado						
Cuarto grado						
Quinto grado						
Sexto grado						
Primer curso						
Segundo curso						
Tercer curso						
Cuarto curso						
Quinto curso						
Sexto curso						

4. Por cada año escolar dado a continuación, indique la proporción de materials escolares (por ej: libros, libro de actividades, documentos, etc.) que estaban escritos en español y en quichua. Ponga un visto bueno en el rectángulo que mejor se aplique a cada uno de los años escolares indicados a continuación.

Año escolar	Siempre español	Español la mayor parte del tiempo	Español y quichua casi de forma equitativa	Quichua la mayor parte del tiempo	Siempre quichua	Otro idioma o no se aplica
Pre-escolar						
Primer grado						
Segundo grado						
Tercer grado						
Cuarto grado						
Quinto grado						
Sexto grado						
Primer curso						
Segundo curso						
Tercer curso						
Cuarto curso						
Quinto curso						
Sexto curso						

5. ¿Estaban las actividades deportivas y culturales en la escuela organizadas en español o en quichua? Ponga un visto bueno en el rectángulo que major se applique a cada uno de los años escolares indicados a continuación.

Año escolar	Siempre español	Español la mayor parte del tiempo	Español y quichua casi de forma equitativa	Quichua la mayor parte del tiempo	Siempre quichua	Otro idioma o no se aplica
Pre-escolar						
Primer grado						
Segundo grado						
Tercer grado						
Cuarto grado						
Quinto grado						
Sexto grado						
Primer curso						
Segundo curso						
Tercer curso						
Cuarto curso						
Quinto curso						
Sexto curso						

6. Los afiches (por ejemplo: carteles colgados en la clase o en el corredor), los mensajes dados a los estudiantes (por ej: mensajes escritos u orales comunicados a los estudiantes por la administración del colegio) y los memos y cartas envíados por el colegio a los padres o tutores eran:

Año escolar	En español solamente	La mayor parte del tiempo en español	Español y quichua casi de forma equitativa	La mayor parte del tiempo en quichua	En quichua solamente
Pre-escolar					
Primer grado					
Segundo grado					
Tercer grado					
Cuarto grado					
Quinto grado					
Sexto grado					
Primer curso					
Segundo curso					
Tercer curso					
Cuarto curso					
Quinto curso					
Sexto curso					

7. Indique la proporción de estudiantes hispano y quichua parlantes que asistieron a su colegio en cada uno de los años indicados a continuación. Ponga un visto bueno en el rectángulo adecuado.

Año escolar	Todos eran hispano-parlantes	La mayoría era hispano-parlante	Aproximadamente la mitad era hispano-parlante y la otra mitad quichua-hablante	La mayoría era quichua-hablante	Todos eran quichua-hablantes	Otro idioma o no se aplica
Pre-escolar						
Primer grado						
Segundo grado						
Tercer grado						
Cuarto grado						
Quinto grado						
Sexto grado						
Primer curso						
Segundo curso						
Tercer curso						
Cuarto curso						
Quinto curso						
Sexto curso						

APPENDIX D3: LINGUISTIC CONTACTS THROUGH EDUCATION (LCE)

1.shuti: _____ 2. kanpa pacha wacharishka____/_____/____
wata quilla punlla

3. Yachachik _____

4. Masna yachanki castillanuta_____

5. Jatun Yachana Wasi _____

TAPUYKUNA IMA SHIMIKUNATA TUPARISKANKI YACHAKUIPI

YANAPANA YACHACHIKUNA ESPAÑULWAN KICHWAWAN

Kay tapuykunapi munanchi yachankapa masnata kan yachanki rimayta kichwa shimi astawan castillanu shimi. Yachana wasipi imata yachachiskata yachankapa. Chaimanta tikrachipay allilla. Imatapash mana usakpi tapuy ñukanchik willachishun.

1. Willachi masnata yachanqui parlayta kichuwa shimita castillanu shimita. Wacahana wasipi masnata yacharka . Kay kilkakunapi churay shuk rayata maijan kan yanki alli kan

Wata yachakuna	**Kulpi yachachikuna castillanupi karka**	**Yachachikuna castillanupi karka asha kichwawan**	**Astawan yachachirka Castillanuta**	**Yachachikuna karka chaupi kichwapi chaupi**	**Yachachikuna karka astawan kichwapi**	**Kulpi yachachikuna kichwapi karka asha**	**Kulpi yachachikuna kichwapi karka**	**Shuk shimi parlana karka mana iskay simita parlana**
Pre-escolar								
Primer grado								
Segundo grado								
Tercer grado								
Cuarto grado								
Quinto grado								
Sexto grado								
Primer curso								
Segundo curso								
Tercer curso								
Cuarto curso								
Quinto curso								
Sexto curso								

2. Kanpa yachachik tukuchispa yachachikunata ima shimita parlana karka yachakukunawan. Maijan shimita astawan parlana karka. Kay kilkaykunapi churay ima ruranakarka yachachik

Wata yachakuna	Asta castillanuta	Castillanuta kulpi pachapi	Castillanuta chaupi kichwa chaupi	Kichwa kulpi pachapi	Asta kichwa	Shuk shimi. Mana rimana karka
Pre-escolar						
Primer grado						
Segundo grado						
Tercer grado						
Cuarto grado						
Quinto grado						
Sexto grado						
Primer curso						
Segundo curso						
Tercer curso						
Cuarto curso						
Quinto curso						
Sexto curso						

3. Yachakuku tukuchispa yachakunata ima shimita parlana karka mashipurawan. Kay kilkakunapi churay shuk rayata kan alli yuyanki karka.

Wata yachakuna	Asta castillanuta	Castillanuta kulpi pachapi	Castillanuta chawpi kichwa chawpi	Kichwa kulip pachapi	Asta kichwa	Shuk shimi, mana rimana karka
Pre-escolar						
Primer grado						
Segundo grado						
Tercer grado						
Cuarto grado						
Quinto grado						
Sexto grado						
Primer curso						
Segundo curso						
Tercer curso						
Cuarto curso						
Quinto curso						
Sexto curso						

4. Kamukuna, ruraykuna, fanjakuna yachana wasipi charirka ima shimipita kilkaska karka kichwapi castillanupi churay kay kilkakunapi . Ima tiarka

Wata yachakuna	Asta castillanuta	Castillanuta kulpi pachapi	Castillanuta chawpi kichwa chawpi	Kichwa kulip pachapi	Asta kichwa	Shuk shimi. Mana rimana karka
Pre-escolar						
Primer grado						
Segundo grado						
Tercer grado						
Cuarto grado						
Quinto grado						
Sexto grado						
Primer curso						
Segundo curso						
Tercer curso						
Cuarto curso						
Quinto curso						
Sexto curso						

5. Pukllaykuna, tantanakuykuna, kanpa yachana wasipi ima shimipi rurana karka, churay shuk rayata alli yanki kan

Wata yachakuna	Asta castillanuta	Castillanuta kulpi pachapi	Castillanuta chawpi kichwa chawpi	Kichwa kulip pachapi	Asta kichwa	Shuk shimi. Mana rimana karka
re-escolar						
Primer grado						
Segundo grado						
Tercer grado						
Cuarto grado						
Quinto grado						
Sexto grado						
Primer curso						
Segundo curso						
Tercer curso						
Cuarto curso						
Quinto curso						
Sexto curso						

6. kanpa yachana wasipi villaikuna, fanja rurashka yachakukuna ima shimipi karka , tantanakuykuna kayankapa yayakunaman ima shimipi karka

Wata yachakuna	Asta castillanuta	Castillanuta kulpi pachapi	Castillanuta chawpi kichwa chawpi	Kichwa kulip pachapi	Asta kichwa	Shuk shimi. Mana rimana karka
Pre-escolar						
Primer grado						
Segundo grado						
Tercer grado						
Cuarto grado						
Quinto grado						
Sexto grado						
Primer curso						
Segundo curso						
Tercer curso						
Cuarto curso						
Quinto curso						
Sexto curso						

7. Villay masna wuabrakuna kichwa rimayu, wambrakuna castillanu rimayu, churay suk rayata, tapuykunapi, churay alli kan yanki

Wata yachakuna	Kulpi wambrakuna parlanka castillanuta	Astawan wambrakuna karka castillanu rimayukuna	Chaupi wambrakuna parlana karka kichwa shimita, chaupi wambrakuna castillanu parlana karka	Astawan wambrakuna kichuwa parlana karka	Kulpi wambrakuna kichuwa shimita parlana karka	Shuk shimi. Mana rimana karka
Pre-escolar						
Primer grado						
Segundo grado						
Tercer grado						
Cuarto grado						
Quinto grado						
Sexto grado						
Primer curso						
Segundo curso						
Tercer curso						
Cuarto curso						
Quinto curso						
Sexto curso						

APPENDIX E1: LINGUISTIC CONTACTS THROUGH MEDIA (LCM)

1. Name_____ 2. Date of birth_____/_____/____
   year month day
3. Homeroom teacher_____
4. Level of English course_____
5. School_____

LINQUISTIC CONTACTS THROUGH THE MEDIA QUESTIONNAIRE (LCMQ)

COMMUNICATION THROUGH THE MEDIA

In this questionnaire, we are asking you to estimate the degree of contact you've had in French and in English with a variety of media (ex. newspapers, television, radio, etc.). For each of the following questions, you are to take into consideration all of your experiences from your early childhood until now, not only your experiences at the present time. It is important that you be as precise as possible in your answers to each of the following questions. Do not hesitate to raise your hand if some questions remain unclear to you. We will give you the information you need in order to continue.

For each of the items below, you are to use the following scale to choose your answer.

FRENCH

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
↓		↓		↓		↓		↓
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

ENGLISH

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
↓		↓		↓		↓		↓
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

On each scale, encircle the number from 1 to 9 which best describes the degree to which you've been exposed to the media named.

1. The television programs to which I have been exposed from my early childhood until now were…	French:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	English:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2. The radio programs to which I have been exposed from my early childhood until now were…	French:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	English:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
3. The movies to which I have been exposed from my early childhood until now were…	French:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	English:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
4. The music (songs, records) to which I have been exposed from my early childhood until now was…	French:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	English:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
5. The newspapers to which I have been exposed from my early childhood until now were…	French:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	English:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
6. The magazines or journals to which I have been exposed from my early childhood until now were…	French:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	English:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
7. At home, the books to which I have been exposed from my childhood until now were…	French:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	English:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
8. The plays (theatre) and concerts to which I have been exposed from my early childhood until now were…	French:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	English:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
9. The road signs (instructions to pedestrians, drivers, place names, street names) to which I have been exposed from my early childhood until now were…	French:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	English:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10. The signs placed on the outside of stores and businesses to which I have been exposed from my early childhood until now were…	French:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	English:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
11. The signs and posters placed on the inside of stores and businesses to which I have been exposed from my early childhood until now were…	French:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	English:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

APPENDIX E2: LINGUISITC CONTACTS THROUGH MEDIA (LCM)

CUESTIONARIO SOBRE CONTACTOS LINGUISTICOS A TRAVES DE LOS MEDIOS DE COMUNICACION (LCMQ)

1. Nombre _____ 2. Fecha de nacimiento: ___ / ___ / ___
año mes día

3. Maestro _____
4. Nivel del curso de español _____
5. Escuela _____

En este cuestionario, le estamos preguntando que estime el grado de contactos que Usted ha tenido en quichua y en español con una variedad de medios de comunicación (ejemplo: periódicos, televisión, radio, etc.). Para cada una de las siguientes preguntas, Usted debe tomar en consideración todas sus experiencias desde su corta niñez hasta ahora, no solamente sus experiencias en la actualidad. Es importante que Usted sea lo más preciso posible en sus respuestas a las siguientes preguntas. No dude en preguntarnos si alguna pregunta no le resulta muy clara a Usted. Nosotros le proporcionaremos la información que Usted necesita para continuar.

Para cada uno de los items a continuación, Usted debe usar la siguiente escala para escoger sus respuestas.

QUICHUA

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
↓		↓		↓		↓		↓
Nunca		En raras ocasiones		De vez en cuando		Frecuentemente		Siempre

ESPAÑOL

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
↓		↓		↓		↓		↓
Nunca		En raras ocasiones		De vez en cuando		Frecuentemente		Siempre

En cada escala, haga un círculo en el número del 1 al 9 que mejor describa el grado al cual Usted ha estado expuesto a los medios de comunicación nombrados.

1. Los programas de televisión a los cuales yo he estado expuesto desde mi corta niñez hasta ahora...han sido en...	Quichua:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2. Los programas de radio a los cuales yo he estado expuesto desde mi corta niñez hasta ahora..han sido en...	Quichua:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
3. Las películas a las cuales yo he estado expuesto desde mi corta niñez hasta ahora...han sido en...	Quichua:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
4. La música (canciones, grabaciones) a la cual yo he estado expuesta desde mi corta niñez hasta ahora... ha sido en...	Quichua:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
5. Los periódicos a los cuales yo he estado expuesto desde mi corta niñez hasta ahora...han sido en...	Quichua:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
6. Las revistas a las cuales yo he estado expuesto desde mi corta niñez hasta ahora...han sido en...	Quichua:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
7. En casa, los libros a los cuales yo he estado expuesto desde mi corta niñez hasta ahora...han sido en...	Quichua:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
8. Las obras de teatro y conciertos a los cuales yo he estado expuesto desde mi corta niñez hasta ahora...han sido en...	Quichua:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
9. Los anuncios en la carretera (instrucciones a los pedestres, choferes, nombres de los lugares o calles) a los cuales yo he estado expuesto desde mi corta niñez hasta ahora...han sido en...	Quichua:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10. Los letreros puestos fuera de los almacenes y negocios a los cuales yo he estado expuesto desde mi corta niñez hasta ahora...han sido en...	Quichua:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
11. Los letreros y afiches puestos dentro de los almacenes y negocios a los cuales yo he estado expuesto desde mi corta niñez hasta ahora...han sido en...	Quichua:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

APPENDIX E3: CONTACTS THROUGH MEDIA (LCM)

TAPUYKUNA, RIKUSKAMANTA, UYASHKAMANTA SHUK RIMAY SIMIKUNAMANTA (LCMQ)

1. Shuti _____ 2. kanpa pacha wachariska: ___ / ___ / ___
wata quilla punlla

3. Yachachik _____
4. masna yachanki castellanuta _____
5. yachana wasi _____

Kay tapuykuna ruranchik yachankapa masna yachanki castellanuta, uyaskamanta, rikuskamanta parlaskamanta. Tilivisiumpi , kilka fanjapi,radiupi.) kay tapuikunata, tikrachinkapa yayana kanki uchilamanta, jatunkaman masnata uyaskanqui, rikuskanki rimayta suk simikunata. Allilla tikrachi, mana ushakpi tikrachinkapa ñukanchita tapuylla, ñukanchik yanapanashun.

Kay tapuykunapi akllana kanki maikan yupaykuna kanpa allikachinki

Kichwa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
↓		↓		↓		↓		↓
nimaura		asha		shina shina		katy		kulpi

Castillanu

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
↓		↓		↓		↓		↓
nimaura		asha		shina shina		katy		kulpi

Kay tapuykunapi shuk runpata rurana kanki yupaykunapi maikan kan kausaskamanta willachi .

1. Masnata rikuskanki tilivisunta, uchillamanta, jatunkaman ima simipi

Kichwa:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. Masnata uyaskanki radiuta, uchillamanta, jatunkaman ima shimipi

Kichwa:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. Masnata rikuskanki piliculakunata uchilamanta jatunkaman ima shimipi

Kichwa:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. Masnata uyaskanki takikunata uchillamanta jatunkaman ima shimipi

Kichwa:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

5. Masnata kilkakatiskanki,villachik fanjakunata uchillamanta jatunkaman ima shimipi.

Kichwa:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

6. Masnata rikuskanki rivistakunata uchillamanta jatunkaman ima shimipi

Kichwa:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

7. Kanpa wasipi masna kamukunata kilkakatiskanki uchillamanta jatunkaman ima shimipi

Kichwa:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

8. Masnata rikuskanki tiatruta astawan uyaskanki jatun takikunata uchillamanta jatunkaman ima shimipi

Kichwa	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

9. Masnata rikuskanki, kilkakatiskanki villachikunata ñanpi churaskata uchillamanta jatunkaman ima shimipi

Kichwa:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

10. Masnata rikuskanki kilkakatiskanki villachikuna, shutikuna jatuna wasikunapi uchillamanta jatunkaman ima shimipi

Kichwa:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Español:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

11. Masnata rikuskanki cartakunata astawan villachikunata kanpa ayllukunawan uchillamanta jatunkaman ima shimipi.

Kichwa:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Español	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

APPENDIX F1 : BELIEFS ON ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY QUESTIONNAIRE (BEVQ)

B.E.V. QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name:_____ 2. Date of birth:_____/_____/_____

year month day

3. School:_____

4. Homeroom teacher:_____

5. English class level:_____

6. Type of French program:_____

There are eight parts to this questionnaire. Each one asks you something different although some may seem similar to you at the outset. Read the paragraphs at the beginning of each part carefully; they explain what you are to do. This is particularly important because you are to respond to each part from a new and different perspective.

When reading each question, examine attentively the descriptions given for each scale of 1 to 9 since they're not always the same from one question to the next. You are to answer each question in the first seven parts by encircling on a scale from 1 to 9 the number which most closely corresponds to your opinion.

In this questionnaire, we want you to give us your opinion on different topics. It is therefore very important that you be as sincere and precise as possible in your answers and that you respond to all of the questions.

All of your answers are confidential; they will be communicated to no one. If you need explanations while answering this questionnaire, please do not hesitate to let us know. Thank you.

1. THE PRESENT RESOURCES OF ANGLOPHONES AND FRANCOPHONES IN THIS REGION

The twelve sentences in this section pertain to the resources to which the anglophones and francophones of this region have access at the present time. Please note that you are not to concern yourself here with the resources which should be available but only with those which are available now.

For each of the following sentences, you are to encircle the number from 1 to 9 which in your estimation best describes the resources presently available to the anglophones and francophones of this region. The same response given to both groups signifies that you consider both groups to be similar on this dimension.

1. In this region, cultural activities (theatre, concerts, movies)

available in English are...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inexistant		Few		Moderately numerous		Numerous		Extremely numerous

available in French are...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. In this region, programs televised

in English are...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inexistant		Few		Moderately numerous		Numerous		Extremely numerous

in French are...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. How much importance do this region's school boards give to the teaching of the mother tongue, that is,

the teaching of English to anglophones?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
No importance		Little importance		Moderate importance		Much importance		Great importance

the teaching of French to francophones?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. In this region, the language of work

is English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

is French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

5. In this region, the socio-economic level (degree of material and economic comfort)

of anglophone families is...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very much below average		Below average		Average		Above average		Very much above average

of francophone families is...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

6. In this region, the degree to which businesses and industries are controlled

by anglophones is...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Extremely low		Low		Moderate		High		Extremely high

by francophones is...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

7. In this region, how many of the provincial government's services are offered

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
None		Few		Approximately half		Most		All

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

8. In this region, to what degree are linguistic rights (the right to speak and to be addressed in one's mother tongue) respected

where anglophones are concerned?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all		A little		Moderately		Much		Completely

where francophones are concerned?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

9. In this region, the persons who are elected to various levels of government (municipal, provincial, and federal)

use English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

use French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

10. In this region, the distribution of the population is such that

anglophones marry anglophones...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

francophones marry francophones...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

11. The persons moving from elsewhere to settle in this region

use English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

use French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

12. This region is a territory whose

English cultural and linguistic character is...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Extremely weak		Weak		Moderate strong		Strong		Extremely

French cultural and linguistic character is...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. THE FUTURE RESOURCES OF ANGLOPHONES AND FRANCOPHONES IN THIS REGION

The twelve sentences in this section pertain to the resources to which the anglophones and francophones of this region will have access in the future. Please note that you are not to concern yourself here with the resources which are available now, but only with those which will be available in the future, around the year 2020.

For each of the following sentences, you are to encircle the number from 1 to 9 which in your estimation best describes the resources available in the future to the anglophones and francophones of this region. The same response given to both groups signifies that you consider that both groups will be similar on this dimension.

l. In the year 2020, in this region, cultural activites (theatre, concerts, movies)

available in English will be...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inexistant		Few		Moderately numerous		Numerous		Extremely numerous

available in French will be...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. In the year 2020, in this region, programs televised

in English will be...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inexistant		Few		Moderately numerous		Numerous		Extremely numerous

in French will be...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. In the year 2020, how much importance will this region's school boards give to the teaching of the mother tongue, that is,

the teaching of English to anglophones?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
No importance		Little importance		Moderate importance		Much importance		Great importance

the teaching of French to francophones?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. In the year 2020, in this region, the language of work will be

English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

5. In the year 2020, in this region, the socio-economic level (degree of material and economic comfort)

of anglophone families will be...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very much below average		Below average		Average		Above average		Very much above average

of francophone families will be...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

6. In the year 2020, in this region, the degree of control of businesses and industries

by anglophones will be...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Extremely low		Low		Moderate		High		Extremely high

by francophones will be...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

7. In the year 2020, in this region, how many of the provincial government's services will be offered

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
None		Few		Approximately half		Most		All

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

8. In the year 2020, in this region, to what degree will linguistic rights (the right to speak and to be addressed in one's mother tongue) be respected

where anglophones are concerned?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all		A little		Moderately		Much		Completely

where francophones are concerned?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

9. In the year 2020, in this region, persons elected to various levels of government (municipal, provincial, and federal)

will use English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

will use French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

10. In the year 2020, in this region, the distribution of the population will be such that

anglophones will marry anglophones...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

francophones will marry francophones...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

11. In the year 2020, the persons moving from elsewhere to settle in this region

will use English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

will use French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

l2. In the year 2020, this region will be a territory whose

English cultural and linguistic character will be...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Extremely weak		Weak		Moderate strong		Strong		Extremely

French cultural and linguistic character will be...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. WHAT WOULD BE JUST AND FAIR IN THIS REGION

The twelve following sentences pertain to what would be truly just and fair given the proportion of anglophones and francophones in this region. Please note that you are being asked to indicate how things should be in this region in order for them to be truly just and fair.

You are to encircle the number on a scale of 1 to 9 which in your estimation best describes how things should be in order for them to be truly just and fair, given the number of anglophones and francophones in this region.

GIVEN THE NUMBER OF ANGLOPHONES AND FRANCOPHONES IN THIS REGION...

1. ... for things to be truly just and fair, cultural activities (theatre, concerts, movies)

in the English language should be...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inexistant		Few		Moderately numerous		Numerous		Extremely numerous

in the French language should be...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. ... for things to be truly just and fair, programs televised

in the English language should be...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inexistant		Few		Moderately numerous		Numerous		Extremely numerous

in the French language should be...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. ... for things to be truly just and fair, school board should give the teaching of the mother tongue, that is,

English to anglophones...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
No importance		Little importance		Moderate importance		Much importance		Great importance

French to francophones...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. ... for things to be truly just and fair, the language used in the workplace should be

English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

5. ... for things to be truly just and fair, the socio-economic level (degree of material and economic comfort)

of anglophone families should be...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very much below average		Below average		Average		Above average		Very much above average

of francophone families should be...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

6. ... for things to be truly just and fair, what degree of control over businesses and industries

should anglophones have?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Extremely low		Low		Moderate		High		Extremely high

should francophones have?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

7. ... for things to be truly just and fair, how many of the provincial government's services should be offered

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
None		Few		Approximately half		Most		All

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

8. ... for things to be truly just and fair, to what degree should linguistic rights (the legal right to speak and to be addressed in one's mother tongue) be respected

where anglophones are concerned?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all		A little		Moderately		Much		Completely

where francophones are concerned?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

9. ... for things to be truly just and fair, representatives elected to various levels of government (municipal, provincial, federal) should use

English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

l0. ... one should expect that

anglophones marry anglophones...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely	From time to time			Often		Always

francophones marry francophones...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

11. ... for things to be truly just and fair, persons moving from elsewhere to settle in this region should use

English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely	From time to time			Often		Always

French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

12. ... for things to be truly just and fair, this region should be a territory whose

English linguistic and cultural character should be...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Extremely weak		Weak	Moderate strong			Strong		Extremely strong

French linguistic and cultural character should be...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. THE PRESENT BEHAVIOUR OF MY FRIENDS IN THIS REGION

The following twelve sentences are about the present behaviour of your friends in various fields of activity.

Please note that you are not being asked to reflect upon what they ought to be doing but on how you perceive them to be behaving at the present time.

You are to encircle the number on a scale of 1 to 9 which in your estimation best describes how your friends are behaving presently.

l. My friends attend cultural activities (theatre, concerts, movies)

presented in English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

presented in French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. When my friends watch television, they tune in to

English programs...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

French programs...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. In their activities at school, my friends communicate

in English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

in French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. When they are at work in this region, the young adults I know use

English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

5. In this region, the young adults I know who have the best jobs with the best possibilities for promotions use

English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

6. If some of my friends wanted to become employers and managers in this region's businesses and industries, they would use

English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

7. If my friends were to communicate by telephone, in writing, or in person with provincial government services, they would use

English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

8. By the use they make of English and French in their day-to-day activities (e.g. visits to the doctor, to the supermarket, to the bank, to the service station, etc.), my friends seem to be promoting the recognition of

the linguistic rights of anglophones...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

the linguistic rights of francophones...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

9. In this region, if some of my friends wanted to succeed in exercising some leadership at different levels of government (municipal, provincial, or federal), they would use

English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

10. In this region, when dating, my friends tend to use

English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

11. If my friends met youths who spoke neither English nor French and who had moved to this region recently, they would speak to them

in English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

in French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

12. The use the youths of this region make of English and French in their daily activities tends to promote this region's

English linguistic and cultural character...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all		A little		Moderately		Much		A great deal

French linguistic and cultural character...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

5. WHAT YOU CONSIDER TO BE IMPORTANT

The twelve statements in this section pertain to what you consider to be important at the present time. Please note that you are to respond by indicating what is personally important to you and not what is important to others.

For each of the following statements, you are to encircle the number from 1 to 9 which in your estimation best represents the degree of importance you give to each of the situations described.

1. How important is it to you that cultural activities (theatre, concerts, movies) be available to you

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Of no importance		Of little importance	Of moderate importance			Of much importance		Of great importance

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. How important is it to you that television programs be available to you

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Of no importance		Of little importance	Of moderate importance			Of much importance		Of great importance

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. How important is it to you that you have the possibility of being educated

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Of no importance		Of little importance	Of moderate importance			Of much importance		Of great importance

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. How important is it to you that the language you will use at work

be English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Of no importance		Of little importance	Of moderate importance			Of much importance		Of great importance

be French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

5. In order to get a good job, how important is it to you that you know how to communicate well

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Of no importance		Of little importance	Of moderate importance			Of much importance		Of great importance

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

6. If you had to work in a business or an industry, how important would it be to you that your employers communicated with you

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Of no importance		Of little importance	Of moderate importance			Of much importance		Of great importance

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

7. How important is it to you that governmental services (municipal, provincial, federal) be provided to you

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Of no importance		Of little importance	Of moderate importance			Of much importance		Of great importance

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

8. How important is it to you that linguistic rights (the right to speak and to be spoken to in one's mother tongue) be respected in this region?

anglophone linguistic rights?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Of no importance		Of little importance	Of moderate importance			Of much importance		Of great importance

francophone linguistic rights?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

9. Where your elected representatives at various levels of government (municipal, provincial, federal) are concerned, how important is it to you that they be able to communicate with you

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Of no importance		Of little importance	Of moderate importance			Of much importance		Of great importance

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

l0. When you think of a person you could eventually marry, how important is it to you that he/she be able to communicate with you

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Of no importance		Of little importance	Of moderate importance			Of much importance		Of great importance

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

11. If adolescents or young adults who spoke neither English nor French moved to this region and became your friends, how important would it be to you that they eventually communicate with you

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Of no importance		Of little importance	Of moderate importance			Of much importance		Of great importance

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

12. How important is it to you that the cultural and linguistic character of this region be

English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Of no importance		Of little importance	Of moderate importance			Of much importance		Of great importance

French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

6. WHAT I WANT TO DO OR BE ABLE TO DO IN THIS REGION

The twelve following sentences refer to goals, wishes, or desires. Your goals, wishes, or desires are very personal thoughts which indicate what you want to do; each person has different goals, wishes, or desires.

You are invited to respond to the following after having carefully considered what you want to do or be able to do with respect to the situations presented below.

Encircle the number on the scale of 1 to 9 which in your estimation best describes your goals, wishes, or desires.

1. I want to attend cultural activities (theatre, concerts, movies) which are presented

in English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

in French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. I want to watch TV programs televised

in English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

in French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. In my activities at school, I want to communicate

in English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

in French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. In the jobs I will have in the future, I want to use as the language I will work in,

English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

5. In order to get a good job, I want to master

English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all		A little		Moderately well		Very well		Extremely well

French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

6. In my future jobs, I want my bosses or employers to communicate with me

in English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

in French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

7. In my contacts with various governmental services (municipal, provincial or federal), I want to communicate

in English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

in French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

8. In order to protect my linguistic rights, I want public servants to communicate with me

in English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

in French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

9. I want my elected representatives at the municipal, provincial, or federal government levels to communicate with me

in English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

in French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

10. When I think about my eventual marital partner, I want him/her to communicate with me

in English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

in French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

11. If adolescents or young adults speaking neither English nor French moved to this region, I would eventually want them to communicate with me

in English...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Never		Rarely		From time to time		Often		Always

in French...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

12. The territory in which I would most want to reside would have an

English cultural and linguistic character which is...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Extremely weak		Weak		Moderate strong		Strong		Extremely

French cultural and linguistic character which is...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

7. WHAT I AM CAPABLE OF DOING

In the following twelve sentences, you are asked to indicate the degree to which you feel you are capable of reaching different goals when using English or French. Try to imagine yourself in each of the situations given below and answer as sincerely and precisely as possible.

Encircle the number on a scale of 1 to 9 which in your estimation best describes the degree to which you feel you are capable of reaching your goals in the situations described below when using English or French.

1. When you attend cultural activities (theatre, concerts, movies) in order to entertain yourself, do you feel you are capable of entertaining yourself well when attending cultural activities

presented in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all capable		Not very capable		Moderately capable		Quite capable		Totally capable

presented in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. When you watch television to inform or to entertain yourself, do you feel you are capable of informing and entertaining yourself well when watching programs televised

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all capable		Not very capable		Moderately capable		Quite capable		Totally capable

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. Later on, if you were to pursue your studies in a field which interests you, do you feel you would be capable of reaching your goals by studying

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all capable		Not very capable		Moderately capable		Quite capable		Totally capable

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. Do you feel you are capable of reaching your career goals by working

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all capable		Not very capable		Moderately capable		Quite capable		Totally capable

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

5. Do you feel you are capable of reaching the degree of material and economic comfort you want by working

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all capable		Not very capable	Moderately capable			Quite capable		Totally capable

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

6. Given those who control the industries and businesses in your region, do you feel you would be capable of obtaining a job in these establishments by sending in your job application form

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all capable		Not very capable	Moderately capable			Quite capable		Totally capable

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

7. When you have to use the governmental services (municipal, provincial, federal) in your region, do you feel you are capable of obtaining good services by using

English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all capable		Not very capable	Moderately capable			Quite capable		Totally capable

French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

8. When you use public services (stores, restaurants, etc.), do you feel you are capable of obtaining good services when you talk to store clerks, waiters, and waitresses,

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all capable		Not very capable	Moderately capable			Quite capable		Totally capable

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

9. If you had to meet representatives from different levels of government (municipal, provincial, federal), do you believe you would be capable of making your needs known to them by communicating with them

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all capable		Not very capable	Moderately capable			Quite capable		Totally capable

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

l0. In your personal life, do you feel you would be capable of personal growth in a relationship in which you had to communicate with your spouse

in English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all capable		Not very capable	Moderately capable			Quite capable		Totally capable

in French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

11. If young adults knowing neither English nor French moved to this region, do you feel you would be capable of becoming their friend by using

English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all capable		Not very capable	Moderately capable			Quite capable		Totally capable

French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

12. Do you feel you could accomplish what you want to accomplish in your life while living in a region whose cultural and linguistic character

is English?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all capable		Not very capable	Moderately capable			Quite capable		Totally capable

is French?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

8. MY FEELINGS OF BELONGINGNESS

This part of the questionnaire addresses itself to your feelings of identity and belongingness.

For each of the situations presented below, you are to take into consideration your interests, your values, your feelings, and your ways of thinking and behaving. You are to make an X on the short line which best describes who you are in terms of that situation.

Here is an example of the responses given to the same question by three different persons.

EXAMPLE: In my musical tastes, I have the feeling that I am:

A. Responses given by person A

anglophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_ completely

francophone
not at all _X_:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completely

Person A considers that he/she is completely anglophone and not at all francophone in his/her musical tastes. Only music with lyrics in the English language succeeds in making him/her have feelings of belongingness.

B. Here is the response given by person B to the same question

anglophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ _X_ completely

francophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_ completely

Person B feels that he/she is anglophone and francophone to an equal extent in his/her tastes and emotions felt towards music. He/she feels completely and equally at home and comfortable with music of either language.

C. Here is the response given by person C to the same question

anglophone
not at all ___:___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___:___ completely

francophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_ :___ completely

Person C considers that her tastes and emotions are more francophone than anglophone even if they are not completely francophone. This person does have some feelings of belongingness when listening to music with English lyrics but he/she does feel more at home and at ease when listening to music with French lyrics.

For each of the situations presented below, make an X on the line which, in your estimation, best describes your feelings of belongingness.

1. When I consider my interests and preferences in music, concerts and movies, I have the feeling that I am

anglophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completely

francophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ :___ completely

2. When I consider my preferences for television programs, I have the feeling that I am

anglophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completely

francophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ :___ completely

3. Taken globally, when I think of the values I have received in my environment and to the education given me by the schools I've attended, I have the feeling that I am

anglophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completely

francophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ :___ completely

4. When I think of my tastes and preferences for the products sold by the businesses of this region, I have the feeling that I am

anglophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completely

francophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___: ___ completely

5. When I daydream about my future career and about where I'll be working, I have the feeling that I am:

anglophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completely

francophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ :___ completely

6. When I think of the employer for whom I would want to work someday, I feel that I am:

anglophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completely

francophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ :___ completely

7. My interests, my values, my ways of thinking and behaving would best be served and protected by laws guaranteeing the rights of:

anglophones
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completely

francophones
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ :___ completely

8. When I think of the persons I would want as my elected representatives at the various levels of government (municipal, provincial, federal), I feel that I am

anglophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completely

francophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ :___ completely

9. When I think of the manner in which I utilise the services of my municipal, provincial, and federal governments (police, firemen, health, postal services, etc.), I feel that I am

anglophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completely

francophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ :___ completely

10. When I think of a person I could marry someday, I feel that I am:

anglophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completely

francophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ :___ completely

11. If I were to meet a family which had moved to this region recently and whose members spoke neither English nor French, I would tend to present myself as being

anglophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completely

francophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ :___ completely

12. When I think of what it means to me to be a citizen of the territory where I live, I feel that I'm

anglophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completely

francophone
not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ :___ completely

APPENDIX F2: BELIEFS ON ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY QUESTIONNAIRE

(BEVQ)

1. RECURSOS PRESENTES DE LOS QUICHUA-HABLANTES Y FRANCO-HABLANTES EN ESTA REGION

Las ocho oraciones en esta sección pertenecen a los recursos que los quichua-hablantes y hispanohablantes tienen acceso actualmente. Aclaración: Conteste estas preguntas sólo en relación a los recursos que están disponibles, no los que deberían estar disponibles.

Para cada una de las siguientes oraciones, Usted tiene que poner un círculo en un número del 1 al 9, de acuerdo a su estimación de la respuesta que mejor describe los recursos actualmente disponibles para los hispano-parlantes y quichua-parlantes en esta región. Las mismas respuestas dadas a los dos grupos significa que Usted considera que ambos grupos tienen una dimensión similar.

1. En esta región, las actividades culturales (teatro, conciertos, películas)

disponibles en español son...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Inexistente		Poca		Moderadamente numerosa		Numerosa		Extremadamente numerosa

disponibles en quichua son...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. ¿Cuánta importancia dan los colegios primarios y secundarios a la enseñanza de la lengua materna, eso es,

la enseñanza de español para los hispano-hablantes?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Ninguna importancia		Poca importancia		Importancia moderada		Mucha importancia		Gran importancia

la enseñanza de quichua para los quichua-hablantes?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. En esta región, el idioma del trabajo

es español...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Nunca		En raras ocasiones		De vez en cuando		Frecuentemente		Siempre

es quichua...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. En esta región, el grado en el cual los negocios y las industrias son controlados

por hispano-parlantes es...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Extremadamente bajo		Poco		Aproximadamente la mitad		La mayoría		Total

por quichua-hablantes es...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

5. En esta región, ¿cuantos servicios provinciales se ofrecen

en español?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Ninguno		Pocos		Aproximadamente La mitad		La mayoría		Todos

en quichua?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

6. En esta región, las personas que son elegidas para varias posiciones gubernamentales (municipales, provinciales y del gobierno central)

usan español...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Nunca		En raras ocasiones		De vez en cuando		Frecuentemente		Siempre

usan quichua...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

7. Las personas que se mudan de otros lugares para residir en esta región

usan español...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Nunca		En raras ocasiones		De vez en cuando		Frecuentemente		Siempre

usan quichua...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

8. Esta región es un territorio donde

el carácter lingüístico y cultural hispano es...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Extremadamente débil		Débil		Moderado		Fuerte		Extremadamente fuerte

usan quichua...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. LOS RECURSOS FUTUROS DE LOS HISPANO-PARLANTES Y QUICHUA-PARLANTES DE ESTA REGION.

Las cuatro oraciones en esta sección pertenecen a los recursos que los quichua-hablantes y hispano-hablantes tendrán acceso en el futuro. Aclaración: no conteste estas preguntas en relación a los recursos que están disponibles ahora, pero con los que estarán disponibles en el futuro, alrededor del año 2020.

Para cada una de las siguientes oraciones, Usted tiene que poner un círculo en un número del 1 al 9, de acuerdo a su estimación de la respuesta que mejor describe los recursos disponibles en el futuro para los hispano-parlantes y quichua-parlantes en esta región. Las mismas respuestas dadas a los dos grupos significa que Usted considera que ambos grupos tienen una dimensión similar.

1. En el año 2020, ¿cuánta importancia le darán los colegios regionales a la enseñanza de la primera lengua, esto es,

la enseñanza del español a los hispano-parlantes?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Ninguna importancia		Poca importancia		Importancia moderada		Mucha importancia		Gran importancia

la enseñanza del quichua a los quichua-hablantes?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. En el año 2020, en esta región, el idioma del trabajo será

español...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Nunca		Raras veces		De vez en cuando		Frecuentemente		Siempre

quichua...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. En el año 2020, en esta región, las personas elegidas a varios puestos gubernamentales (municipio, provincia y gobierno central)

usarán inglés...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Nunca		Raras veces		De vez en cuando		Frecuentemente		Siempre

quichua...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. En el año 2020, esta región será un territorio cuyo

carácter hispano cultural y lingüístico será...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Extremadamente débil		Débil		Moderado		Fuerte		Extremadamente fuerte

carácter quichua cultural y lingüístico será...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. QUE SERIA JUSTO Y JUSTIFICADO EN ESTA REGION

Las cuatro oraciones en esta sección pertenecen a los recursos a lo que sería considerado justo e imparcial habiendo la misma proporción de quichua-hablantes y hispanohablantes en esta región. Por favor, note que se le pide indicar como las cosas deben ser en esta región para que realmente resulten justas e imparciales.

Para cada una de las siguientes oraciones, Usted tiene que poner un círculo en un número del 1 al 9, que de acuerdo a su estimación de la respuesta mejor describa como las cosas deberían ser para que sean justas e imparciales, dado el número de hispano-parlantes y quichua-parlantes en esta región.

DADO EL NUMERO DE HISPANO-PARLANTES Y QUICHUA-PARLANTES EN ESTA REGION...

1. ...para que las cosas sean verdaderamente justas, los colegios deberían dar a la enseñanza de la lengua materna, eso es,

español a los hispano-parlantes

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Ninguna importancia		Poca importancia		Importancia moderada		Mucha importancia		Gran importancia

quichua a los quichua-hablantes

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2....para que las cosas sean verdaderamente justas, la lengua usada en el lugar de trabajo debería ser

español...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Nunca		Raras veces		De vez en cuando		Frecuentemente		Siempre

quichua...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3....para que las cosas sean verdaderamente justas, los representantes elgidos a varias posiciones gubernamentales (municipales, proviciales, gobierno central) deberán usar

español

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Nunca		Raras veces		De vez en cuando		Frecuentemente		Siempre

quichua...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4....para que las cosas sean verdaderamente justas, la región debería ser un territorio cuyo

carácter lingüístico y cultural hispano sería...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Extremadamente débil		Débil		Moderado		Fuerte		Extremadamente fuerte

Carácter lingüístico y cultural quichua sería...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. EL COMPORTAMIENTO PRESENTE DE MIS AMIGOS EN ESTA REGION

Las cuatro oraciones siguientes pertenecen al comportamiento presente de sus amigos en varias areas de actividad.

Por favor, note que no se le pide que reflexione sobre lo que debería pasar, pero en como Usted percibe que estas cosas se dan en la actualidad.

Usted tiene que poner un círculo en un número del 1 al 9, de acuerdo a su estimación de la respuesta que mejor describa como sus amigos se comportan en la actualidad.

1. En sus actividades en el colegio, mis amigos se comunican

en español...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Nunca		Raras veces		De vez en cuando		Frecuentemente		Siempre

quichua...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. Cuando están en el trabajo en esta región, los jóvenes que yo conozco usan

español

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Nunca		Raras veces		De vez en cuando		Frecuentemente		Siempre

quichua...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. En esta región, si algunos de mis amigos hubieran querido tener éxito al ejercer algún tipo de liderazgo en diferentes niveles gubernamentales (municipales, provinciales, o del gobierno central), ellos habrían usado

español

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Nunca		Raras veces		De vez en cuando		Frecuentemente		Siempre

quichua...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. El uso que los jóvenes de esta región hacen del español y del quichua en sus actividades diarias tiende a promover en esta región

El carácter lingüístico y cultural hispano

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
De ninguna manera		Un poco		Moderado		Mucho		En gran medida

El carácter lingüístico y cultural quichua...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

5. QUE CONSIDERA IMPORTANTE

Las cuatro oraciones en esta sección pertenecen a lo que Usted considera importante en la actualidad. Por favor note que Usted debe responder solo lo que Usted personalmente considera importante para Usted y no lo que es importante para otras personas.

Para cada una de estas oraciones, ponga un círculo en un número, del 1 al 9, el que en su estimación mejor representa el grado de importancia que Usted le da a cada situación descrita.

1. ¿Cuan importante es para Usted la posibilidad de tener una educación

en español?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Ninguna importancia		Poca importancia		Importancia moderada		Mucha importancia		Gran importancia

en quichua?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. ¿Cuan importante es para Usted que la lengua que Usted usará en el trabajo

sea español?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Ninguna Importancia		Poca importancia		Importancia moderada		Mucha importancia		Gran importancia

quichua a los quichua-hablantes?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. ¿Estaban los representantes que Usted eligió para las distintas posiciones gubernamentales (municipales, provinciales, federales) preocupados con cuan importante es para Usted que ellos puedan comunicarse con Usted

en español?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Ninguna Importancia		Poca importancia		Importancia moderada		Mucha importancia		Gran importancia

en quichua?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. ¿Cuan importante es para Usted que el carácter cultural y lingüístico de esta región sea español?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Ninguna Importancia		Poca importancia		Importancia moderada		Mucha importancia		Gran importancia

quichua?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

6. LO QUE YO QUISIERA HACER O PODRIA HACER EN ESTA REGION

Las cuatro oraciones se refieren a las metas o deseos. Sus metas o deseos son pensamientos muy personales que indican lo que Usted quiere hacer; cada persona tiene metas y deseos diferentes.

Usted está invitado a responder a las siguientes preguntas luego de reflexionar cuidadosamente que quisiera hacer o podría hacer con respecto a la situación presente abajo mencionada.

Ponga un círculo en la escala del 1 al 9 de acuerdo a su estimación de lo que mejor describe sus metas o deseos.

1. En mis actividades en el colegio, quiero comunicarme

en español...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Nunca		Raras veces		De vez en cuando		Frecuentemente		Siempre

en quichua...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. En los trabajos que tendré en el futuro, quiero usar como idioma en el trabajo,

español...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Nunca		Raras veces		De vez en cuando		Frecuentemente		Siempre

quichua...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. Quiero que los representantes municipales, provinciales y gubernamentales que yo elija se comuniquen conmigo

en español

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Nunca		Raras veces		De vez en cuando		Frecuentemente		Siempre

en quichua...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. El territorio en el cual más me gustaría vivir tendría un

carácter cultural y lingüístico hispano que sea

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Extremadamente débil		Débil		Moderado		Fuerte		Extremadamente fuerte

carácter cultural y lingüístico quichua que sea

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

7. LO QUE SOY YO CAPAZ DE HACER

En las siguientes cuatro oraciones, Usted debe indicar en que medida se siente capaz de alcanzar diferentes metas usando su español o quichua. Trate de imaginarse a Usted en las diferentes situaciones dadas a continuación y conteste lo más sincera y precisamente posible.

Haga un círculo en el número del 1 al 9 que de acuerdo a su estimación mejor describa el grado al cual Usted se siente capaz de alcanzar las metas en las situaciones descritas abajo cuando usa español o quichua.

1. Después, si Usted quisiera seguir sus estudios en alguna rama que le interese, ¿Usted piensa que sería cápaz de alcanzar sus metas estudiando

en español?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Incápaz		No muy cápaz		Moderadamente cápaz		Bastante cápaz		Totalmente cápaz

en quichua?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. ¿Usted siente que es cápaz de alcanzar sus metas profesionales trabajando

en español?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Incápaz		No muy cápaz		Moderadamente cápaz		Bastante cápaz		Totalmente cápaz

en quichua?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. Si Usted tuviera que reunirse con representantes gubernamentales en diferentes posiciones (municipales, provinciales, del gobierno central), ¿Usted cree que sería cápaz de lograr comunicar a estos representantes sus necesidades

en español?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Incápaz		No muy cápaz		Moderadamente cápaz		Bastante cápaz		Totalmente cápaz

en quichua?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. ¿Usted piensa que Usted logrará alcanzar lo que quiere alcanzar en su vida mientras viva en una región cuyo carácter cultural y lingüístico

es hispano?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Incápaz		No muy cápaz		Moderadamente cápaz		Bastante cápaz		Totalmente cápaz

es quichua?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

9. MIS SENTIMIENTOS DE PERTENENCIA

Esta parte del cuestionario se relaciona a sus sentimientos de identidad y pertenencia.

Para cada una de las situaciones presentadas a continuación, Usted debe tomar en consideración sus intereses, sus valores, sus sentimientos, y su forma de pensar y comportarse. Usted debe poner una X en la linea corta que mejor describa quien es Usted en términos de esa situación.

Aquí esta un ejemplo de las respuestas dadas a la misma pregunta por tres personas diferentes.

EJEMPLO: De acuerdo a mi gusto musical, tengo la sensación de que yo soy:

A. Respuestas dadas por la persona A

hispano
De ninguna manera ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_ completamente

quichua
De ninguna manera _X_:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completamente

La persona A considera que el/ella es completamente hispanoparlante en su gusto musical. Solo música con letra en español tiene éxito en proveerle sentimientos de pertenencia.

B. Aquí está la respuesta dada por la persona B a la misma pregunta

hispano
De ninguna manera ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_ completamente

quichua
De ninguna manera ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_ completamente

La persona B se considera hispano-parlante y quichua-parlante en el mismo grado de los gustos y emociones que siente por la música. El/ella se siente completa y igualmente cómodo(a) con música en cualquiera de los dos idiomas.

C. Aquí esta la respuesta dada por la persona C a la misma pregunta.

hispano
De ninguna manera ___:___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___:___ completamente

quichua
De ninguna manera ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_:___ completamente

La persona C considera que los gustos y emociones son más quichua-hablantes que hispano-parlantes si no completamente quichua-hablantes. Esta persona tiene algunos sentimientos de pertenencia cuando escucha música con letra en español pero no se siente tan cómodo(a) como cuando escucha música en quichua.

Para cada situación presentada a continuación, haga una X en la línea en la cual, de acuerdo a su estimación, mejor describa sus sentimientos de pertenencia.

1. Tomado globalmente, cuando pienso en los valores que he recibido en mi ambiente y la educación recibida en la escuela que yo asistí, tengo la sensación de que yo soy

   hispano
   De ninguna manera ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completamente

   quichua
   De ninguna manera ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completamente

2. Cuando pienso en mis gustos y preferencias por los productos que se venden por los negocios locales en esta región, tengo la sensación de que yo soy

   hispano
   De ninguna manera ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completamente

   quichua
   De ninguna manera ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completamente

3. Cuando pienso en la manera en la que utilizo los servicios municipales, provinciales y gubernamentales (policía, bomberos, salud, oficina postal, etc.), siento que yo soy

   hispano
   De ninguna manera ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completamente

   quichua
   De ninguna manera ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completamente

4. Cuando pienso en lo que significa para mí ser ciudadano de este territorio donde vivo, siento que yo soy

   hispano
   De ninguna manera ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completamente

   quichua
   De ninguna manera ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ completamente

APPENDIX F3: BELIEFS ON ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY QUESTIONNAIRE (BEVQ)

TAPUCHIKUNA B.E.V.

1. SHUTI: _____ 2. Pacha kampa wachariska:_____/_____/_____
wata killa punlla

3. yachana wasi:_____

4.Yachachik: _____

5. Masna yachanki castillanuta:_____

Masna yachanki kichuwata: _____

Kay tupuykuna ruranchik yachankapa imata kawanki, imata yuyanki, imata munanki, imata ninistinki, kay llaktapi.

Astawan riksinkapa rurnakuna kawsay, yuyay, chaimanta tikrachipay kanpa kausaskamanta

Kay tapuy charin númerukuna kay numerukuna willan imata alli ima mana alli chaimanta rikuspa tikrachi.

1. IMATA CHARINKI, IMATA TIYAN KANPA LLACTAPI TAPUCHIKUNA

KAY TAPUCHIKUNA RURANCHIK YACHANKAPA IMATA, CHARINKI, IMATA MUNANKI ALLI KAWSANKAPA.

Churay shuk runpata maijan kanpa tigrachi alli kachinki.

1. Kay llactapi tiyanchu, jatun takikuna, tiatrukuna, pelikulaskuna, parlanakuna

castellanu shimipi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Mana tiyan	ashalla tiyan			ashakulla		tyiyan		ashta tiyan

kichwa shimipi tiyan...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. Masna ally kachik yachana wasikuna yachachinkapa

castillanu shimita meztisukunaman...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Mana munan	ashalla munan			ashakulla		munan		nina munan

Kichwa shimipi masnata munan yachachinkapa...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. Kay llactapi imata parlanchik yankaipi

castellanu shimi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
nimaura		ashalla		chawpi tiumpu				kulpi

kichuwa shimipi masnata parlanki....

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. Kay llactapi pi charin, tiendakuna, niguciokuna

castellanu parlakuna...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ashalla			chaupikuna					astakakuna

kichuwa shimi parlayukuna...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

5. Kay llactapi jatun wasi gubiernukuna ima shimipi yankan

castellanu shipimi masna?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
nima		ashalla	chaupi					kulpi

kichwa shimipi masna?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

6. Kay llactapi rurankuna apayukkuna ima shimipi yancan municipiupi, jatun llactapi

castellanu shimipi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
nimaura		ashalla	katikati					kulpitiemputa

kichwa shimipi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

7. Shuk llactamanta runakunan kaiman shamuspa ima shimipi parlan

castellanu shimipi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
nimaura		ashalla	katikati					kulpitiemputa

kichwa shimipi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

8. Kay llactapi cultura, yachajuna ima kan

castellanu shimipi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
fankalla			asha fankalla					ninan sinchik

kichwa shimipi kan...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. KAY LLACTAPI SHAMUY PUNLLAKUNA IMATA YUYANKI KAYPI TIANKA, MEZTISUKUNAMAN KICHWA RUNAKUNAMAN

Kay tapuchikuna ruranchi yachankapa ima yuyanki tiyanka ima alli o mana alli tianka shuk iskay chunka watapi.

Churay shuk runpata maijan kanpa tigrachi alli kachinki

1. Imata yanki 2020 watapi yachana wasikuna masnata alli kachinka yachachinkapa shimikunata mestizukunaman, kichwa runakunaman

castellanu shimipi meztizukunaman...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Mana munan	ashalla munan		ashakulla munan					ninanda munan

kichwa shimipi masnata munan yachachinkapa...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. Imata yanki 2020 watapi maijan shimita parlashun yukanchik yankaypiel

castellanu shimipi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
nimaura		ashalla	chawpi tiumpu					klulpi

kichwa shimipi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. Imata yanki 2020 watapi runakuna apayuk kuna ima shimipi parlanka

castellanu shimipi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
nimaura		ashalla	katikati					kulpitiemputa

kichwa shimipi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. Kan imata yanki 2020 watapi maijan astawan cultura, shimipi tiayanka

castellanu shimipi kan...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
fankalla			asha fankalla					ninan sinchik

kichwa shimipi kan...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. IMA ALLI, PACTA JUSTU YANKI KAY LLACTAPI

Kay tapuchikuna ruranchik yachankapa imata yuyanki kan alli, pacta , justu kanka kay llaktapi . tikrachipay imata kan yuyanki, chapuriskami kanchik meztizukunawan imata alli kanka, alli kawsankapa iskandi runakuna

Churay shuk runpata maijan kanpa tigrachi alli kachinki.

1. Kan imata yuyankipacta kachun yachana wasipi imata shimita yachachina kan

castellanu shimipi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Mana munan	ashalla munan		ashakulla munan					nina munan

kichwa shimipi masnata...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. Kan imata yuyanki igual, pacta, justo kachun ima shimita parlan kan maipi yankaipy

castellanu shimipi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
nimaura		ashalla		chawpi tiumpu				kulpi

kichwa shimipi masnata...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. Kan imata yuyanki igual, pacta justo kachuk ima shimipita parlan kan runakuna apayukkuna

castellanu shimipi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
nimaura		ashalla		chawpi tiumpu				kulpi

kichwa shimipi masnata...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4.Imata yuyanki kan igual, pacta, justo kachuk ima cultuta ima shimita astawan tiyana kan

castellanupi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
fankalla			asha fankalla					ninan sinchik

kichwa shimipi kan...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. IMATA YUYANKI KANPA MASHIKUNAMANTA KANPA LLACTAMANTA.

Kay tapuchikuna ruranchik yachankapa ima mudu yuyaki kanpa mashimanta.

Churay shuk runpata maijan kanpa tigrachi alli kachinki

1. Kanpa ruraykunapi yachana wasipi kanpa mashikuna ima shimipi riman

castellanupi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
nimaura		ashalla		chawpi tiumpu				kulpi

.

kichwapi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. Kanpa riksikuna maipi yankan ima shimipi riman

castellanu shimipi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
nimaura		ashalla		chawpi tiumpu				kulpi

kichwa shimipi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. Kay llactapi kanpa mashikuna apana ñaupaman runa tukunkapa ima shimita parlan kan imata yuyanki

castellanu shimipi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
nimaura		ashalla		chawpi tiumpu				kulpi

kichwa shimipi…

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. Astawan ima cultura, ima shimi japin wambrakuna kanpa llactapi maijan astawan tyian

castellanupi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ni maijan		ashalla		jatunlla				astakata

kichwapi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

5. IMATA KAN YUYANKI ASTAKA ALLI KAN RUNAKUNAMAN

Kay tapuy ruranchik yachankapa imata yuyanki kan alli kan kulpi runakunaman alli kawsankapa.

Churay shuk runpata maijan kanpa tigrachi alli kachinki.

1. Allichu kan sumac yayachichun yachana wasipi

castellanu shimipi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
mana allichu		asha alli		astakata alli				sumac alli

kichwa shimipi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. Kan imata yuyanki maijan shimita astawan valin, rimankapa maipi yankakuipi

castellanupi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
mana allichu		asha alli		astakata alli				sumac alli

kichwapi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. Kanpa apana ñaupaman runakuna munanchu kanwan parlankapa , yachankapa imata yuyanki, imata ruranki

castellanupi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
mana munan			ashalla munan					astakata munan

kichwapi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. Kan imata yuyanki allichu kan charina sumac cultura, sumac shimita maijan shimipi

castellanu-hispano?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	fankalla		asha fankalla					ninan sinchik

kichwa shimipi kan?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

6. IMATA MUNANKI IMATA MUNASKANKI RURANKAPA KANPA LLACTAMANTA

Kay tapuykuna ruranchik yayankapa imata munaskanki, munanki, kanpa llactapi rurachun, alli kawsankapa

Churay shuk runpata maijan kanpa tigrachi alli kachinki.

1. Kan ima shimipi munaki rimankapa yachana wasipi

castellanupi...

.1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

nimaura ashalla chawpi tiumpu kulpi

kichwa shimipi...

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

2. Kati yanchaipi ima shimita munanki rimankapa

castellanupi...

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

nimaura ashalla chawpi tiumpu kulpi

kichwa shimipi...

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3. Munaki kanpa ñaupaman apana runakuna kanwan rimachuk, uyachun kanpa yuyaykunata.

castellanupi...

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

nimaura ashalla chawpi tiumpu kulpi

kichwa shimipi...

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

4. Maijan llactapi munaki kawsankapa,

castellanu cultura, shimi...

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

fankalla asha fankalla ninan sinchik

kichwa shimipi kan...

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

7. IMATA USHANKI RURANKAPA

Kay tapuykuna ruranchik yachankapa imata ushanki rurankapa , riksinkapa ima shimipi astawan usanki rurayta.

Churay shuk runpata maijan kanpa tigrachi alli kachinki.

1. Kan imata yuyanki, kipa punllakunapi ushankichu astawan yachajunjapa, ima shimipi astwan ushanki

castellanupi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
mana usanki		ashalla usanki		astaka usanki				usanki

kichwapi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. Kan usanki japinkapa jatun yankayta, ima shimipi astawan usanki

castellanupi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
mana usanki		ashalla usanki		astaka usanki				usanki

kichwapi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. Kan usanki tuparispa jatun apana ñaupaman runakunawan rimankapa kanpa yuyay, kanpa , kanpa ministikuna ima shimipi astwan ushanki

castellanupi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
mana usanki		ashalla usanki		astaka usanki				usanki

kichwapi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4.Kan imata yuyanki ushankichu japinkapa alli kawsaita kausaspa kay llactakunapi, chapuriska runa kichwakuna meztisukunawan ima shimipi astawan alli japinki

castellanupi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
mana usanki		ashalla usanki		astaka usanki				usanki

kichwapi...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

8. KAN IMA ASTAKATA ALLI KACHINKI, IMATA YUYANKI KANPA KAN

Kay tapuykuna ruranchik riksinkapa imata alli kachinki, imata uku shunkupi charinki, kanta astawan riksinkapa.

Churay shuk runpata maijan kanpa tigrachi alli kachinki.

SHINA: Kan ima shimipi alli kachinki uyankapa takikunata,

Castellanupie
Mana alli kachinki ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_ kulpi castellanupi uyanki

Kichwapie
mana alli kachinki _X_:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___astaka alli kachinki

1.Kan imata yuyanki astaka meztizu yuyaita charinki, o runa yuyayta charinki, kan riskanki yachana wasiman ima shimipi yachachirka . Imata astawan kan kawsaipi charinki

hispano-parlante
ni mamanta ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ ari shina kani

quichua-parlante
ni mamanta ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ :___ari shina kani

2. Kan imata alli kachinki, rantinkapa jatuna ukukunapi. Kan yuyanki meztizu kusaskuna astawan allikachinki imata kanki

hispano-parlante
ni mamanta ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ ari shina kani

quichua-parlante
ni mamanta ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ :___ari shina kani

3. Kan charinki yakuta, michata, telefono. Charinki policiakunata llactapi kan imata kanki

hispano-parlante
ni mamanta ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ ari shina kani

quichua-parlante
ni mamanta ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ :___ari shina kani

4. Kan imata yuyanki kay llactapi kawsaskamanta imata kanki

hispano-parlante

ni mamanta ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ ari shina kani

quichua-parlante

ni mamanta ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ :___ari shina kani

JATUN VILLACHI

Ñuka shamuni kay llactaman shuk investigación rurankapa, kay yankay rurani yachankapa imaspa kichua runakuna mana igual riman kichwa shimita, chaimanta tapuchikrini runakuna uchilla llactamanta, jatun llactamantapash: Imbabura Llactapi.

Tapuchikrini ñuka shimiwan, parlaspa kanwan. Kay tapuyka shuk pacha chunka picha uchilla tiempupi rurakrini. Kay pankakuna kilkaska tiyan imata yuyanki, imata riksinki, imata kawsaskanki, imata munaki, imata ruraskanki.

Kay tapuywan mana kulkita kullun, mana ñukapash kulkita japikrini, kay jatun yanchayta rurani, karu llactamanta shamuspa riksinkapa kan runa kichwa kawsaita.

Kulpi kanpa tigrachi mana villakrini, ñukalla yachasha. Kan munaspa tigrachiwanki,

Paki kulpi runakunata kay yankayta aydaskamanta.

Ñuka shuti kan Sonia Lenk. Munaspa imatapash tapuchinkapa ñukapa tilifunumi kan.

O6-925381.

APPENDIX G: NOTES TO USERS OF THE BELIEFS ON ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY QUESTIONNAIRE

(BEVQ)

by

Réal Allard, Ph.D.

and

Rodrigue Landry, Ph.D.

We grant permission to researchers to use, adapt, and translate the BEVQ for research purposes in other ethnolinguistic contexts.

All we ask is that researchers include references to the original version of the BEVQ in their work, and that they send us a copy, via e-mail or surface mail, of the revision or adaptation of the BEVQ they used in their own research. We would also appreciate receiving a copy or reprint of any report or piece of research they publish in which they have used their adaptation of the BEVQ, or complete references to the report or article.

We have prepared these notes in the hope that they will be of use to persons who want to use the BEVQ. We would be pleased to answer any questions that may arise concerning the BEVQ or its use.

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Structure of the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire

The BEVQ consists of 8 scales of 12 items for a total of 96 items. Since each item asks the respondent to make two judgments, the respondent gives a total of 192 answers to complete the questionnaire. The second judgment on each item does not require much additional reading on the respondent's part, since he/she is responding to the same question, but for another language.

EXO-CENTRIC EV BELIEFS SCALES: Four of the eight scales measure **Exo-centric ethnolinguistic vitality beliefs**:

1) **Present Vitality Beliefs:** THE PRESENT RESOURCES OF ANGLOPHONES AND FRANCOPHONES IN THIS REGION;

2) **Future Vitality Beliefs:** THE FUTURE RESOURCES OF ANGLOPHONES AND FRANCOPHONES IN THIS REGION;

3) **Legitimate Vitality Beliefs:** WHAT WOULD BE JUST AND FAIR IN THIS REGION; and

4) **Beliefs about the Behaviour of Social Models:** THE PRESENT BEHAVIOUR OF MY FRIENDS IN THIS REGION.

EGO-CENTRIC EV BELIEFS SCALES: The four remaining scales measure **Ego-centric ethnolinguistic vitality beliefs**:

5) **Beliefs reflecting Valorization of Languages:** WHAT YOU CONSIDER TO BE IMPORTANT;

6) **Beliefs reflecting Goals:** WHAT I WANT TO DO OR BE ABLE TO DO IN THIS REGION;

7) **Beliefs reflecting Personal Efficacy:** WHAT I AM CAPABLE OF DOING; and

8) **Beliefs reflecting Belongingness:** FEELINGS OF BELONGINGNESS.

The structure of the BEVQ is such that in each of the 8 scales, 3 items pertain to language in each of the four following domains: cultural, economic, political, and demographic. The total number of items in each scale is therefore 12.

Cultural domain	Item 1	Cultural events
	Item 2	Television
	Item 3	Education
Economic domain	Item 4	Language and work
	Item 5	Socio-economic level
	Item 6	Business and industry
Political domain	Item 7	Government services
	Item 8	Linguistic rights
	Item 9	Language use by representatives of government
Demographic domain	Item 10	Intra and intergroup marriage
	Item 11	Language use by immigrants
	Item 12	Linguistic and cultural character of region

Some researchers may find the BEVQ too long and detailed for their own research purposes. Should a researcher wish to shorten the BEVQ for work in a given context, we suggest that he/she respect the above structure. The following information may prove to be of use to those whose research purposes would be met by a shorter version of the scale.

Researchers who wish to use shorter versions may wish to consider the following: 1) the use of all 8 scales but with fewer items per scale (the tables presented below may prove to be useful in this respect); 2) the use of 12-item scales, but only those scales which are most pertinent to the research being undertaken; 3) a combination of the two previous alternatives, i.e. briefer versions of some scales. In a more recent project, for example, we used 8-item versions of the subscales measuring Present Vitality, Personal Efficacy, and Goals.

Internal Consistency of the BEVQ Scales

Table 1

Alpha coefficients[1] for 12 item, 8 item and 4 item versions of the 8 scales of the French-language version of the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ) by Allard and Landry.

French-language BEVQ subscales	**Alphas for subscales with all 12 items**	**Alphas with 8 items retained:** 1,3,4,6,7,9,11,12	**Alphas with 4 items retained:** 3,4,9,12
1. Present Vitality (English)	.85	.85	.75
Present Vitality (French)	.86	.84	.70
2. Future Vitality (English)	.89	.88	.79
Future Vitality (French)	.91	.89	.82
3. Legitimate Vitality (English)	.89	.89	.78
Legitimate Vitality (French)	.89	.88	.79
4. Social Models (English)	.88	.81	.75
Social Models (French)	.91	.86	.81
5. Valorization (English)	.89	.87	.79
Valorization (French)	.91	.89	.82
6. Goals (English)	.93	.92	.84
Goals (French)	.94	.92	.86
7. Personal Efficacy (English)	.94	.91	.88
Personal Efficacy (French)	.95	.92	.88
8. Belongingness (English)	.92	.88	.82
Belongingness (French)	.91	.86	.77

[1]These alpha coefficients were obtained following the administration of the French-language version of the BEVQ to a sample of 553 Grade 12 Francophone minority students in the provinces of New-Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island in Canada.

Table 2

Alpha coefficients[2] for 12 item, 8 item and 4 item versions of the 8 scales of the English-language version of the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ) by Allard and Landry.

English-language BEVQ subscales	**Alphas for subscales with all 12 items**	**Alphas with 8 items retained:** 1,3,4,6,7,9,11,12	**Alphas with 4 items retained:** 3,4,9,12
1. Present Vitality (English)	.79	.73	.56
Present Vitality (French)	.83	.79	.65
2. Future Vitality (English)	.91	.88	.80
Future Vitality (French)	.91	.88	.81
3. Legitimate Vitality (English)	.90	.87	.77
Legitimate Vitality (French)	.91	.90	.81
4. Social Models (English)	.86	.78	.70
Social Models (French)	.88	.83	.71
5. Valorization (English)	.89	.85	.71
Valorization (French)	.93	.92	.84
6. Goals (English)	.93	.90	.83
Goals (French)	.96	.94	.88
7. Personal Efficacy (English)	.90	.84	.80
Personal Efficacy (French)	.96	.94	.91
8. Belongingness (English)	.89	.85	.74
Belongingness (French)	.93	.90	.81

[2] These alpha coefficients were obtained following the administration of the English-language version of the BEVQ to a sample of 289 Grade 12 Anglophone majority students in the cities of Moncton and Riverview in the province of New Brunswick in Canada.

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