

For example, in Tibet, a Chinese territory, participation in the dominant education system is compulsory, and indigenous education systems are discouraged by the government. In more rural areas, indigenous education systems were marginalized but not entirely destroyed.

## Impact of Indirect Rule

In contrast to assimilation policies, Great Britain followed a comparatively milder policy of indirect rule in its former colonies and territories. In 1933, Lord Lugard described indirect rule and the role of education in it: "This policy of preserving the old social system until a better one has come into being to replace it has been called 'Indirect Rule.' . . . With the spread of education they will learn the systems adopted by Europe and America and, if suitable, they can adopt them."

This policy initially was applied by Great Britain to the Northern Protectorate of Nigeria (formerly Hausaland) and gradually was implemented throughout most British colonies and territories. In Nigeria, Ghana, India, and other areas, European missionary schools and British academic and vocational schools were established beginning in the nineteenth century; however, there was no requirement that ethnonationals attend them.

## DOLORES CACUANGO

Dolores Cacuango was a native Ecuadorian leader who helped organize the first indigenous federations and schools in that country. She was targeted by the military because of her activism, prompting her to go into hiding; however, her expulsion from her home community helped spread her radical influence and foster new types of leadership.

Cacuango was born in 1881 on the Pesillo hacienda in the northern canton of Cayambe. As part of the payment of her parents' debt to the hacienda, the owner sent her at age fifteen to the capital city of Quito to work in his home as a domestic servant. The contrast that she observed between the lifestyles of the privileged landholding class and the impoverished natives was eye-opening and led her to commit her life to the liberation of her people.

Although Cacuango never attended school, she fought tirelessly to ensure that others would have that opportunity. Under her guidance, the first indigenous schools were established in Cayambe. Her son, Luis Cacuamba, taught at one of the schools from 1945 until it was shut down by a military coup in 1963.

Cacuango never learned to read or write, but she memorized portions of Ecuador's 1938 Labor Code in order to fight for the rights of agricultural workers. Cacuango secretly entered haciendas at night to meet with

In these areas, the British did not constitute a majority or a significant population. Britain also differed from France in that ethnonationals could not become full citizens of Britain, but only subjects of the Commonwealth. Nevertheless, British schools tended to dominate because of their preparatory role in accessing economic opportunities. As Britain controlled production, trade, and political representation, learning English and the skills required to participate in the colonial system motivated many ethnonationals to attend British colonial schools. By the time of independence, the British education system had become dominant.

A significant difference between assimilation and indirect rule was that the indigenous education system was better maintained under indirect rule. In India, indigenous institutions continued to exist, and upon independence, efforts were made to integrate the dominant and indigenous education systems. In fact, despite attempts by the British to close down some indigenous education systems, such as indigenous medical training in India, most indigenous education systems remained largely intact.

Despite this difference between assimilation and indirect rule, in both cases, the indigenous education systems were reduced in status, both politically and

indigenous laborers, working to organize a movement and train new leaders. This work brought her into close contact with urban communist militants, in particularly Nela Martínez and Luisa María Gómez de la Torre. They helped Cacuango in her organizing and educational endeavors in rural communities, and in exchange, Cacuango joined them on the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador. These friendships built strong alliances between militant rural indigenous movements and the urban left.

In 1943, in the midst of World War II, Cacuango formed the first rural antifascist committee. She served as a delegate to a national antifascist conference, where she was singled out as a model for her countrymen. During a revolution in May 1944, she led an assault on the army base at Cayambe. She subsequently organized the Ecuadorian Federation of Indians and served in a leadership capacity in the organization for several decades.

When Cacuango died in 1971, people came from as far away as Guayaquil on the southern coast of Ecuador to commemorate the passing of a national treasure. Today, her image commonly is used as a symbol by indigenous movements, and an indigenous women's training school bears her name.

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