



How to cite this article:

Saritama Valarezo, M. Á. & Álvarez, I. (2020). Drawings and Spontaneity of Language in Indigenous Children. *MLS Educational Research*, 4 (2), 69-83. doi: 10.29314/mlser.v4i2.361

DRAWINGS AND SPONTANEITY OF LANGUAGE IN INDIGENOUS CHILDREN

Miguel Ángel Saritama Valarezo

Autonomous University of Barcelona (Spain)

MiguelAngel.Saritama@e-campus.uab.cat · <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1705-8965>

Isabel Álvarez Canovas

Autonomous University of Barcelona (Spain)

isabel.alvarez@uab.cat <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-9488-9960>

Abstract. The article studies the Kichwa language in students from 5 to 7 years old in six bilingual intercultural community schools in Ecuador through the graphic expression of the drawings. The study aims to see if the language used reflects changes in the key concepts of young children. 225¹ drawings are obtained that are the sample of indigenous student boys and girls. The objective is to see if there is a relationship between the language and the way children observe their immediate world and how important the language and Kichwa culture is for them. The methodology is qualitative and convenience sampling is also framed in four variables: a) drawings that use Spanish; b) drawings in the Kichwa language; c) Spanish and Kichwa bilingual drawings; and, d) drawings without the presence of written language. The results indicate that the choice and characteristics of the elements chosen by children are related to the spontaneous and determined use of a language. In conclusion, there is a supremacy of the Castilian language in indigenous children to name the elements of the environment. Those who use indigenous language prioritize, draw better and use larger dimensions to the emblems related to the Kichwa culture; although, the spontaneity of the language does not determine any departure from the values, the organization or the cultural elements of the Saraguro.

Keywords: kichwa language, bilingualism, natives, community schools.

EL DIBUJO Y LA ESPONTANEIDAD DE LENGUA EN NIÑOS INDÍGENAS

Resumen. El artículo estudia la lengua kichwa en estudiantes¹ de 5 a 7 años en seis escuelas comunitarias interculturales bilingües en Ecuador mediante la expresión gráfica del dibujo. El estudio pretende ver si la

¹ A lo largo del artículo se utilizará, siempre que sea posible el neutro. En caso de no ser posible, se plasmará el masculino como genérico.

lengua utilizada refleja cambios en los conceptos clave del alumnado de corta edad. Se obtienen 225² dibujos que son la muestra de niños y niñas indígenas. El objetivo es ver la relación de la lengua con la forma que los estudiantes observan el mundo inmediato y lo importante que es para ellos la lengua y la cultura kichwa. La metodología es cualitativa, el muestreo es intencional y se vehicula en 4 variables: a) dibujos que usan castellano; b) dibujos en lengua kichwa; c) dibujos bilingües castellano y kichwa; y, d) dibujos sin presencia de lengua escrita. Los resultados indican que la elección y las características de los elementos escogidos por el alumnado está relacionado con el uso espontáneo y determinado de una lengua. En conclusión, hay una supremacía de lengua castellana en los niños indígenas para nombrar los elementos del entorno. Los que usan lengua indígena priorizan, dibujan mejor y emplean dimensiones mayores a los emblemas relacionados con la cultura kichwa, aunque, la espontaneidad de lengua no determina alejamiento alguno de los valores, la organización ni de los elementos culturales de los Saraguro.

Palabras clave: lengua kichwa, bilingüismo, indígenas, escuelas comunitarias.

Introduction

Ecuador is one of the first countries to propose an education designed and directed by indigenous people. It is the first case in Latin America in which organizations assume the responsibility of raising and implementing a national education proposal for communities. Its precursor, the indigenous leader Dolores Cacuango, created the *Escuelas Clandestinas (Clandestine Schools)* (González, 2015), which gave way to Intercultural Bilingual Education in which the vernacular language is taken as central in teaching, the value of both other cultures and the own, the training of indigenous people, the integration of indigenous teachers to teaching and the valuation of ancestral knowledge, among other elements.

Currently, and in view of the historical processes of indigenous peoples, their own knowledge and wisdom confront and invert the situation of monocultural and Spanish domination (Inuca, 2017), the incorporated knowledge not only as an indigenous identity, but also to safeguard itself from the cultural alienations characteristic of the globalized world.

In view of the still observed difficulty of oral and verbal communication, drawing has become a key methodology for investigating school learning processes in boys and girls beginning this stage. In students, graphic language is much more fluid than writing, so drawing is a powerful channel for them to express themselves. According to the classification of Ives and Gardner (1984), it is from the age of 7 that the evolutionary phase of attachment to cultural influences occurs. The models of their culture are handled, reality increases, so it can be easily distinguished what they represent each time they draw to communicate (Maeso, 2008). Piaget (1987) establishes the development of symbolic capacities at this age, although they will not yet develop the logical capacity.

Children's drawing has been a particular means of expression that allows particular internal representations of both the cognitive and socio-affective order of the child to emerge.

The study of drawings: contributions from literature

In the educational field, figurative graphic symbolization, or what is called drawing, turns out to be one of the most forgotten, inhibited, relegated to a playful function and, in the best of cases, creative. Very soon it is replaced by other systems: writing and arithmetic. However, due to its concrete, figurative and contextual characteristics, the drawing allows to bring to light representational aspects of great

² Este estudio ha sido posible gracias a la beca Ecuatoriana por la SENESCYT en el programa de "Universidades de Excelencia 2015".

interest (Maeso, 2008). For his part, Wimmer (2014), analyzes the colors and shapes used by boys and girls of different age groups and finds a significant relationship with the emotional states present and that cannot be expressed with speech or writing.

Chacón and Morales (2015), measure the impact of the *monster* in children from 4 to 12 years old. They determined that the drawings recreated fantastic environments in which the monster was the protagonist (much more in boys than in girls). This fantastic construction took place with great spontaneity since the children easily accessed the terrain of the collective imagination. Benavides (2006), in a work to correlate the presentation of drawings of children from 4 to 12 years of age with the theme of *the family and its real and covert structure*, finds that with drawing students express more elements than if they did so verbally. Furthermore, the processes of social integration, adaptation of guidelines and behavior patterns, and harmonious development are easier to detect. Children who experiment with drawing also benefit from math and language learning.

Drawing has also been used to investigate ecological values when Aguilar, Mercón and Silva (2016), ask school children to draw how they imagine monkeys living, based on the knowledge of the difficulty of the species. The perceptions in the drawings were made from the contexts of the communities, which gave elements to understand the socio-ecological processes, in addition to the children articulating the cognitive, cultural and political phases, emphasizing the ecological.

In another line, Maeso (2008) investigates in seven-year-old children how, through drawing, their identification with models to be imitated can be detected or determined. It is about knowing to what extent the family, educational environment and the media influence them when projecting themselves into the other as their own model. The study is based on the idea that the information they receive the children at first pass it through the drawing. It concludes that the children are projected with TV characters as role models than those of the family environment itself.

In the study by Leal (2010) whose main objective is to explain children's drawing as a way of externalizing a mental representation, in order to obtain new ways of using drawing as an instrument of exploration and psychopedagogical intervention, the relevance that children make of moral and relational aspects, the relevance of people, actions and objects.

In the article by Moragón and Martínez (2016), they analyze the way in which children in the first cycle of Primary Education represent children's play through drawing. The systematics started from an oral account from which they had to draw the impressions caused. The children's drawings represented sporting and competitive activities in outdoor spaces. On the contrary, the drawings of the girls presented sedentary or low-intensity activities carried out indoors in the company of girls and adult women. They conclude that children's drawing can promote the understanding of children's play in order to show alternatives to those dominant physical culture models imposed from early childhood.

Colombres (2004) in the chapter on Acculturation, cites a study in the indigenous communities of Paraguay, in which children were asked to draw the way they conceived themselves and how they conceived the community. In the results, the children looked at the family from a different perspective than the indigenous one; with different clothes, Spanish-like and a vision, in general, with more elements of the West than local values and knowledge. There is a certain similarity between Colombres (2004) and Vera (2011), which studies the perception of children about the outside world in difficult-to-access Ecuadorian indigenous communities. The second, finds that the children have drawings

with local colors but with representation of urban objects and devices. Their aspirations and expectations tend to imitate the more favored urban children, but in turn continue with their cultural and religious process intact.

González (2015) applied a survey to 8-year-old indigenous boys and girls and as a result of the survey he obtained that they do not speak Kichwa or in short sentences, do not read and do not understand it. He also makes them draw and thus establishes the great influence, from the first years of life, of the culture of the ethnic group and that of the non-indigenous group in the formation of identity, in social representations, often generating conflicts. In the drawings, the children also communicate antipathy towards the school, since they do not feel recognized in the classroom by the social, cultural, linguistic and ethnic groups to which they belong.

A study with Saraguro children through georeferenced, sociolinguistic interviews and qualitative data collected between 2014 and 2015, shows how the ancestral language, although it is of limited use as a means of communication, has become an important symbol of identity and empowerment of the population. But, there is a clear interruption in the intergenerational transmission of the language (Burneo, 2016). Around 75% of Saraguro households do not use Kichwa as the base language for communication, but the mothers speak Spanish to their children from birth. Indeed, in the studied communities, 98% of the interviewees use Spanish when communicating through a social network, cell phone or on the Internet. On the other hand, and despite the limited use of the indigenous language as a means of communication, the positive attitude that the inhabitants have towards the language and their desire to recover it is clear.

From 406 interviews (Enríquez, 2015), georeferenced sociolinguistics and conversations developed with Kichwa-speaking children from the province of Cañar, it is known that despite the fact that there is a percentage of interviewees for whom the language is essential and they imagine that when it is lost then the identity of the person also changes, clearly for most it is not. But it cannot be denied that the dominance of Spanish over all the indigenous languages of the country is evident.

There are other important factors that could explain the decline of Kichwa-speaking children, for example, the little creation and application of Kichwa oral literature, the scarce bibliography in Kichwa in schools are related to incomprehension and little oral and written expression in their own indigenous language. Another important factor that explains the linguistic situation in indigenous children is, and this is somewhat paradoxical, the use of the mother tongue in families in contrast to the language of the school, which in the majority are monolingual in Spanish (Llambo, 2015).

Finally, this article proposes to contribute knowledge about the scope of the study of Kichwa at an early age through the graphic representation of a sample of students aged five to seven years. The studies provided indicate that the studied population has almost always been over ten years old (López and García, 2009) and the study of the Kichwa language has not been allowed at an earlier age and key to the revitalization processes of indigenous languages. This article proposes to investigate the first stages of schooling in the analysis of graphic manifestations and their identity relationship with the Kichwa language and thus contribute to the existing literature on the subject in a significant way.

Method

Design

The methodology is qualitative and descriptive (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2013), with an emergent design (Hernández, Fernández, and Baptista, 2010), in which

the importance of the theory arising from data rather than from a system of predetermined categories, carrying out an open coding, emerging the categories that are connected to each other to produce theory.

Participants

Work is done with 225 indigenous students, girls and boys between the ages of 5 and 7, in the first, second and third years of school, in six intercultural bilingual community schools in Saraguro. 60 children are from ABC schools in the Membrillo community; 46 from Mushuk Rimak in San Lucas; 37 from Tupak Yupanki in Oñacapac; 34 from Inti Raimy in Las Lagunas; 29 from Inka Samana in Ilincho and 19 from San Francisco in the community of Gera.

Procedure

For the study, instructions are programmed in conjunction with the teachers of the different participating schools and they are communicated in both Kichwa and Spanish. The instructions were determined as follow:

- a) On an A4 size paper, draw your *community*.
- b) In the community drawing you must include *yourself*.
- c) Write *the name of the elements of your drawing*.
- d) Paint the drawing.
- e) Write your age and school year.

To measure language spontaneity in section *c*), the language they should use is not determined, nor is it specified what elements or how they should be incorporated into their compositions. The drawing sessions were made within the classrooms of each course. The decision is made not to determine a time limit to finish the task, because there were very different rhythms and what was important was the final finish.

Instrument

The research is based on the model of the *emergent theory of data* by Izquierdo (2015), first the children are given total freedom to draw and then a careful analysis of the drawings observing the most relevant aspects in them. Also, in the protocols for drawing by Solovieva and Quintanar (2014), emphasizing the realization of symbols from cultural approaches (Mitchell, 2006).

Likewise, the model by Molina (2015) is taken as a reference, in which color, location and size of objects in space are used as a starting point to analyze the drawings. This procedure is corroborated with the proposal of Wimmer (2014), where he analyzes the colors, shapes and sizes used by children of different age groups and points out the precise views that are made of the external world and that cannot be expressed in very early school ages.

Finally, the study by Castellano and Roselli (2014) and McWhirter (2014), which emphasize the execution of the task, a category system is applied to analyze the compositions of the drawings and the procedure for applying factorial analysis and classification techniques.

Organizing drawings into groups

The 225 obtained drawings are classified according to the language they use to refer to the presented elements. Thus, four groups have been obtained: A) The first group

with 104 drawings, whose language used to name the elements is Spanish; B) the second is made of 30 drawings in the Kichwa language; C) the third, with 28 bilingual drawings in Spanish and Kichwa, and D) the fourth group, with 63 drawings in which there is no written language.

Categories

The categories that are extracted for all the groups are twelve and correspond to the following concepts: 1) *sun*, 2) *mountain*, 3) *family*, 4) *house*, 5) *domestic animals*, 6) *me*, 7) *tree*, 8) *cloud*, 9) *water*, 10) *flowers*, 11) *family gardens* and 12) *birds*. The analysis by category is determined according to the dimensions displayed in the drawing. Thus, the level of importance that each student assigns to the elements of nature, culture, identity and ways of thinking can be perceived. The three dimensions of size of the represented elements, according to their importance, are described as: *p*= small, *m*= medium and *g*= large.

Results

The 225 drawings are coded according to the four variables. Each group is assigned a letter plus the number in succession according to the number of copies they contain.

Group A: Spanish

This is the largest group with 104 drawings that are coded with the series from a1 to a104. In this group, the category with the most presence is the *family* with 63, followed by the *house* category with 62 representing 60.6% of the group sample. Small size representations predominate in the *family* category: 24 as seen in drawing a51; 20 large as the a15 and 19 medium as the case of drawing a5.

The *home* category has 29 medium representations as in the a25; 22 large as can be seen in drawing a52 and 11 small ones.

The *tree* category appears 40 times as the medium ones such as the a26 and the small a28 are much more frequent than the large ones that are only repeated eight times. Next is the *sun* with 35 iterations of even size between small a1, medium a22 and large a30 drawings. The *Mountain* appeared 29 times, 26 of which were large, such as drawing a24.

Among the small and medium-sized, the category of *domestic animals* appears with 25, drawing a30 contains a sample of small and medium-sized domestic animals that appear in drawing a18, only a36 is large. *Clouds* category has 15 samples, small as a27 and medium as a58. There are also 15 *flowers*, most are small as a5. *Family gardens* have been incorporated 13 times as a10. *Water* appears 10 times and almost all medium like a31. The last two categories are *birds* with 8 occasions and they are almost all small a37 and *me* with 6 times, three are small and the rest are medium as shown in the a49.

In Figure, 1 we can that it is a clear example that the family category is represented by its small size and house with medium size, which are the majority of this group.



Figure 1. Drawing a51 represented by a 6-year-old indigenous girl

Group B: Kichwa

In this variable there are 30 drawings, which represents 13.3% of the total number of drawings. The codes represent the total of pictures with the letter *b*. The *house* category is first with 18 times, small and large alike like b2 and b15. The *Sun* category thirteen times, drawing b3, for example, is medium in size. Small size *family* category like drawing b14. Then *trees*, four large b4, three medium b10 and two small b8.

In the *Mountain* category, they are mostly large as in drawing b6. With 8 there are small b3 *family gardens* and *domestic animals*, all small b11. With less than four there are b14 medium *clouds*, b13 large *water*, b17 small *flowers* and b11 small *birds*. The *me* category does not appear in this group.

In Figure 2, we can see that it is an important example that the *house (wasi)* category is represented by its small size and medium sun. The two categories are the majority in the group of drawings in Kichwa.



Figure 2. Drawing b15 represented by a 5-year-old indigenous boy

Group C: Bilingual

The third group is made up of 28 drawings that represent 12.4% of the 225 drawings. They are represented by the *c* code. There are 17 of the *house* category, the large *c13* prevail and six medium ones that can be seen in the drawing *c10*. Then *family*, mostly small *c3* and between medium *c7* and large *c9* there are four. Ten *trees*, six large and four medium, of the large *c6* and medium *c8*. *Flowers*, eight frequencies, four medians as *c1*.

The *sun*, four mediums like *c5*. *Mountain*, *domestic animals* and *clouds* four each. *Mountains* are large like *c5*, *domestic animals* are medium *c3* and *clouds* are large, *c11*. A small *c14*, a medium *c6* and a large *c12* of *water*. *Me*, two small *c3* and *c6*. There is a medium *family garden c4* and there are no *birds*. In Figure 3 it can be seen that it is an important example that the *house* category is represented by its large size.



Figure 3. Drawing *c3* represented by a 7-year-old indigenous girl

Group D: Without specific language

In the last group there are 63 pictures with code *d*. The *house* is the most present with 58, twenty-five large *d48*, twenty-four medium *d7* and nine small *d12*. The *family* 48 repetitions, 19 small *d6*, 14 medium *d13* and 12 large as in drawing *d1*. The *sun*, 37 times, sixteen medium *d2*, large *d20* and the small *d44*. Then, there are 27 *trees*, ten large *d4* and ten small *d27* and seven medium *d25*. *Mountains*, 22, of which 17 are big like *d3*. There are 17 drawings of *clouds*, *family gardens* and *domestic animals*, of the former, most of which are medium, such as *d4*; of the latter, almost all medium-sized like the drawing *d31* and of the third, ten small *d25*. The 11 *flowers* are distributed between small *d5* and medium *d3*.

Me, it appears 10 times, seven small *d2*, two large *d13* and a medium *d25*. *Water* 5 times and four large *d9*. Finally, *birds* *d17* small and *d30* large.

In Figure 4, we can see that it is an important example that the category *house* is represented by its large size and that it is the majority in the drawings without a language to be specified.



Figure 4. Drawing d48 represented by a 6-year-old indigenous girl

Discussion and conclusions

The discussion centers on two important focuses: First, the relationship between the spontaneity of language with the most constant elements in the four variables of drawings. Second, the composition of drawings (Bagnoli, 2009) and the observation of patterns to study cultural components of Kichwa related to all groups.

In the group of drawings in the Spanish language, the most concurrent elements that the indigenous students have chosen for their compositions are the *family* and the *house*, and then the natural components of the environment. This group is the most numerous and indicates in the indigenous Saraguro children a certain command of Spanish over Kichwa seen from how they know things (Arias, Quilaqueo and Quintriqueo, 2019) and the idea of Burneo (2016) is noted, indicating that there is an interruption in the intergenerational transmission of the Kichwa language among the Andean peoples of Ecuador.

Despite the fact that the indications had said that they included themselves, the results reveal that they are almost not included in the drawings and in the few cases that do so, a vision of supremacy over the rest of the family is not revealed like siblings or grandparents. They always appear occupying a non-leading position with respect to the position of the family or somewhere in the house; in this case the children have observed reality from the outside (Unda, 2020). Thus, we have a being that conceives and communicates its environment as it is, and this is very defined by the Kichwa culture that always promotes the *community* as a construction to define a harmonious collective being. A reality determined by the family that always appears with indigenous characteristics and not as in the study by Colombres (2004) in which the children in his drawings saw themselves oblivious to their own indigenous characteristics with different clothing, Spanish-like and a general vision with more elements of the West than local values and knowledge. The children in this study look at the family with indigenous distinctions (although they know them in Spanish) such as clothing and colors, the way they wear their hair, the different agricultural activities of the area and the family always in a group with ties of joy, cooperation. There are no activities in which a particular role is assigned to each family member, for example mothers in the fields and fathers in the kitchen or somewhere in the house during the day. In this part, a contrast is also observed with the conclusions of Vera (2011), where he says that indigenous children, in the north of Ecuador, draw with local colors but with representation of urban objects and devices. On

the other hand, the children of Saraguro, despite having the urban context very close, have a clear idea of their cultural identity. The houses in the drawings are with exclusive designs of the area: tile, clay and wood. Between the family and the house there is a very strong cultural correspondence because both preserve the image and design of the children's cultural environment, Leal (2010) says that when children draw their environment they create relationships between the relevance of people, actions and objects.

Likewise, the elements of nature that the Saraguro children draw are those that are everyday and are symbols of the worldview, culture and the typical landscape of the area. These elements contain a knowledge incorporated not only as an indigenous identity but as an explanation and sense of the world (Inuca, 2017). These are not presented in a subjective way but rather try to make a *mimesis* of the real object. For example, the large mountains, the splendorous sun and the abundant trees are a replica of the nature owned by the region and thus the children communicate not only an environment made up of real elements but also show the interest they profess (Maeso, 2008).

Unlike the first group of drawings in the Spanish language, in the one in the Kichwa language, house and sun appear more repeatedly in medium and large sizes. The numerical difference with the first group is a little more than triple. Here two things are already being noticed. First, the disparity of language in which Spanish takes the hegemony and second, the importance of elements that appear more often. While elements of a social character prevailed in the Spanish language, here it is the house and the sun, which are inclined to symbolize the Saraguro culture. It can be explained first from the language itself since in itself it is a language that reflects the way of thinking of the Andean indigenous people who speak it, but also from the phenomenon that Llambo (2015) has noticed and the thing is that there is a dysfunctionality between the mother tongue of the families that contrasts with the language of the school, which in the majority are Spanish monolingual. The fact of the Saraguro children can also be incorporated, with respect to the language, to the idea that Enríquez (2015) emphasizes, when he says that he observes a gradual loss of Kichwa due to a rejection presented by the new generations. He also observes the inability of schools in oral and written production in the indigenous language and the limited school management to incorporate bibliographies in the Kichwa language in the learning and teaching processes.

Although in language the two groups are antagonistic, on the contrary, as Benavides (2006) says, processes of social integration, adaptation of guidelines and harmonious development continue to appear because the characterizations of the drawings, environments, relationships and cultural distinctions have not been lost, but are reaffirmed despite the difference in language spontaneity and external factors such as the lack of exclusive policies for indigenous culture and language in the country.

The *family* that occupied the first place in the first variable, in here, appears as third. A greater presence of a certain language means prioritizing or observing certain elements of the environment. Thus, in those of the Spanish language the family appears as an element in more than half of the drawings. On the other hand, in those of the Kichwa language, it is the elements of cultural relationship that prevail, thus the house and the sun, but all well compacted, showing that they are aware of the collective imagination, as Chacón and Morales (2015) say.

In the group of bilingual drawings, the *house* and the *family* continue to be the elements that appear the most. This reinforces the content of group *a*, defined by Spanish, and which had precisely prioritized the family and the house. Then the elements of nature appear in flora and fauna always in their element and in a real way. Although the elements of nature are less present than the social or cultural ones, they are always present and

emphasized in their natural condition and environment with a certain ecological and cultural tendency (Aguilar, Mercón and Silva, 2016).

Finally, in the group of drawings without the presence of written language the family, the *house* and the *sun* form the first group with the most appearances, then the natural elements. That the elements of the local social and cultural component continue to persist in Saraguro children, establishes the influence, from the first years of life in indigenous communities, of the culture of the ethnic group; unlike the middle areas of the Ecuadorian highlands where González (2015) also finds in children the indigenous element but also that of the non-indigenous in the formation of identity.

The indigenous has been present in all the variables and children include it in all categories despite the difference in language so marked by Spanish, a factor that can be explained from the *homogenization of the Kichwa language* cited by Grzech (2017), in which non-standard variants that are popular and that are still the domain of many families but are not considered in schools because they are organized based on the determinations of national planning (Sartorello, 2019) for the intercultural bilingual community education that it incorporates, are suppressed, in addition to the native language, the value of both the culture itself and those of contact, the integral formation of indigenous people, the combination of indigenous teachers in teaching and the appreciation of hereditary knowledge (González, 2015).

The *me* category, unlike the other groups, in the unspecified language variable is where it appears the most. The *me* has no prominence. It is the same as the others because it has developed the idea of community and not of individual. It appears in a balanced emotional and sociocultural context. Wimmer (2014) finds a significant relationship between drawings and colors with the present emotional states, an idea that can be incorporated into the study because indigenous children communicate feelings of well-being and are connected to the environment and appear in activities appropriate to their age. This trait also appears with children of the same age in Moragón (2016), which explains that children's drawing favors the understanding of children's play and affirms the first stages of childhood because it is a way of seeing and projecting oneself.

The diversity of forms of Kichwa has become an incentive for confusion and loss of the language (Escobar, 2019). From the data and observations collected during a year of field work by Grzech (2017), the effect of the regulation of the Ecuadorian Kichwa on one of its non-standard varieties is described. The article states that the unification of the Kichwa causes a growing attrition of the local variants, instead of promoting them. The disparity in the use of variants of Kichwa in schools and state institutions, on the one hand, and in the daily life of the community, on the other, accelerates the abandonment of the language. Furthermore, the language policies implemented by state and local authorities do not respond to the needs of the local population and contribute to the increasing marginalization of local dialects.

The new indigenous generations, for the most part, tend to speak only Spanish, especially if they attend Hispanic schools where there is no reference to the use of the indigenous language, but as Kichwa is still maintained in their communities, they are able to understand it in a certain percentage, which places them in a context of passive bilingualism. On the other hand, older adults who have not left indigenous areas are usually monolingual in this language or have a very basic knowledge of Spanish that, on occasions, does not allow them to communicate.

The Kichwa is threatened, emphasizes Enríquez (2015). The gradual loss of the Kichwa in the country is an imminent fact that is reflected in the rejection presented by the new generations. However, it is important to mention that although the use of this language continues to decline, there are those who argue that Kichwa will never

disappear, since it has been spoken for a long time, despite the circumstances of inequality and conflict (Bermejo, Maquera and Bermejo, 2020).

Finally, the results also indicate a contradiction between the *Language Use* scheme implemented in the intercultural, bilingual, educational process and the linguistic reality of the Saraguro children. Students with an *Affective cognitive and psychomotor strengthening* education level, ranging from 5 to 7 years old, should use 50% of their native language, 40% of Spanish and 10% of a foreign language in school. And what can be seen in the drawings is that 46% of the sample uses Spanish, only 13.3% Kichwa and 12.4% bilingual.

The conclusions lead us to the following practical reflections: In the first place, we can highlight a supremacy of the Spanish language in the drawings composed by the indigenous Saraguro children, a fact that determines the spontaneity of the language to name the components that are part of their more nearby environment, there is a prioritization of elements to compose the community, the family, themselves and nature in a certain drawing. Thus, in the order, the family, the house, and the elements of nature are much stronger and more concurrent in the children who chose Spanish alone, or Spanish and Kichwa. On the other hand, the children who spontaneously only used Kichwa to name the different elements, the order is modified a little and it is that there is priority in the sense of home, sun, family and elements of nature. Kichwa is therefore, in children, more linked to the cultural conception of the environment (systemic and horizontal). On the other hand, in those where Spanish has been used, it focuses more on the level of social organization (Rodríguez, 2020).

It is true that the spontaneity of the language determines the hierarchies of importance of the social, cultural and natural environment in a bilingual environment and of cultural contact, this does not mean that indigenous Saraguro children lean towards a community identity influenced by elements of appearance and external social organization (Tatlowy Guerin, 2010) or with model projections influenced by some type of culturalization. On the contrary, in the drawings the children compose the environments full of natural elements of their own culture, forms, landscapes, customs and social activities and indigenous identity work. Which is very important because there is a certification that they feel paired with the cultural determination carried out in the family (Bryan et.al., 2019) and in the indigenous community to which they feel they belong to.

In second place, the following reflection is highlighted: Despite the fact that the indications to carry out this graphic task included the fact of representing themselves; however, they have done it very rarely in all groups and never in two groups. Part of this explanation is the fact that they only see as creators or observers. On the other hand, it is also a typically cultural fact since the concept of *nature-man/woman* within the Kichwa worldview, the harmonic prevails, the set over the individual self or the most prototypical isolated individualization of societies where it prevails, facilitates and, ultimately, individual competitiveness is rewarded over the common good. For this simple fact, access should be facilitated for indigenous Kichwa boys and girls to develop their school learning incorporating knowledge, conceptions and customs of the cultural environment to which they feel clearly identified (Sánchez and Rhea, 2020); also to build cohesion between self-perceptions, sustained by cultural principles, the language of indigenous origin and the participation of educational communities in the maintenance and protection of their cultural group (Juárez and Comboni, 2019), identified in the drawings made by the Kichwa children during their first school stage and that, however, is exposed to the cultural alienation exerted by the domination of a monopolistic and global culture (Caria and Domínguez, 2014).

To end this section of conclusions we want to highlight how the work from the analysis of the drawings is a mechanism not only valid but also very effective to be able to visualize the spontaneity of the children in the face of complex challenges such as the coexistence of different languages in the transmission of cultural and social elements with multiple vertices. At the same time, it should be noted that, and despite the efforts of indigenous communities to protect their language in school, there is still a long way to go before there is more equitable treatment; therefore, both the school and the community and, above all, from the political groups must call for the Kichwa language to be more present in the media and not be left behind by past generations.

References

- Aguilar, M., Mercón, J. y Silva, E. (2016). Percepciones de niños/as y niñas para la conservación de los primates mexicanos. *Sociedad y Ambiente*, 12, 99-118.
- Arias, K., Quilaqueo, D. y Quintriqueo, S. (2019). Educación Intercultural Bilingüe en La Araucanía. *Educação E Pesquisa*, 1(45), 192-645, doi: 10.1590/s1678-4634201945192645.
- Bagnoli, A. (2009). Beyond the standard interview: The use of graphic elicitation and arts-based methods. *Qualitative Research* 9(5), 547-570, doi: 10.1177/1468794109343625
- Benavides, L. (2006). Educación para la Paz, el respeto al medio Ambiente y la integración socio-cultural, a través de las artes. *Arte, Individuo y Sociedad*, 18, 1131-5598.
- Bermejo, S., Maquera, Y. y Bermejo, L. (2020). Procesos de educación intercultural y autosegregación indígena en los aimaras de Puno-Perú. *Revista Historia De La Educación Latinoamericana*, 23(34), 10-21, doi: 10.19053/01227238.10101.
- Bryan, G., Bluebond, M., Kelly, D., Kumpunen, S., Oulton, K. y Gibson, F. (2019). Studying Children's Experiences in Interactions with Clinicians: Identifying Methods Fit for Purpose. *Qualitative Health Research*, 29(3), 393-403, doi: 10.1177/1049732318801358.
- Burneo, M. (2016). *Breve análisis de la vitalidad del kichwa en las comunidades de Lagunas y Ñamarín de la parroquia Saraguro*. (posgrado). Quito: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador.
- Caria, S. y Domínguez, R. (2014). El porvenir de una ilusión: la ideología del buen vivir. *América Latina Hoy*, 67, 139-163, doi: 10.14201/alh201467139163.
- Castellano, M. y Roselli, N. (2014). Estudio exploratorio de la colaborativa infantil en la realización de dibujos libres. *Pensamiento psicológico*, 12, 37-56.
- Chacón, P. y Morales, X. (2015). El rol del monstruo en las narraciones audiovisuales dirigidas a los niños/as y niñas. Un análisis semiótico cultural a través del dibujo infantil. *Foro de Educación*, 13, 51-68, doi: 10.14516/fde.2015.013.018.003
- Cohen, L., Manión, L. y Morrison K. (2013). *Métodos de investigación en educación*. Londres: Routledge.
- Colombres, A. (2004). *La colonización cultural de la América indígena*. México, D.F.: McGraw-Hill.
- Enríquez, P. (2015). *El rol de la lengua kichwa en la construcción de la identidad en la población indígena de Cañarquito* (posgrado). Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador. Quito-Ecuador.
- Escobar, A. (2019). De la posesión a la atribución en el contacto español-quechua = From possession to attribution in Spanish-Quechua contact. *Revista internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana*, 2(32), 53-66.

- González, M. (2015). Las escuelas clandestinas en Ecuador. Raíces de la educación indígena intercultural. *Revista Colombiana de Educación*, 69, 75-95.
- Grzech, K. (2017). ¿Es necesario elegir entre la estandarización de las lenguas minoritarias y la vitalidad de sus variedades? Estudio de caso del kichwa de Alto Napo. *Revista de Llengua i Dret. Journal of Language and Law*, 40(65), 122-141. doi: 10.7764/onomazein.amerindias.02
- Hernández, R., Fernández, C. y Baptista, P. (2010). *Metodología de la investigación* (6ª ed). México, D.F.: McGraw-Hill.
- Inuca, J. (2017). Genealogía de alli kawsay/sumak Kawsay (vida buena/vida hermosa) de las organizaciones kichwas del Ecuador desde mediados del siglo XX. *Estudios étnicos latinoamericanos y caribeños*, 12, 155-176, doi: 10.1080/17442222.2017.1325101
- Ives, S. W., y Gardner, H. (1984). *Cultural influences on Children's Drawings*. Pennsylvania: University Press.
- Izquierdo, L. (2015). *Análisis de los dibujos infantiles*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid.
- Juárez, J. y Comboni, S. (2019). La educación intercultural bilingüe en el proceso descolonizador del pueblo amuzgo de xochistlahuaca, guerrero, México. *Braz. J. of Develop Curitiba*, 5 (8), 13311-13344, doi: 10.34117/bjdv5n8-137.
- Leal, A. (2010). Dibujos infantiles, realidades distintas: un estudio sobre simbolización gráfica y modelos organizadores. *Revista de Psicología da UNESP*, 1, 5-19.
- Llambo, M. (2015). *Literatura oral kichwa en la comprensión y expresión del lenguaje de los niños/as y niñas de educación inicial*. (posgrado). Universidad Técnica de Ambato: Ambato-Ecuador.
- López, L. y García, F. (2009). *Atlas sociolingüístico de pueblos indígenas en América Latina*. Cochabamba: FUNPROEIB.
- Maeso, A. (2008). Influencia de los ámbitos familiar, educacional y mediático en la adopción de identidades por los niños/as y las niñas a través de sus dibujos. *Arte, Individuo y Sociedad*, 20, 107-127.
- McWhirter, J. (2014). The draw and write technique as a versatile tool for researching children's understanding of health and well-being. *International Journal of Health Promotion and Education*, 52(5), 250-259, doi: 10.1080/14635240.2014.912123.
- Mitchell, L. (2006). Child-centered? Thinking critically about children's drawings as a visual research method. *Visual Anthropology Review*, 22(32), 60-73, doi.org/10.1525/var.2006.22.1.60
- Molina, A., (2015) El dibujo infantil: Trazos, colores e historias que nos hacen reflexionar y aprender. *Revista Electrónica Educare*, (19),167-182. doi: 10.15359/ree.19-1.10
- Moragón, F. y Martínez, V. (2016). Juegos de niñas y juegos de niños/as: Estudio sobre la representación del juego infantil a través del dibujo. *Educación*, (1) 1-17, doi: 10.15517/revedu.v40i1.17439
- Piaget, J. (1987). *Introducción a la epistemología genética: El pensamiento biológico, psicológico y sociológico*. México, D.F.: Piados.
- Recasens, M. y Recasens, J. (1994). Dibujo Infantil y Personalidad Cultural de la Isla de San Andrés. *Revista Colombiana de Antropología*, (13), 4-14.
- Rodríguez, E. (2020). Eventos comunicativos interculturales: la reflexividad sociolingüística en el discurso público sobre las diferencias. *Jangwa Pana* 9(1), 33-58, doi: 10.21676/16574923.3358
- Sánchez, V. y Rhea, M. (2020). Análisis de la educación intercultural bilingüe en las instituciones educativas de la nacionalidad Tsáchila, Ecuador. *Cátedra*, 3(1), 46-58, doi: 10.29166/10.29166/catedra.v3i1.1988.

- Sartorello, S. (2019). Una agenda intercultural para la educación nacional. *Revista de Investigación Educativa* 4(28), 1870-5308. doi: 10.25009/cpue.v0i28.2596
- Solovieva, Y., y Quintanar-Rojas, L. (2015). Drawing in Pre-school Children as a Strategy for Preparation for School. *British Journal of Education, Society & Behavioural Science*, (9), 50-61. doi: 10.9734/BJESBS/2015/16913
- Tatlow, M. y Guerin, S. (2010). My favourite things to do and my favourite people: Exploring salient aspects of children's self-concept. *Childhood*. 17(4) 545-562, doi: 10.1177/0907568210364667.
- Unda, F. (2020). Interacciones docentes-estudiantes y prácticas sexistas en el aula del sistema de educación intercultural bilingüe. *Revista Scientific*, 5(15), 129-149, doi: 10.29394/Scientific.issn.2542-2987.2020.5.15.6.129-149.
- Vera, M. (2011). Dibujo e identidad infantil entre poblaciones indígenas mexicanas y del centro-oeste brasileño. *Revista de Sociedad, Cultura y Desarrollo Sustentable*, 1, 51-67.
- Wimmer, M. (2014). *The complete guide to children's drawing*. Middletown: Createspace Independent Publishing Platform.

Date received: 29/10/2019

Date reviewed: 17/01/2020

Date accepted: 08/05/2020