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CÁTEDRA

Análisis de la educación intercultural bilingüe en las instituciones educativas de la nacionalidad Tsáchila, Ecuador

Analysis of intercultural bilingual education in educational institutions of the Tsáchila nationality

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(Received on: 25/11/2019; Accepted on: 28/11/2019; Final version received on: 08/01/2020)

Suggested citation: Sánchez-Raza, V. y Rhea-Almeida, M. (2020). Analysis of intercultural bilingual education in educational institutions of the Tsáchila nationality. *Revista Cátedra*, 3(1), 46-58.

Resumen

La Educación Intercultural bilingüe (EIB) en Ecuador se ha convertido en un foco de discusión de la educación ecuatoriana debido a la convivencia de los pueblos y nacionalidades que coexisten en un mismo territorio. Uno de los principales problemas radica en el hecho de desconocer mecanismos de planeación y ejecución de políticas educativas incluyentes dado el encuentro de culturas donde la mestiza tiene prestigio y predominio sobre las demás. Por esta razón, es importante hacer visible la necesidad de la inclusión de los saberes ancestrales de la nacionalidad Tsáchila como eje transversal curricular dentro del proceso educativo intercultural bilingüe. Es necesario, entonces, evaluar la EIB, conocer cómo se expresan los saberes ancestrales en la educación e identificar las experiencias de la aplicación del Modelo del Sistema Educativo Intercultural Bilingüe (MOSEIB) en las instituciones educativas de las comunidades de la nacionalidad



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Revista Cátedra, 3(1), pp. 46-58, January-April 2020. e-ISSN: 2631-2875

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.29166/10.29166/catedra.v3i1.1988>

Tsáchila en el año lectivo 2018-2019. En este camino se identifican los elementos inclusivos del eje curricular transversal intercultural que deben ser fortalecidos en el Bachillerato General Unificado (BGU) para contribuir a la recuperación de la identidad cultural Tsáchila, bajo un enfoque socio-educativo, cualitativo, descriptivo y explicativo del proceso de enseñanza aprendizaje con el MOSEIB. Se han analizado sus causas, lineamientos y, recolectado información primaria y secundaria, a través de las técnicas de observación (colonos), encuesta (estudiantes), entrevista (docentes) y grupo focal (expertos). Su trascendencia radica en el aporte a la recuperación de la ancestralidad y la lucha contra la discriminación -particularmente en el ámbito educativo-.

Palabras clave

Ancestralidad, discriminación, etnia, interculturalidad, MOSEIB.

Abstract

Bilingual Intercultural Education (BIE) in Ecuador has become a focus of discussion due to the coexistence of people and nationalities that coexist in the same territory. One of the main problems lies in the fact of ignoring mechanisms of planning and execution of inclusive educational policies given the encounter of cultures where the mestizo has prestige and dominance over the others. For this reason, it is important to make visible the need for the inclusion of the ancestral knowledge of the Tsáchila nationality as a curricular transversal axis in the bilingual intercultural educational process. It is necessary to evaluate the BIE, to know how ancestral knowledge is expressed in education and to identify the experiences of the Model application of the Bilingual Intercultural Educational System (MABIES) in the educational institutions of the Tsáchila nationality communities in the year 2018-2019. In this way, the inclusive elements of the cross-cultural cross-curricular axis that must be strengthened in the Unified General Baccalaureate (BGU) are identified to contribute to the recovery of the Tsáchila cultural identity, under a socio-educational, qualitative, descriptive and explanatory approach of the teaching-learning process with MABIES. Their causes, guidelines and, primary and secondary information, have been analyzed through observation techniques (settlers), survey (students), interview (teachers) and focus group (experts). Its importance lies in the contribution to the recovery of ancestrality and the fight against discrimination -particularly in the educational field.

Keywords

Ancestrality, discrimination, ethnicity, interculturality, MABIES

1. Introduction

The BIE has become the focus of discussion of Ecuadorian education due to the convergence of 14 nationalities, with their corresponding languages in the same territory. Under this premise, governments on duty have not resolved their limitations on the planning and implementation of inclusive education policies. This is due to ethnic diversity and the encounter of cultures where the prestige and predominance of mestizo is evident. One of



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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.29166/10.29166/catedra.v3i1.1988>

the fundamental problems underlying this fact is the educational system whose daily practice leans more towards the uniqueness of education to the detriment of the development of the other cultures that are increasingly influenced by the dominant culture.

Maintaining the culture of each nationality is a work that surpasses the wills of the communities, the intentions of its members and the state itself. And it is education that has been tasked - in some cases - with diminishing in the worldview of people, their knowledge, and even their social behavior. There cannot be a purist vision of what cultures are today, i.e., it is necessary to understand that many live processes of syncretism in areas such as: beliefs, gastronomy, clothing, health, housing, among others.

Finally, the structure of the manuscript is written. First, a brief description of the origins of education in Ecuador is made. Topics such as the first Organic Law on Public Instruction, the beginnings of Bilingual Intercultural Education, Tsáchilas and the implementation of the Bilingual Intercultural Educational System Model are addressed here. Then, the method that is the description of the research methodology of this work is explained. Finally, the results, the discussion of results and the partial conclusions of this ongoing research are highlighted.

2. Origin of Education in Ecuador

The analysis of the origin of education in Ecuador must take into account the evolution and the development of the various Aboriginal cultures - pre-Inca - as well as the development of the colonial and republican era. In the first instance, the ways of educating before colonization were generated in the midst of life, community coexistence and the customs of their people. Orality and farming, hunting and fishing practices were the main sources of learning. In colonial times, teaching occurred in the family nucleus in most cases; and, in a few cases, in convents where they learned to read and write. At this stage, the interests of the ruling classes are further accentuated to the detriment of the interests of ancestral people and workers. The Church's role contributed to the development of education, maintaining a classist vision and mission, causing - in parallel - liberal and rupture dismembering with the colony.

Later, the constitution of the Republican state creates the organization of education as a system. It is covered by the institutionalization of the General Directorate of Studies, and the first Organic Law on Public Instruction (LOIP). The latter, framed in the Liberal Revolution, considers among its most important postulates the institutionalization of normal schools, public education, secular, free and compulsory for all girls and boys aged five to twelve years (LOIP, 1906, p.23). Mentioning these aspects is important in terms of the study of Pedagogy, Social Sciences, higher education, and with it, scientific and technological development. Clearly, Intercultural Education cannot be left out of this process. Currently and in a historical extension process of education with the characteristics of the liberal government of Alfaro, in the province of Santo Domingo de los Tsáchilas - and in the indigenous communities Tsáchilas-, educational institutions are created with the intention of respecting their language and culture.



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2.1. Intercultural bilingual education

Paraphrasing Cornejo (2008) the first experiences of the BIE arise around the 1940s in Cayambe thanks to the indigenous leader Dolores Cacuango who, with the work of a team of women from Quito created indigenous schools in Pichincha and, later, with the Laurite missionaries extended them to Imbabura. They stopped working around 1963. On the other hand, in 1972 the Shuar-achuar radio schools began operating, becoming official around 1979. The main contribution is the training of indigenous teachers. In addition, the indigenous schools of Simiatug appeared in Bolivar; Cotopaxi Indigenous School System (SEIC); the Federation of Communes Union of Natives of the Ecuadorian Amazon (FCUNAE), in 1975; the Kichwa Literacy Subprogram that began in 1978 with the support of the Center for Research for Indigenous Education (CIEI) program of the Pontifical Catholic University of Ecuador (PUCE) with a considerable number of indigenous leaders; Chimborazoca Caipimi which was a specific program for the Chimborazo province; the Macac National School which in 1986 created technical baccalaureates in the Kichwa language; the Intercultural Bilingual Education Project, with the support of Germany; Alternative Bilingual Education Project (PAEBIC) of the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon (CONFENIAE) and which has been in operation since 1986, in eight schools in Napo and Pastaza in 1986; the agreement of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) with the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) and thanks to the creation of the National Directorate of Intercultural Bilingual Education (DINEIB), in November 1988; Agreement between the ECM and the National Federation of Evangelical Indigenous People, in 1990 (pp.65-68). The role of the Ecuadorian communists in the indigenous and peasant organization, raising the aspiration of bilingual intercultural education, respecting, recovering and promoting their culture, their language and their ancestral worldview in the education of their people, allowed the operation of the first bilingual Intercultural Schools in the Ecuadorian mountain range. This tour was the first step for the creation of what is known as Bilingual Intercultural Education.

2.2. The Tsáchila

Historically, Tsáchila nationality has managed to survive and consolidate since the eighteenth century, through several milestones of recognition and inclusion from the State, asserting itself according to its language, its territory, its cultural customs, its worldview. There are not exact dates that describe its appearance. The first data that tell their existence are those of the ethnologist Paul Rivet in the early twentieth century.

From Ventura's perspective (2012) Tsáchila society is a good example of the shift from a form of self-subsistence production to a market-oriented economy. However, this transformation has not been radical for any of its members, not even for the younger



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generations who, while trying to profit from their lands, still prefer to live in communities than abroad¹.

Particularly in this case, the integration of Tsáchila society as a strategy to protect its territory, to recognize the networks of socio-political organization, the roles of kinship and authority, has allowed to recognize the Governorate of the Tsáchila Nationality. This governorate is subordinate and with partial autonomy, according to the National Institute of Statistics and Census (INEC). In 2010, it is recognized with 2956 inhabitants (1519 men and 1437 women), grouped into seven communities: Congoma Grande (Santo Juan), Los Naranjos, Colorados del Búa, El Poste, Peripa, Chigüilpe, Otongo Mapalí settled in the rural area with approximately 9060 hectares of the canton of Santo Domingo.².

The communal nature of the Tsáchilas has sought to overcome individualism in their forms of survival (typical of family clans and the contradictions of family clans), towards the forms of community work typical of the Andean communities of the Ecuadorian central mountain range. However, at present, several authors and interviewees bear witness to a non-systemic process of progressive dispersion of their cultural elements, the advancement of the influence and ideological forms of Ecuadorian fusion. The education system, including the bilingual intercultural education system, has failed to be the instrument and resource for channeling the cohesion of its cultural nature.

2.3. The model of Bilingual Intercultural Education System (MABIES)

The first article of Ecuador's Constitution (2008) mentions that "Ecuador is a constitutional state of rights and justice, social, democratic, sovereign, independent, unitary, intercultural, multinational and secular. It is organized in the form of a republic and governed in a decentralized way" (p. 16). To define Ecuador as a multinational state is to recognize the presence of the thirteen nationalities that interact in this territory: Achuar, A'I Cofán, Huaorani, Kichwa, Secoya, Shiwiar, Shuar, Siona and Zápara in the Amazon; Awá, Chachi, Epera and Tsáchila on the coast; kichwa nationality in the Andean area, composed of various

¹ Ventura, Montserrat (2012) Anthropologist, researcher of the Tsáchila nationality began in 1991 an ethnography in tsáchila territory (Congoma, Los Naranjos, Chigüilpe, Colorados del Búa and Peripa). After six years of study, she rebuilt the social relationships of this community. She described the place of this group in the Ecuadorian society, its configuration, worldview, shamanism and contribution to the destruction of the myth of acculturated societies.

² Against all odds, which condemned the Tsáchila to disappearance, the population has increased over the past 30 years. If in 1974 the MAGAP estimated the Tsáchila population to be 915 people, in 1986 it would have increased to 1403 according to Robalino (1989) and the 1995 Pichincha Provincial Council census brings it closer to 2000 people. The figures subsequently change: the INEC data for the 2001 population and housing census state that the Tsachila in Pichincha reach a total of 1426, although according to CODENPE already at that time a minority of 50 people who have migrated to other regions are identified. Always according to the same source, the 2007 census indicates that the total population would have increased again until 1767 and in 2010 it would reach 2568" (Ventura, 2012, p. 44).



villages. Each nationality maintains its own languages and cultures and show specific characteristics of their worldview.

Many ethnic groups have had to adapt to live in a different place, this through historical processes in which society has been involved. The Tsáchilas are an example of adaptation: they try to keep their culture and traditions alive despite the strong contact and influence of the mestizos of the province. The territory comprises 9 060 hectares surrendered to the nationality that comprises seven communes. Ethnic diversity in Ecuador is observed in a culturally rich country: gastronomy, clothing, worldview, language, music, etc. It is the contact between the different ethnic groups that increases this wealth. It is for this reason that –paraphrasing Leiva – (2017) interculturality is defined as communicative exchanges of values, knowledge, codes, worldview between different cultural groups and on an equal footing between individuals.

As a synthesis, it is necessary to recover the main idea of the documents of the Ministry of Education (2012) institution issued by the MABIES, whose mission is to rescue, preserve and develop the language, knowledge and culture of people and indigenous nationalities. In this way, it contributes to the formation of integral human beings, as well as the full defense of their territoriality with the subsequent revaluation of the social and economic organization of their communities, through quality educational processes. In both the education system and the social sphere, equal opportunities, supported by differences such as sex, age, ethnicity, religion, gender, social position, skills, need not be restricted. To do this, it is necessary to understand that the concepts of inclusion and integration do not mean the same thing, although they appear to be some semantic similarity; on the other hand, equity and equality present the same difficulty of definition.

In the case of Santo Domingo de los Tsáchilas, the Ministry of Education (2003) created the Directorate of Intercultural Bilingual Education Tsáchila (DEIBTSA), headquartered in Santo Domingo de los Colorados, with jurisdiction over all community schools of the basic level, high school, post-high school, permanent popular education. This entity is responsible for advising, guiding and monitoring the administrative, financial and technical pedagogical actions of DEIBTSA, which is considered one of the most important achievements of the nationality, within its guidelines in the defense of bilingual education, which should allow them to maintain the fight for the recovery of their ethnic and cultural values.

In the analysis of the application of the interculturality criterion, the schooling processes in Ecuador do not take into account the specific differences of their ethnicity. It does not mean that the laws established since the Constitution and the Organic Law on Bilingual Intercultural Education (LOEIB) do not mention these criteria, but that although they are within the laws, they are not taken into account in everyday life. The new buildings built to strengthen the educational system have been made with the same structure without showing characteristics typical of the culture where they were built. For the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), in 2005, interculturality is the building of equitable relationships between people, communities, countries and cultures.



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The implementation of MABIES urgently requires an evaluation, particularly after several years of its implementation, as scholars and experts say that there is a process of cultural dispersion that progresses day by day, the product of the progress of various expressions of the fusion.

The role of the teacher is transcendent in socio-educational and sociocultural development in the educational institutions of the Tsáchila community, in the province of Santo Domingo de los Tsáchilas. Interviews with experts at the Tsacylles BIE conclude that teachers are unaware of methodological strategies and teaching tools related to the education system. Knowledge of Tsafiki culture and language is limited, making it difficult to understand its worldview. An analysis of the role of the BIE in Tsáchilas educational institutions is required in order to feed back their curriculum application to fulfill their purposes. Otherwise, there is a risk of not considering initial efforts to recover and strengthen the cultural identity of ancestral ethnicities, particularly tsáchila nationality. This questioning includes curricular guidelines and concretions for which the teaching staff have not been adequately and comprehensively trained, as well as the role of central, local government and community participation.

3. Materials and methods

This research has been developed under the qualitative approach, as it allows the identification of a reality through a research committed to contextualized explanations. The development of this approach is field-type, bibliographic and exploratory documentary with an educational socio-perspective. In the first instance, literature related to Tsáchila nationality as well as topics related to the BIE were revised. The educational phenomena surrounding the BIE in Tsáchilas communities were then described. Finally, the causes and consequences of the implementation of the BIE are analyzed. The educational phenomena surrounding the BIE in Tsáchilas communities were then described. Finally, the causes and consequences of the implementation of the BIE are analyzed. For the collection of primary and secondary information, as well as the description of the variables, student survey techniques have been considered; interviews to teachers who are immersed in the MABIES system and focus group to professionals who know the subject of intercultural bilingual education. The first data collected related to interviews with authors of similar research such as Ramiro Andino or Víctor Hugo Torres have been analyzed and crossed with the theoretical - conceptual definitions of various authors, as well as with the criteria of the researchers. The investigation is still ongoing.

4. Results

In interviews with the sources of information of people who know about the subject, as well as from the secondary sources, several statements have been obtained, which correlated with the operationalization of variables, dimensions and indicators, have allowed to build a structured approach, both of the problems and possible alternatives that could be implemented. Among the main results drawn from the interviews are the following:



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Revista Cátedra, 3(1), pp. 46-58, January-April 2020. e-ISSN:2631-2875

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- The main problem in MABIES is the lack of training in bilingual intercultural education" (R. Andino, personal interview, October 3, 2019).
- Aguavil - Andino (2019) state "the low incentive of educational authorities for third-level training or training based on MABIES implies a stalemate or conformism of these teachers in relation to how they teach their classes" (p. 82).
- Aguavil - Andino (2019) regarding teacher training considers it to be "a point of reflection, uncertainties and conflicts in any educational system; moreover, in some cases the importance of training and teaching career is rejected by the achievement of the educational and social purposes of educational reforms" (p. 85).
- In bilingual intercultural high school, the dialogue of knowledge, between the components of the Tsáchila worldview and the characteristic elements of the mestiza culture of Ecuador is not achieved. "Tsáchila indigenous cultural identity is undergoing a strong process of decomposition, the result of the relentless and permanent advancement of the mestiza majority" (Torres, Víctor Hugo, personal interview, October 3, 2019).
- According to the partial results of this research, the educational problem has among its main causes the lack of teacher training and third level of the majority of teachers who are even high school teachers. Some of them no longer speak in tsafiki and, consequently, do not contribute to the strengthening of their language and culture through the school system. There are consequences such as the lack of application of new teaching-learning methodologies, the lack of use of teaching resources and innovative resources under a critical socio-vision of their own environment and, among others, the loss of their ancestral language.
- Another element of the ancestral indigenous worldview that has been distorted, has a relationship with territoriality, understood as the consciousness and defense of its territory. Bilingual intercultural education does not develop elements to affirm this Tsáchila territoriality. The same is true of the coupling towards the other cultures, since the Tsáchilas absorb much alienation leaving aside their own identity.
- A fundamental element in the analysis of this educational problem is related to the origin of the class of education, which Bruner (2011) calls the "social genesis of cognitive processes", i.e., the marked differences that exist in the quality education in relation to the class interests of those who run it, the inequities related to social production and the individual appropriation of monopoly group of national wealth.

5. Discussion of the results

With regard to the MABIES problem, it is not just about the inclusion of that name which generates cultural inclusion, it is an intercultural system that requires contextualization in the reality, nature of the Tsáchilas, as well as of their ancestral language. It is not enough to just show a few labels and/or graphics with words in Tsáfiki, but to interact and, from there, consolidate the identity and cultural ancestrality of the Tsáchila. The state must be part not only of the definition of the concept of "interculturality", but an actor of its application in all fields of education and communicative interaction.



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On the other hand, the need to raise the level of professionalism of teachers has several motivations ranging from the recategorization in the teaching salary scale, through the requirement of an interaction of a more qualified teaching learning process. To do this, methodological and didactic resources must be used in order to recover ancestral experiences and knowledge, mainly the mother tongue in both the student with the teacher, as well as between students and teachers. These incentive constraints can, in fact, affect the interest and motivation of teachers who express frustration and disenchantment in implementing their full vocation and quality in job performance, outdoing their project of improvement and teaching professionalization. This fact affects the mission and transformative vision of the teacher, reason for which it is important to start from a first initiative: to value the work of the teacher through the continuous training.

Through the MABIES Integrated Education Learning Guides Implementation Manual (2017) it is determined that teachers at each school must make adjustments, adaptations, or extensions to one or more of the institutional Education Project (PEI) and its curricular elements, such as in "the development of skills and domains in children. In this work, the teacher must correlate the skills and domains with the axes, the areas of development and learning, and the harmonizers of knowledge" (p. 54), in the PCI, in the Cohabitation Code and so on. However, the authorities and teachers of bilingual intercultural educational institutions contribute in a limit way to this purpose, leaving aside the cross-cutting intercultural curricular axes: care of the environment, education for citizens, etc., which should be adapted and contextualized in relation to Tsáchila nationality. This means that the dialogue of knowledge does not materialize in the micro-curriculum of the BIE and, far from strengthening their own culture, the cultural traits of the dominant society are strengthened.

At the moment in bilingual Intercultural Educational Institutions (BIE) there are no teachers speaking Tsáfiki, the problem becomes complex because they fail to develop vocational orientations, mathematical logical reasoning, verbal logic, logical Natural Sciences and Social Sciences contextualized with their ancestrality and their own environment. It turns out that the highlights of the MABIES have been collected from the Quichua nationality. The few texts in Tsáfiki are scarcely used.

One of the results mentioned in the previous paragraph has to do with the distortion of what is considered to be the defense of territoriality. In fact, it has not been understood what the defense means. Hence, the main discussion to be raised by the community and educational control and supervision institutions from the Ministry and from the MABIES system, is in relation to the question, how to strengthen the cultural and bilingual identity from the BIE derived from their ancestrality, territoriality, knowledge, identity, etc., elements that, if no policies and implementation are implemented, will fail in the formulation of policies – in theory – and, with few and limited results of implementation– in practice.

As for the origin of class in education, it is important to emphasize that, to the extent that people have higher economic incomes and material facilities, their children are most likely to reach a higher degree of schooling. It is a vicious cycle, because in most cases, people with



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lower income and access to school resources cannot access a high level of schooling. There, BIE actors by generating a limited quality of professional performance generate an educational process that leaves no options for greater competitiveness and access to higher education and skilled job choices for students from indigenous nationalities.

6. Conclusions

There is a process of cultural dispersion of the ancestral knowledge of the Tsáchila nationality and, the learning teaching process that has been developed in bilingual intercultural education fails to contain the advancement of the fusion and the cultural dispersion. One consequence that follows from this fact is that the teaching-learning process is ineffective and the knowledge imparted is not consistent with the needs of tsáchilas communities.

One of the strategies that are being presented and that this research promotes for the recovery of ancestral values and knowledge is the formation and functioning of the so-called Cultural Centers. They are spaces from which the expressions of the ancestrality, territoriality, language and customs of the Tsáchila nationality are practiced. With intercultural community tourism, they need to be taken into account within the BIE's methodological strategies, so that significant results are achieved in the bilingual intercultural teaching learning process.

The need for improvements in academic training and ongoing training for teachers who perform their professional work in the bilingual intercultural education system is imperative. The academic offer of higher education institutions must be adapted to this need. Relevance, understood as the university's response to the solution of expressions of society's problem, bilingual intercultural training options should be updated and incorporated. This incorporation must not be done from an indigenous vision, but from a holistic and integral vision that takes into account vocational teacher training with the didactic recovery of the knowledge of tsáchilas ancestrality.

Ethnic-racial, class, gender, among other forms of social exclusion, make students who receive limited education face cultural ruptures and fail to express levels of academic development (domains, skills), causing school performance slows down. Consequently, the influence of mixed culture is growing, which becomes the strengthening of processes of cultural syncretism of the Tsáchilas.

Better and greater support for the research of Ppedagogical, didactic and curricular processes of the BIE, as well as the production of curricular texts, continuous training and teaching professionalization, would be the alternatives to address this problem. The first thing is to continue with the discussion and open it to all analysis edges.

7. Acknowledgment

The authors thank Central University of Ecuador, which through its various training programs has motivated our research concerns. We also thank those who have made



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Revista Cátedra, 3(1), pp. 46-58, January-April 2020. e-ISSN: 2631-2875

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.29166/10.29166/catedra.v3i1.1988>

possible the development of this research, particularly Ramiro Andino, Jackelline Aguavil and their group of education professionals with whom we identify in the experience of academic production on this edge of the educational vision, as well as Victor Hugo Torres for generously sharing his experiences and assessments around the coexistence of Tsáchila nationality and the cultural development of the inhabitants of Santo Domingo.



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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.29166/10.29166/catedra.v3i1.1988>

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Revista Cátedra, 3(1), pp. 46-58, January-April 2020. e-ISSN: 2631-2875

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.29166/10.29166/catedra.v3i1.1988>

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