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**THE TEACHING PROFESSION IN THE MULTICULTURAL EDUCATIONAL
FRAMEWORK:**

A Case Study in Native Communities of Cauca, Colombia

William García Bravo

A Thesis in the Department of Education

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements of the Degree of Master of Arts
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

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ABSTRACT

THE TEACHING PROFESSION IN THE MULTICULTURAL EDUCATIONAL FRAMEWORK:

A Case Study in Native Communities of Cauca, Colombia

WILLIAM GARCIA BRAVO

This thesis delves into geographical and historical accounts to arrive at an understanding and detailed description of the development of teacher training programs in the native regions of Cauca, Colombia. It raises some critical issues which allow us to understand the contemporary educational problems and demands that the natives make from the Colombian State. The study also documents the important role that natives have played over the long history of the evolution of the Colombian educational system.

This thesis is based on a review of the literature, government and official documents, participant observation and information gathered from 50 autobiographical self-reports of teachers in training. Its main contribution is to bring together a lot of varied and scattered information on teachers and the teaching profession in Colombia. It also proposes an initial classification and typology of native teachers. This thesis will be a useful resource for policy makers, program developers and researchers interested in better understanding educational issues that matter to native communities in Colombia as well as in the improvement of teacher training programs in multicultural settings and in developing countries.

I

Would like to express my heartfelt gratitude dedicating this work to the following people:

To all the teachers who work in native communities of Cauca, Colombia for their huge contribution to the survival of native children of this region. They are incessantly striving to maintain their cultures, to keep them alive in their hearts, and to continue to nurture and develop them as valued heritage for future generations.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis presents the main results obtained from the research project entitled, *The Teaching Profession in the Multicultural Educational Framework: A Case Study in Native Communities of Cauca, Colombia*.

Conducted in Colombia, this research took into consideration the high level of ethnic, cultural and social diversities as well as the on going educational reform movement that began in 1994. Multiculturalism is a new political agenda of humanity, which offers a wide range of possibilities in order to deal with diversity and pluralism in modern Western societies.

This study attempts to understand and to explain the teaching profession in the native regions of Colombia where such high ethnic, cultural and social diversities co-exist. Knowing this, it is possible to improve the teaching profession and the teachers' social conditions through the updating of teacher training programs.

In this study, the methodology involved some activities such as: observations of teaching practices in some classrooms, observation of daily life of teachers in their own communities, interactive conversations on the teaching profession with some teachers and administrators and some workshops on the theme with some groups of teachers. Similarly, an extensive literature review of governmental documents and academic literature was very important. The course-class notes of the Educational Studies Program were another important resource of knowledge.

In addition, in-service teachers of different backgrounds made 50 autobiographies (self-reports) about their professional practices as well as their own lives. The personal experience during 10 years working in the area and the contact with several teachers,

administrators, native organisations and so on was very important to do this research. For clarity, the text of this thesis has been organised into four chapters.

Chapter One presents the geographical context of the study area in Cauca, Colombia where natives live in very multicultural settings. In such areas, natives are living according to both their own ways of life and external influences from the society at large. School has been one of the most important external institutions adopted by natives since the turn of the century.

Chapter Two shows the different influences and roles that natives have played in the school-based educational system in Colombia during different epochs. The historical perspective raises some critical issues, which allow us to understand some of the actual educational problems and demands that natives have with the Colombian State in recent years. Chapter Two states the main roles that natives have played over the long history of the evolution of the Colombian educational system.

Using the geographical and historical backgrounds outlined in the previous two chapters, Chapter Three delves into the understanding and analysis of teachers and the teaching profession in the native regions of Cauca, Colombia. This chapter attempts to defend the idea that teachers are both professionals of teaching as well as human beings with ethnic, cultural and social backgrounds that influence their professional roles. Such roles and identities should be considered when new teacher training programs are proposed and in-service teachers are evaluated.

From the aforementioned information, Chapter Four proposes some of the main factors that determine the teachers' identity and roles in multicultural settings. There are several aspects of multiculturalism, education and the teaching profession, which are analysed within the chapter.

The research and reflection on these points are significantly useful for improving the teacher training programs. Teachers are indispensable in education. Therefore, it is very important to develop an academic understanding of their identity, their role and the challenges that they face in a multicultural educational framework. Determining the profiles of teachers who can play an important role in multicultural communities would provide an opportunity to contribute to the improvement in education for natives and all Colombians.

The main contribution of this thesis has been to bring together a lot of information on teachers and the teaching profession in Colombia and propose an initial classification and types of native teachers. Such a classification will be a useful resource for the improvement of teaching training programs and to understand educational issues that matter to native communities in Colombia.

Finally, this research has been useful because it promotes a better understanding of one of the largest and most important professions in the world, teaching. Similarly, this study provides a better understanding of some educational matters in both multicultural settings and in developing countries. In addition, we, as professors, might better understand our own roles, practices and identities. Furthermore, we hope that the readers of this report will enjoy and enrich their own reflections.

CHAPTER ONE

GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY AREA: NORTH-EAST OF CAUCA, COLOMBIA

1.1 General Geographical Information

Cauca is considered a province with a high social and natural diversity¹ (DNP, 1991; Potess, 1991; Van Velzen, 1992). It is located in the southwestern region of Colombia, and lies between 0' 57" and 3' 20" Lat. N and 75' 48" y 77' 57" Long. W occupying the 2,7% of the Colombian territory (CRC, 1984). Cauca belongs to the region where the Andean, Amazonian and Pacific systems converge. The Cauca province has 12 natural regions, 19 zones of life (based on Holdridge's classification, 1978; CRC, 1984) and eight vegetal formations (based on Cuatrecasas' classification, 1958). Its geography is made up of altitudes between 0 m and 5,750 m and several climate regions (Sanabria, 1996 p.1).

In the southwest side of the country, the Andean system, which continues from Ecuador, is divided into three mountain ranges (*cordilleras*) in the province of Cauca. This region is known as the *Macizo Colombiano*. The three Cordilleras -Occidental, Central and Oriental- diverge toward the north and are separated by deep valleys and big rivers. The northeast of the Cauca province is occupied for part of the Cordillera Central and it constitutes the area of study of this thesis (Map 1).

¹ "Colombia is called a 'megadiversity country'. With an area of 1.138,914 sq. km, or 0,77% of the emerged continental masses, Colombia has about 10% of the total flora and fauna of the planet." (Van Velzen, H. 1992 p.8). Similarly, official reports of the Colombian government state that 84 native (Indian or Aboriginal) groups live in the country. Also, Afrocolombian and Mestizo people (mixed of white and native) live in Colombia (Departamento Nacional de Planeación-DNP, 1991).

Map 1. STUDY AREA IN CAUCA, COLOMBIA



RESOURCE: Rappaport, J. 1982.

GARCIA, W., Concordia University. Montreal, 1998.

Similarly, Cauca is the province in Colombia with the highest native population (107,309 habitants), which represents 25,55% of the total native population. It is inhabited by seven native groups such as Paeces (60,116 habitants), Yanaconas (17,530 habitants), Guambianos (10,188 habitants), Coconucos (4,599 habitants) and Totorós (2,937 habitants). The Pacific zone is inhabited by the Emberas (1,434 habitants) and the southeast (the foot of the Amazonian system) is inhabited by the Ingas (500 habitants) (Departamento Nacional de Planeación-DNP, 1991). In addition, afrocolombian communities live in the Pacific region and valleys of the south (*Río Patía*) and north (*Río Cauca*) of the province. Finally, mestizos, (people of white and native parentage), make up the majority of the population who live in the capital city Popayán and in the main towns on the outskirts of the province. Some comparative data of this social and natural diversity are shown in the Table 1.

Table 1. COMPARATIVE DATA OF DIVERSITY OF COLOMBIA, CAUCA AND QUEBEC

ITEM	COLOMBIA	CAUCA	QUEBEC
Total territory	1.138,914 sq. km	30,750 sq. km	1.540,680 sq. km
Total population	33.000,000 habitants	970,000 habitants	6.925,000 habitants
Native groups	84 native groups plus 3 afrocolombians plus mestizos	7 native groups plus 2 afrocolombians plus mestizos	12 native groups plus many immigrant groups
Official Languages	Spanish and 67 native languages	Spanish and 4 native languages	French and English languages
Natural regions	5 world regions: Andes, Amazon, Pacific, Caribbean and Orinoquía	3 world regions: Andes, Amazon and Pacific	Lowlands along St. Lawrence River valley separates the Laurentian Mts. to the north and the Appalachian Mts. to the south. Canadian shield landscape dominates north
Natural zones of life	22 (Holdridge's classification)	19 (Holdridge's classification)	Varies from subarctic to continental
Population of capital city	Bogotá: 8.000,000 habitants	Popayán: 300,000 habitants	Quebec city: 645,550 habitants

1.2 Northeast of Cauca, Colombia: Study Area

The northeastern area of Cauca is the region located east of the Río Cauca. This river is born in the municipality of Puracé, flows down along eastern side of Cordillera Central, crosses the Popayán mesa and continues toward the north along the Cordillera. Cauca is one of the most important rivers in Colombia. The Cauca river and its valley separate the *Central and Occidental Cordilleras*. In this region it is possible to distinguish three zones: a) the mesa of Popayán, b) the Cauca valley and c) *Central Cordillera*. (Cortés, 1985 p. 1). Similarly, this region is divided into 12 municipalities. Native people dwell mainly in nine of these municipalities. Map 2 shows a panoramic vision of the described region and the area of study.

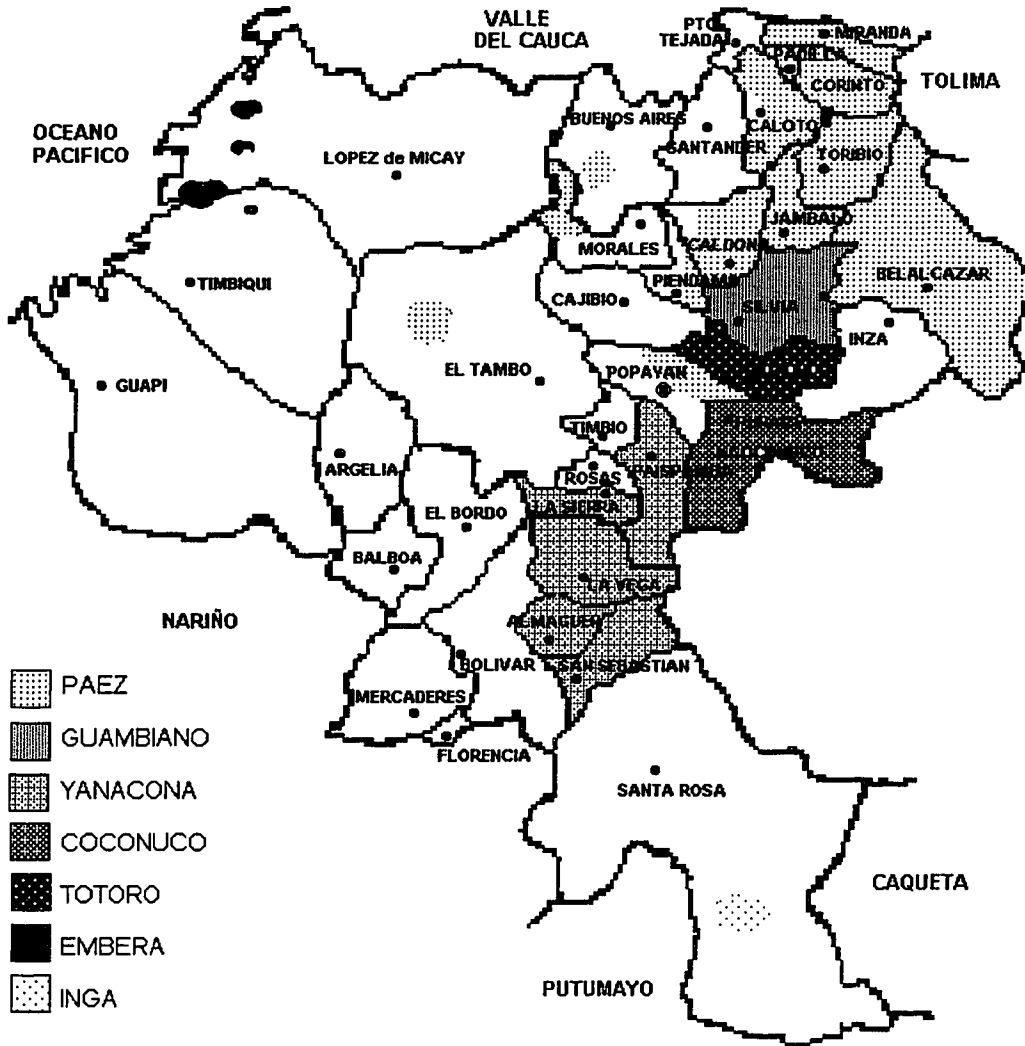
In Cauca, the Central Cordillera occupies a huge area (5,910 sq. km). The Central Cordillera is the highest cordillera in Colombia. There are mountains and volcanoes above 4,000 m in altitude: the Nevado² del Huila (5,750 m), the Volcanoes of Puracé (4,600 m) and Sotará. Also the mountains of Aguablanca, Paletará and El Canelo. All the peaks of the cordillera are above 3,000-m conforme a special fringe called páramo³ located on both sides of the cordillera. Referring to the environments in this region Van Velzen states,

In the northern Andes the following vegetation zones can be distinguished as based on the initial subdivision of Cuatrecasas (1934, 1958; Van der Hammen et al., 1983, 1984, 1989; Van der Hammen and Cleef, 1986; Rangel, 1991): lowland tropical forest (0-1000 m alt.); Subandean (lower mountain) tropical forest (1000-2300 m alt.); Andean (upper mountain) tropical forest (2300-3200/3600 m alt.); High Andean forest (3000/3500-3500/3900 m alt.); páramo (above 3200/3900 m alt.). The limit of the vegetation zones may differ considerably (as indicated), according to a difference in local conditions (temperature, humidity, wind protection) (1992, p.3).

² Nevado is an area in the Andean region consisting of high mountains which are permanently covered with ice

³ The Páramo is defined as some vast regions above 3,000 m on the Cordilleras. These regions are very cold, with high humidity, often cloudy with rainy weather. Some of these regions have snow all year long. Their soil is permanently saturated with water. The animals and the vegetation are very different from one region to another and humans cannot inhabit these regions permanently.

Map 2. NORTHEAST OF CAUCA, COLOMBIA



RESOURCE: Sanchez, E., (DNP), 1991.

GARCIA, W., HAMALIAN, A. Concordia University. Montreal, Canada, 1997.

The geographical context described is strongly related to the life of its inhabitants; their patterns of occupation, economy, social life, culture, even the biological patterns are determined by the natural environment of the Central Cordillera. The pattern of settlement of native people in this region is dispersed. Each family builds its home at relatively long distances from the others, except in the small towns where a commercial area is setup.

Thus, communications are limited and roads are scarce between towns and/or families; when these exist, conditions are very bad. This pattern of settlement is traditional among the native people of this region, especially the Paeces⁴. It also constituted an important means of resistance against Spanish conquerors who found these warrior tribes located in a vast and inaccessible territory called *Tierradentro* (Land that is in) (Findji and Rojas, 1985). Presently, people tend to live along the main road and near the rivers but they maintain their dispersed lifestyle (Cortés, 1986; Rappaport, 1982).

Given the scarce accessibility to communications, native people tend to have local and limited relationships. First, people communicate with their few neighbors, and secondly with the people of the *resguardo*⁵. Little by little, contact with other groups increases as populations live near the towns or they descend from the high places of the Cordillera. There is a predominance of native languages due to limited contact between towns, mass communications and new technologies. In addition, the relationship between nature and humans is stronger than in the towns or cities. This relationship is mainly based on their native cultural patterns through traditional agriculture. Corn is the main plant grown by native communities (Sanabria, 1996; Rappaport, 1982).

⁴ Paez people represent the biggest native communities in Cauca and the second one in Colombia. They are a strong group culturally and politically in the country.

⁵ A *resguardo* would be the equivalent of a reserve in North America. This institution was restored in the Colonial epoch (XVII Century) by Spain in order to administer the native population in South America. Actually, it is a legal institution that is recognised by the government. While the *Resguardo* is the territory, the *Cabildo* is its government. The *cabildo* is elected each year by the native population and the general chief is called *Gobernador*. Actually, the *resguardo* and the *cabildo* are required to be part of the native traditions and this idea has been useful for keeping the ownership of the land in the natives' hands

Around agricultural activities of the region, natives establish relationships with the land and nature. This constitutes an important part of the culture and gives them an identity in the face of other nations. Agriculture is mainly for their own consumption and secondarily for commercial activities. The products are relatively diversified due to the different natural environments in the Cordillera (from 1,000 m to 4,000 m of alt.). It is relatively easy to notice the environmental change when climbing or descending the cordillera. Natives tend to live in the moderate or warm ecosystem (1,000-2,000 m). Occasionally, they travel to the *páramo* for short periods. However, they cultivate and use resources from all the different environments (four main climate regions) (Sanabria, 1994).

The geography is also reflected in the cultural models of life. The majority of myths are related to the *páramo* and the water. The legendary heroes were born in the lakes and in the *páramos*. Each year, the *cabildo* must go to a special lake in order to “*refrescar*” (reinvigorate) the symbol of authority: a kind of cane (called *Chonta*). Some of the most important gods are the thunder (*Tata Wala*: the father who lives above us) and the rainbow (*K'thüs*: the owner of the bogs or marsh).

In reference to education, the present models of school-based education cause some problems for the native population. Because the families live so dispersed, some children have to walk two hours to school every day. The academic schoolwork schedule is all day in each school; therefore, some children can not go home for lunch and the schools do not have cafeterias. Thus, the children get sick easily making the teacher's work more difficult. Cortés states:

De 70 niños de la escuela El Empalizado de Paletará, 10 no alcanzan a ir a almorzar. De hambre traen una botella con agua de panela o café y papa o

arepa. Es necesario calentarles el alimento para contrarrestar el frío pero la escuela no cuenta con los implementos necesarios. (1985, p.11)⁶

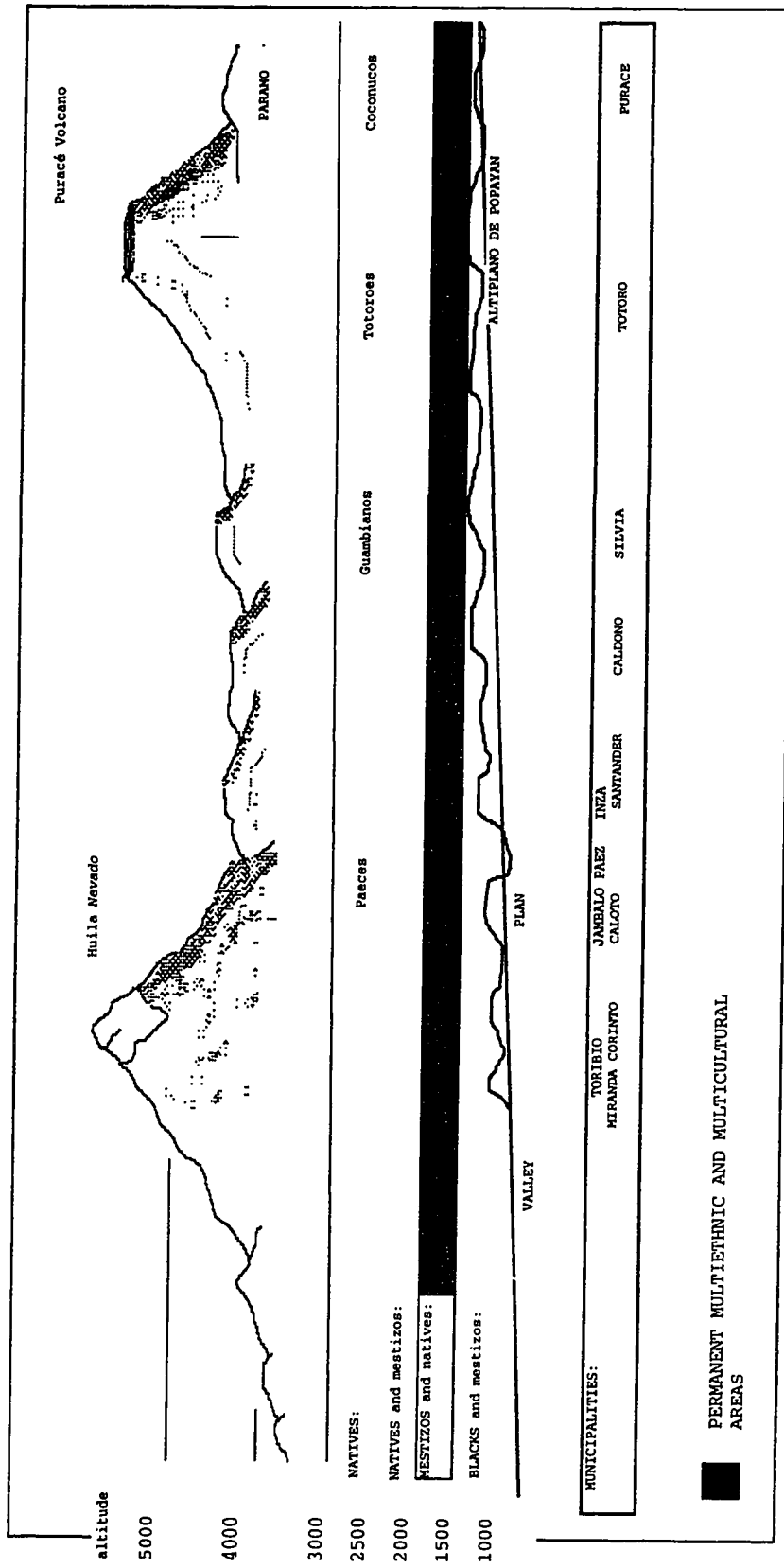
1.2.1 Population Patterns of Socio-Cultural Groups in the Study Area

Native groups such as Paeces, Guambianos, Totoroes and Coconucos (approx. 75,000 habitants) live in the region as well as Afrocolombians (approx. 25,000 habitants) and Mestizos (approx. 76,000 habitants). These groups share some patterns of settlement along the *cordillera* but also in a pattern of altitude. Thus, while native groups predominately live between 2,000 and 3,000 m of altitude (cold climate), mestizos predominantly live between 1,000 and 2,000 m (moderate climate). Both afrocolombians and mestizos also tend to live under 1,000 m (warm climate). The latter are not in our study area; they do not live in the *Central Cordillera*, rather in the valley of the Cauca River.

Afrocolombians have contact with native people in the intermediate level (between 1,000 and 2,000 m), where the mestizos also live. Thus, these areas could be actually considered as places with permanent multiethnic and multicultural relationships based on co-habitation, economy, study, communications, etc. The other native communities frequently establish contact with different groups when they go to the public markets and to the administrative and municipal offices. They tend to establish more contact with the outside world through radio, television, school and teachers. In addition, many tourists from different countries visit the area for short periods of time. The United Nations has declared this area a heritage site. Thus, these areas could also be considered places with frequently multiethnic and multicultural relationships. To explain the latter assumptions on multicultural settings in the study area, I quote Dr. Cortés' outline about the distribution of the population in this region (See representation 1).

⁶ Of 70 children of El Empalizado School in Paletará, 10 cannot go home for lunch. Thus, they bring to school a bottle of sweet water (sugar cane) or coffee and potatoes or arepa (food of corn). It is necessary to heat the food to combat the cold weather but the school does not have the necessary implements (Cortés, 1985. p. 11).

Representation 1. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN NORTHEAST OF CAUCA COLOMBIA



RESOURCE: Based on CORTES, Pedro, 1986

GARCIA, W., Concordia University, Montreal, 1998.

He states the distribution of population following a pattern of altitude in the north-east area as:

De los 2500 metros sobre el nivel del mar hacia arriba la población es homogéneamente indígena, excepto por pequeñas áreas de colonización cercanas a las pocas carreteras transversales que atraviesan el páramo. Toda esa franja es territorio de resguardo... Por encima de los 3000 metros la población es absolutamente mínima y a los 3500 metros desaparece totalmente... .

La franja de 2500 a 2000 metros sobre el nivel del mar es una zona predominantemente indígena en cuanto a población y territorios (resguardos)...Por debajo de los 2000 metros la zona es mas campesina que indígena... Entre 1500 metros y el valle predomina la población negra, le sigue la población mestiza siendo los indígenas una excepción. El gráfico 1 representa un corte longitudinal de la cordillera y esquematiza la distribución de los grupos étnicos por pisos termicos. (Cortés, 1985. pp.25-26)⁷

Similarly, Dr. Cortés (Idem pp. 26-32) states a longitudinal pattern of distribution of the population located in the north-east of the province of Cauca. Following a route from south to north along the Cordillera (See the map 2), first one can see the entire municipality of Puracé with three *resguardos*. These *resguardos* belong to the ethnicity *Coconuco*. They maintain their *cabildos* and some cultural traditions but they have lost part of their native identity; their language disappeared several generations ago with no vestiges that permit its recuperation.

Next, we find the municipality of Totoró with four *resguardos* and a native community⁸. The native population of this municipality is very heterogeneous. They maintain a part of their own language that is different from Paez and Guambiano (the two main native languages of the region). In the *resguardo* of *Polindará* the native language

⁷The population in the Central Cordillera is homogeneously native 2,500 m above sea level, except small-colonised areas near the few roads. All of this fringe territory belongs to the *resguardo*... Between 3,000 m and 3,500 m the population is minimal while no one lives above 3,500 m.

The fringe area between 2,500 m and 2,000 m above sea level is a predominantly native territory (*resguardos*)...Under 2,000 m there are more peasants than natives... Between 1,500 m and the valley, the population is predominantly Afrocolombian followed by Mestizo and Native. Representation 1 shows a longitudinal cutting of the Cordillera where the population tended to be located according to climatic areas.

⁸ Native community is differentiated from the *Resguardo* because the former is not recognised by the Colombian government as a native territory. Nevertheless, the population is native and they have *cabildo*.

disappeared totally. In the *resguardo* of *Paniquitá*, a minority speaks Paez while in Novirao and Jebalá the Paez language is heavily used. The municipality of Totoró could be considered a transitional zone. From Totoró toward the South, people do not speak native languages but toward the north people speak the Guambiano and Paez languages. Also, Totoró could be seen as a spectrum of multilingualism. People speak just Spanish, or Paez, or Guambiano or Totoró. Near the main town of Totoró, there are some zones where Afrocolombian people live with a mixture of cultural traditions. This is a very interesting phenomenon. They are Afrocolombian people but they speak the native language (Paez) and they practice the cultural traditions of the Paez on agriculture, medicine, socialisation, etc. Nevertheless, they maintain the Afrocolombian tradition of burying their dead with songs and parties (Nates, 1992).

At the Northern side of Totoró is the municipality of Silvia. It has six *resguardos*. Guambianos are the main native population of this municipality. Paez and Ambaló ethnicity also live here. The *Tierradentro* region (municipalities of Páez and Inzá) is located at the eastern side of Silvia and Totoró. In December 1995, the United Nations declared this region a heritage site. There are 19 *resguardos* and the biggest native population of the Cauca province. These people are Paeces and the majority speak Paez as their first language or L1 (*Nasa Yuwe* is the native name of the language). There are two native communities and in one of them (Guanacas) there are Mestizo, Totoro and Guambiano people living together (Cortés, 1986).

At the North of Silvia is the municipality of Jambaló. There is only one *resguardo* called Jambaló and it occupies the entire municipality. Paez people who speak the native language completely inhabit it. The native language predominates over Spanish. Bordering with Jambaló to the eastern side is the municipality of Caldono. It has four *resguardos*, all inhabited by native-speaking Paeces. There are also two native communities. To the North of Caldono is the municipality of Santander with a *resguardo*. It includes three native communities, which share the territory with Afrocolombians and Mestizos.

Toward the North, we can find the municipality of Caloto. Its territory is divided between the valley (1.000 m or less of altitude) and the cordillera. There is a *resguardo* in Caloto with the Paez-speaking native population. Natives live with Afrocolombians and Mestizos in the areas near the valley. Toribio is located in the east side of Caloto and it is inhabited by Paeces. In a sector of this municipality, there dwell mestizos who emigrated from the centre of the country during the worst period of violence (1900).

Of the aforementioned data we could draw out some important considerations for the school-based education in this area. We can stress the heterogeneity of the population: different native groups, a variety of languages, different levels of bilingualism, some *resguardos* are operating or they are recognised, etc. In some areas, the tendencies to both the expansion of the territory and the recovering of the cultures are moderate while in other areas these tendencies are very strong. In addition, the natives are cohabitant with afrocolombians and mestizos in intermediate area. Therefore, multicultural approaches of education gain relevance in order to improve in quality and quantity the educational system of this region.

Several contradictions and conflicts exist in the northeast region of Cauca. The North zone has a very developed agri-industry on the Cauca valley. This zone borders with pre-capitalist ways of production in the *resguardos*. Almost all the guerrilla groups have made their political campaigns here. Native groups have had to focus their future using at least two perspectives: one toward the government and the other toward the rest of the population. Toward the government, native groups show themselves as people with historic and cultural differences. To the blacks and mestizos neighbours, natives show themselves as peasants with similar social conditions as non-native groups.

Native people are at the bottom of the social ladder after the whites, mestizos and afrocolombians. As part of the colonialist agenda of Spain, the project was to civilise, evangelise and teach Spanish to the native people: to lose the native cultural identity and

to obtain national cohesion. Historically, the church and school have been the most critical institutions involved in developing this agenda.

Afrocolombian people were brought to the continent as slaves. Therefore, they share with the natives the mark of segregation (involuntary minorities). Nevertheless, there are important factors in history, race, culture and language that differentiate these ethnicities. The *zambos* (of native and afrocolombian parentage) are few. Occupying an intermediate social position, *Mestizos* (of white and native parentage) and *Mulatos* (of white and afrocolombian parentage) are more populous than *Zambos*. They are beneath the whites but above natives and blacks. The mixed-parentage and crossing of groups is constantly increasing in the region and therefore, so are the multiethnic and multicultural environments. Especially, the cultural contact and exchange among groups happen in the region where the *Cordillera* and the valley touch each other (1,000-1,500 m). It is easy to find schools where the proportion of afrocolombian children is similar to the proportion of native and mestizo children. The school of *Vilachí* in Santander has three teachers: an afrocolombian, a native and the administrator who is white. (Cortés, 1985. p. 45).

I have tried to describe the natural and social generalities of the north east region of the Cauca province. Actually, regions like this are abundant in Colombia due to our social and natural diversity countrywide. Because two of the most complex and important influences in this kind of region have been the school and the teacher, the next chapter will discuss the historical process that education and the school has had in these regions. Thus, I hope to give the necessary elements (geographical and historic) in order to view the teacher as an individual with a cultural, social, natural and historical background instead of just a professional of pedagogy.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES IN NATIVE COMMUNITIES IN CAUCA, COLOMBIA

2.1 General Historical Background

The Schools in Colombian native communities are relatively recent phenomena as are teachers. From the conquest era to the present, it is possible to identify four main historical periods of the development of education in Colombia and in the native communities. The first period dates back to the epoch of the conquest through the second half of the XVIIIth century (1492-1750: Conquest and Education/Indoctrination). The second period commences with the second half of the XVIIIth century until the independence of the country (1750-1819: Colony and Education). The third period dates from the independence until the 1970s decade of this century (Republic and Education). Finally, the fourth period continues from the 1970s until the present (Reformation and Education). Each period is characterised by specific ideological and academic commitments to education through the social institution called school. Therefore, each aspect of the school-based educational system (teachers, curricula, administrators, class instructions, media, etc.) can be described and analysed from these different ideological perspectives.

Table 2 synthesises these periods and the main roles that native people played during each era. Native people have been considered as enemies (Conquest), slaves and servants (Colony) and peasants and workers (Republican) in our country as well as throughout the continent. Finally, they have reached some levels of autonomy over their lands, their cultures and their own ways in the last decades (Reformation and new constitution). In the new constitution (1991), natives are considered completely as Colombian citizens.

Table 2. MAIN HISTORICAL PERIODS OF NATIVE EDUCATION IN COLOMBIA (Part I)

ITEMS/PERIODS	CONQUEST: 1492-1750	COLONY: 1750-1819	REPUBLIC: 1819-1970	REFORMATION: 1970-
<p>1. NATIVE POPULATION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Ideology:</i> - <i>Population:</i> - <i>Policy:</i> - <i>Social status:</i> - <i>Ownership of the land:</i> 	<p>Enemies 17.000.000 Termination (warriors and fighters) Subjugated Total loss (conquered)</p>	<p>Slaves and servants Civilisation (teaching of Catholic religion and Spanish language) Handicap Partial recuperation: establishment of <i>resguardo</i> (community native property)</p>	<p>Soldiers and peasants 600.000 Acculturation (becoming to literate people in hegemony values) Minority New loss: establishment of farms (private property)</p>	<p>Workers and citizens 600.000 Democratisation (acknowledgement of social and cultural diversity and relativization of native and great values and cannons) Nations and peoplehood Processes of Partial recuperation: legal and violent for the re-establishment of old and new <i>resguardos</i></p>
<p>2. NATIVE EDUCATION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Ideology:</i> 	<p>Indoctrination</p>	<p>Evangelization, teaching of Spanish and communicational abilities</p>	<p>Cultural assimilation through schools, teachers and mass communications media</p>	<p>Development of cultural diversity (intercultural framework)</p>

Continue, please.

Table 2. MAIN HISTORICAL PERIODS OF NATIVE EDUCATION IN COLOMBIA (Part II)

ITEMS/PERIODS	CONQUEST: 1492-1750	COLONY: 1750-1819	REPUBLIC: 1819-1970	REFORMATION: 1970
- <i>Establishment of schools:</i>	Non schools. Education as socialisation or family processes	First schools in Colombia for Spaniards exclusively	Few native children were brought to schools in the main towns (boarding schools)	Establishment of schools in native territories, changes in the school parameters
- <i>Administration:</i>	Each family	Spanish King throughout nuns, priests and missionaries	Patriots and Colombian state	Native organisations and state
- <i>Curriculum:</i>	Non formal, non standard	Gospel and Spanish Language	Hegemony Western curriculum (foreign academic missions)	Native and Western values and languages (through researching processes)
- <i>Media:</i>	Non media	Bible	Imported media from Spain, France and German	Production and elaboration of specific media
- <i>Students:</i>	Each pupil as Spaniards' sons	Only Spaniards	Mestizos and few natives and blacks	More equity in the participation of students in schools.
- <i>Teachers</i>	Each father or tutor	Missionaries trained in Europe; especially, priests and nuns for teach Spaniards in America	Mestizos and non native teachers trained in hegemony institutions with a very ideological state role	Teachers trained in different frameworks: natives and non natives with an ideological native role

Native people were minority students during the Republican era as some began attending public schools. Since they have become the majority of students and teachers in their own public schools (Reformation era), they have come from being students to teachers today. The latter role and identity (of being a native teacher) is one of the most recent achievements of the native population within the last decade in Colombia. Currently, non-native teachers, working in native communities in Cauca, Colombia are sharing their professional responsibilities with the “new teacher” who is native.

All this is causing a very interesting phenomenon in all of Colombian society. Hegemonic groups in the country never considered native people teachers. Supposedly, they were not able to teach. They had to learn. Thus, they were always students and not teachers. That new role in the native communities and within Colombian society defined a new identity, function, challenge and also some problems in the contemporary society, which is not completely ready for these changes.

2.2 Conquest and Education: 1492-1750

School, in native regions, was not a defined institution during the period of the Conquest. Nevertheless, it is possible to talk about some of the practices of indoctrination during this period. The school spread out in America and Europe in the XVIIIth century as an ideological project of the State in order to maintain the unity of the nations and republics. Therefore, institutional instruction in America was a subsequent phenomenon in the Spanish colonial projects of South America. The first years of the conquest and colonisation (1492-1750) were dedicated to the dominance, subjugation, robbery, pillage and destruction of native groups who resisted the Spanish conquerors (Findji and Rojas, 1985; Cortés, 1985;). Thus, several mechanisms were employed in order to gain total control of the new territories in America. With such a goal in mind, wars, religion, the Spanish language and indoctrination were the most effective instruments. In later years, school-based education was utilised bearing the same objective as Martínez states:

Lo que podemos llamar educación, hasta la primera mitad del siglo XVIII, se restringía a la existencia de ciertas “Corporaciones Religiosas” denominadas Colegios Mayores y Seminarios que funcionaban solo en ciudades habitadas en su totalidad por españoles beneméritos. Era el caso de Santa Fé o Popayán y en menor medida Tunja y Cartagena. En la capital del Virreynato funcionaba además la Universidad Tomística. A esto se limitaban los estudios generales que en lo fundamental estaban controlados por la Compañía de Jesús, y a los que sólo podían ingresar aquellas capas sociales denominadas “gentes principales y beneméritas” que tenían aspiraciones muy particulares como el sacerdocio y la jurisprudencia. (Martínez, 1986. p. 28)⁹

Since the arrival of the Spanish conquerors to America, the indoctrination of native communities has always had extreme ideological intentions of adapting and assimilating or integrating¹⁰ the communities to the subjugation, obedience and destruction of their cultures, natural resources and sometimes, their lives. The mission of all educational practices was to “civilise” throughout the Christian religion and Spanish language. In this way, the native communities would lose their identities, languages, cultures, territories, natural resources and their own development, as specific groups, would be stunted. Cortés clearly states such an ideology:

En la época colonial se expande el pensamiento de Ginés de Sepúlveda (siglo XVI) quien sostiene una filosofía racista y despreciativa del indígena, planteando la necesidad de someterlo a la servidumbre pues considera al indígena, desde todo punto de vista, como un ser inferior.

Según Sepúlveda, existían cuatro razones para reducir a los indígenas a la servidumbre: 1) los indígenas eran idólatras y cometían pecados contra natura por lo cual el sufrimiento infligido por la conquista debía interpretarse como el justo castigo de Dios sobre ellos; 2) Su rudeza natural los obligaba a servir a personas de naturaleza más refinada como los españoles; 3) la divulgación de la fé, que se lograría con más facilidad mediante el previo sometimiento de los indios y 4). Para proteger a los débiles entre los mismos nativos.

⁹ Education until the first half of the XVIIIth Century was restricted to some “Religious Corporations” called *Colegios Mayores* or *Seminarios* which functioned in cities totally inhabited by worthy Spanish people. This was the case of Santa Fé and Popayán and secondarily, Tunja and Cartagena. In the capital city of the *Virreinato* (subkingdom) *Universidad Tomística* functioned. Religious studies were controlled by the Jesuits. Those who could register as students were only the worthy and important people who wanted become priests or lawyers.

¹⁰ In South America, integration, as social and political practice, has an antidemocratic connotation similar to assimilation. The ethnic groups prefer to use the term articulation to refer to the participation in the whole society.

... Para justificar la represión a las luchas de resistencia del indígena en diferentes partes de América Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda en 1547 prepara un tratado en donde sostiene que las guerras de sometimiento eran justas y significaban una medida segura para la cristianización y... "Si los seres inferiores rehusan tal señorío, puede obligarseles a obedecer y hacerse la guerra contra ellos con tanta justicia como si uno cazara animales salvajes... Cómo hemos de dudar que estas gentes tan incultas, tan bárbaras, contaminadas con tantas impiedades y tropiezos han sido injustamente conquistadas por tan excelente, piadoso y justísimo rey como lo fué Fernando el Católico y lo es ahora el César Carlos..." (Hanke, L. p. 83). (1979, pp.8-9)¹¹

Considering such feelings and thoughts, the Spaniards believed the natives lack cultural values and human nature. This justified the imposition of new Spanish (hegemony) values and total termination of some rebellious groups. In the study of the much-quoted writer Cortés, Ginés de Sepúlveda notes:

Los indios son tan inferiores como los niños a los adultos, las mujeres a los varones, los crueles e inhumanos a los extremadamente mansos. Compara ahora estas dotes de prudencia, ingenio, magnanimidad, templanza, humanidad y religión con lo que tienen esos hombrecillos en los cuales apenas encontrarás vestigios de humanidad, que no sólo no poseen ciencia alguna, sino que ni siquiera conocen las letras ni conservan ningún momento de su historia, sino cierta oscura y vaga reminiscencia de algunas cosas consignadas en ciertas pinturas y tampoco tienen leyes escritas sino instituciones y costumbres bárbaras... (Cortés, 1979. p. 9)¹²

¹¹In the colonial epoch, Ginés de Sepúlveda's thought (XVIIIth century) was spread. He states a racist and contemptuous philosophy of the native, arguing the necessity of surrendering to the servitude as inferior people.

According to Sepúlveda, there were four reasons for reducing the native people to servitude: 1) native people are idolaters and they sin against nature. Therefore, the suffering by the conquest should be interpreted as fair punishment from God. 2) By their natural crudeness, it was compulsory for them to serve the refined Spanish people. 3) To divulge the faith would be easier surrounding the native people. 4) For protecting the weak native people among them. To justify the repression by the Spaniards during the resistance of native people in different parts of America, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in 1547 proposed an agreement stating that the surrendering wars were fair suggesting the spread of Christianity... "If the inferior beings reject the authority, they should be obligated to remain obedient. Conquerors should go to war against natives with as much justification as someone who hunts wild animals"... Why do we doubt that such illiterate, barbaric and contaminated people were treated unfairly by the excellent, fair and merciful King Fernando the Catholic who is now succeeded by César Carlos...

¹² The native people are as inferior as children are to adults, as women are to men, as a cruel person is to a gentleman. Compare these attributes of prudence, talent, temperance, humanity and religious character with the attributes of those "small-men" wheres someone would not find vestiges of humanity. Also, they do not possess any science, nor are they literate nor do they document history. They have obscure and diffuse

Education, during the first decades of the Conquest era was characterised by religious practices, ideological commitments and exclusive topics. Thus, education during these decades was more a family or a clerical matter than a social institution. It was more a private responsibility than a public state obligation. Of course, the ideological nature of this kind of education was founded on the teaching of the Gospel more than in academic instruction, on loyalty to God and the King more than on the policies of citizenship of later eras.

The practices of the church and the teaching of the gospel were more important than the presence of the State in the instruction of the masses. Centres of education were the homes of prominent Spaniards, convents or monasteries, etc. The teachers were the priests, vicars, nuns and tutors. These individuals instructed in the worship of God and loyalty to the King in the *Nueva Granada*. The statutes for education were elaborated predominantly by the church rather than by the King. Therefore, the Church became as powerful as the monarch. This situation caused instability within the kingdom, leading it to regain control of the Church. The Jesuits became the biggest threat for the king and were expelled from America in 1772.

Education within the religious corporations was offered exclusively to the powerful social classes. Landholders, miners, merchants and bureaucrats of the kingdom supported preceptors/servants who taught their sons. In other places, the priests welcomed youngsters with high capacities and virtues who could aspire to become servants of the Church. Traditionally, those who learned to read and write in Latin and had some knowledge about the Church continued their studies in Spain in Theology, Philosophy and Jurisprudence (laws). At the end of XVIIth century until the first decades of the XVIIIth Century, a new kind of instruction appeared. *Escuela Pias* were funded through endowments offered by powerful men in Santafé de Bogota, Popayán, Pamplona and Cartagena. *Escuelas Pias* were administrated by clerics who were the preceptors.

memories for something painted in some sketches. Neither, do they have written laws. They have barbaric

Escuelas Pias were closed to natives, blacks and any other minority group (Martínez, 1986).

Nevertheless, it is important to differentiate the educational practices of this period and the pedagogical practices developed in the institutional environments called schools. This latter form of school-based education incorporates a public subject called the teacher with a particular discourse, public responsibilities and instructional commitments. Martínez shows a part of the foundation script of such a school in Tunja in 1690:

He hallado será muy del agrado de Dios nuestro Señor el fundar una escuela, en la cual se haya de enseñar y enseñe a leer, escribir y contar, por un religioso de la Compañía de Jesús... que esté dicha escuela en el Colegio y casa de dicha religión, en la cual se ha de enseñar y recibir hasta en número, doscientos pobres si los hubiera... y con condición de que en la dicha escuela no se puedan recibir indios, negros, mulatos ni zambos, porque mi ánimo deliberado y voluntad expresa es excluirlos y que solo reciban pobres españoles y los demás que no sean de los prohibidos. (1986 p.31)¹³

Besides that, native groups in Colombia and especially in Cauca, resisted the conquerors and the Spaniards on the battle fields as well as in their social practices (education, religion, medicine, business, etc.). Native people were very rebellious. Historians recount several of these episodes of resistance showing how, in successive battles, the Paez people surrounded the Spanish conquerors, keeping their territories and goods. “Quedaron los paeces con su honra, libre de vasallaje y servidumbre y en plena libertad sin que consientan extraño morador en sus provincias” (Chronologist Juan de Castellanos quoted by Findji and Rojas, 1986 p. 19)¹⁴

customs and institutions.

¹³ I have found that it will be very pleasant for God our Lord to establish a school. It is possible to teach reading, the Jesuits must control writing and counting by a religious man of the Jesuit Order ... Such a school. Thus, it is possible to assist a maximum of two hundred poor people if there are... But also, there is the condition that this school will not accept natives, blacks, mulattos neither zambos because it is my will to exclude them, and to only permit Spanish people and eligible people to attend this school.

¹⁴ Paez people leave with their honour, freedom from servitude, and full liberty. No stranger was allowed in their provinces.

Losing three main wars against the Paez people, the Spaniards decided to continue the Conquest using missionaries in 1612. Thus, in 1613, the Jesuits began their missionary work of colonisation in Guanacas (a Cauca province). Some historians claim this fact as the change from the Conquest to the Colonial Epoch (Findji and Rojas, 1986 p. 25). Little by little, some natives became slaves and workers in the gold mines and on the properties of the Spanish conquerors (*encomenderos*).

At the beginning of the XVIIIth century, the Paez people gave up their fight to recover their territories and power. From the King of Spain the native people demanded the designation of vast territories for native administration. This was obtained during the first years of the XVIIIth century at which time the King allocated the *Resguardos* to the native people under the King's direct rule. This colonial institution became very important for the survival of the native communities. Whence, Juan Tama and Calambás became the most important native chiefs of these regions by empowering the native people to fight against *encomenderos*¹⁵. Some of the deeds of these *Resguardos*, obtained directly from the King in Spain, are in the Colonial archives of Quito and Popayán.

The information presented above allow us to conclude that the school-based education, teaching as a defined profession, and school subjects were not social realities in Colombia during the first period of the Conquest. Therefore, the more specific backgrounds and origins of these particular professionals and institutions in Colombia belong in the next historical period.

2.3 Colony and Evangelisation: 1750-1819

Some well-known writers, such as Martínez Boon, define this period as the real beginning of the school in *Nueva Granada*. Education became an important concern of the State in America. There were several changes in the educational perceptions in this period: state financing, new pedagogical influences, new institutional individuals called teachers, etc. Thus, little by little, education was taken out of the Church's hands and

placed into the monarch's hands during this period. The State restrained the power that the church had obtained to date, threatening the monarch and the kingdom. Also, at this time, several demands were made of Spain to replace the teaching centres that the Jesuits had closed. Of course, the Spanish people who did not want to lose any of their privileges in America made these demands.

Thus, the social and historical conditions were laid down for the birth of institutional education in the urban centres of *Nueva Granada*. This institutional education was established through Schools of *Lengua Castellana* (referring to the language of the Spaniards from the province of Castilla in Spain). Martínez summarises some the main expressions of the institutionalised education in this period.

1. La creación de la Junta de Temporalidades que empiezan a asumir la dirección de las cinco escuelas producto de donaciones que estuvieron en manos de los jesuitas

2. El control por parte de la institución estatal de la escogencia de los sujetos que irían a desempeñarse como enseñantes ya como como catedráticos o maestros de niños, a través de un concurso público u oposición a la que podrían concurrir todos los sujetos seculares de toda autoridad eclesiástica en la designación de funcionarios de la práctica pedagógica

3. Declaratoria formal de puertas abiertas para que los que tuvieran disposición de hacerlo y "habilidades" pudieran ingresar a la escuela de primeras letras

4. La emergencia del discurso que vinculaba la utilidad social con la utilidad material de la instrucción. Ciertamente se le otorgaba a la educación un gran papel y una gran importancia no solo para desempeñar los "oficios de la república" y los "negocios particulares", sino también y principalmente, el medio más propicio para formar hombres y ciudadanos útiles al Rey y a Dios. (Martínez, 1986 p. 32-33)¹⁶

¹⁵ Spanish conquerors who received a territory, authority and native people from the King in order to work and produce food.

¹⁶ 1- Creation of the "*Junta de Temporalidades*" (administrative group) which started to assume the direction of the five schools left by the Jesuits 2- State institutions control the selection of people who would work as teachers. This was a public contest by opposition, which allowed the participation of individuals of all ecclesiastic authorities. 3- Formal declaration of free education, given to everybody, with "abilities", possibilities of going to school. 4- The fashion that linked the social with the material utilities for instruction. Certainly, school gained a core role for educating individuals for the republic and for the particular business. Also, it formed the men and the citizens useful for the king and God.

In this project, natives and blacks were not taken into account. Therefore, the main objective of institutional education for these popular groups was strictly to teach the Spanish language. The educational goals of schools for native people were to eclipse native languages and homogenise the population into the Spanish mainstream. On this point, there were no differences between teachers and priests working in the native communities. The few public teachers, who pledged for native communities, were required to teach the Spanish language and the Catholic religion. Therefore, the educational conception of the last period (Conquest) did not really change for the native people during the Colony. Naturally, it was an anachronism to consider the inclusion of native languages and cultures in the educational practices during this period.

Based on the aforementioned facts, we could assume that public education was introduced since 1767 in *Nueva Granada* (Martínez, 1986). Since this time, the state exercised more control and vigilance on education and sometimes, supported it economically. It is very important to note how some private initiatives developed some educational practices during this period. Individuals who were self-appointed as teachers opened schools in their own homes and began to collect money for their instruction. This event has had several interpretations but it constitutes an important background of education and the teaching profession in Colombia (Martinez, 1986. P.36)

After 1774, several events began to define the teaching methodology and educational legislation. First, *Planes de Application* (plans of application) organised general studies such as the components of the school, instruction and objectives. *Planes de Escuela* (plans of school) were the first regulations required in order to establish a new school. These schemes defined the identity and unity of the school in Colombia. Other plans advanced toward formulating pedagogical recommendations as requirements. Other school-based educational plans formulated the detailed procedures for teaching reading, writing and religion. Then, at the beginning of the XIXth Century, some plans included discourses, techniques and procedures of teaching based in philosophical and pedagogical

theories. Some school-based educational plans are shown in the Table 3 and these constitute an argument of the above-mentioned declaration.

Table 3. SOME PLANS OF EDUCATION BETWEEN 1774 AND 1818 IN NUEVA GRANADA

YEAR	NAME	PLACE	AUTHORS
1774	"Método provisional e interino de los estudios que han de observar los colegios de Santafé"	Santafé	Moreno y Escandon
1781	Distribución que se ha de observar en esta escuela de primeras letras	Popayán	Junta Subalterna de Temporalidades de Popayán
1785	Método que deben seguir los maestros de escuela del pueblo de Lenguazaque	Lenguaza-que	Priest Domingo Duquesne de la Madrid
1787	Plan del Arzobispo Virrey	Santafé	Arzobispo Virrey en 1787
1789	N.I.	N.I.	Priest Felipe de Salgar
1792	Metodo que deben seguir los maestrso de la escuela de Ubaté	Ubaté	Priest Miranda
1805	Propuesta sobre creación de escuelas en los barrios de la capital	Santafé	Priest Nicolas Cuervo
1806	Creación de Facultdes Mayores y Menores del Colegio de la Nueva Fundación de San Franciso en la Villa de Medellín	Medellín	Priest Sema
1809	Ordenanzas que han de regir la Escuela	Santafé	Priest of the Church of the Nieves
1818	Plan de la Escuela de Primeras letras anexa al Colegio Seminario de San Francisco de Asis.	Popayán	Bishop Salvador Jiménez

RESOURCE: Martínez B., A. Escuela Maestro y Método en Colombia. 1986. Pp. 36-58

GARCIA, W. Concordia University. Montreal, 1998.

All these plans of school made up this historical period (1750-1819) in the main period for the institutionalisation of education in *Nueva Granada*. It is during this period that the first pedagogical discourse was coined referring to the teacher's role, school regulations, school authorities, school materials, etc. In addition, several components of education began to emerge during this period. Pedagogical manuals, training of the student's memory, teaching responsibilities, distribution of the school, discipline and the academic schedule, etc. began to take shape at this time. The origin of schools and public teachers in Colombia could be pinpointed during this period.

The historic and social conditions facilitated the implementation of the above mentioned school guidelines. Spain was in conflict with France at this time; therefore, school-based education was used as a political resource to maintain the unity of the

kingdom and the loyalty of Vassals to the King in America (Carlos III). Thus, from the very beginning, the school acquired a very political and ideological nature. Schools had to maintain the order, the production and the loyalty to Spain in America. The criterion of maintaining uniformity was defended as one of the principle reasons for creating and supporting schools. All schools had to adopt the same scheme. Public education was controlled by the State and was used as a strategy of control. The monarch exercised power on the political and pedagogical commitments of the school.

Two events of this period are important to mention: schools for girls and schools for native people. The same writer clearly states that the school for females was a subsequent phenomenon of the school of First Letters (Martínez, 1986). The Spanish female population studied in monasteries. They received instruction in virtues, piety, domestic responsibilities and caring for children but never in letters. In 1766, Ms. María Clemencia Caicedo asked the monarch to found a college for young women (collegians) to receive a Christian education in *Nuevo Reino de Granada*. Young women studied at these monasteries until they married; if not, they became nuns.

Similarly, in 1807, two plans were shown for native education. The authorities of Quibdo and Lloró considered in Santafé two organisational models that contained the protocol for teaching the Spanish language and the Christian religion. These plans were oriented toward native people in order to consolidate the religious instruction and the uniformity of the language. All the schooling time in these schools was dedicated to the knowledge and practice of the religion.

Como el principal objeto de esta escuela sea la instrucción de indios, y la ignorancia de estos es general, se ha procurado invertir el mayor tiempo de su instrucción en los rudimentos de nuestra santa fé...Y que sirva la escuela como lugar donde se hable solo el castellano para lo cual el maestro velará para que unos con otros, no se traten en su idioma, sino en nuestro castellano, para que de algún modo pierdan su language. (Martínez, 1986. P. 46)¹⁷

¹⁷ Because the main objective of this school is the instruction of native people, and their ignorance is widespread, much time has been invested in teaching the rudiments of the santafé. ...Also, school should be useful as a place for speaking only Spanish. Therefore, the teacher prohibited the use of any other language. They should speak Spanish in order to lose their natives languages.

For natives, the following quotation recalls a typical academic schedule during the Colonial period.

A las seis de la mañia irán todos a la escuela,... y comenzarán a rezar la doctrina cristiana en voz alta y despacio para que todos vayan repitiendo lo mismo que les dice: concluida la doctrina iran a misa, que será a las 8. Luego que se toque, uno de ellos tomará la cruz (que debe estar siempre en la escuela) y poniéndose en la puerta irán todos los demás ordenándose en dos filas... y el maestro que los presidirá entonará o hará que se entone una parte de la doctrina cristiana alternando los coros con preguntas y respuestas, de esta suerte irán por la calle hasta entrar en la iglesia, en cuya puerta dejarán de cantar y entrarán con el mismo orden hasta la nave principal, donde se arrodillarán cuidando el maestro del respeto y compostura con que deben estar en la casa de Señor. (Martinez, 1986, p. 65)¹⁸

During the Colonial Epoch, native people lived in subjugation. They were servants, carriers or simply, slaves. The educational policies and institutions were not established for native people. Thus, the education that natives received was substandard to the institutional and public practice. Education for native people continued as an acculturation process for the homogenising of the Spanish language and culture. Native people were not regular students in these schools. Although schools and teachers were a new reality in the *Nueva Granada*, there were none for native communities.

Finally, it is important to emphasise how several native communities upheld their resistance during the Colonial Period. There is historic evidence that some native groups continued fighting against the Spaniards to maintain their territories and rights. In Cauca, the history of resistance is very important. Paez people organised the native communities in recovering their territories and expelling the Spaniards from their land. Several battles and native social movements continued during the Colonial Period allowing the natives to

¹⁸ At 6 am, everybody goes to the school, ... and they start by praying the Christian doctrine out loud and slowly. Everybody repeats what is said. Then, they go to the service at 8 am. After the toll or the bell, someone takes the cross (which must be always at school) and they walk in two rows...the teacher goes ahead and sings a part of the Christian doctrine, alternating with questions and answers from the choir. They continue walking towards the entrance of the church. Thus, when they reach the main door they stop singing and they walk in order until they reach the main nave. There, they kneel and are respectful in the way that God's temple deserves.

maintain part of their cultures, languages and territories. They participated in the independence battles (1810-1819) and moved into Republican Period with some hopes of change.

2.4 Republic and Civilisation: 1819-1970

Education in the Republican Era in Colombia is characterised by many different events. Each one had a crucial influence on our current educational system. In order to understand these events, it is necessary to subcategorise them into two periods of time. Thus, it is possible to identify and to analyse the events that determined the development of education in Colombia between 1819 and 1900. After this, it is relevant to analyse the Colombian educational tendencies in the XXth Century, beginning with the first decade of this Century until the 1970s (the beginning of the Period of Reformation).

2.4.1 The First Period of Republican Educational Epoch: 1819-1900

After Independence, Colombia and other South American countries began the slow process of consolidation as states and republics. Several quick changes were promoted for the new governments. These changes affected all the social and cultural dimensions in the country; therefore, the economy, social relationships, education, religion and territory, etc. were based on the different conceptions of the first patriots. Nevertheless, these changes were influenced by the past traditions of the Colonial Period.

The Republican Era brought new foreign influences mainly, the English and French who ended the hegemony of Spain and the Catholic Church in America. Nevertheless, after independence, the Catholic Church maintained its social power obtained during the Colonial Era. In this way, the Church continued dominating society and influencing the state by promoting Catholicism as the official religion in the state and in the educational system. At this time, the Colombian government vacillated between liberal/modern tendencies and conservative/colonial tendencies (Quiceno, 1987).

Since 1821, General Francisco de Paula Santander (liberal) decreed the establishment of elementary schools for men in towns where the population exceeded 100 families. Santander also decreed the establishment of schools for women and men in each religious convent (Barco, 1990; Helg, 1987 p. 20). The curriculum included reading, writing, mathematics, and grammar as well as religious, moral and civil instruction. This official instruction was not financed by the State.

Regarding this period, Frank Safford (1965) stated that 8,7% of the school-aged population attended schools (quoted by Helg, 1987 p.20). Santander's government focused more on secondary education due to the need to replace the Spanish elite. Therefore, some religious colleges were taken over by the government, making important changes in the curriculum. The English replaced Latin and French languages and a scientific perspective began to overshadow a humanistic one. In 1840, the Catholic Church recovered its power over Colombian education. In this year, the Jesuits returned to Colombia in order to open schools and colleges to prepare the professionals that the country needed (Helg, 1987 p 21). This historical period is important in our country in the establishment of the two hegemonic political parties: Conservative and Liberal. While the Catholic Church supported the first one, the second had to confront the hegemony of the church. Naturally, the educational decisions and changes made at this time depended on what party was in control of the state.

The Liberal party remained in power during 1849-1852 and 1861-1880 (Helg, 1987 p. 22). In this way, the liberal society was gradually established in Colombia. There were several economic, political and social changes that opened the economy to other countries, religion to other tendencies, and the educational system to other international influences (mainly Pestalozzy and Froebel). Slavery was abolished (1860). Freedom of communication and religious doctrine was advocated. Once again, the Jesuits were banished from the country. The liberals considered education and schools as proper channels for reproducing their political ideas; therefore, the educational system acquired a liberal orientation during this period. This new education was mainly oriented towards the

new elite in Colombia. Nevertheless, some liberal reforms admitted a small number of students of popular and native backgrounds. Few native children began to play a role as minority students in some missionary and/or public schools. In 1868, the nation allocated 4% of the national budget to education and the National University was created. Subsequently, education became a very centralised state function (1870) with moderate participation of the Church. In 1875, 18% of school-aged children attended school (Helg, 1987 p. 24).

Changes in the Colombian educational system continued with the engaging of German missionaries by the Colombian government to train and form teachers in a special kind of colleges called "Normal". In 1872, nine German professors arrived in different regions of Colombia where 20 normales were established for men and women. Between 1876 and 1886, the educational system began to have problems due to the Civil War (1876-1878) which left the state impoverished and unable to continue financing education. Thus, the reform process continued slowly until the Constitution of 1886 was formulated. (Helg, 1987; Quiceno, 1987).

In 1886 Colombia promulgated a constitution that instituted political centralism and acknowledged the role of the Church in the State and in education. The constitution consecrated the right of the Church to control private education. The State directed its function in filling in the gaps left by the church. The Vatican promoted the Concordat in Europe and America. With this instrument, the Catholic Church pretended to recover its authority and lost power from the Liberals. In 1886, Colombia signed the Concordat with the Vatican and gave it the authority to work freely in Colombia under the protection of the State. The Colombian State also authorised the Catholic Church to assume several civil rights and practices such as: baptisms, marriages, funerals and the moral instruction in the schools. This permitted the clergy to control, accuse and expel teachers whose lessons violated the Catholic dogma.

Nonetheless, all the reforms did not bring about the social conditions needed for the development of the country. The distribution of power between Liberals and Conservatives awakened the country. In 1899, a faction of radical Liberals fought against the Conservatives. This war is known as “*La guerra de los mil días*” (The war of a thousand days) and it constituted one of the most violent episodes in the country between 1899-1903. This situation destroyed the schooling system and the economy of the country established up to that time. In 1903, due to US influence, Colombia conceded the territory today called Panama.

In 1904, Rafael Reyes (a Colombian Dictator between 1904-1909) organised the state under structured centralisation and modernisation policies. The instruction from the Centre turned the financial responsibilities over to the regions. Also, some French and German missionaries were invited to Colombia as consultants for the educational institutions.

2.4.2 The Second Part of Republican Educational Epoch: 1900-1970

The first seventy years of the XXth Century brought about many very important changes in the Colombian educational system. In 1912, the rate of literacy in Colombia was 17%; by the end of the 1970s, the literacy rate had risen to 73% (Helg, 1987 p. 35). The native population constituted 2% of the total population. This figure remained the same until the 1970s. The principle ethnic group in the country became the Mestizos followed by the Afrocolombians. Therefore, cultural diversity was not taken into consideration in the elaboration of the educational curriculum of the country.

The population settled mainly in the Andean region (the western side of the country) but each *departamento* (province) had a different level of development. Part of the population increased its literacy rate quickly, while others took more time. Foreign missionaries and international experts brought scientific and modern cannons of pedagogy to Colombia. Naturally, the cultural and language differences of native people were not taken into account in the educational system because they were considered as

dysfunctional ethnic groups. Native policy advocated during this period was of assimilation and hegemony.

During this period, elementary rural schools were the sole institutions present in native territories. This was charged to the Catholic Church through the missions in the Concordat framework signed by the Colombian State and the Vatican in 1887. Thus, in 1887, for the first time, native populations were considered regular students of public elementary education in a few schools throughout the country. The rural schools consisted of only three years of study. These functioned for girls and boys separately. In her study, Helg states that in 1931, only 52,2% of Colombian children attended rural schools (1987 p. 49). From this data, it is possible to assume that native representation in public education was minimal at this time. Similarly, native representation in secondary or university education was non-existent.

Physical conditions of rural schools were precarious. The infrastructures of the school were inadequate and the teachers refused to work under such conditions. In 1931, 90% of all rural teachers were women, without any pedagogical formation and 74% of the women and 48% of the men were single. Hence, rural education was left to single women without any pedagogical preparation. In some instances, being a teacher was the alternative for women who did not want to become nuns or seamstresses (Helg, 1987 p. 52). The prerequisites of being a teacher were not demanding. Therefore, these occupations were manipulated for political distribution among the followers of the party in power. Teachers became representatives of the Church and the State in each town (Quiceno, 1987).

During the first third of XXth century, the Colombian congress approved the *Ley Organica de Instrucción Pública* (Organic Law of Public Instruction) in trying to develop education based in Constitutional order, industrial development and Catholicism. Elementary education was declared gratuitous in public schools throughout the country. Thus, the Colombian state exhorted to train the administrative elite in private schools (in the hands of the Church) and the labour force in public schools (in the hands of the

municipality). The Ministry of Public Instruction was created in 1904 in order to centralise and control education in the country. Among the Ministry's responsibilities was the promotion of legislation on public instruction. The Colombian state convened, in 1917, the First National Congress in Bogotá that gathered teachers, presidents of universities, directors of the normales, directors of elementary schools and administrators of public instruction from all over the country.

This congress discussed the main problems of quality and number of schools. Also, it discussed the main problems concerning the formation and working status of elementary teachers. The Congress recommended the creation of a salary scale for teachers, a teacher' union and a national federation for defending the teaching profession. Also, the Congress proposed the creation of two normal schools in Bogotá, the unification of a plan of studies, contents and media of education and the training of teachers. All of the resolutions of this Congress were invalid because the government did not give a budget for these reforms due to the economic crisis of the country. The second national congress of pedagogy was celebrated in 1934 (Helg, 1987 p.106).

Racial segregation in the country and the role of education in this process were the concerns of this period. The country's elite was in crisis due to several civil wars, World War I and the underdevelopment of society. The argument that native ethnic groups were dangerous barbarians was used as a justification of this national condition. Europe and the US were the models for development. Helg (1987) states that after The First World War, the president of Colombia affirmed:

Hay que mirar hacia la estrella polar. La fórmula 'Respice Polum' que me he atrevido a repetir para encarecer la necesidad de mirar hacia el poderoso norte en nuestros votos de prosperidad, deseando que la América Latina y la América Sajona armonicen en justicia e intereses, es una verdad que se impone por su claridad y necesidad (P.111).¹⁹

¹⁹All we have to do is look at the Polar star. I have repeatedly talked about the power and prosperity of the north -*Respice Polum*-. I have wanted to see Latin America and North America in harmony with justice which constitutes a truth imposed by its clarity and necessity.

In such theory, several studies demonstrated the inferiority of the Native and Afrocolombian races. Therefore, new educational reforms were developed to civilise the national population. Naturally, the native and afrocolombian cultural patterns of the country were totally hidden in such reforms. Some intellectuals considered the Nordic immigration to Colombia as the only solution. These reforms were oriented toward the secondary level comprised by the elite. The reforms helped to widen the gap between the common strata and the elite in the country. To carry out these reforms, the Colombian government threatening the hegemony of the Catholic Church hired new foreign missionaries. In 1924, the second German Mission, responsible for reforming the elementary, secondary and university education, arrived in Colombia. This mission failed due to opposition from the Church and Conservatives. Swiss and North American missionaries also came to the country between 1924 and 1929. Ovide Decroly visited the country in 1925 (Helg, 1987 p. 113 and 121).

In 1927, the congress approved the reorganisation of the Ministry of Instruction and Public Health and was renamed the Ministry of National Education. The Faculty of Education in the National University was created in 1932 and the Second National Congress of Pedagogy was convened in 1934. These reforms centralised the duties of the State on education and conferred a little stability to the system. This reform adopted some recommendations made by the Second German Mission and it allowed the privatisation of secondary schools; thereby, limiting the monopoly of the Catholic Church. Because these changes mainly affected the urban localities and cities, the Church fortified its power in the rural areas where the private schools and colleges did not prosper. Exclusively the Catholic Church dominated education in the rural areas inhabited by natives. These reforms advocated nationalism, equality, literacy and State control of education. The projects of homogenisation of the country and the assimilation of all ethnic groups to the national mestizo model were important objectives.

President Alfonso López Pumarejo looked to lead society to modernity between 1934 and 1938. He rejected the racial determinism of inferiority and strongly supported

education in the country. López drove a process of economic recuperation of the country that was reflected in some levels of the democratisation. The Minister of Education was the intellectual Luis López de Mesa who was more concerned for the physical conditions of the schools than for an education policy. Nevertheless, López proposed several changes to the Minister of Education and created several strategies to assist the popular sectors of the nation such as cultural movies, public libraries and magazines. Also, instructive materials on health and medical missions were promoted. López's perceptions of the native people are reflected in Helg's quotation:

López de Mesa tenía una visión determinista del pueblo colombiano. En su Introducción a la historia de la cultura en Colombia (1930), comparaba esquemáticamente la psicología del negro con la de un niño despreocupado y la del indio con la de un anciano malicioso. La superioridad de la raza española, y en particular la de los nórdicos, le parecía evidente (Helg, 1987 p. 152).²⁰

A new constitutional reform was debated in 1936. During this year, the government forced the congress to ratify a new law that gave equal opportunities to applicants of public education in the country. Since this year, "*ninguna institución de primaria, secundaria o formación profesional podrá rechazar estudiantes por razones de ilegitimidad al nacimiento, diferencias sociales, raciales o religiosas*"²¹. (Helg, 1987 p.166). The Church and private colleges for very long did not respect the nature of this law. Important changes during this period were: Conservative teachers were replaced by Liberal ones, nationalism was stirred through propaganda in magazines, exhortation of official programs instead of secondary teaching, creation of the first national high schools and nationalisation of the normal schools. Important changes during this period were promotion of women in the educational system, industrial and commercial development, and the expansion of the educational system to distant regions. In 1888, the government conferred control of education to the Catholic missionaries in the rural and native areas.

²⁰López de Mesa had a determined point of view for Colombian people. In his introduction to the History of Culture in Colombia (1930), he compared schematically the psychology of the Afrocolombian person as an unconcerned child and the psychology of the native person as the malicious elder. The superiority of the Spanish race and the Nordics, particularly, were evident to him.

²¹No institution of primary, secondary or professional instruction can reject students by reason of race, social differences, religion or illegitimate birth.

Because the majority of native groups of the country were living in peripheral regions called *Territorios Nacionales*, it is important to emphasise the perception and conditions that the school acquired in this period.

... la periferia se dividió en vicariatos y prefecturas apostólicas, progresivamente asignadas a congregaciones misioneras católicas. En los años treinta había cerca de 200 hombres y 400 mujeres misioneras en la región. ... muchos eran extranjeros. Estas congregaciones debían en pleno siglo XX colonizar y 'colombianizar' los territorios nacionales, misión por la cual el Estado les pagaba un precio relativamente elevado...

El vicario o prefecto apostólico... acumulaba las funciones de inspector de la educación. El nombraba maestros con tres objetivos principales: catequizar a los aborígenes, educar a los jóvenes indígenas y otorgar una enseñanza primaria a los hijos de los colonos... Los docentes eran religiosos y religiosas de la congregación... La proporción de extranjeros era elevada... En número casi igual al de religiosos, laicos nativos de la región que habían recibido su enseñanza primaria de los misioneros, eran empleados a su turno como maestros de escuela. (Helg, 1987 pp.186,188)²².

These events can be considered the first training of native teachers in the country. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that these “teachers” were employed more as translators in order to carry out the doctrinal mission of the Church. Thus, the main objectives of these educational practices were to convert the native population to the Catholic religion and to teach them Spanish (Cortés and Suarez, 1979).

Desde fines de los años veinte los capuchinos enviaron maestros y maestras a fundar escuelas más estables en las regiones en donde los indios eran muy numerosos y habían adquirido un comienzo de conversión. Bajo la protección de un misionero el maestro elegía un lugar frecuentado, de acceso fácil para los indios diseminados en los alrededores para construir allí la escuela. Esta servía de centro alrededor de la cual se esforzaría después en reagrupar a los indios y

²²The peripheral areas were divided in *vicariatos* and *prefecturas apostólicas*, gradually assigned to Catholic missionary congregations. In the 1930s, there were almost 200 men and 400 women working as missionaries in the region... the majority of them were foreigners. Receiving a high price from the government, these congregations should colonise and “colombianizar” the national territories in the XXth century.

The *vicario* o *prefecto apostólico* play the function of an inspector of education. He hired teachers with three main objectives: Evangelize aboriginal people, educate young native people and teach general knowledge to the children of the Spanish pioneers... The teachers were religious men and women of the congregation.. The proportion of foreign teachers was high... The same number of natives who had been taught by the missionaries were hired as school teachers.

constituir un caserío. Pera era necesario además atraer niños a la escuela por medio de la distribución de dulces, pan o sal y ganarse el apoyo del jefe local. Después de la repartición de alimentos, las lecciones comenzaban. Como generalmente el profesor no conocía la lengua de los indígenas, era ayudado por un interprete. (Helg, 1987 p.190-191)²³.

Another body of native education promoted by the Church during this period was the orphanage based in the Reductions of Jesuits of the XVIth Century. In 1938, there were 16 orphanages on Native territories. The missionaries abducted native children from their families and put them into boarding schools in order to “civilise” them. In some places, the missionaries created separate schools for native, white or mestizo children in the same town. (Cortés and Suarez, 1979).

Finally, the latter part of this period was characterised by the structural transformations in the educational system of the country. The tendencies toward demographic growth, urbanisation, development of communications, industrialisation and the augmentation of exportations developed the political culture of the nation. While in 1918 the literacy rate was 32%, in 1964, the rate reached 73%. This proves the expansion of the educational system during that period. The economic situation of the country was not stable and it was reflected in the educational system. Several foreign missionaries were contacted again, many literacy campaigns were launched and a number of educational institutions with specific functions were created (SENA, ICETEX). This was the situation of the country when the influences of the social reformation movements surged worldwide. All these movements generated some deep changes in the country but especially among the marginal and native regions.

²³From the end of the 1920s, the Cappuccinos sent male and female teachers to establish more permanent schools in highly-populated native areas where native people had started the conversion to the Catholic religion. Under the missionary’s protection, each teacher chose a good location to build the school. School would be the centre of a new native village bringing together native families. Also, it was very important to attract children to school by delivering candies, bread and salt. After delivery, the school lessons started. Generally, teachers were helped by native translators due to their incapacity to understand the native languages (Helg, 1987. P. 190-191).

2.5 Reformation and Education: 1970 -

This is a very important period in the history of the native movements in Colombia. The indigenous movements gained force on the continent in the 1970s for several reasons. Varese and Rodríguez cite the following reasons: a) Some ethnic groups in the country formed native political organisations that demanded and confronted the state for better living conditions. b) Social scientists gave to their professions a social and political focus to society at large; especially, when they became conscious of the diversity of the nation and the inequalities of their societies. c) Crisis of the model that the State developed on ideological and economical assumptions of inequality (García, 1992; Varese and Rodríguez, 1983).

Several native organisations were created in Colombia during the 1970s (See Table 4). These organisations elaborated political programs for their cultural and ethnic survival. Through pacific and sometimes violent actions, the natives struggled to recover their lands, their natural resources and their ancestral traditions. These changes led to some recognition of the country's social and cultural diversity. In 1991, the Colombian government formed a Constituent Assembly to redraft the Constitution. Spaces were created for the participation of four indigenous people of different ethnic backgrounds. In this redrafting of the constitution, the State recognised its multiethnic and pluricultural diversity for the first time. Several articles consecrated rights for natives such as:

*Artículo 7. El Estado reconoce y protege la diversidad étnica y cultural de la nación colombiana.*²⁴

²⁴ Article 7. The State acknowledges and protects the natural and cultural diversity of the Colombian nation. Article 8. It is compulsory for the State and the citizens to protect the cultural and natural richness of the nation.

Article 10. The *Castellano* is the official language in Colombia. The native languages and dialects are official in each territory. The teaching will be bilingual in communities with linguistic differences.

Article 13. Everybody is born free and equal under the law. Everybody enjoys the same rights, liberty and opportunities. There is no discrimination by reason of race, gender, national or familiar origin, language, religion, political opinion or philosophy.

Article 68. ... A member of a native group is entitled to an education that respects and develops his/her cultural identity. (Political Constitution of Colombia, Santa Fe de Bogota, 1991).

Table 4. FIRST NATIVE ORGANIZATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES IN CAUCA AND COLOMBIA



No	ZONE	ETHNIC GROUP	ORGANIZATION	YEAR/ORG	YEAR/PEB
1	Cauca	Paéz, Guambiano	CRIC	1971	1979
2	Chocó	Embera	UNDICH	1971	
3	Vaupes	Sikuani	CRIVA	1971	
4	Meta-Vichada	Sikuani	UNUMA		1973
5	Alto Vichada	Sikuani	ORIST		1976
6	Magdalena	Arhuaco	COIA/CIT	1974	1976
7	Tolima	Paeces, Pijaos, Coyaima.	CRIT	1975	
8	Guajira	Wayuú	YANAMA	1975	1981
9	Antioquia	Embera-Zenu	OIA		1980
10	Choco	Embera	OREWA	1980	1984
11	Caldas	Embera, Chami	CRIDOC	1980	
12	Medio Caquetá	Multiples groups	CRIMC	1980	
13	Bogotá	Multicultural	ONIC	1982	

Conventions: YEAR/ORG: Date when native organisation was established
 YEAR/PEB: Date when Bilingual Educational Program was established

RESOURCE: García, 1992, 1995; ONIC, 1995

GARCIA, W., Concordia University, Montreal, 1998.

Artículo 8. *Es obligación del Estado y de las personas proteger las riquezas culturales y naturales de la nación.*

Artículo 10. *El castellano es el idioma oficial de Colombia. Las lenguas y dialectos de los grupos étnicos son también oficiales en sus territorios. La enseñanza que se imparta en las comunidades con tradiciones lingüísticas propias será bilingüe.*

Artículo 13. *Todas las personas nacen libres e iguales ante la ley, recibirán la misma protección de las autoridades y gozarán de los mismo derechos, libertades y oportunidades sin ninguna discriminación por razones de sexo, raza, origen nacional o familiar, lengua, religión, opinión política o filosófica.*

Artículo 68. *...Los integrantes de los grupos étnicos tendrán derecho a una formación que respete y desarrolle su identidad cultural (Constitución Política de Colombia. Santa Fe de Bogotá, 1991).*

During this period of change, schools played a significant role in native communities and organisations. Gradually, education was restructured by the native organisations to develop their own ideological streams. Thus, the role of the school moved from being one of the most important agencies in civilising and integrating ethnic groups to one of the most important agencies for organising the ethnic groups against the hegemonic society in Colombia. Throughout school, the native movement gained power in the country. It acquired a national nature for fighting against the state. School became a flag of organisation and unity in some communities. Therefore, initially native school had political and ideological commitments. As an example, several schools were created in front of the State schools in order to take out the children and bring them to the new native schools. Due to this commitment, the pedagogical developments of native school-based education in this period were scarce. Sometimes, this caused another kind of racism and regionalism against mestizo people.

Educational programs and curricula promoted at this time by the native organisations were only adaptations of the official curriculum. Nevertheless, they took on several different names: Bilingual Education, Own Education, Native Education, Community Education and Inner Education. Perhaps, the only differences were the treatment of the children and the community by “native teachers”. They did not reject the traditions, the language nor the popular organisation of the native communities as the official teachers

used to do. Thus, the role of the native teacher constituted the real difference between the official and indigenous schools. Native teachers were addressing more political subjects in the defence of the native culture. Gradually, native teachers were compared to battle weapons, as ideological counter-hegemony and were regarded in a revolutionary way. This kind of school looked to claim the material and cultural resources of these communities. Also, it was articulated to wide national and international search. The first native teachers were leaders of the communities. Even, if they lacked academic preparation in the official curriculum, they faced the responsibility of participating and fighting for their communities through school-based education. Inter-ethnic teams (Native and Mestizo people) who voluntarily worked for the native organisations advised these teachers. Some of the main features that defined the native education during the first years of the 1970s could be synthesised as:

a) A community direction: School was used as a unifying force in the communities. It was urgent to convince each parent of the importance of having an indigenous bilingual school for their children and the necessity of consolidating a group, which faces the state and institutions.

b) Claim of the mother tongue: To communicate native ideas in the native language was a motto in almost all the communities. It was a very important weapon against the State's repressive forces. Thus, native education was called bilingual education for many years. This pursuit created conflict at times among the indigenous groups because many ethnic groups lost their languages due to the conquest.

c) Ideological and political commitments more than an academic one: The school was one of the most important tools of disseminating political ideas. Several generations of native children were raised with the revolutionary ideas of social equality. The process was clandestine during the first years of this movement (1979-1985). There was repression and persecution against several people. Many of them were killed and tortured by the State (military forces).

d) Researching as a foundation tool: Because native people needed to look for alternatives in education, production, socialisation and communication, etc., they began an important process of research on native issues on the relationships with the hegemonic groups.

All these social movements were united with other popular movements (Afrocolombian, peasants, women, marginally located people, etc.) and they influenced certain changes in the structure of the State. In 1985, for example, the State created an official division within the Ministry of Education in order to handle the native educational issues. Also, some economical resources were dedicated for researching and supporting the native programs in the regions. In 1984, the Native Educational Project in Cauca University was created in order to research these issues and to advise the government regarding such policies.

During the last decade, native education in Colombia has tended to be more an official (State), institutional and academic matter. There are four undergraduate programs around the country working in native education (ethno-education) and linguistics (Uni-Amazonia, Uni-Cauca, Uni-Guajira, Uni-Tecnológica de Pereira). Also, four postgraduate programs in linguistics (ethno-linguistics) (Uni-Andes, Uni-Antioquia, Uni-Valle and Uni-Cauca) and a postgraduate program in native and multicultural education will begin in 1997 (Uni-Cauca). Native organisations have organised complex educational teams of research and administration. Now, the Colombian government is contracting with native organisations over some of the educational responsibilities in the resguardos. Thus, these organisations have gained more autonomy for deciding how to educate native children.

Because all of these are relatively new phenomena in the country, some changes in educational institutions, administrative levels, governmental programs, native organisations, native communities, teacher training programs and so on must be realised. In all this complex context of change, one of the most important factors for developing native education is to improve the teaching profession. Teachers can play a very useful

role in education depending on different factors. Then, it is important for native education in Colombia to establish factors that influence the teachers' identities and functions. The professional role of teaching depends not only on their training background. Teachers are not only workers of education but are also ethnic human beings who reflect their identities to their professions. In the context showed in the two first chapters, we will try to establish the main factors that determine the teachers' identities and roles when they work in native communities and multicultural environments (Chapters 3 and 4). The two first chapters allow us to understand and put into context some of the analysis that we will address.

CHAPTER THREE

TEACHERS AND TEACHING PRACTICES IN NATIVE COMMUNITIES IN CAUCA, COLOMBIA

3. 1 Introduction

There are approximately 7.200 elementary school teachers in the province of Cauca, Colombia²⁵. Approximately 1.700 teachers work in urban areas and 5.500 work in rural areas. From these 5,500 rural teachers, approximately 1,400 work with native children in areas that are officially considered natives' territories or *resguardos* while 4.100 teachers work with peasants²⁶ who live in rural non-native areas. Those 1.400 teachers work with approximately 35.000 native children from nine ethnic groups over approximately 600 schools located into 72 *resguardos* in the Cauca province (García y Sanabria, 1993; SEP, 1993). Despite this number of teachers, the necessity of new teachers and schools in all the areas of the province is a reality. In municipalities where natives are a majority, it is estimated that 70% of children do not attend school (CRIC, 1995; SEP, 1996). Because teachers who work in *resguardos* (1.400) are the focus of this study, further information on number of schools, ethnic groups and distribution of teachers into each *resguardos* is presented in the Table 5.

²⁵ Measured in terms of its members, teaching is the world's most practiced profession. In the late 20th century it was estimated that there were 30,000,000 teachers throughout the world. Though their roles and functions vary from country to country, the variations are generally greater within a country than they are between countries. Because the nature of the activities that constitute teaching depends more on the age of the persons being taught than on any other one thing, it is useful to recognise three subgroups of teachers: primary-school or elementary-school teachers; secondary-school teachers; and university teachers. These three subgroups had in the late 20th century an approximate world-wide ratio of 57 percent, 34 percent, and 9 percent, respectively (The new Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1995. P.422).

²⁶ Although peasants have the same social conditions and live in the same type of rural areas, they are not considered natives by the Colombian government and sometimes by themselves. They do not maintain the native traditions and they do not live inside the *resguardos*. This phenomenon is changing in the present because many rural communities are demanding native status and all the privileges obtained for natives as outlined by the new constitution. Thus, several groups have begun processes of cultural recovery in order to affirm native identity and to obtain native status.

Table 5. POLITICAL DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS, SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS IN THE RESGUARDOS OF CAUCA, COLOMBIA (I PART)

MUNICIPALITY	RESGUARDOS	ETHNICITIES	SCHOOLS	TEACHERS
1. North Zone				
- Buenos Aires	Delicias y B/Aires	M, B, P	15	30
- Caldono	Caldono, Pioyá Pueblo Nuevo, La Aguada, La Laguna	P, M	53	108
- Caloto	Huellas	M, B, P	26	63
- Corinto	Corinto	M, P, B	17	23
- Miranda	La Cilia	M, B, P	11	26
- Santander	Munchique, Canoas, Concepción	M, B, P	40	83
- Toribio	Toribio, Tacueyo, San Francisco	P, B, M	49	120
2. East Zone				
- Belalcázar	Belalcázar, Wila, Avirama, Lame, Suin, Santa Rosa, Chinas, San José, Cohetando, Ricaute, Araujo, Tálaga, Vitoncó, Togoima, Calderas, Mosoco,	P, M, B	87	194
- Inzá	Guanacas, San Andrés, Yaquivá, Tumbichucue	P, M	40	100
3. Center Zone				
- Jambaló	Jambaló	P, G, M	31	58
- Morales	Honduras, Agua Negra, Chimborazo	P, M, G	31	58
- Piendamó	La Conquista	M, G	1	1
- Popayán	Poblazón, Quintana,	M, P	10	19

Continue, please.

MUNICIPALITY	RESGUARDOS	ETHNICITY	SCHOOLS	TEACHERS
- Totoró	Totoró, Paniquita, Polindara, Novirao, Jebala	T, M, B	70	120
- Puracé	Coconuco, Puracé, Paletará	M, C	15	44
- Silvia	Guambía, Quizgó, Pitayó, Quichayá, Tumburaro	G, P, M	61	153
4. South Zone				
- Almaguer	Caquiona	Y, M	14	21
- La Vega	Pancitará, Guachicono	Y, M	19	44
- San Sebastian	San Sebastian	Y, M	7	15
- Sotaró	Rio Blanco	Y, M	7	22
- El Tambo	Alto del Rey	G, M	4	22
- La Siera	Frontino, El Oso, El Moral	Y, M	7	15
- Santa Rosa	Guayuyaco	I, K, M	-	-
5. Pacific Zone				
- López de Micay	Belén de Iguana, Juan Cobo	E, B, M	2	2
- Timbiquí	San Miguel de Inff, Guangui, Calle de Santa Rosa	E, B, M	7	15
25 MUNICIPALITIES	72 RESGUARDOS	9 ETHNIC GROUPS	600 SCHOOLS.	1.400 TEACHERS.

Conventions: B: Blacks, C: Coconucos, E: Emberas, G: Guambianos, I: Ingas, K: Camentsá, M: Mestizos, T: Totoró, Y: Yanaconas

RESOURCE: Native Education Office, Cauca University. Popayán, 1991

GARCÍA, W., Concordia University, Montreal, 1998.

School-based education and the teacher's presence became a reality in *resguardos* at the turn of the century. Although Colombia's second president, Francisco de Paula Santander, decreed in 1821 the establishment of elementary schools for men in towns where the population exceeded 100 families, these were not established in native communities at the first instance. Natives used to live in a scattered way as they do today; therefore, they did not fulfil the requirement of 100 families per town. In addition, the priority was to pay attention to urban areas and mestizos who became the hegemonic group in the country. In 1931, only 51.2% of Colombian children attended school and teachers were contracted for working in the most populated areas (Helg, 1987); therefore, it is easy to guess that the teacher's presence in native communities was scarce. In order to be students, native children left their communities and families and moved to schools located in urban areas. In some cases, they became almost servants of their hosts and they incorporated strong conflicts of identity about their linguistic and cultural differences.

Since the Concordat with the Vatican was signed in 1887, the Catholic Church took charge of the education in the *resguardos*. Through orphanages and (residential) boarding schools, Jesuits and members of different religious groups became missionary teachers and established schools in native territories. This can be considered as the beginning of the public school-based education and of the teachers' presence in native territories. Since that moment, schools and teachers became a reality in native communities and these are presently part of the daily life of the native children and people in general. Even if some parents do not have children at school, they participate in some activities around school and education. Besides that, school in some native territories has been re-built with a different focus especially since the 1970s. Therefore, this is also an accepted reality in some native communities for the past three decades.

Schools still cause some conflicts for present native communities and organisations. Schools were started up as ideological resources of assimilation; these have no roots in the native traditions of teaching and learning and, native groups have only partial control on the schooling system. Therefore, their autonomy as groups and cultures is weak.

Nevertheless, school is a reality and the majority of parents demand this as part of the education of their children. Therefore, native political organisations (from the 1970s) and the Colombian State (from the 1980s) are trying to transform the school structure into one involving the complex native agenda. In this sense, several unresolved questions address the present discussion:

- What do school and education mean for native communities?
- What is the relationship among education, school and enculturation (cultural transmission) in native communities?
- What are the differences between a native school and non-native school?
- Why and how is school integrated into the native educational processes, since school arose from non-native roots?
- Does school have its own or alternative culture?

As one of the main issues, the analysis of the teacher's presence and the teaching profession could shed light on understanding other school-based educational factors in native communities. We could also pose some questions:

- Is teaching a particular function/profession of school-based education?
- What does it mean to be a teacher in a native community?
- What are the differences among being a teacher, a community teacher and an educator?
- What are the differences between a native teacher and a non-native teacher?
- Should the teacher's training programs be different when teachers work for native communities or in multicultural settings?
- What does it mean to be a native or a multicultural teacher?
- Can a teacher instruct students from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds in the same classroom?
- Can a teacher become a professional although he/she does not follow a formal training program?

Further research is necessary in order to answer such questions. Nevertheless, it is important to establish a previous framework about teachers' identity for future reserachs.

The teacher's identity, role, functions, problems and challenges are based not only on the training experiences. Social, cultural, historical and pedagogical influences exist and these indicate that teachers and teaching are different. Teacher and teaching are also cultural images. These can be interpreted and changed according to the present community's necessities. Then, new analytical frameworks on teacher and teaching are needed in order to improve the teaching profession and also to improve education for all the cultural groups.

3.2 Teachers of native communities: Complex identities among missionaries, political agents and pedagogical agents.

Teachers constitute one of the most important factors for determining the characteristics of native education in the Cauca region. Native schools can be differentiated from a non-native school based on the teacher's identity and his/her role in the school and in the community. In other words, a native school is different from a non-native school because teachers work and behave differently. Historically, several types and generations of teachers have appeared in the native regions of the Cauca province. Presently, it is possible to identify five types of teachers who work in native communities of Cauca: a) non-native first-generation teachers, b) non-native second-generation teachers c) native first-generation teachers, d) native second-generation teachers and e) native third-generation teachers. A synthesis of each type and generation of teachers who work in native communities of Cauca is shown in Table 6.

3.2.1 Non-native first-generation teachers

Presently, Non-native teachers constitute 60% of teachers who work in native communities. Non-native first-generation teachers constitute 10% but they were the first to appear in native communities after 1950. They are majority women with elementary education or who were trained in classical high schools (few of them in *normal* schools)

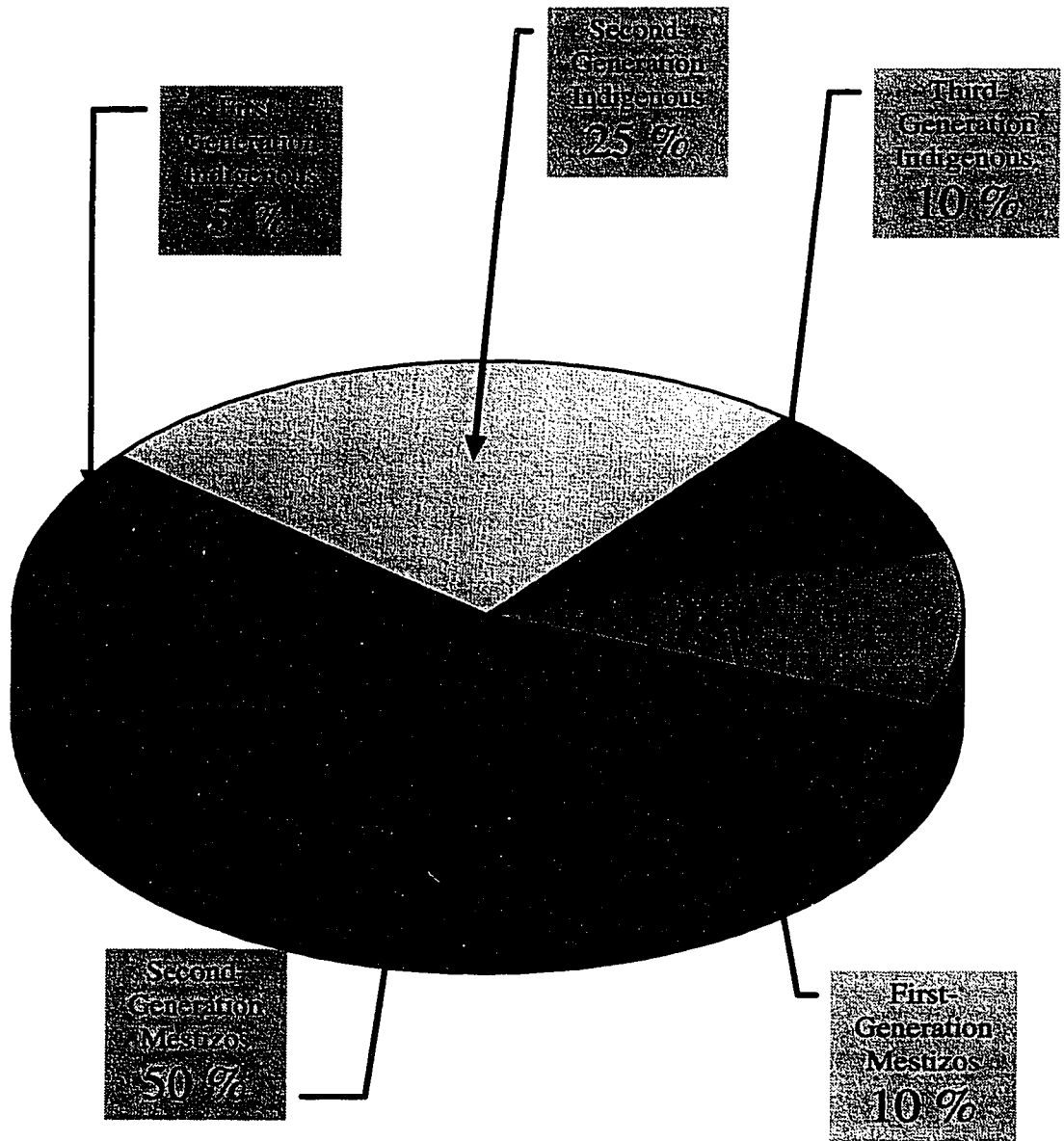
TABLE 6. TYPES AND GENERATIONS OF TEACHERS WORKING IN NATIVE COMMUNITIES IN CAUCA, COLOMBIA (Part I)

NON NATIVE FIRST-GENERATION TEACHERS (10%)	NON NATIVE SECOND-GENERATION TEACHERS (50%)	NATIVE FIRST-GENERATION TEACHERS(5%)	NATIVE SECOND-GENERATION TEACHERS (25%)	NATIVE-THIRD-GENERATION TEACHERS (10%)
<p>1. Date of Hiring After 1960</p> <p>2. Social tendency - Mestizo women, in their majority, these teachers are from popular social class who moved to small villages from towns or capital cities of provinces. Usually, they do not the native culture, philosophy and policy - They perceive native children as potential peasants, workers, high school students or eventual teachers.</p> <p>3. Cultural Tendency - Because the majority of these teachers do not know the native cultures and languages, they have less appreciation of native values and traditions. - The majority of them have cultural resistance to social change and show conflicts of cultural and professional identity</p>	<p>1. Date of Hiring After 1980</p> <p>2. Social tendency - These teachers were born and grew up in villages, small towns or capital cities in the provinces near to resguardos in relationship with natives - They feel like missionaries or self-sacrifice peoples working and living in native regions - They behave as Catholic representatives in schools assuming very authoritarian and repressive attitudes - Hence, they do not participate in community activities being more concerned with their salaries</p> <p>3. Cultural Tendency - Because they do not learn nor appreciate the native cultures, they project the conflict of ethnic identity to children and communities. They ask students to talk only Spanish - These teacher developed strong conflicts in their identities and roles as teachers</p>	<p>1. Date of Hiring After 1970</p> <p>2. Social tendency - These teachers were first peasants and workers who lived in resguardos or Mestizo territories - Majority men, these teachers became ideological agents of social change being influenced by social streams of the 1960s and 1970s. - They consider children as potential political leaders struggling to get more equal social conditions - They could be considered the pioneers of native education in Colombia</p> <p>3. Cultural Tendency - These teachers are in its majority bilingual people - They are compromised people with their native roots rather than just academic subjects. They maintain their traditions and languages as agriculturists and occasional peasants - These teacher are truly</p>	<p>1. Date of Hiring After 1985</p> <p>2. Social tendency - These teachers are generally native men and women - They and their families participated in the native social movements promoting the political rights of natives. - They receive direct ideological influence from their first-generation partners participating in social and political protests - They played an important role in the native political movement between 1988-1994 which allowed the re-draft of the Constitution</p> <p>3. Cultural Tendency - These teachers have clear ethnic identities as bilingual native teachers as well as farmers in the resguardos. Therefore, they maintain a relationship with the land and nature. - They know, practice and value many cultural traditions and they use that as</p>	<p>1. Date of Hiring After 1990</p> <p>2. Social tendency - These teachers were born in resguardos and are majoritarily low-class women - They grew up surrounded by the native struggles as relatives of native first- and second-generation teachers - They are not pioneers of social change but know in general about native issues - They live and participated in the community' activities - They are more and more concerned for their personal and professional necessities</p> <p>3. Cultural Tendency - These teachers are mainly bilingual people who know, value and practice native traditions and mestizo customs. - They live in native communities and they want to continue living there but, they try to change some cultural patterns</p>

TABLE 6. TYPES AND GENERATIONS OF TEACHERS WORKING IN NATIVE COMMUNITIES IN CAUCA, COLOMBIA (Part II)

NON NATIVE FIRST-GENERATION TEACHERS (10%)	NON NATIVE SECOND-GENERATION TEACHERS (50%)	NATIVE FIRST-GENERATION TEACHERS(5%)	NATIVE SECOND-GENERATION TEACHERS (25%)	NATIVE-THIRD-GENERATION TEACHERS (10%)
<p>in native communities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They want to migrate out of native regions as soon as possible <p>4. Professional tendency</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - These teachers were hired with an elementary-school training. After, they attended high schools or normal schools. Few of them attended to university. - Because they were hired based on political influences, they assume more a labour and salary relationship with the community and the state. - They have professional conflicts due to the fact that they were not trained for working with natives. Because they have long experiences as teachers, they assume comprehensive attitudes toward native children and communities. 	<p>considered community leaders</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They know the mestizos' customs and language are aware about their ethnic and human rights. <p>4. Professional tendency</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - These teachers were almost illiterate people who became teachers for native children. - They were hired and trained for native organisations - They built their professional identities developing more an ideological commitment than a pedagogical one but, they do not assume ethnic conflicts in their teaching practices - Their professional identities and status are questioned since they did not receive formal training - Presently, they teach, administrate and research native issues. They teach to new generations of teachers 	<p>pedagogical resources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In general they maintain good relationships with parents and children as well as with institutional representatives <p>4. Professional tendency</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They received more academic instruction than their first-generation colleagues and they are continuously searching such new opportunities. Some of them have studied anthropology, linguistics, political science and education. - They received their first instruction as teachers by Cauca University and CRIC through a teacher in-service training program for natives - They studied elementary or high school in the nearest town. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They can easily appropriate non-native values, articulating some of these new values into their customs and life <p>4. Professional tendency</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - These teachers are students in the present teacher training programs in Cauca University and CRIC offer - They do not have long experience as teachers - They did not participate in the native struggles neither do they have to much contact with first-generation colleagues - Their concern for academic and pedagogical issues is greater than theirs first- and second-generation colleagues using more technological resources in schools and daily life. - They do not transfer serious conflicts to their professional roles 	

Representation 2. Generations of Native and Non-Native Teachers in Cauca, Colombia



GARCIA, W., Concordia University, Montreal, 1998.

located in Popayán as well as small towns or villages over the provinces²⁷. Besides that, they were hired due to political recommendations of the ruling party and related considerations. In these towns, the majority of the population is mestizos who work as peasants or in the public offices of the state.

Therefore, mestizos who were born and grew up in small towns constituted the majority of teachers who went to native territories in the 1960s. The majority of them does not understand the native languages and are against native traditions. Also, they have received a strong influence from the Catholic Church in order to evangelise and acculturate native communities. In addition, teachers who were trained in *normal* schools generally are not prepared for working in non-native communities. Therefore, they are not familiar with the native educational agenda: native cognitive and psychological process, socialisation process, language, child development, policy and philosophy, etc. Thus, the acquired professional identity is in conflict with the ethnic and political identity of these teachers.

Nevertheless, the long experience of working of some of those (20, 25 or 30 years as teachers) has modified their attitude toward native children and communities. Precisely, teachers who have worked for a long time in these regions demonstrate more tenderness, affection and concern toward native children. They perceive children as potential peasants, workers, high school students and eventually teachers

3.2.2 *Non-native second-generation teachers*

Non-native second-generation teachers constitute 50% of the teaching force and they were engaged in the 1980s. These teachers have developed strong conflicts in their identities and roles as teachers in native communities. They were born and grew up in villages, small towns or capital cities of the municipalities of the province near the *resguardos* and in relationship with native communities. Precisely, in the small villages near the *resguardos* lie the conflicts of identity, which are more serious: mestizos against

²⁷ Presently, there are five normal schools in the province of Cauca. Two of them are located in Popayán. Some normal schools have restructured their curricula including native educational components.

natives and vice versa (Cortés et al, 1985). Although they maintain permanent contact with native languages and cultures, they do not learn nor appreciate these as important values. These teachers maintain their conflicts between ethnic and professional identity and project their problems to children and communities. Usually, they want to spend three of four days per week in school. Also, these teachers want that every-student speaks only Spanish in the school. These teachers do not consider nor participate in community activities because they are concerned more about their salaries than about the educational processes; they do not know about the native cultures. In schools, they behave more as catholic representatives than as teachers. In general, non-native-second generation teachers really assume authoritarian and repressive attitudes toward native children and communities.

These teachers were trained in *normal* schools located in Popayán or in their own towns. Some of them attended Cauca University to earn their undergraduate degrees. Others received their degrees through in-service correspondence university programs. Because teachers in Colombia are trained for working in urban areas, they have serious problems when travelling to rural areas. Naturally, the problems are getting worse when they go to work in native communities with cultural and linguistic differences. Academic and pedagogical deficiencies are more obvious in native communities than in rural or urban ones. Also, the evaluative parameters, which are used for measuring the teachers' role in urban and rural areas, are similar. Hence, rural teachers usually are considered below the standard level of quality. Referring to the teacher training curricula in Cauca University and normal schools, the native educational frameworks have not been sufficiently researched and systematised, even for natives, in relationship to the school-based education. Hence, the processes of change and improvement of the structure of the school and training programs are slow. The conflicts of ethnic identity in addition to the deficiencies in the training programs provoke worse problems in the teachers' roles and identities. This situation worsens when the religious commitments of Catholic Church are incorporated in the training and administration of teachers in native regions. The Catholic

Church has played a core role in the Colombian educational system and therefore is responsible for low standards of quality in the Colombian educational system.

As their first-generation colleagues, political people hired non-native second-generation teachers for considerations obtained during the campaigns from teachers themselves and of their relatives. Besides that, professional stability and development for these types of teachers becomes harder since they want to flee as soon as possible from these regions. Some teachers really expressed a sense of self-sacrifice and as missionaries working in these communities. Continuously, they are demanding higher salaries and privileged treatment from the government due to their work with native communities.

Referring to non-native second-generation teachers, something very interesting is happening in the last years in the native communities of Cauca. Some (still few) of these teachers are coming close to native political organisations and communities. Little by little, these teachers are participating in the in-service training programs addressing native organisations and they have better community links. Thus, they are demonstrating that teachers' behaviour, roles and identities can change when significant inputs are addressed. These inputs are coming especially from native political organisations and other teachers or partners in the same region. Also, Cauca University has played an important role in this change.

Since 1988, Cauca University decided to concentrate efforts in in-service training programs of non-native teachers due to the fact that they constitute the majority of teachers in the region but they are not being included in the educational changes of the country. While native organisations have been more concerned and dedicated to native teachers, non-native teachers have depended on some educational institutions: The *Centro Experimental Piloto* (Experimental Pilot Centre), *Secretaria de Educación Pública y Deportes* (Secretary of Public Education and Sports), *Fondo Educativo Regional* (Regional Educational Fund) and *Arquidiócesis de Popayán* (Catholic Educational Institution). These institutions have no experience in native issues and they have had

strong problems with native organisations. Besides that, they have played important roles in the corruption, segregation of citizens, and low quality of the Colombian educational system. Some non-native first-generation teachers comment for example how these institutions paid their monthly salaries with alcohol for a long time in order to promote the consumption of this product. Thus, many of these teachers were forced to alcoholism, corruption, double work and so on.

Undoubtedly, the role-played by the native political movement in all the province and the country has been very important in the change of native education. Native issues are more often commented in all magazines, radio, television, lectures, events, etc. Several native activities are held in the city and big towns. The native voices are heard through their native congresses, provincial delegates and mayors of some municipalities. More and more, native teachers are sharing courses, general meetings, union meetings and so on with non-native teachers. In addition, all the privileges and advantages obtained for native teachers after the new constitution (1991) and the General Law of Education (1994) are catalysts that improve these relationships.

Whereas the last mentioned situation is only a recent tendency, some groups have resisted the general hegemonic tendency in order to maintain their identities and cultural resources (material and symbolic ones). Several social conflicts for native issues have happened (and are still in course) through the history of the province and all over the country. To give the teacher and school a new identity and function is part of these social changes. Hence, native school-based education based on a particular ethnic philosophy is an important aim of some native groups, which guarantees the survival of all cultures.

3.2.3 Native first-generation teachers

In some native communities, the teachers' role and identity has already been transformed completely. Teachers (bilingual or not) brought up in the last three decades have been political agents of change. These teachers are struggling for getting more equal social conditions and acknowledgement from the Colombian State. They are people aware of

their native roots and not just academic subject specialists and transmitters of hegemonic values. Presently, this type of teachers represents 40% of the total teachers' population and they could be identified as native teachers. We have sub-categorised them as first, second and third generation native teachers according to their cultural, political and professional features along the history of native education.

Undoubtedly, teacher's identity and role make the difference between native schools/education and non-native schools. Teachers who were involved in the native struggles in the early 1970s have given to their professional identities a critical, political and ideological commitment rather than an academic or pedagogical one. We have named them native first-generation teachers and they represent 5% of the total native teachers. These teachers are mainly male natives who maintain their languages and their traditions. Some of them were functionally illiterate people who assumed the challenge of study and became teachers in order to teach in their communities. The majority of them never dreamed to become teachers. Some of them were already agriculturists and daily wage peasants. All of them were consciously engaged for native communities in order to teach political issues to children in schools. The first generation of native teachers did not have an institutional and pedagogical context but they had a very political and ideological community oriented. These teachers were not state representatives as their colleagues from the normal schools. They became community representatives being called community teachers in order to differentiate them from the others. On some occasions, these teachers were openly against the state and they had to hide with the support of the native communities. The professional status of these teachers has been widely discussed since they do not fill out all the institutional requirements in order to be formally considered teachers. Native communities state that they are native teachers in their own native parameters; therefore, they should have the same social guarantees as regular teachers.

These teachers can be considered the pioneers of native education in the country. In the first experiences of native education in Colombia, they opened schools, created schooling media, didactic, methodologies, recruited new teachers and so on. Sometimes, native

communities created schools and paid teachers in order to push the government to recognise the school and assign economic resources. Their educational proposals were named *educación indígena* (native education), *educación propia* (own education), *educación interna* (inner education), and *educación bilingüe* (bilingual education). These names remained until a few years ago when the Colombian state assimilated all experiences and teachers under the state policy of *etnoeducación* (ethno-education).

The first native teachers were community leaders without academic backgrounds but they affronted the responsibility of participating and fighting for their communities. This generation of teachers was advised by educational, multi-ethnic teams (natives and mestizos) who participated in social and cultural revolutions of this decade (sixties and seventies) with the left-sided political parties. These teachers are considered true leaders in their communities along with the *cabildo*, shaman and elders.

In order to support the last affirmation, the words of a native first-generation teacher (NN-1) are very interesting (interviewed August 1995).

Q- ¿Cómo se formaron los maestros indígenas?

A- Estos maestros son personas que se han venido formando en el proceso de lucha indígena. Si miramos el caso de NN creo que ni soñaba ser docente, pero resulta que la comunidad lo eligió y él está de lleno en el proceso político y en el proceso organizativo.

Q- ¿Cómo te convertiste tu en maestro indígena?

A/ A mi me nombro la comunidad, aunque la cuestión es compleja. Desde 1973 la comunidad se venía organizando y estaba adelantando procesos de recuperación de tierras y entonces necesitaba dirigentes. Como buscaban la manera de capacitarlos atendían a cualquier organización que llegara y así contactaron a Radio Sutatenza, al Partido Comunista y a los Agapes (grupo evangelico). Pero con el Partido Comunista llegó la gente de las FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia -grupo guerrillero-).

Usted sabe primero para qué fue elegido?. En ese momento yo tenía unos 16 años y la comunidad me eligió para que yo me fuera para las FARC... con un grupo como de seis personas. Yo acepté y me compraron todas las cosas para que yo me

fuera: ropa, botas y todo lo demás. Yo lo recibí y me fui. Yo alcance a subir hasta el Tablazo para que me recogieran pero luego la comunidad se había reunido nuevamente y decidió traerme como maestro de la comunidad. Así a los tres días fueron al Tablazo y me trajeron... Me dijeron que tenía que aceptar y capacitarme para trabajar con los niños. Me capacite como maestro en Toez con la organización indígena²⁸.

Because native first-generation teachers belong to native communities and they know their objectives and compromises, they acquired clear ethnic and professional identities. They state what native education should be in order to improve the living conditions of native communities. *“Los maestros deben conocer y valorar la cultura indígena y las comunidades con el fin de funcionar adecuadamente como maestros... Conocer es valorar y valorar es respetar; nosotros no conseguimos nada si un maestro es indígena pero no conoce ni respeta la cultural indígena”* (NN-1. Popayán, August 1995)²⁹.

Native first-generation teachers have developed a strong process of cultural affirmation. Generally, they know their languages, traditions and territories as well as Spanish and mestizos' customs. Also, they have developed educational processes about their constitutional, human, ethnic, and historical rights. Because these teachers have been formed through a constant struggle, they know how the Colombian legal system works.

²⁸ Q/ How are native teachers trained?

A/ Native teachers are trained in the process of native fighting. We can refer to NN for example, who never thought of becoming a teacher but the community chose him and now he is developing a political and organisational struggle.

Q/ How do you become a native teacher?

A/ The community nominated me as a teacher, but it is very complex. Since 1973, the community started an organisational process and it needed leaders. Because they needed to train people, they accepted all organisations that came. Thus, they contacted *Sutatenza Radio*, Communist Party and The *Agapes* (religious Protestant group) but, the *FARC* (Colombian Revolutionary Army Forces -guerrilla group-) came with the Communist Party.

Can you imagine how they chose me?. In that moment I was 16 and the community chose me and sent me to the *FARC* (Colombian Revolutionary Army Forces -guerrilla group-) with six other people. I accepted their decision and they bought all the things I needed: clothes, boots and so on. I climbed upon The *Tablazo* in order to meet someone. After, the community met again and decided to bring me back to the community to teach children. After three days, they brought me to school and demanded that I accept a teaching position. They sent me to train with the native organisation in *Toez*.

They have international contacts with egalitarian and political organisations around the world, which allow them to raise funds for their projects. It is amazing how these teachers can use modern technology as well as cultivate traditional plants in their countryside houses. Some of them have travelled around the world and participated in several international congresses and organisations. They express that to be native is to be a strong person, to love the earth (referring to the soil), to work with nature and to serve the community.

In general, these teachers have defined their professional identities by the native community's necessities. Hence, it is not important if they entered an academic program in order to obtain the professional status. To be a native teacher is to follow the way that the community shows. Lately, this identity is being re-defined for the native political organisations more than for the communities themselves. Then, it is possible to understand how their view of education is more political and ideological than pedagogical. Although some of these teachers were involved in recent in-service teacher training programs, they can articulate both their ethnic and professional identities with the most recent foundations of teaching and education. Because they know what they want from the educational process and from the school, they mould all the inputs in such a perspective.

It is also important to emphasise how native teachers establish better relationships with children and communities. Generally, they speak in native languages. Therefore, they communicate fully with children and parents. They are very respectful people among parents and community members. They treat children in a good way while trying to teach political and academic matters. They consider children as potential political leaders who must follow the community's positions. In this perspective, the community's aims are considered more important than the individual's.

²⁹ Teachers must know and value the native culture and communities in order to acquire proper professional identities... To know is to value and to value is to respect; we get nothing if a native does not know nor respect the native culture (NN-1. Popayán, August, 1995).

Since native first -generation teachers were the first promotion of native teachers, they did not teach during many years in schools. They became instructors for new generations and promotions of teachers. Presently, they play roles as school administrators, local supervisors and native representatives in state institutions. They are also involved in research processes of native education in order to understand and support their educational proposals. Some of them have attended the universities and received their certificates (undergraduates and master's degrees) in ethno-linguistics, which allow them to develop their native writing system. Lately, these native first-generation teachers have played an important role as officially accepted professors (instructors) of new native second- and third-generation teachers and non-native teachers since 1988.

3.2.4 Native second-generation teachers

Native second-generation teachers represent 25% of the total teacher population and they keep a strong similitude with the first generations of native teachers. They are proportionally both women and men with a majority being native. Usually, they have studied elementary or secondary education in the nearest town. These teachers and their relatives have participated in the native social movements of equity (and equality). They also know their legal, political and historical rights and they feel strong social ties with their communities. These teachers appeared after 1985. Therefore, they did not participate during the worst native struggles in the 1970s. Nevertheless, they have established contacts with the first-generation of native teachers through workshops, educational meetings, political meetings, public protests, political campaigns, etc. Thus, they have received direct ideological and political influences of social change. They have actively participated in social, cultural and political movements after 1985. They played a very important function between 1988 and 1994 in the political movement for re-drafting Colombia's constitution (1991). Many of these teachers left their academic and pedagogical responsibilities during this period to dedicate themselves to the political campaign. Colombian native groups participated with four constituents in the Constitutional Assembly -two of them from the Cauca province-. For the first time,

Colombia was declared a multiethnic and *pluricultural* (multicultural) and *multilingual* country. Hence, several native rights were consecrated in the new constitution.

Native second-generation teachers have clear ethnic identities as bilingual native teachers as well as farmers in the *resguardos*. Therefore, they maintain a relationship with the land and nature through agriculture. They give a clear definition to their professional identities. They know, practice and value many different cultural traditions, which are used sometimes as pedagogical resources. The interview conducted in August 1993 with a native second-generation teacher (NN-2) state the outline of this type of teachers and its similarity to native first-generation teachers.

Yo habia pensado quedarme en la comunidad y trabajar, mi papá era jornalero en esta hacienda, entonces cuando llegó la organización se fundó la comunidad. la importancia de ser maestro indígena es que la educación se dé a partir del conocimiento de los indígenas, porque día a día los indígenas tiene que seguir su camino de lucha y conocer la historia propia y entender que existen varios grupos étnicos que deben tener su formación educativa.

La educación siempre ha sido un trabajo difícil. En 1984 me mandaron casi a la fuerza porque así era la escogencia de uno. Me mandaron con dos talleres de capacitación, se decía que la educación oficial no presentaba la realidad de las comunidades indígenas, entonces nos enviaron a enseñar... Yo habia pensado retirarme pero habia una dificultad que la escuela debía seguir funcionando, entonces la comunidad impidió esa decisión, osea que uno depende de la comunidad, ella es la que medio el visto bueno y si lo tiene a uno aqui es porque le ha dado resultado³⁰.

Because these teachers received more academic education than their first-generation colleagues, they are a little more concerned for the academic development of native

³⁰ I have thought to work (as a peasant) and live in the community. My father was a worker on this farm. Then, the native organisation came and founded the community. The importance of native education is to do this based in the native culture. Because day by day, native people should continue struggling and understanding that there are several groups who need to know their history and their education.

Education has always been a difficult job. In 1984, they forced me to teach. That was the way they chose me to become a teacher. They sent me to teach but I had just two workshops in education. They told me that official education did not pick up the native thoughts. I thought of resigning but the school needed to continue. Therefore, the community ignored my decision. Then, one depends on the community. It approved to keep me here and if it wanted to keep me here, it was because my job was useful.

children and, they are continuously searching for academic opportunities for themselves. The majority of them are involved in university programs such as anthropology, political science, linguistics, law and education. These teachers constituted the first graduates of in-service training program that native organisations developed with Cauca University between 1988 and 1993. Then, they received specific and particular professional instruction over five years, which certified them as teachers. In addition, their first-generation colleagues through a one-year-teacher training program administrated by native organisations had trained these teachers.

This type of teacher assumes also a political role in his/her professional identity as well as a pedagogical one. They can relate to state institutions easily and also to native communities. In general, they have good relationships with native children, parents and communities as well as state institutional representatives. Presently, many of them are not teaching children but have become administrators and professors of several promotions of native third-generation teachers. In fact, this change of identity by native second-generation teachers is also related to the legitimisation and acknowledgement of native aspirations on education, land, natural resources and so on for the Colombian government in the 1980s. The Ministry of Education in Colombia created the official program of Ethno-education in 1985. Similarly, it hired some people, assigned a budget and divulged all the new ideas about the native rights on education in the regions. In 1987, important foreign economical resources were compromised for education over the country and part of these resources were devoted to native education in the regions. Several central and non-central institutions created programs and resources for supporting native demands. Undoubtedly, all these changes affected the new milieu of native teachers giving specific features to this and the next generation of teachers.

3.2.5 Native third-generation teachers

Native third-generation teachers constitute 10% of teachers. A majority of women became third-generation teachers after 1990. They are young and inexperienced in social, political and pedagogical matters. Because the number of this type of teachers will

increase in the near future, further analysis is required to increase their awareness of their professional identities and roles in concordance with their ethnic, social and historical conditions.

The majority of these teachers were born in *resguardos* being from a low class stratum. They grew up surrounded by the native conflicts and movements in the last decades in the country. While they are not political pioneers of social change as are the first-generations teachers, they know about native struggles through oral tradition and some publications. Usually, these teachers live and work in their own native communities or near villages participating in community activities. These teachers have assumed a non-radical position of opposition to the non-native values articulating some of these values into the native patterns of life including school and education. They want to continue living in native regions but they try to change some traditional patterns in order to live their lives more comfortably.

While half of them are bilingual people, they know, value and practise some native traditions. They do not know all the native history in the province and the country, but they share some main political concerns. Because these teachers have had the opportunity of travelling more often out of the villages, they are more familiar with the mestizo styles of living and they adopt some of these values, behaviours and resources. Thus for example, they use more technological resources in their daily and professional life. In general, they do not have strong conflicts of cultural identity but they have some problems identifying their jobs in political frameworks. They are more concerned for academic and pedagogical issues than their first- and second-generation colleagues.

The biggest changes concerning this type of teacher are related to their professional training and identity. Due to many native teacher-training programs that were established after 1985 for the Colombian state, these teachers have been increasingly influenced by academic and pedagogical concerns rather than by political or ideological ones. Presently, the main concerns which address the discussion on native education are: university vs.

normal teacher training programs, native teacher status, teachers' salary, native educational research, and so on. More often, teachers are not concerned for the social and cultural conditions of their communities but for their professional status and personal necessities. Thus, a smooth change of paradigms is happening in the native educational agenda. Native education is moving from a very ideological and political concern to an academic and institutional one. In this change, the role of anthropologists and of linguistics has been very important.

Because social scientists (especially anthropologists, linguists and sociologists) are more involved in native issues, they have transferred their theoretical and academic focuses to the native agenda. Because the majority of them came from academic backgrounds in universities and institutions more than from practical and political ones, they have incorporated academic discussions to the native struggles. Hence, many native communities are now more concerned for academic discussions than for political ones. This is reflected in the new generations of teachers who they have trained, as well as in the attitudes and roles that the alumni from these universities assume in front of the native communities and state institutions. Usually, they act as a bridge between the state and the communities tending to flatter the state.

In addition, the ethno-educational framework proposed by the Colombian State since 1985 is a reference point of training and hiring new teachers for native communities. The Colombian government has regulated all these native educational issues through nine legal instruments (law, decrees, resolutions and so on) in the last ten years. Similarly, important budgets and institutional changes have been incorporated in the state system of ethno-education. Little by little, native education in *resguardos* is transforming toward ethno-education of the state. Native teachers of the latest generations are assuming these parameters in their training programs, their life experiences and their work settings.

Specifically, the new teacher training programs in the ethno-educational framework³¹ are based on universality, which was rejected in the past decades. Thus, the same curriculum and foundations are proposed and developed all over the country. It does not matter which ethnic, linguistic or historical conditions a group has, however it must follow the main points of ethno-education: socialisation, nature, communication and work. Basically teachers receive the same training, regardless of where they go to teach. Even this curriculum is stated for training of teachers who are working with blacks and mestizos in very multicultural settings.

The Colombian government lay the foundations of intercultural policy in order to regulate the native movements in the country and incorporate the native education in the public educational system. In this sense, the majority of native political organisations have followed the state educational framework of ethno-education and degraded some of the initial foundations. Nevertheless, the native social conditions have not changed and many problems still remain. Therefore, the specific political, cultural and historical features of native communities and teachers are again unknown. These native third-generation teachers are going to acquire a more professional status based in the national and hegemonic patterns rather than in the native and political ones. To secure better salaries, pensions, holidays, union rights and so on are the main concerns of a majority of teachers in Colombia. These concerns do not give a specific identity to native teachers who coined different ideals.

In preparing native third-generation teachers, four universities over the country (*Amazonia, Cauca, Guajira, Tecnologica de Pereira*) have established undergraduate programs which were designed for natives in the country. Although such programs were established thinking about the native needs, the majority of students are not natives. The

³¹ Ethno-education is a term derived from ethno-development. This concept was introduced in Latin America by the theories of Mexican anthropologist Bonfil Batalla in the 1980s. The political framework of this concept is interculturalism: There is a hegemonic group that allows the cohabitation of minority groups with different cultures. It is important to establish which cultural resources are internal, external, appropriated or imposed in the relationship between the two cultural groups. Thus, the multicultural

majority of universities lack real research experiences about native issues and education. Traditionally, these universities rejected the native students and contact with native regions in the past few years. Since the Colombian government designated economic resources for handling native demands, the same universities have opened their doors to native students with the label of ethno-education while the programs, curricula, media, professors, etc. remain unchanged.

The data showed in the Representation 3 and Table 7 allow us to analyse the before mentioned considerations on the changing role and identity of native third-generation teachers. During the first semester of 1995, fifty autobiographies were collected from native teachers who were involved in teacher training programs. The majority of these trainees are native third-generation and non-native second-generation teachers who represent the most recently hired teachers in native schools (two to four years of teaching experience). They are participating in the Bachelor of Ethno-education (Cauca University), In-service teacher training program of Segovia, Tierradentro (CRIC/UNICAUCA) and workshops for In-service teacher training programs in the *resguardo* of Ambaló (PEB-CABILDO/UNICAUCA). While the first program was held in Popayán, the second and the third ones were held in two *resguardos*. Based in the reception and review of 47 autobiographies, we can state:

a) Teachers for native regions who receive their training outside of the *resguardos* do not claim teaching as their first vocation.

*Por ser de esta vereda fui obligado a trabajar en la escuela, ya que solo faltaba el maestro.*³² (NN-3).

*Nosotros vemos la necesidad de la relación con la comunidad pero no siempre porque tenemos muchas cosas que hacer.*³³ (NN-4).

paradigm is lost in such a concept since the concept of a nation or a people is non-existent. Also, the concept of pure cultures is suggested.

³² Because I was born in this village, I was forced to work at the school; they had the school but no teachers (NN-3).

³³ Because we have a lot to do, we do not always take into account the necessity of the relationship with the community. (NN-4)

Representation 3. VOCATIONAL ATTITUDES OF NATIVES AND NON-NATIVES TEACHERS OF DIFFERENT TRAINING TEACHERS PROGRAMS

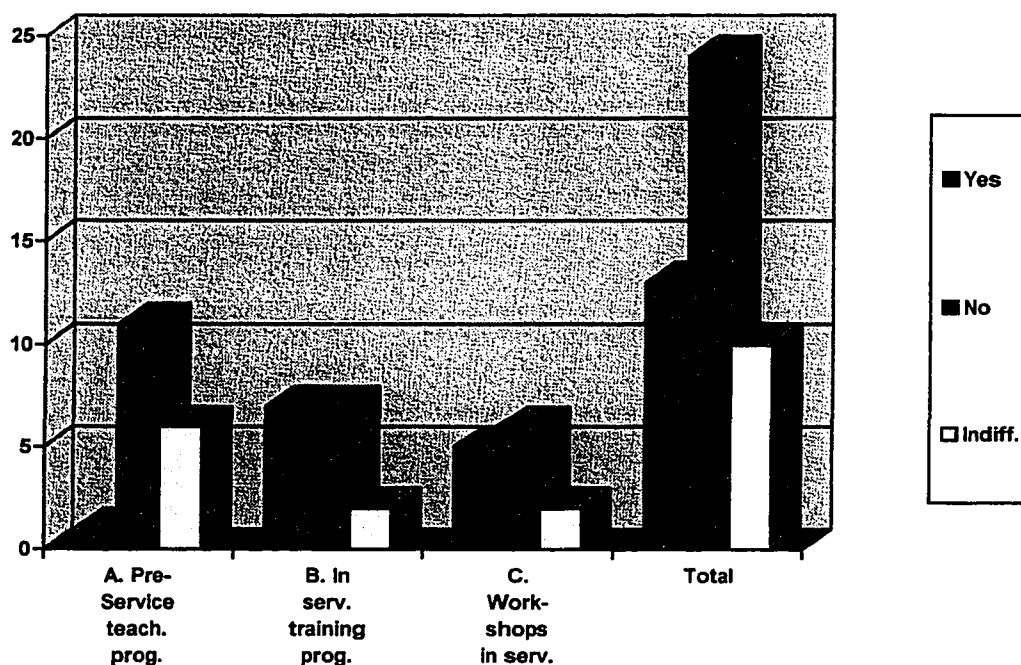


Table 7. VOCATIONAL AND ETHNIC ATTITUDES NATIVE THIRD-GENERATION AND NON-NATIVE SECOND-GENERATION TEACHERS IN CAUCA, COLOMBIA

PROGRAMS (A, B and C)	TOTAL TEACHERS	VOCATIONAL ATTITUDE			ETHNIC IDENTITY (self-acknowledgement)			
		Yes	No	Indiffer.	Mest.	Nati.	Blac.	Indiff.
<i>In Popayán city:</i> A- Pre-Service training teacher program (Bachelor in Ethno- education-Popayán)	18	1	11	6	9	6	2	1
<i>In country-side:</i> B- In-service training teacher Program (Segovia)	16	7	7	2	2	8	0	6
C- Work-shops for In- service teachers (Ambalo)	13	5	6	2	7	3	0	3
TOTAL	47	13	24	10	18	17	2	10

GARCIA, W. Concordia University, Montreal, 19998.

b) While only 25% of non-native teachers state vocational attitudes as teachers, 50% of native teachers state such a vocation. Thus, the professional vocation of being a teacher is not a reality in all teachers.

La necesidad de trabajar influyo en mi decision de ser maestro.³⁴ (NN-5).

Puede ser facil ser docente indigena para aquellas personas que pueden hablar y leer el Nasa Yuwe y conozcan su cultura.³⁵ (NN-6).

c) It is interesting that an important group of teachers stated that they did not know that they had a vocation. Usually, these teachers are not working but are taking courses in order to certify themselves and to secure employment.

Me hice maestra a traves de un amigo de mi hermana que me ofrecio hacer una licencia.³⁶ (NN-7)

Yo estudie algo diferente y me he tenido que desenvolver en un campo muy distinto.³⁷ (NN-8)

From the above table and teachers' statements, it is easy to illustrate how the direct cultural contact that teachers establish with native communities improves their professional as well as their ethnic identities. Communities can indicate the path that teachers should follow in order to do their jobs and feel accomplished in their communities. Despite the vocation being initially influenced by the community's demands, the majority of teachers who have a clearer vocation for working in native communities are native people.

In the near future, the necessity must be to consider the social, cultural and historical conditions and necessities of native communities in order to maintain a political and

³⁴ The necessity or job influenced me in making my decision to become a teacher (NN-5).

³⁵ To be a native teacher is easy for those who know the native culture and can speak and read the Nasa Yuwe (native language) (NN-6)

³⁶ I became a teacher through a sister's friend who offered me his job temporarily during his absence (NN-7)

³⁷ I studied something very different; thus, I am working in a different field (NN-8)

ideological focus on the teachers' roles, identities and training. Nevertheless, it is necessary to go further than simply complaining or demanding. It is also the time for affirming and developing educational processes based on native perceptions of education. Thus, stronger projects of research are needed in: psychological development, communicative strategies, bilingual teaching and learning approaches and styles in multicultural settings with native people. This research should be addressed for native people who use their languages in partnership with non-native people who are willing to know and value the native cultures.

Therefore, to develop a new teacher's identity and role is needed to prepare pre- and in-service teachers who will work these regions. There is a need for teachers who can keep a balance between their ethnic and professional identities without conflicts extending to children and communities. It is necessary to train a new teacher as a political and ideological agent of social change but with sufficient scientific quality for identifying and using different cultural resources. Similarly it is necessary that a teacher appreciates his/her culture as a social value as well as an individual expression seeing the others and him/herself as human beings with different dimensions, possibilities and limits.

3.2.6 Type of teachers who are not involve (included) in this study

Finally, it is important to mention three more types of teachers who influence (or will do) native education. Because these teachers are not a present or current or majority influence in the study region, they were not included in all the analysis. The first group is novice teachers in university or normal schools. These teachers will work in *resguardos* and will find several of the aforementioned social and cultural conditions. They are not actually conscious about the native conditions and cultures. They will be future students in re-education programs of Cauca University or Normal Schools. This inconsistency and waste of money happen precisely because further research and advice is required.

Similarly, there are a small group of teachers (approximately 25) who live in non-permanent refugee camps working with native communities. Because of the June 1984

earthquake and avalanche, which affected an important natural native region, some native communities were relocated to non-permanent camps. Some young native people were chosen as teachers for native communities and they are still working. The Colombian government did not assign any trained teacher to assist the educational necessities of children. Presently, those community teachers continue working and some of them have started to gain a salary. These teachers were not included in this study.

In addition, few Catholic missionaries, nuns and priests as well as Protestant reverends of different sects are working as teachers in native communities. Presently they do not constitute an important percentage but they have influences in some communities and organisations. In the near future, they could play important roles in the native education due to the importance and budgets that they are gaining. Nevertheless, The bad memories and experiences that native communities have had with the Catholic church since the Colonial epoch will limit the Catholic influence in education. The Catholic Church played an important role in the destruction and acculturation of these communities through the teachers (missionaries, nuns, priest, and volunteers).

3.3 Characterisation of teachers who work in native regions

3.3.1 Previous studies and first teachers' characterisation: Official and Non-official teacher

Studies and research about teachers in Colombia are scarce. Nevertheless, some general studies about the teachers and teachers in the history of Colombian education have been developed by the sociologist, Rodrigo Parra Sandoval (1986, 1995), the historian, Alberto Martínez Boom (1987), the politician, Virgilio Barco (1987) and the pedagogue, Agustín Nieto Caballero (1963). Writers such as Flores, R. and Batista, E. (1986), Lozada, R. (1983) and Nidelcoff, M. (1979) have produced some general reflections.

Studies and research about native teachers in Colombia are almost non-existent. The Cauca province has been one of the most studied native regions in the country. Hence, three studies about native teachers of this region can be mentioned. In 1984, the native

educational project conducted by Cauca University drove its first research experience in the Cauca province through a team of five researchers. This project dedicated some efforts to the understanding and characterisation of native teachers of the region in order to elaborate a general educational diagnosis. In this sense, a study conducted by Dr. Cortés (Co-ordinator of the research team) was published in 1985. At the same time, the project gave the opportunity to an anthropologist from another university (*Universidad de los Andes*) to research and propose a native teacher training program as part of her Master's thesis which constituted the second background of this type of study (Pabón, M. 1986).

Between 1992 and 1994, the team of the Native Education Office in Cauca University addressed a new area of research on native teachers of the region. This research constitutes a statistical and descriptive study of native teachers in the region (García, W., Sanabria, O., 1994). In addition, native organisations have also realised studies on teachers' necessities and labour conditions but these are not published; The first frameworks of analysis on teachers identity and role mentioned in the above studies is synthesised and presented in Table 8.

Because native teachers were not recognised by the Colombian educational system before 1985, they were considered as non-official teachers. This meant that only teachers who were contracted for the public educational institutions (Secretaries de Educación y Deportes) were considered as official teachers. Thus, the professional status was linked to the process of hiring more than the teacher's community role or his/her teaching capacity. Therefore, these studies propose a relationship between the official teacher who is non-native and the non-official teacher who is native. Presently, such division is improper because natives and non-native teachers are both official and are recognised by the Colombian educational system.

In addition, the study shows how official (non-natives) teachers as well as non-official teachers (natives) can assume two different behaviours in the face of native communities,

Table 8. FIRST CHARACTERISATION OF TEACHERS WORKING IN NATIVE COMMUNITIES OF CAUCA, COLOMBIA.

FEATURES	OFFICIAL TEACHERS	
	MESTIZO 1	MESTIZO 2
Identity	<i>He or She:</i> - rejects the native culture	<i>He or She:</i> - gets interest for native culture -self-critic-
Language	- is monolingual in <i>Castellano</i> (Spanish)	- is monolingual in <i>Castellano</i> (Spanish)
Relationship with community	- is not born in the community - represents the foreign culture - is hired by political kickbacks	- is external person in the community - is hired by the state - likes to establish links with the community through social research
Relationship with children	- is authoritarian, repressive and usually he/she acknowledges the native child	- is a democratic person but acknowledges the native culture and the native child
Training	- received a Christian religion training - was trained in subject areas of knowledge - has a strict pedagogical framework	- has developed political tendencies - was trained in subject areas of knowledge - has developed new pedagogical frameworks since he/she participates in the Pedagogical Movement (for change)

FEATURES	NO OFFICIAL TEACHERS	
	NATIVE 1	NATIVE 2
Identity	<i>He or She:</i> - is ambiguous about his/her identity	<i>He or She:</i> - permanently affirms his/her identity
Language	- is bilingual (Native and Spanish) or monolingual in <i>Castellano</i> (Spanish)	- is bilingual (Native and Spanish) or monolingual in <i>Castellano</i> (Spanish)
Relationship with community	- is born in the community - is hired by the state due to community' s requests and references - has some knowledge of native culture	- is hired for community itself - is compromised with native movements - has knowledge about native culture and research on native issues
Relationship with children	- is less authoritarian but he/she acknowledges native child	- is a democratic person and likes to research about the native child' s features
Training	- received a certain kind of academic and pedagogical training	- receives a intense ideological formation through periodical workshops according to the native movement' s necessities - has scarce academic and pedagogical training - is strongly united to native movements

RESOURCE: Cortés, P. Contexto Natural y Social de la Educación Indígena. Universidad del Cauca. Popayán, 1986

GARCÍA, W., Concordia University. Montreal, 1998.

cultures, children and academic background. The study shows how teachers could play an important role in native communities regardless of their ethnic background. The main factors, which affect these identities, are: culture, language, and relationship with the community, with the children and academic background. One could find a non-official (native) teacher with conflicts with his/her ethnic identity (language, traditions, etc.); hence, who displays professional conflicts as a teacher. Alike, it is possible to find an official teacher (non-native) who has interest for native issues, who has established good relationships with the native communities and who has been politically active (Cortés et al, 1986). The study also stresses the social and economical conditions of teachers in Cauca native regions.

Hay municipios como Jambaló donde los 48 maestros municipales son pagados por contrato, lo que significa un salario alrededor de \$9,000 sin prestaciones sociales durante nueve meses al año. Cuando los maestros son subvencionados, alcanzan a recibir un salario que oscila entre \$2,000 y \$4,000 al mes en tanto que actualmente

los maestro oficiales devengan entre \$80,000 y \$90,000 mensuales.³⁸ (Cortés et al, 1986 p. 70)

Similarly, the quality of teaching and education is affected by the material conditions of working in native regions of Cauca. Teachers can not perform with high standards of quality in their jobs when they have some difficulties to afford family necessities, travel long distances and have scarce working material. There is prevalence of low motivation and self-esteem expressed by teachers working in native regions. Some teachers had no idea who were native students in their classrooms or those who spoke the native languages. Finally, the study reports the hierarchical organisation that teachers of native communities assume for themselves in front their colleagues. Table 9 shows such a hierarchy starting with the highest level. (Cortés et al, 1986).

³⁸ There are municipalities like Jambaló where 48 native teachers are paid by contracts. This means a salary of approximately Col.\$ 9,000 without social guarantees for nine months per year. When teachers are subsidised, they can earn a salary between Col.\$ 2,000 and Col.\$ 4,000 per month. Nevertheless, official teachers earn between Col.\$ 80,000 and Col.\$ 90,000 per month.

Table 9. HIERARCHICAL ORGANISATION OF TEACHERS FROM NATIVE REGIONS IN CAUCA, COLOMBIA

STA-TUS	WHO IS PAYING THE SALARY	AREA OF WORK	KIND OF ENGAGEMENT	ETHNIC IDENTITY
High ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ Low	1. State (Feder.) 2. Province 3. Municipality 4. Church 5. Community	1. Urban area 2. Rural area	1. Permanent hired 2. Known-term hired 3. Temporal hired 4. Occasional hired 5. pay-wage hired	1. Mestizos 2. Blacks 3. Natives

GARCIA, W. Concordia University. Montreal, 1998

3.3.2 Proposed characterisation: Internal and external teachers working in native communities of Cauca, Colombia

Because native teachers are presently official teachers in their communities, we can no longer maintain the above-mentioned first characterisation. First of all, we propose a new general classification between internal (inside) and external (outside) teachers working in native communities. As we mentioned before, there are teachers from different cultural, ethnic, social and historical backgrounds working in native communities of Cauca. Sometimes, these teachers work together in the same schools. We also stated that some schools are located in very multicultural settings. There are regions in Cauca where mestizos, blacks and natives live together peacefully while their children attend school.

Hence, some schools and teachers are located in very complex cultural and linguistic environments of work. Ranging from totally native-populated villages to minority native-populated villages are some examples of such places. In addition, the linguistic situation adds more complexity to this phenomenon. The use and recovery of native languages are different in each village and these do not always correspond to the native people's presence. There are minority-native populated villages where people are developing a strong process of linguistic reaffirmation. Also, there are majority-native populated places where people do not pay attention to linguistic issues. Thus, native and non-native

teachers work in all these complex areas which demand better comprehension of their professional and ethnic identities.

3.3.2.1 External teachers

External teachers are those who disagree with the “native thought”. This means that they disagree with the native philosophy and policy of communities. Because some teachers in these areas, regardless of their ethnic and cultural background, work without any coordination with local native communities, native communities have named them external teachers. In general, these teachers are non-native people from first and second generations who have developed a disagreement between their professional image (imaginary) and their reality of work settings. Also, it is possible to find native people who behave in the same way and they are considered external teachers. Besides that, this type of teacher is generally Spanish monolingual. They do not know the native languages. Sometimes, they learned their languages in childhood but they did not practice and lost it.

External teachers were generally born outside of *resguardos* or inside *resguardos* with processes of acculturation. They came from non-native or half-native families with different social, cultural and historical conditions. Generally, they had bad experiences with native movements where they grew up. Hence, they underestimate the native cultures. Also, these teachers were educated in schools located out of the *resguardos*. They came from normal schools or high schools located in Popayán or capital towns. Some of them were and are students in Cauca University or some universities from Cali (capital of the nearest province). These teachers do not have the same political and academic aspirations, as do the native communities. Therefore, they work with children and communities without any coordination. They are considered more as state representatives than teachers in the *resguardos*. The ethnic and professional identities of this type of teacher disagree totally with the professional and ethnic identities that native communities want of their teachers. In addition, their training as teachers has sharpened this conflict. This situation notoriously affects the quality of their professional roles.

Usually, these teachers assume roles as agents of civilisation, state representatives, transmitters of truth and superior personalities in communities. Usually, they want to work just in the classroom but not in the community settings. These conditions affect the relationship with native communities and children in school. Because the authoritarianism and vertical relationship is concordant with this type of identity, native children are usually, shy, insecure, non-confident people and so on. The majority of these teachers finally deserts their schools and professions and migrates to the bigger towns. When they must be in native communities, they become very unhappy and dissatisfied people. Table 10 displays some data that support these conclusions.

Table 10. TEACHERS' OPINIONS OF WORKING IN NATIVE COMMUNITIES OF CAUCA, COLOMBIA

QUESTION	YES	NON	INDIFFER-ENT	NON ANSWER
1. Do you prefer to work in non-native areas?	42.17%	33.47%	16.19%	7.39%
2. Do you prefer to work in urban areas?	28.26%	42.17%	8.26%	21.30%
3. Do you prefer to work in another school but in rural area?	53.91%	25.21%	8.69%	12.17%

Resource: Native Education Office. Cauca University. 1993.

GARCIA, W. Concordia University. Montreal, 1998.

As is mentioned in the above table, an important percentage of teachers prefer work outside the *resguardos* (42.17%). Only a third of teachers wanted to work in native communities. It is a possible guess that these are teachers who have conflicts between professional and ethnic identities. They do not consider themselves belonging to native communities; therefore, they do not want to work in such areas. Even if they have jobs and family in the *resguardos*, they consider themselves non-rooted there. Interestingly, these teachers do not want to move to urban areas; they prefer to work in another school located in a non-native community (53,91%). Thus, the data demonstrate how these teachers are mainly from other non-native rural areas rather than from cities.

They feel more comfortable in their own areas and regions since they have their families there and they want to belong and work with their own social and cultural groups. We found that 64% of teachers in native regions are from rural areas. This is also an explanation of how the social and cultural origins and the cultural conflict determine the professional ascription and identity more than the training programs. Then, the cultural conflict is the cause of professional conflict with communities, children and colleagues. In addition, external teachers tend to work in their own social contexts due to their fear of more exigent dynamics in urban areas. The social and professional prestige of teachers are higher in rural areas than in urban areas. They are more recognised in areas where the literacy rate is lower as in rural areas.

If we consider that 60% of teachers who work in native regions of Cauca belong to the later mentioned typology, it is also important to consider the necessities of training and replacing these teachers. Also, it is important to consider the situation for the new recruits, in-service-training programs, novice teacher training programs, and curriculum development of teacher programs. Nevertheless, we should draw attention toward the attitudinal change of these teachers when they become involved in native political movements. As we mentioned in the first part of this chapter, some non-native teachers (especially second-generation teachers) become very akin with the native movements when they establish relationships to native colleagues or native organisations. Some of these teachers have made important contributions to the development of native education only after they have understood the native educational policies and have resolved their conflicts.

3.3.2.2 Internal teachers

Internal teachers are those who work and behave according to the community's thoughts. The communities establish their professional identity more than the state goals. The majority of these teachers are native people who were born in *resguardos* and they know the native language and Spanish. These teachers were chosen for native communities and political organisations based on the individual's responsibility and affinity

with native policy. The families of these teachers were people who regularly engaged in native political struggles. Usually, these teachers were young people, well known in the communities as collaborators, dynamic and honest people. Also, It is important to consider that some non-native teachers who have engaged in the native struggles over the last years are also considered internal teachers for native communities. An internal teacher expresses some of the distinctions between these two types of teachers:

Nosotros trabajamos de igual a igual, mientras que hay profesores que son licenciados y la misma comunidad le dice a uno que trabajan uno o dos días; la comunidad no quiere aceptar esas personas así, prefieren el personal de la misma región, que tenga quinto de primaria pero son personas que colaboran con la vereda...Los profesores de afuera vendrían a contradecir las opiniones y las ideas que tiene la gente de la comunidad porque los que vienen de afuera no vienen a desempeñar su labor de acuerdo con la comunidad, sino que sería con lo de ellos y la comunidad se vendría a aislar y no habría integración entre la comunidad y el profesor.³⁹ (NN-9)

Because the development of political and ideological roles has been more important for native communities, the teachers' academic skills were not the most important requirements for being chosen⁴⁰. Native communities and organisations designated, paid and took care of some people as teachers because the Colombian government allowed it in 1978 (Decree 1142/78) -native communities could choose their own teachers-. This decree gave a more flexible outline of teacher and teaching which allowed communities to choose the more responsible and kindred people in their communities. A native first-generation teacher comments:

Q- ¿Qué es importante para ser un buen maestro interno?

³⁹ We are not university graduates but we work like external teachers. Nevertheless, communities tell us that external teachers work just one or two days and the community does not accept such people. They prefer people from the same region who have elementary education but collaborate with the village. External teachers are against the community's ideas because they do not respect the community's opinions. They know their own opinions. Thus, the community is isolated and there is no integration between the community and the professor (NN-9).

⁴⁰ Native parents wanted their children to learn writing, reading and general mathematics but these parameters of learning have gradually changed. Presently, parents also demand some academic and scientific skills in child-education.

A/ Que el maestro conozca y valore la vivencia de las comunidades indígenas. Nada sacariamos que el maestro sea indígena y desconozca los propios valores... Hay maestros no indígenas que aportan a la cultura indígena... Algunas veces, el maestro solo se dedica a dar ordenes pero no trabaja con los niños ni tampoco se mete con toda la comunidad. Que hable la lengua también es importante y trabaje en la huerta para que el niño entienda y se ubique no solo que trabaje de memoria.

*Q- ¿Cuales son las deficiencias de los maestros internos?
Los maestros indígenas casi no saben leer y escribir bien por eso no participan en foros ni pueden hacer quedar bien a la comunidad por fuera... debemos rendir en la parte academica pero desde la parte cultural⁴¹ (NN-1).*

To be such a teacher was a social affiliation since teachers did not receive salaries during the first months of year. Then, teachers had to work in agriculture or other community-paid work in order to survive. Sometimes, the whole community took care of the teachers' farms enabling the teachers' function. These unfavourable economic and labour conditions of teaching had an impact on their professional status. These teachers were not incorporated in the official ranking, not considered for further up-to-date official training, nor did they receive state guarantees. In addition, the training of these teachers is more an empirical practice that states a ideological role for the survival of native cultures. The academic skills have been acquired during the last years but these continue to play a secondary role. As an example, an internal teacher expressed when she was criticised for her academic teaching in native schools: "*Para que enseñar tanta matemáticas si los que mas saben matemáticas son los que mas roban*"⁴². Hence, they are very critical about keeping their professional identity in the framework of ethnic and political identity and necessities.

⁴¹ What is important in order to be a good teacher?

Teachers must know and give value to the native community's experiences. We get nothing if a teacher is native but he/she is unaware about our values... There are non-native teacher who contribute to the native culture... Some times, teacher just gives orders but he/she does not work with children either with all community. Also, it is important that he/she talks the native language and works in the vegetable garden in order to explain the children not only using the memory.

Which are the deficiencies that internal teachers have?

Internal teachers do not know reading and writing very well. Therefore, they do not participate in forums or meetings and they do not represent the community in good way... We must improve in the academic part but from the cultural part (NN-1).

⁴² Why should math be taught? There are people who already know math but steal.

Also, it is important to consider that for native communities, the teaching profession and the school function are not as important as other social and cultural processes in child education. They involve children in cultural, social and historical dynamics allowing them to socialise in native patterns, to reproduce the culture and to survive as groups. Then, learning is more a social and cultural act than an academic one. Alike, native communities and organisations know that specific patterns of learning in schools for native children have not been researched enough. The development of a native or cultural pedagogy is necessary in order to incorporate new concepts and paradigms, which allow to legitimise native aspirations and lead to better understanding. In this sense, native organisations are playing an important function throughout their Bilingual Educational Programs. These programs are running important processes of research and they try to build new pedagogical and educational frameworks according to the community's needs. The bigger obstacles of these initiatives are the regional educational institutions over the national ones.

Finally, some specific cultural and social factors should be established (gender, age, civil status, economical position, studies, background, etc.) in order to analyse the teachers' ethnic and professional identity in native regions of Cauca, Colombia. The professional identity of the teacher is related to the native identity. Then, it is necessary to maintain and develop the natural, social and cultural conditions for practising as a native teacher, in order to be a native teacher. The specific labour conditions and natural environment of teaching point out the native teachers' roles and identities. Since the native philosophy and thought are in relationship with the nature where natives live, it is important to respect and maintain the native styles of living, settlement, social organisation, authority, education and so on. This Chapter is a first description of teachers and teaching practices in native communities in Cauca, Colombia. It is based on the observation of current practices and exchange of opinions with multiple respondents. Of course, some of the assertions, and statements expressing typologies and opinions are tentative formulations awaiting the results of further research.

CHAPTER FOUR

TEACHERS AND TEACHING PRACTICES FROM THE MULTICULTURAL EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

4.1 Introduction

As the new millenium approaches, new paradigms and agendas of humanity have arisen: sustainability, globalization, high technological communication, gender equity, pluralism and so on. Little by little, multiculturalism has become an indispensable and shared political agenda employed by western societies in order to deal with pluralism and diversity.

In the context of changes in the world, education is one of the most important factors in establishing healthy, peaceful and well-developed societies (UNESCO, 1997). Most of the countries are updating and gearing their educational system toward the new paradigms and agendas of humanity. As a main educational factor, the teaching profession must be improved in those educational systems, which involve multicultural issues. Teachers can play a very useful role for improving education depending on different factors. Therefore, it is important for societies to establish the factors that influence the teachers' identities and roles in the new educational systems.

The professional role of teaching does not depend solely on the teacher-training background. Teachers are not only workers of education but also ethnic human beings who reflect their ethnic and cultural identities in the teaching profession.

4.2 Multiculturalism as an Indispensable Agenda of Humanity in Contemporary Societies

Societies are permanently changing. Western societies are becoming more complex and diverse. Social groups establish contact and exchange cultures, resources, information and so on with other different groups more frequently (Banks, 1986, 1993; Fuller, 1994; McConell, 1993; Sleeter and Grant, 1994). Stressing this idea, Banks writes:

When the ethnic revitalisation movements emerged in the 1960s, the Western nations were characterised by tremendous ethnic, cultural and racial diversity... The nation-states that were created by the European explorers and settlers, such as the United States, Canada and Australia, were populated by an array of ethnic and cultural groups from Europe. The ethnic and cultural diversity within these new nations was enriched by the native people that the European settlers displaced, by blacks from Africa, and by the large numbers of immigrants and refugees from nations throughout the world who flocked to these nations to realise their religious and economical dreams (1986 p:2).

In addition, these features have been reflected in the school settings. Speaking about the situation in the United States, Fuller states "By the year 2000 between 33% and 40% of school children will be from ethnically/racially/culturally/economically diverse groups." (1994 p. 269). Moreover, Banks adds that "Not only will tomorrow's students become increasingly diverse, but they will also become increasingly poor" (1993 p. xiii). As a result of these changes, minority groups in Western societies have proceeded with political and social struggles in order to be recognised in society and participate fully in all its benefits. (Sleeter and Grant, 1994; Banks and Banks, 1993; Tyack, 1993; Katz, 1976)

Issues of social diversity have polarised the politics of education during the last generation. The media have focused on different issues over time, running the gamut of desegregation, bilingual instruction, prayer in the schools, multicultural curriculum, gender policies and practices, separatist afrocentric academies, and common civil and cultural literacy. The United States has never been so diverse, it seems, and the challenges facing the schools appear unprecedented (Cremin et al., 1990 cited in Tyack, 1993 p.8).

Addressing the aforementioned issues, the agenda of multicultural education has gained special relevance in the Western world gradually since the 1960's. Thus, the socio-cultural

and historical particularities of each country have generated different theoretical and political developments. Banks states, "The United Kingdom, various nations on the European continent, and Australia and Canada have implemented a variety of programs to increase the achievements of ethnic and immigrant students and to help students and teachers develop more positive attitudes toward racial, cultural, ethnic, and language diversity" (1993 p.5). However, all South and Central American countries began different processes of ethnic acknowledgement at school and society in the 1970s (Cortés et al, 1985).

Therefore, during the last decades, multicultural education has taken effect as an agenda for addressing cultural and social changes at school and society. Thus, this has been shown as an alternative framework in education that mainly addresses race, gender, social and cultural differences in school-based education (Banks and Banks, 1993). Because schools and teachers have become a common reality in all communities (Western and non-Western) for addressing educational issues, groups who have traditionally had different perceptions about education are implementing their own educational aims through school settings. This circumstance has caused some groups to establish a political negotiation between their ancestral knowledge and the curricula that are taught at school, including the role of teachers.

Since multicultural education is not identifiable accurately as a unique practice or proposal, several theoretical approaches have been produced in order to address the existing differences. "Educators have not advocated a single, unified plan for multicultural education. Responding to slightly different issues in different schools, employing different conceptual views of school and society, and holding somewhat different visions of the good society, educators have over the years constructed different approaches to multicultural education." (Sleeter and Grant, 1993 p.33). While Gibson (1976) proposed four approaches, Sleeter and Grant (1993) have broadly developed each one of these and proposed a new one. In addition to race and cultural diversity as common categories, they incorporate gender, social class and social inequality. These approaches have been

mentioned as: a) Teaching the exceptional and the culturally different, b) Human Relations, c) Single-group studies, d) Multicultural Education and e) Education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist (Gibson, 1976; Sleeter and Grant, 1994).⁴³

Because teachers play an important role in addressing schooling diversity mentioned earlier, there is significant importance in establishing the outline, function, role and challenges that teachers who work in multicultural approaches have as human beings as well as professionals. Based on theoretical and practical approaches, it is necessary to consider that the teacher's performance in each approach will be influenced strongly by the identity, role, problems and challenges that these facets pose in their personal and professional lives.

Because teachers are human beings and individuals with cultural, social, natural and historical backgrounds not simply professionals of pedagogy, the establishment of a link between their identities and roles becomes important. A multicultural education framework is one approach that emphasises the particularities. Therefore, to consider that there is cultural and individual distinctiveness not only in students, but also in teachers, is very relevant.

4.3 Teacher and Teaching Profession: Core Factors in the Multicultural Education

As a common characteristic in the majority of modern societies, schools and teachers have had a strong impact on the cultural conceptions of minority groups and ethnic status groups. Traditional ways of socialisation and education have been modified and institutionalised through the schooling system. Important agents with ancestral educational roles have been substituted for trained teachers with Western conceptions of education. In spite of this, multicultural educational approaches have arisen as a movement of reform in the last forty years. Thus, the multicultural educational agenda has been proposed

⁴³ Sleeter and Grant (1993) also mention Pratte's typology. Pratte (1993) identified the following four approaches: restricted multicultural education, modified restricted multicultural education, unrestricted multicultural education, modified unrestricted multicultural education. Further information in Banks

theoretically to deal with the recognition of the cultural and social particularities of each student at school. Although this may be true, schools and the teachers themselves do not belong to the cultural and ancestral pattern of education and teaching of many groups. If natural environments, cultural perceptions and languages are different, it would be pertinent to address the fact that the teaching and learning function should occur differently in each cultural group. At present, the school-based education and the teaching profession basically follow one model.

Referring to the professional practice of teachers in a multicultural educational framework, the teacher's cultural identity should be studied and contrasted with the principles of multiculturalism in order to determine the scopes of the teaching role and the impact of teacher-training programs. The fact that cultural differences influence not only the learning processes (students) but also the teaching processes (teachers) in educational relationships must be taken into account. Thus, the research on psychological and anthropological foundations of the teaching practice in multicultural settings would contribute to the agenda of multiculturalism in education. The problems and challenges that teachers face when their professions are developed in multicultural communities must be described and better understood.

In the majority of minority groups (especially in America), Western schooling patterns were promoted through hegemonic institutions used for colonization and the widespread adoption of language and economic changes based on Western conceptions of the world. This project had serious and far-reaching implications in that it influenced changes on cultural minority groups and the role of teachers. As a result of the Western conceptions about teaching and learning, school-based education tended to become the universal canon. Nevertheless, if societies recognise that learning should be based on culturally congruent and meaningful socio-cultural exchange, then any multicultural educational approach must address the role and professional identity of teachers in a new perspective.

(1993) page33 or Pratte, R.. Multicultural Education: Four Normative Arguments. *Educational Theory*, 33, 21-32, 1983.

More and more, schools and teachers function in complex communities of minority groups and deal with components from more than one culture. For example teachers can be trained and hired as agents for functioning in their own or different cultures and social groups. This is significantly important to the students and to the role and professional identity of each teacher. Because a teacher is first a human being before being a pedagogical subject, his or her cultural and social background determines his or her identity and role at the school. Social class, cultural values, races, gender, etc. are factors that influence the performance of teaching.

Similarly, the teacher-training programs constitute another variable that influences the teacher's performance. Unfortunately, the teacher-training programs, which consider cultural and social diversity, have not been broadly implemented in universities or colleges for teachers. While the student population is becoming more multicultural, the teaching population is becoming more monocultural (Fuller, 1994). This causes a difficulty in the effectiveness of the teacher's professional practice.

In the United States, current statistics on enrolment in teacher education programs indicate significant lack of minority representation. African-American comprise only 6.8% of the 1989 enrolment in teacher education; Latinos, 2.7%, and Asian or Pacific Island American were less than 1%, in contrast to 86.5% for white Americans (American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1990; cited in Hood and Parker, 1994 p.164).

The teacher training programs in regular institutions do not consider nor address these new realities. Cultural and social diversities are ignored in the curricula for preparing teachers as well as in the composition of teaching students. Writing about this, Smith (1994) states:

“To fulfil new responsibilities including school governance, more comprehensive patterns of social interaction, and the development of innovative curricula and instructional practices, teachers must acquire a multiplicity of skills and dispositions often not part of traditional teacher preparations. Teacher preparation

programs generally focus primarily on subject-matter expertise and the acquisition of instructional technologies” (1994, p.18)

Finally, political assumptions of teaching in a multicultural educational agenda have importance for defining the teacher’s identity and role. While teachers who work outside their own cultures comment that their choice for working in complex and culturally different settings are mainly egalitarian, those working within their own cultural settings generally assume more political positions. In contrast, some teachers express their wishes of work in similar cultural and social conditions. For example Smith reports, “Recent studies suggest novice white middle class teachers generally want to work with students like themselves, and they have an active interest in formal learning; yet major demographic changes in the United States suggest that many teacher education graduates will be teaching students unlike themselves” (American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1987. Cited in 1994, p.20)

In contrast to the aforementioned, Hood and Parker report that “students (*as educators*) expressed a strong sense of social justice as a reason to go into teaching. Their definition of social justice was one whereby they would go to minority communities or schools with predominantly African-American or Hispanic populations to help future students succeed academically” (1994, p.165). Nevertheless, Mohatt and Erickson in their comparative research about teaching styles in an Odawa School report that teachers who belong to the same culture of students perform significantly better. (1987, p.117).

From the information above, the research and reflection on these points would be significantly useful for improving the educational programs. Teachers are indispensable individuals in educational relationships; therefore, it is very important to develop an academic understanding of the identity, role and challenge that these subjects should play in a multicultural educational framework. Thus, the determination of types of teachers who can play an important role in multicultural communities would afford an opportunity to improve education. The results obtained will help improve teacher training and

professional development opportunities by establishing a theoretical and practical framework.

4. 4 Identity and Roles of Teachers Working in the Multicultural Educational Framework

4.4.1 Teacher: an ethnic being before a professional being

It is common to consider school as a place where education is obtained and the teacher as an individual dedicated just to teaching in school. Hence, education is considered as a process that happens inside school in the classroom and the teacher as a subject only dedicated to such a process. In this way, such misunderstanding reduces the analysis of the actual relationship between profession, knowledge and life, which affects the teacher's professional performance. Teachers are human beings as well as they are professionals. They are subjects who take different interests, dreams and ambitions in relationship or not with their professions or craft. Teachers' expectations are related not only to their professional identity but also to the specific social, cultural and historical identity as a person. Usually, identities are complex and conflictive matters, especially when they are brought together in one individual from different cultural, social and historical roots.

The teacher is a person who belongs to a social class, economic stratum, specific ethnic group, particular ideology, religion, gender, etc. Undoubtedly, these and other factors determine his or her identity as an individual as well as a professional. The teacher is a historical individual influenced in his or her training and work as well as in his or her daily life by the cultural and social tendencies of society at large. Furthermore, the environment and the economy where he or she lives and works influences the teachers' identity. Therefore, the teacher normally behaves not only as a professional or pedagogical subject but also as an ethnic subject -simply as a human being-.

Due to modern tendencies of economy (capitalism), social development (urbanisation) and policy (globalization), most Western countries have generated, in the turn of the century, educational policies and systems in order to prepare a labour force, integrate the

nation, unify the country, and to live in healthy and peaceful communities. Thus, some conceptions about the knowledge, education, socialisation, development, social ideals and so on are propelled through professionals of education. The cultural and social diversity of those countries have been little by little recognized and hegemonic cannons have started to change.

In such diversified regions of Western countries, the professionals' requirements, outlines, identities and roles could not be adjusted to only one cultural pattern or point of view. In addition, the economical or religious situation cannot continue being the unique factor for defining the basis of an educational system. It should be based on the comprehension of the entire society and nation and the proper and inner educational paradigms in the present and the future.

Whereas school-based education is just one of the traditions which does not belong to all cultural groups, it is being reconsidered as an alternative development of knowledge and cognitive processes in some communities. Similarly, the teachers' role and identity is also being redefined because it does not give continuity to the authentic socialisation and enculturation processes of the groups.

The majority of teachers, who work in native communities, were trained in teacher training schools (Normales) and Colleges that do not consider the native traditions. As a consequence, these teachers play an important role in the acculturation of native communities. Therefore, it is necessary to consider a new model of teacher training programs, which addresses the change of educational conception for native communities.

Teachers can no longer be considered as educational agents who just play a role inside schools. They do not behave just as administrators, transmitters of knowledge, principals or anything else. The social identity and practice of teachers are consequences of several factors and contexts: context of origin (native or non-native), social class of origin, level of development, training and work regions, the training system (Normal, University,

College, In-service training, etc.), type of labour structure, the relationship to other professional groups in society, tendencies of local and national development, and the articulation to the new and changing models of society.

Therefore, the criteria for evaluating the teachers' role and identity should be developed in the social and cultural framework of the teachers and not just in the schooling one. This is important because in such a way, we do not isolate teachers from their general context and we do not reduce their roles and identities to the classrooms.

Similarly, the general context of teachers is not static. Society has changed during the teachers' life. Thus, society has also foreseen different ideal images of the teachers depending on its necessities. Teachers have been considered as agents of social change, agents of socialisation, promoters of development, instruments of economy, and so on. These roles have not always been based on the local, regional or national necessities. Rather, these roles and identities have been procured according to the necessities of the elite in the country. As a result, teachers have rebuilt their identities and roles not only according to their training patterns but also to the labour conditions in each community. Communities play an important role in defining the teachers' function and identity through social pressures and the daily life around the school.

Based on the above-mentioned, we could discuss the meaning of being a good teacher. It cannot be adjusted only to technical and pedagogical criteria of the school-based education. The personality, identity and role of the teachers could be understood in contrast to their social, cultural and community ambitions. This new consideration is more political than pedagogical. To train teachers should be for the advancement of the communities themselves according to their own patterns of development. School, education and teachers are related to larger issues of society. Therefore, schools, teachers and education will be more suitable when the society itself allows conditions for such improvement. Social conditions influence the teachers' role and identity in the same way

that these influence society. The teachers' mission is social before pedagogical. However, teachers are just one factor in the whole educational system.

In such a critical framework that considers the diversity, it is possible to understand and accept the differences of identity and role of these subjects. In addition, in a critical framework that considers the inequalities of society, it is possible to understand and respect the political struggle of some groups in some societies. Teachers in native communities assume a different role and identity based on the history and necessities of their communities.

4.4.2 Main Contexts of Teachers' Professional Identity

Ethnic and professional identities of teachers are mainly determined for three contexts: Context of origin (where the teacher was born), context of training (where the teacher learned to be a teacher) and context of work (where the teacher works).

In addition, each context could be divided into two classes: rural or urban. Similarly, rural areas can be native or non-native communities. Therefore, there are at least 18 different kinds of contexts that influence the teachers' ethnic and professional identities. At least three of them have influenced the teachers' role and identity. For example, a teacher, who is born in a non-native rural area, trained in a non-native rural area and teaches in a native rural area, tends to behave differently to another who was born in a native area, was trained in a non-native rural area and teaches in a native rural area.

In this study, we state that teachers who work in the areas where they were born acquire better ethnic and professional identities. They know communities, languages, and traditions of their origin. Nevertheless, the contexts of training not always keep the same relationship. Teacher training programs are diversified and they do not take into account all the other contexts. Programs of training can be in Normal high schools, universities, in-service teacher training programs, etc.

The general tendency should be to articulate the three main contexts in order to improve the teaching profession and the teacher's life. The educational system cannot interfere with the context of origin, but it can promote the best contexts of training and work for each teacher according to the context of origin.

Beside this, the first and second language and cultural traditions play an important role in teachers' identities. Because teachers have to deal with cognitive processes of children and social relationships with their communities, the linguistic and cognitive abilities are a main factor of ethnic and professional identity.

At this point, we can state a second proposal of teachers' outline bringing the first one from Chapter three.

Table 11. PROFILE OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL TEACHERS FROM NATIVE COMMUNITIES OF CAUCA, COLOMBIA

		CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT		
		Community of Origin	Institution of Training	Community of Work
1. INTERNAL TEACHER	1.1 Bilingual	Native	Native	Native
	1.2 Non Bilingual	Native / Non-Nat	State / Native	Native / Non-Nat
2. EXTERNAL TEACHER	2.1 Non Bilingual	Non-native	State	Non-Native/Nat

GARCIA, W. Concordia University, Montreal, 1998.

In the multicultural educational framework, teachers should be internal individuals who understand and value the cultural patterns of the communities where they work. Similarly, teachers should be trained with significant inputs of learning and experience of the context where they are going to work. Therefore, teacher-training programs should consider the contexts, the languages and the necessities of such communities where teachers will work.

Each promotion of teacher should take into account the applicant's profile, the community needs and the graduate's profile. Thus, internal teachers (1.1 or 1.2) behave considerably better than external teachers.

Two more groups of factors that determine the teachers' roles and identities have arisen through this study.

Table 12. GENERAL AND PARTICULAR FACTORS WICH DETERMINE TEACHERS' PROFILE

GENERAL FACTORS (society)	PARTICULAR FACTORS (individual)
Vocation	Attitudes
Designation	Behavior
Recruitment	Characteristics
Certification	Selection
Engagement	Gender
Supplies of teaching	Exceptionality
Supervision	Ideology
Evaluation	Politics
Relationship with another professional fields	Culture
Tendency of local, national and global development	Social stratum
Level of development of general context	Language(s)

GARCIA, W. Concordia University, Montreal, 1998.

Further research is required in order to understand the above-mentioned general and particular factors as well as the questions mentioned in the Chapter Three of this document. The understanding of those factors and questions can help to improve the teacher recruitment, the teacher-training programs, and the improvement of all educational systems.

Finally, it is necessary to realize that teachers come from as many different backgrounds as to students. Therefore, teachers deserve the same respect as other educational participants within the whole educational system. Teachers have the right to be different and diverse. In addition, they have the right to being trained to train for diversity and citizenship.

Teachers who are working consciously in multicultural educational approaches in native communities in Cauca, Colombia give to their professional practices at schools –and outside of those- an ideological and political commitment as well as a pedagogical and cultural one. Thus, since this has a historical, cultural and pedagogical explanation the teachers' identities and roles are strongly determined by the above-mentioned factors and they are behaving as real teachers.

Multicultural education constitutes an alternative educational framework, which takes into account *different factors of pluralism, respect, diversity* in order to improve the educational system as a whole.

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