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Time of Pachakutik: an Examination of the Ecuadorian Indigenous Movement

Eliza Cooke Kittredge

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A Time of Pachakutik:
An Examination of the Ecuadorian Indigenous Movement

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Honors Thesis
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A Time of Pachakutik:
An Examination of the Ecuadorian Indigenous Movement

Eliza Cooke Kittredge has completed the requirements for Honors in International Studies.

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ABSTRACT

The Ecuadorian indigenous movement has emerged in the last decade as the most important social and political movement in the country. The driving organizations behind the movement, CONAJE (Confederacion de Nacionalidades Indigenas del Ecuador), a social organization, and Pachakutik Movimiento Pluri-Nacional (Pluri-national movement), a political organization, have taken different approaches to fortifying indigenous identities, challenging the policies of the Ecuadorian government, and uprooting the subtle but persistent racist ideologies that have been discriminatory and exclusionary for over 500 years. I argue that Pachakutik’s involvement within the political system has a greater chance of effecting long-term change for indigenous peoples in Ecuador than the social movement that remains separate from the state’s political system.
INTRODUCTION

On the morning of January 21, 2000 approximately one thousand protestors, mostly indigenous, rushed the National Congress building in Quito, Ecuador. The protestors demanded the resignation of President Dr. Jamil Mahuad, installed themselves in the Congressional building and, with the support of the military, successfully paralyzed the country through road blockades and mass mobilization. By mid-afternoon, a huípala, the rainbow-colored flag of the indigenous movement symbolizing unity in diversity, was hung from the roof of the Congressional building.

Indigenous peoples engaged in widespread protest to demonstrate their support for a three-member coalition rule entitled Junta of National Salvation. The coalition rule was formed during the occupation of the Congress and was supported by many sectors of the population. It included Antonio Vargas, the President of CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador), Army General Carlos Mendoza, and former Supreme Court Justice Carlos Solorzano. This was the first time a military-indigenous alliance seized political power in modern Latin America, albeit for less than 24 hours.1 The junta remained in power for less than 24 hours until General Mendoza withdrew and power was given to the constitutional successor to Mahuad, Vice-President Gustavo Noboa.

The events of January 21, 2000 were products of a yearlong economic depression that had shown no signs of tapering off. As a result of the economic crisis and related political crisis, indigenous peoples led a sector of the military and other members of

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society in a peaceful uprising that usurped the power of the government. The uprising reflected the extensive and continuous work indigenous groups in Ecuador have done to empower themselves while seeking to preserve their own identity and autonomy. Although the uprising did not achieve its goals of permanently dismantling the Ecuadorian government and creating a new political system, it succeeded by confirming the movement’s organizational strength and ability to mobilize. Furthermore, it altered the society’s perceptions of the legitimacy of the indigenous movement.

Since the uprising in January 2000, similar protests have taken place in Ecuador, including one on January 21, 2001 that led to a 23-point agreement signed by indigenous leaders, President Gustavo Noboa, and Vice-president Pedro Pinto. January 21 has thus become an important date for Ecuadorians, one that will forever belong to the indigenous movement and one that recalls the history of indigenous uprisings and confirms the movement’s strength. On January 21, 2002, all schools in Ecuador were closed for the day and two subsequent days due to the threat of additional uprisings. Despite rumors regarding the planning of such protests, an uprising did not occur. The presence of the indigenous movement, however, was not forgotten and leaders of local and national federations used the day to hold conferences in Cuenca, Ecuador.

The Ecuadorian indigenous movement has emerged in the last decade as the most important social and political movement in the country. Yet, the driving organizations behind the movement, CONAIE (Confederacion de Nacionalidades Indigenas del Ecuador), a social organization, and Pachakutik Movimiento Pluri-Nacional (Pluri-national movement), have taken different approaches to fortifying indigenous identities and challenging the policies of the Ecuadorian government that have been discriminatory
and exclusionary for over 500 years. CONAIE has united and successfully mobilized indigenous groups throughout the country in non-violent uprisings. It has remained separate from the political system of Ecuador and has employed social movement tactics that challenge the economic, political and social structures of the nation-state. In contrast, the Pachakutik Political Movement has entered the political system and aligned with other sectors of society to consolidate a national network of indigenous local authorities in provincial councils, districts, and rural municipalities, thereby constructing political power from the bases of Ecuadorian society. Although Pachakutik is considered the 'political arm' of CONAIE and the two possess similar objectives, their relationship is characterized by both sporadic alliances and conflicts. A schism has evolved between the two groups who publicly maintain their respective autonomy. The ambiguity of their relationship calls into question the effectiveness of their respective strategies. Will political or social movement tactics effect the greatest long-term change for indigenous groups in Ecuador?

CONAIE leaders feel that to reform the state of Ecuador, one has to work from outside of the existing system in order to avoid adherence to traditional discriminatory constraints and to not risk the cooptation of the movement's priorities. Pachakutik leaders believe that in order to change the existing system, one must understand it and work within it to achieve the goals the movement proposes. Although both Pachakutik and CONAIE have made considerable gains in the spaces they occupy, I argue that Pachakutik, as a political movement, has a greater chance of effecting long-term positive change for indigenous peoples in Ecuador.
CHAPTER ONE: OVERVIEW, METHODS, AND CONCEPTS

Over the course of the past decade, the Ecuadorian indigenous movement has become the most powerful people's movement in the country. It grew to be especially prominent during an uprising that took place in 1990, triggered by the government's grant of oil concessions in indigenous territories to foreign companies. The 1990 uprising reflected the indigenous peoples' breakthrough into modern politics, and their movement quickly became the most organized social movement in Ecuador. It was the only one capable of paralyzing the entire country and signified a change in the treatment of the indigenous sector by the government; indigenous peoples could no longer be ignored.

In an era of economic globalization and a shift to neo-liberal economic policies, the indigenous movement has given a political space for people who exist in a culturally, politically, and economically marginalized sector of the country. This 'space' reflects the political and social power the indigenous movement in Ecuador has begun to achieve. In his discussion of identity-based social movements, David Slater suggests that modern social movements redefine notions of modern spatial politics, where political and social 'space' is reconfigured and redefined by the actions of social movements. This redefinition of space is a redefinition of power. Contemporary Latin American social and indigenous movements are charting new political terrain. This political terrain is manifest in the reconfiguration of power and the adoption of 'space' from which to assert this social and political right. Indigenous groups in Ecuador have reaffirmed and politicized their indigenous identity in order to create for themselves a 'space' within the

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3 Ibid.
Ecuadorian State. As a result of their exclusion, indigenous peoples are re-examining the significance of their own participation and citizenship within the nation-state and have capitalized on the context of their marginalization. Like other identity-based movements, indigenous peoples have organized on the basis of a distinct and separate identity. This identity has united disparate indigenous communities within Ecuador’s borders to challenge the forces behind their repression and discrimination.

The movement has become increasingly organized around the politicization of ethnic nationalism. Its leaders have penetrated Ecuadorian society with an indigenous ideology that challenges the structures and institutions upon which the country is formed. In response to accelerated globalization and cultural homogenization, indigenous movements have exercised a dialectic approach to resist forms of hegemony. As a result of 500 years of exclusion from political and social spheres and institutions, indigenous peoples are now strengthening cultural heritage, reclaiming the educational sphere, and exercising their own self-determination in a culturally-biased nation-state. The organizations involved in the movement have generated from diversity a powerful indigenous identity that has entered social, political, and economic affairs.

The demands of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement have shifted over the last decade. Although these demands are still largely centered upon land, economic, educational, and community rights, the movement is beginning to demand the recognition of ethnic pluralism in Ecuador’s political, economic, and social institutions. The organizations that drive the movement have put forth a pluri-national mandate that outlines their collective demands for the inclusion of pluri-nationalism in Ecuador’s constitution. (See Appendix III) The terms pluri-nationalism and multiculturalism are at
the forefront of the movement’s platform. Multiculturalism recognizes the plurality of cultures within the Ecuador and was included in the most recent amendment of the constitution in 1998. Pluri-nationalism recognizes distinct ethnic nationalities within the country as autonomous from the Ecuadorian nation-state and has not been included in the constitution. The indigenous movement is currently demanding the inclusion of this term, however many people fear its acceptance would result in widespread separatism and a loss of centralized hegemony within the boundaries of the Ecuadorian state. These terms are described in detail in Chapter Three. Antonio Vargas, President of CONAIE from 1998-2001 states, “before, the indigenous communities were fighting for identity, for development, for education, and for health, but now the demands have changed substantially, now the demands are political and concern the country and its future.” The movement is not only concerned with protecting the rights and autonomy of the twelve indigenous nationalities that exist within Ecuador, it has larger goals for institutionalizing the concept of cultural pluralism within the Ecuadorian state.

Traditional concepts rooted in the indigenous cultures of the Andean region have become the backbone of the movement. Using Quichua terms such as *allyu* (extended family), *ayllu llakta* (community), *minga* (collective work), *ushay* (collective power), *rimanakuy* (the practice of dialogue), *yuyarinakuy* (agreements), and *pacha mama* (nature), the movement seeks to combine traditional social ideologies with present day forms of political and social organization and protest. These terms serve as “pillars in the construction of indigenous societies and support the indigenous peoples’ agendas to make

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deep changes in society and to build a state with a truly pluri-national identity."⁵ They stem from pre-Incan indigenous civilizations and build upon concepts such as consensual decision-making and communal power. The use of these terms in the modern indigenous movement suggests a collective indigenous identity and heritage that has withstood the influx of European rule as well as mainstream Ecuadorian societal constraints. The majority of indigenous peoples in Ecuador are descendants of Quechuan indigenous civilization and exist both in the Andes and the Amazon. There are, however, a number of indigenous groups who are not Quechua. Although these terms are embedded within Quechuan culture, they have significance for other indigenous groups in Ecuador that seek to unite based on a collective indigenous and minority identity. At the beginning of the 1990's the indigenous movement focused on expanding its political agenda and strategies but now, due in large part to the political and social position the movement has attained over the course of the decade, the movement uses these ancient concepts to redefine and reconstruct Ecuador's institutional and social structure.

Renowned as the most organized of all movements in Ecuador, the indigenous movement has admittedly encountered inherent internal struggles and conflicts since its inception. Although the movement has united all nationalities within Ecuador, this unification is not without cleavages. The geographical regionalism apparent throughout the country has driven many of these conflicts. By asserting new goals for Ecuadorian society, the movement has been criticized for straying from its bases of representation. While many of the movement's leaders in the capital city of Quito are more focused on identity politics, such as the promotion of pluri-nationalism and multiculturalism, many

indigenous communities in the countryside are more concerned with pragmatic goals; most importantly agrarian and economic concerns. Although there have been pockets of conflict and tension throughout the last decade, they have not significantly hindered the movement and have not inhibited the movement’s ability to successfully unite, organize, and mobilize to assure their identity and political objectives within society.

The momentum and strength the indigenous movement exerted during the last decade of the twentieth century has left it in an ambiguous place. It has achieved a prominent political profile and has made significant gains over the last twelve years, but the future of the movement is unclear. It is largely impossible for the movement to have the same rate of success that it has enjoyed since 1990, and many believe that its success has begun to plateau. The indigenous sector now occupies a concrete social and political space and shows no signs of deteriorating, but critics seem to be skeptical of the future. It has proven its strength and ability to paralyze the country, however realizing its long-term goals of pluri-nationalism and re-structuring the nation-state system may not be feasible.

One area of significance within the organization of the movement is the relationship between its two driving forces: CONAIE, the social movement, and Pachakutik, the political movement. While a social movement cannot be conflated to a single organization, the majority of social movement activities carried out by indigenous peoples in Ecuador, such as boycotts, uprisings, and negotiations, are led and coordinated by this single national-level organization, or by one of its member organizations.6 CONAIE was formed in 1986 to unite all indigenous organizations throughout Ecuador.

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and it remains the most public and prominent indigenous organization in the country. It is an autonomous organization, independent of political parties, or any state, foreign, or religious institution. It remains separate from non-governmental organizations, yet maintains strategic alliances with social and political organizations that share similar objectives. CONAIE's organizational membership includes federations representing 12 indigenous nationalities, which represent 70% of the country's total indigenous population. Since its formation, CONAIE has brought the indigenous people of Ecuador from isolation and marginalization to a public position in society.

Prior to the mid-1990's, CONAIE had remained separated from the political system of the Ecuadorian state. During the 1990's, however, CONAIE changed its platform and began to focus its attention on proposing the construction of an alternative state. The movement's leaders had previously questioned Ecuador's governmental system and preferred to remain separate from it, however because it is obligatory for all Ecuadorians to vote, the movement began to seek another option. CONAIE's successful mobilization and the growing influence of the indigenous movement in non-indigenous sectors, raised the question of electoral participation. Some within the movement wanted to transform CONAIE into a political party. Others opposed becoming involved in elections on the grounds that it would blur the role of the indigenous movement and divert it from its central struggle, working to organize communities, land occupations, the recovery of cultural and ethnic identities, and uprisings as a form of protest. After a year of discussions, it was decided that the indigenous movement would take part in the

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electoral process in the form of an organization that would encompass other social movements in the country. This initiated the creation of the political movement — Pachakutik Movement for Pluri-national Unity.

The creation of this movement surprised Ecuador. Not only did the indigenous movement enter the electoral process, the political movement itself was designed to encompass not only the indigenous population, but also many other sectors of Ecuadorian society. Although the movement is not registered as a political party, it functions essentially as an electoral coalition of indigenous and social movement groups.⁹ Considered "el brazo politica" (the political arm) of CONAIE, Pachakutik remains closely tied to the social organization. The dynamics of a social movement as compared to a political movement have generated an increasing amount of tension over the years. Conflicts between CONAIE and Pachakutik leaders surface regarding the electoral process and candidate nomination. Their relationship is becoming largely strategic and convenient; they utilize each other's support when necessary, however this relationship is not crucial to their respective agendas. In fact, leaders of Pachakutik seem to want to separate themselves from CONAIE and stress the fact that they represent other social movements and sectors of the population, not solely the indigenous movement.

Both organizations have made significant achievements in the spaces they occupy. Pachakutik candidates have won seats at all levels of government, including local, provincial, and congressional spheres. In 1998 there were 53 indigenous politicians in local and provincial councils and there were a total of five Pachakutik members within the 123-member Congress. The electoral success is a measure of

⁹ Selverston-Scher, pp. 48.
Pachakutik’s success in the political sphere of Ecuador. The success of CONAIE, however, can be measured by its organizational strength and the outcome of its uprisings.

The uprisings that occurred during the past decade aided in launching the movement into the social and political spheres of the country. These large-scale protests provide an interesting point of analysis in the examination of the indigenous movement. They represent the culmination of indigenous demands, exemplify the movement’s extraordinary organizational tactics, and provide glimpses of moments of conflict within the movement itself. For example, in the weeks before the January 21, 2000 uprising, CONAIE insistently stressed its demand that all three branches of government be dissolved. Elected Pachakutik members agreed with CONAIE’s analysis of the crisis facing the country, but were frustrated that they were being associated with all the other congressmen in the category of ‘corrupt politicians.’ Examining the uprisings and the period after the uprisings is essential to conceptualizing the strategies and demands of the movement and how the movement’s most powerful driving forces relate.

The results of the uprisings are often twofold. The uprisings have proven the strength and legitimacy of the movement, even though it is not necessarily able to meet all of its demands. The sociological implications, however, are varied. Although many Ecuadorian citizens support the indigenous movement, the strength of the mobilizations and protests tends to scare them. Many are beginning, especially after the January 21, 2000 uprising, to consider CONAIE a radical left organization that may become violent. This fear among Ecuadorian civilians may hurt the indigenous movement’s future. For this reason and others, Pachakutik is trying to weaken its connection to CONAIE.

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10 Collins, pp. 43.
Ampan Karakras, one of the founders of CONAIE, believes that in order to restructure the state of Ecuador, one has to work from outside of the existing system. He believes that the corruption and cooptation of leaders within formal politics is detrimental to the indigenous movement and that in order to make change one cannot fall subject to the constraints of the system. On the contrary, proponents of Pachakutik believe that in order to change the existing system, one must understand it, and work with those inside of it to have a lasting effect. Pachakutik leaders also believe that in order to achieve the pluri-national state it proposes the movement must encompass different sectors of the population.

Articulating the relationship between CONAIE and Pachakutik raises many issues of the strengths of social movements versus political movements. Recognizing the fact that these issues are individualistic and subject to the framework in which they exist, the context of Ecuador becomes an interesting area of examination. In the past few years CONAIE and Pachakutik have become increasingly separate and while the future success of Pachakutik and CONAIE is unpredictable, I argue that Pachakutik has a greater chance of effecting long-term change in Ecuador. The space it already occupies within the political system is impressive. The fact that it encompasses other sectors of the population in its political goals reflects the basis of the movement itself: unity in diversity. Moreover, fearful reactions of non-indigenous sectors to this political movement are relatively minimal. Unlike CONAIE, which has unfortunately inspired a small degree of fear among many Ecuadorian civilians – even though their protests are peaceful, the response to Pachakutik has not threatened its success. In fact, the response has been overwhelmingly positive. In order to improve the livelihood of the indigenous

people in Ecuador and to meet the goals set forth in the movement's pluri-national mandate, Pachakutik provides consistent long-term hope for the future. Despite the risks associated with entrance into formal politics, such as the cooptation of the movement's objectives and the association with corrupt politicians, I suggest that the political movement of Pachakutik has a greater chance of bringing about long-term change in Ecuador. Pachakutik's ability to align with other social movements, construct a significant power base, capitalize on ancient indigenous ideologies, and to work from within to change the political nature of the country, offers the most stable and consistent hope for indigenous people in Ecuador.

In order to prove my thesis, I briefly describe Ecuadorian society to provide a context for the examination of the indigenous movement. I explain the formation of the contemporary indigenous movement and its goals and achievements. I then clarify the work of CONAIE, the work of Pachakutik, and the relationship between these social and political organizations. I present an overview of the uprisings and protests of the indigenous movement, and I give a description of field research performed in the Tortora Community of Ecuador. I also explore the conflicts and tensions that exist not only between Pachakutik and CONAIE, but also within the greater body of the movement and I state my own predictions for the movement's success.

METHODOLOGY

My research is based on twenty-one months of study and observation of the indigenous movement in Ecuador. Primary research was performed during two visits to Ecuador and was based out of Quito, the capital city. My first exposure to Ecuador and
the indigenous movement took place in September 2000 through the semester-abroad program offered by the CBB (Colby, Bowdoin, Bates) Consortium based out of the Andean Center for Latin American Studies (ACLAS) in Quito, Ecuador. This program was comprised of courses in Indigenous and Human Rights (with a focus on the Ecuadorian indigenous movement), Anthropology, Ecuadorian History, and Spanish. I also completed a group study on Children’s Rights in Ecuador, and undertook social service work for a children’s rights organization. I lived with an Ecuadorian family in Quito for four months, which gave me direct exposure to Ecuadorian urban culture.

The second of my visits to Ecuador took place during January 2002 and was made possible by the Hunt Grant from the International Studies Department at Colby College. This grant provides students within the department the ability to perform primary research in their area of study. During the month of January I based my research out of Quito and conducted research and interviews at the headquarters of indigenous organizations and the centers for academic studies devoted to indigenous affairs. I visited the offices of Pachakutik, CONAIE, numerous non-governmental development and human rights organizations, and the National Congress. I interviewed academics, people with experience in Ecuador, mestizos, and the leaders of the indigenous movement. I also traveled to local organizations outside of Quito and visited the Tortora indigenous community in the province of Chimborazo.

My research is informed by a wide array of literature on Latin American indigenous and social movements. Emphasis is placed on work devoted specifically to Ecuador, although there is not a large amount of literature available. Ecuadorian newspaper articles and information from non-profit human rights and indigenous
organizations were especially helpful. My thesis was clearly defined when I visited Ecuador for the second time and is based on field work using anthropological methods, as well as my perceptions of a growing sentiment throughout the country that in Ecuador’s case, entrance into the political system may provide the most consistent and long-term hope for the indigenous population, rather than sole participation in the social sphere.

CONTEXT AND CONCEPTS

In order to understand the indigenous movement in Ecuador we must understand the context in which it exists. This section defines indigenous movements and the concepts upon which these identity-based movements are formed. It describes the Latin American framework in which the Ecuadorian indigenous movement survives, suggesting that although the indigenous movement in Ecuador shares many similar features as its pan-American neighbors, there are certain characteristics that separate it from other movements.

There is a lack of literature on the indigenous movement in Ecuador since 2000 and little attention has been devoted to the success achieved by electoral versus social movement tactics. The majority of studies on Latin American indigenous movements focus on better known movements such as the Zapatista Movement in Chiapas, Mexico, the U’wa Movement in Colombia, Pan-Mayan Movements, the Shining Path in Peru, or the Altiplano and Oriente movements in Bolivia. While other indigenous movements in Latin America are globally recognized, Ecuador’s situation is not, comparatively, widely publicized. This is in part due to the lack of media attention and the lack of scholarly analysis and literature on the subject. The small body of literature devoted to Ecuador’s
indigenous movement tends to analyze it within the context of Latin American indigenous movements and links it to the global indigenous movement that has become increasingly prominent within the international community.

Although indigenous movements vary in regard to respective ethnicities, regions, and nation-state politics, they are formed upon on a collective indigenous identity prescribed by heritage and birthright. Indigenous movements are forms of movements that seek to exercise self-determination, as defined by the United Nation’s Working Draft on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, in order to re-define and promote the participation and recognition of indigenous peoples in national and global political, economic, and social affairs. Indigenous groups in Latin America, for example, have united on a shared sense of historical, ethnic, linguistic, or territorial identity. This identity has evolved over time and has been affected by the dominant mestizo culture, but has remained politically, economically, and socially marginalized from mainstream society.

The concept of indigenous designates individuals descended from indigenous or native lineages of pre-Columbian America. These individuals are distinct from other ethnicities, such as whites, Afro-Ecuadorians, mestizos, and mulattoes. Since this distinction is difficult to establish biologically when there is no rigorous classification of the individual, the concept of indigenous is often applied to individuals who are members of societies that are politically autonomous from the national societies in whose territory they live. It is also common to designate indigenous groups as people who speak only indigenous languages, who live in a communal or local form, who are called such by members of the national society, and who refer to themselves in a manner distinct from

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what is properly the identity of the state. Indigenous identity is also closely tied to land. According to CONAIE, “a people without land is a people without life...land is our sustenance.” The literal and symbolic relationship between land and identity is another source upon which the indigenous communities have organized. Indigenous identity is also prescribed by the ruling class. Indigenous peoples are often characterized by their otherness and their minority status in the context of mainstream mestizo society. This has shaped the reproduction of indigenous identity in Ecuador and indigenous movements are based not solely on shared ethnicity, but also shared exclusion and suppression.

Mestizo, or mixed, culture is defined as the integrated or functional mixture of indigenous traditions with European and African ones, and of their different combination within their respective ethnic or national contexts. The concept of mestizo culture has evolved over the past 500 years since the conquest of the Americas that took place with Columbus' arrival at the end of the fifteenth century. Mestizo society accounts for the majority, or mainstream, of Latin American societies and culture. Mestizaje, the process of transforming different ethnic groups into mestizos, has contributed to the creation of the mestizo identity that has dominated many Latin American nation-states. Indigenous identity has also been shaped by this evolving mestizo society and should not be considered an essential or static body.

Since the creation of Latin American independent nation-states, Latin American governments have attempted to assimilate indigenous peoples into mestizo culture. The

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15 Ibid, pp. 4.
America, Ecuador's movement has consistently avoided violent uprisings and has maintained a mobilization strategy centered upon peaceful negotiation and resistance. These characteristics, peaceful mobilizations and unity in diversity, have become the basis for the public and political space the movement now occupies.

Another characteristic of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement that separates it from many other Latin American movements is the challenge it poses to Ecuadorian mestizo culture. Further attention will be devoted to the description of Ecuadorian society, however it is worth noting that Latin American notions of mestizo and mestizaje are less prevalent in Ecuador. Although the mainstream society is referred to as the 'mestizo society,' and mestizo culture does exist to some extent, the majority of Ecuadorians do not share a strong sense of 'mestizo' identity. This shared identity is also reflected in the absence of patriotism throughout the country. Despite the fanaticism seen at soccer games and community festivals, Ecuadorians seem much more attached to their regional communities than to the larger Ecuadorian state. This could be due, in part, to the dramatic geographical and economic regionalism that characterizes the country as well as the unstable, unsuccessful nature of its political administrations. Perhaps this is why the indigenous movement in Ecuador has been so successful. Without an ingrained or nationalized sense of 'mestizaje' within Ecuadorian society, indigenous groups in Ecuador have been able to secure a high degree of support from non-indigenous groups and have been able to emerge as a public and respected movement. Furthermore, as the Ecuadorian movement becomes increasingly public and politicized, a small sector of Ecuadorians throughout the country, who are not by blood fully 'indigenous,' are asserting their own roots of indigenous identity by becoming involved in organizations,
indigenous markets, and wearing traditional indigenous dress. This is not to suggest, however, that the movement is not faced with racism by a majority of the Ecuadorian public. Institutionalized racism is in fact at the root of its struggles.

I suggest that the indigenous movement is shaped by the political affairs of the Ecuadorian nation-state, and similarly the nation-state is shaped by the indigenous movement. The movement's leaders mobilize in order to react to governmental policies that affect indigenous peoples as well as all Ecuadorian citizens. Through reaction, the indigenous movement has succeeded in altering the perceptions of the Ecuadorian mestizo class and the elite. They have introduced their indigenous identity by becoming public and taking political action. This reaction can be viewed as not only a reaction to immediate discrimination, but to 500 years of exclusion and marginalization from the mainstream and elite groups. The Ecuadorian nation-state and the indigenous movement are inextricably linked and therefore one cannot analyze one separate from the other. They exist because of their connection and they grow, change, and restructure due to a large degree of influence from each other.

The rise of indigenous movements is becoming a normal phenomenon throughout Latin America. Indigenous peoples are asserting themselves across political and social landscapes and have achieved new social recognition. "South American nations will have to revise their relationship with the Indians, who are no longer passive, but must be accepted as actors in the political process."17 Indigenous movements are becoming the most important mechanisms in national-indigenous relations in South America and through the analysis of the indigenous movement in Ecuador we can increase our

17 Scherzer and Urban, pp.132.
awareness and understanding of Latin American and global indigenous movements as well as the nation-states in which they exist.
CHAPTER TWO: ECUADOR THE UNFINISHED NATION

This section presents an overview of Ecuador’s political, economic, and social experience with an emphasis on the latter part of the twentieth century and the first year of the twenty-first century. It will describe how the historical instability of Ecuador’s nation-state aided in the formation and rapid succession of the indigenous movement in Ecuadorian society.

Deep-rooted sociological, geographical, economic, and political stratifications continue to define Ecuador. The underdevelopment of the country reflects its unstable political and economic systems. Ecuador is strongly influenced by its history and the effects of colonialism, 500 years ago, are still widely apparent today. After Ecuador became independent from Spanish rule in 1820, there never developed a strong civil

18 “Ecuador Map” http://worldfacts.globalesl.net/maps/ec-map.gif
society. This has been an important reason for Ecuador’s instability throughout the past 500 years. Without this civil society and sense of fraternity and obligation to a collective nation-state identity or a strong sense of mestizo culture, Ecuador never fully developed as a powerful nation-state. Benedict Anderson’s definition of an ‘imagined political community,’ created by institutionalized nationalism, never completely evolved in Ecuador. Political legitimacy was never fully attained and a common collective identity never included all inhabitants of the country.

In Ecuador, rather, there are numerous nations. These nations are made up of indigenous groups, Afro-Ecuadorians, regional communities, mestizos, and the ruling elite. The internally diverse population of Ecuador has become a large part of the indigenous movement’s pluri-national mandate. The movement calls for the respect and promotion of distinct nationalities and groups within Ecuador, which consequently challenges traditional notions of indigenism and includes other sectors of Ecuadorian society.

Ecuador is an unfinished nation. There exists a small amount of patriotism in the country, especially concerning elections, border disputes, and national sporting events. Moreover, there are important historical markers for the creation of a nation-state identity. Radcliffe and Westwood suggest that Ecuadorian patriotism is represented and reinforced to the public via schooling, national monuments, and museums. They also describe mass media as a vehicle for developing nationalism among a country’s constituents. Radcliffe and Westwood also state that when looking at official Ecuadorian nationalism, “it is useful to consider three key ‘fields of power’ (the ‘sites’)

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19 Selverston-Scher, pp. 24.
of history, territory, and population around which discursive constructions of nationhood take place.”

Ecuador's history, its territory, and the attempted unification of its peoples are all points of intersection for contradiction and conflict between the mainstream and indigenous societies. Many authors have noted the failure of the Ecuadorian state to become hegemonic as a nation-state and the Ecuadorian indigenous movement can be seen as a "counter-hegemonic" force to the state. The indigenous groups are using their own national identities, separate from the Ecuadorian nation-state, to challenge traditional perceptions of nation-states and to build a pluri-national and multicultural state.

POLITICAL OVERVIEW

Like many of its Andean neighbors, Ecuador is characterized by disparities between its impoverished, lower-class sectors and its ruling elite. The country has experienced a large succession of ruling parties since it gained independence from Spain on May 24, 1822. Soon after independence was achieved, the conflicts between liberals and conservatives began to determine politics. These ideological tensions dominated the country for the entire nineteenth century and led to a large degree of violent civil struggle. This conflict has contributed to Ecuador's political instability.

In 1861 Gabriel Garcia Moreno came to power and was famous for his devotion to Catholicism and his conservative political stance. He even transformed the country into a fundamentalist Catholic state and changed the name of the country to "Republic of

21 Ibid. pp.51.
the Sacred Heart of Jesus." Like previous administrations, Moreno did not devote his energies to incorporating the indigenous population in Ecuadorian society. He ruled the country for almost fifteen years until he was assassinated in 1875.

In the late 1800's, the world demand for cocoa tied Ecuador's economy to commodity exports and led to migrations from the highlands to agricultural frontier on the coast. Despite efforts to maintain conservative leadership, the popularity of Moreno's followers soon decreased and the liberals, led by Eloy Alfaro, who had enjoyed a period of economic growth spurred by the increased cocoa, coffee, and palm nut exports, came into power. This so-called Liberal Revolution lasted until 1912 and had significant impacts on the nation-state of Ecuador. The modernizing policies that were introduced during this time period were especially significant to the future of the country. Alfaro initiated the creation of a railroad and worked to separate Church and state. Despite the upheaval of the conservative regime, the liberal government did not initiate changes for the indigenous population of the country and they remained indentured-laborers in the debt-peonage labor systems of the highlands and forced deeper into the territory of the Amazonian basin.

After the fall of the liberal regime, Jose María Velasco Ibarra, a populist, achieved popularity throughout many sectors of the Ecuadorian population. "Velasco was the prototype populist demagogue whose ideology was less important than oratory and charisma." After declaring himself dictator in 1935, however, the army deposed him and he fled the country. Between the late 1940's and the early 1960's Ecuador experienced a period of comparative political stability. This stability was due, in part, to

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24 Van Renterghem and Roos, pp.15.
the economic growth that resulted from increased cocoa and coffee exports and the banana industry. Bananas accounted for two-thirds of Ecuador's export earnings by 1960, and Ecuador was therefore termed the 'banana republic.'

After this time of political stability, Velasco returned to the forefront of the political scene for a tumultuous period and, fearful of his revolutionary sentiments, the army usurped his power in 1972 and ruled the country until 1979. The military regime supported economic reform and modernization. Oil extraction was placed under state control and Ecuador became a member of OPEC (the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) in order to secure its position as an oil-producing country.

In 1979 Ecuador returned to democratic rule with the election of Jaime Roldos Aguilera. Simultaneously, Ecuador's economy began to suffer due to the International Debt Crisis in 1981. After negotiations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Reagan administration during the mid-1980s, Ecuador adopted a neo-liberal development strategy with the election of Febres Cordero. The next president, Rodrigo Borja Cevallos, proposed a program entitled 'gradualismo' that was based on gradual social-democratic reforms.

Borja entered the presidency during an economic recession and therefore faced a large amount of civilian unrest. It was at this moment of instability that the indigenous movement emerged into the public eye. The uprising of 1990, triggered by the economic recession of the country as well as the granting of indigenous territories to foreign oil companies, demanded basic land rights and human rights for indigenous peoples. Indigenous concerns did not significantly cross the threshold of Ecuadorian politics until the period of Borja's administration. This entrance into Ecuadorian politics was a result
of CONAIE's consolidation in 1986, the solidification of local and regional organizations, the strength of the bilingual intercultural education program, increased access to communication networks that supported organization and mobilization, and the unstable economic and political state of the country. As a result of the 1990 uprising, the indigenous movement proved that it was a force to be reckoned with and could no longer be ignored.

In 1992 Sixto Duran Ballen replaced Borja and tried to implement strategies of privatization. His government faced difficult macroeconomic adjustment measures and was later accused of corruption. Abdala Bucaram, a populist leader otherwise known as 'el loco,' (the crazy one) was elected by a narrow margin in 1996. His nickname did not predict much success within the political system. He was also criticized for running a corrupt regime, largely because his relatives and close friends were given cabinet positions. After an unstable period in the presidency, congress deposed him and he was replaced by an interim president, Fabian Alarcón, until mid-term elections held in 1998.

Dr. Jamil Mahuad was elected in 1998 and attempted to remove the country from its weakened economic state. His presidency, however, soon came under accusations of corruption and his strategic relationships with wealthy bank owners were made public when the country faced a fiscal crisis during the fall of 1999 and January 2000. Mahuad raised the prices of fuel and then, under pressure by the IMF and World Bank, announced the dollarization of Ecuador's currency on January 9, 2000. It was this economic crisis that precipitated the action of the indigenous movement and created a space for the movement's organizations and indigenous and non-indigenous supporters to mobilize.

"The day after he proclaimed his measures, Mahuad's popularity plummeted. In six
months it has fallen by 52 points; from 66 percent when he took over the government to 14 percent today."\textsuperscript{25} The uprising, otherwise known as the 'Levantamiento de 2000' (The Uprising of 2000) symbolized another powerful move by the indigenous movement and resulted in the removal of Mahuad from office. Less than twenty-four hours after Mahuad's oust, the ruling junta, made up of CONAIE President, Antonio Vargas, an ex-supreme court justice Carlos Mendoza, and Army General Carlos Mendoza, took over the congress but then quickly disintegrated with the resignation of Mendoza. Vice-President Gustavo Noboa was quickly ushered into power and will remain in the Presidency until the October elections of 2002.

The erratic succession of rulers that has characterized Ecuadorian history since independence reflects the long history of instability within Ecuador's political arena. There are approximately nine political parties divided rather equally within the country and numerous independent politicians. The number of conflicting parties has also contributed to the lack of a strong civil society. The government has not been esteemed or respected by the majority of the population and much of its instability can be attributed to the amount of corruption that has existed and still remains among a large faction of Ecuador's elite. Although the history of Ecuador's politics has determined Ecuador's present situation, the indigenous movement did not enter political dialogues until very recently. Indigenous concerns were not considered an important issue for past administrations, and their demands were left submerged beneath the mestizo-dominated system.

\textsuperscript{25} Lucas, pp. 20.
Ecuador is divided into 22 provinces that serve as administrative divisions. These provinces are: Azuay, Bolivar, Canar, Carchi, Chimborazo, Cotopaxi, El Oro, Esmeraldas, Galapagos, Guayas, Imbabura, Loja, Los Rios, Manabí, Morona-Santiago, Napo, Orellana, Pastaza, Pichincha, Sucumbios, Tungurahua, and Zamora-Chinchipe. It is compulsory for all literate Ecuadorian citizens age 18-65 to vote and optional for other eligible voters. The government is made up of the Executive Branch, the Legislative Branch and the Judicial Branch.

The Executive Branch is comprised of the Chief of State (the President) who also serves as the head of government and the cabinet, whose members are appointed by the President. Elections occur every four years. The Legislative Branch or the National Congress (Congreso Nacional) has 121 seats and 79 of its members are popularly elected at-large to serve four-year terms and 42 of its members are popularly elected by province. Each province elects two representatives to serve a term of four years. The Judicial Branch is made up of the Supreme Court and new justices are elected by the full Supreme Court. The Military Branch of Ecuador is made up of the Army (Ejercito Ecuatoriano), the Navy (Armada Ecuatoriana, includes Marines), the Air Force (Fuerza Aerea Ecuatoriana), and the National Police (Policia Nacional). Males age 15-49 are fit for military service in Ecuador.

Ecuador had 19 different constitutions between 1830 and 1979. The 1979 constitution reestablished civilian democracy after years of military rule and formed the present Ecuadorian republic. Ecuador's last constitution was signed on August 10, 1998. The National Constituent Assembly made up of 70 people, introduced a series of
constitutional reforms intended to improve the political stability of the country. Reforms included abolishing mid-term congressional elections and stripping congress of its power to impeach ministers. The number of members of parliament was raised from 82 to 121 in order to strengthen representation of densely populated districts. Additionally, as a result of the indigenous movement's work in Ecuadorian political and social spheres, the concept of multiculturalism was included in the reforms. Pluri-nationalism, however, was not considered by the Constituent Assembly.

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Source: Political Database of the Americas, CIA World Factbook

REGIONALISM

The regionalism inherent to Ecuador has played a fundamental role in the political, economic, and social history of the country. The country's environment, land use, and patterns of livelihood are determined by three distinct regions, the coast, the highlands (the Andean region), and the Amazon (El Oriente). The climate of Ecuador is

26 Lucas, pp.15.
both tropical along the coast and in the Amazonian basin, and becomes cooler inland at higher elevations. The amount of Ecuadorian land that is arable is 6 percent, 5 percent of the land is used for permanent crops, 18 percent for permanent pastures, and 56 percent for forests and woodland. The natural hazards that occur within Ecuador are frequent earthquakes, landslides, periodic droughts, and volcanic activity. Many towns such as Baños, which is south of Quito, are situated at the base of volcanoes and are evacuated due to sporadic threats of volcanic activity. In Baños' case, a town based primarily on tourist activity, this puts a strain on the local economy.

Approximately 55% of Ecuador's total population exists on the coast and it remains the center of agricultural exports, such as bananas, cocoa, rice, coffee, and shrimp. The highland region is agricultural with livestock and products such as llamas, potatoes, maize, and a small amount of cattle. The Sierra, the high plateau that exists between the two ranges of the Andes, allows for the growth of subsistence crops and

livestock farming, and has a very high population density. The Amazon region consists of approximately one-half of Ecuador's total area and is inhabited, for the most part, by many indigenous communities. The Amazon is a critical place for examination, as it contains petroleum, the country's most important source of wealth. The division that exists between these three regions is not merely geographical. The cultural differences that characterize the people from these distinct areas have led to many political conflicts throughout Ecuador's history. These conflicts are still present today and have precipitated disputes within political and social movements. The conflicts that divide Ecuadorian society are exacerbated by the inherent regionalism that shapes the country.

The most popular and publicized regional struggle is the conflict that exists between Ecuador's two major cities, Quito and Guayaquil. Guayaquil is situated in an economically strategic position as the largest port city in the coastal region on the Pacific Ocean. Quito is the capital of Ecuador, however Guayaquil has the largest population and is the country's commercial center. Many Ecuadorians are familiar with the famous quote, "Money is made in Guayaquil and spent in Quito." These two cities represent a division between the commercial hub of the country and the seat of government; between entrepreneurs and administrators. The religious foundations, conservative rulers, and military presence of Quito have made it the antithesis of Guayaquil's liberal characteristics. While Quito was the city of tradition and aristocracy, Guayaquil was home to generations of migrants and traders, more interested in money than nobility.28 The tensions between Quito and Guayaquil heightened during 1999 and 2000. Economic and political groups in Guayaquil pushed for the autonomy of the province and supporters felt that the income generated in the province should remain there.

28 van Renterghem and Roos, pp. 4.
ECONOMY

Ecuador's economic situation closely reflects the instability of its political rule. The political and economic instability are linked together and are often caused by one another. Ecuador is one of the poorer countries in South America and, like many of its Andean neighbors, wealth is distributed very unevenly and very much along ethnic lines, with the indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian population bearing a large share of the poverty. The population is approximately 13,183,978 (July 2001 est.). The mestizo population makes up approximately 60% of the population, indigenous people account for roughly 30%, Spanish and others 7%, and Afro-Ecuadorians 3%.

Ecuador has a market economy characterized by small-scale service and farming enterprises. It has substantial oil resources and rich agricultural areas. Because the country exports primary products such as oil, bananas, and shrimp, fluctuations in world market prices can have significant economic impacts. It is a member of the World Trade Organization and Andean Group and has trade agreements with Mexico, Brazil, and Chile. Currently, the majority of foreign investments in Ecuador are in the Amazon region, where Ecuador has vast oil deposits. According to the CIA report, Ecuador's economic growth in recent years has been uneven due to ill-conceived stabilization measures. The aftermath of El Nino and the depressed oil market of 1997-98 weakened Ecuador's economy in 1999. In the beginning of 1999 the banking sectors collapsed which caused a default on external loans that year. Continued economic instability drove a 70% depreciation of the currency throughout 1999, which forced Mahuad's government to declare the U.S. dollar legal tender in Ecuador. The Bank of Ecuador stopped printing
sucres, Ecuador’s former currency, and all bank assets and liabilities were denominated in US dollars. The dollarization helped to stabilize the currency, however because the exchange rate increased from 7000 to 25000 sucres for every US dollar, many Ecuadorians lost a significant amount of their savings. The social impacts of dollarization are also substantial, especially during the first year when the dollar was introduced and Ecuadorians were trying to learn the value of the foreign currency. Ecuador has produced their own coins, which are similar to American coins in size, but the design is slightly different and the language used is Spanish. The paper currency will remain American and the fact that Ecuador’s legal tenure is made up of bills in English with American Presidents has caused a degree of controversy among the Ecuadorian public.

The year of 2001 signified a change in economic activity for Ecuador. GDP increased, unemployment fell, and there was an increase in public investment. This improvement in Ecuador’s economy can be attributed to the construction of a $1 billion dollar oil pipeline, the OCP, which runs south of Ecuador’s existing pipeline SOTE. Ecuador’s GDP increased by 4.5% in 2001, the largest increase in Latin America that year.

The history of Ecuador’s economic policies reflects many of the other policies used in Latin American countries. In order to stimulate industrial development in the 1960s and 1970s, the government decided to adopt import substitution policies that raised import taxes in order to make manufacturing feasible by discouraging cheap imports. Implementation of this policy, however, required a high degree of domestic investment. Ecuador’s own capital proved insufficient and the country borrowed funds from abroad,
which they expected to repay with the revenue from their oil reserves. This, however, 
was not the case and after the debt crisis of 1981, Ecuador was forced to keep borrowing 
from other countries and the IMF. By the mid-1990’s Ecuador’s debt stood at over $16 
billion, the fourth highest debt in the world.29

In the mid-1980’s, the policy of import substitution was replaced by free-market 
reform. This policy was initiated by Cordero and continued by numerous presidential 
successors for the last period of the twentieth century. Free-market reform led to 
liberalization and privatization and attempted to make Ecuador more attractive to foreign 
companies in search of cheap labor and tax concessions. The monopoly on petroleum 
distribution held by Ecuador’s state-owned oil company, Petroecuador, was removed 
during this time period and the government tried to reduce spending by privatizing 
previously state-owned companies. Nevertheless, these economic adjustment measures 
have not succeeded in significantly improving the economic situation of the country.

The greatest problem facing Ecuador’s economy is its structural imbalance. The 
country continues to earn its foreign currency almost exclusively from the exploitation of 
natural resources – oil and agricultural products – and industry is relatively insignificant. 
The concentration of capital and wealth in the hands of the elite is unfortunately a large 
characteristic of Ecuador’s economic situation. In 1999 a report on the Ecuador labor 
market confirmed that only 27.5 per cent of the economically active population were 
employed in full time work. Of an economically active population of 3.5 million people, 
72.5 per cent were unemployed or employed part time. According to Alberto Acosta, an 
economic analyst, the economic crisis and its effect on employment had been caused by 
the political-economic policy pursued over the last 20 years. He also believes that the

29 van Renterghem and Roos, pp.47.
economic crisis of 1998-2000 was partly caused by the effects of El Nino, which led to the loss of $2.9 billion dollars in the agricultural sector and caused a fall in oil prices and exports. Servicing the foreign debt also puts a strain on the economy and forces the government to suspend the payment of salaries to the public sector.30

Oil accounts for Ecuador's largest source of revenue. Carmen Analhizer, Professor of History at Universidad de San Francisco (Ecuador's most prestigious and expensive university), stated that oil is the number one source of revenue for Ecuador, and the second source of revenue comes from migrants who earn income abroad and send money to their families in Ecuador. This is an example of how migration out of Ecuador, to Spain and the United States especially, is becoming a popular alternative for many Ecuadorian citizens. It is especially appealing for indigenous people who have been forced to migrate to urban areas and are in search of work. According to Analhizer, the third largest urban demographic population of Ecuadorians exists in New York City.31

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30 Lucas, pp. 29-30.
### INFLATION

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### IMPORTS PARTNERS

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### EXTERNAL DEBT

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Source: CIA World Factbook.

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**OIL**

Since 1967, when the first oil field, owned by Texaco Gulf, started production near Lago Agrio, oil has been an increasingly vital part of the Ecuadorian economy. Oil exports account for over 50% of the nation's revenue. In 1973 the major pipeline, Trans-Ecuadorian (SOTE) was constructed and connected the Lago Agrio area of the Amazon to the coastal city of Esmeraldas. Ecuador joined OPEC in 1973 but then relinquished its membership in 1992. Foreign companies such as Standard Oil Company, Texaco, Gulf, Shell, Exxon, and Maxus were initially involved in the exploration and extraction and in 1989 the Borja government established the state company, Petroecuador.

Ecuador's governments have been eager to encourage foreign companies to explore and extract oil in the Amazon. Presently, the OCP Consortium, Ltd., which

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includes Occidental Petroleum (USA), Alberta Energy (Canada), Kerr McGee (USA), AGIP (Italy), Perex Companc (Argentina), Repsol-YPF (Spain), and Techint (Argentina), is constructing a new $1.1 billion pipeline. This project will be completed by mid-2003 and is the first of its kind in Ecuador to allow the private ownership and operation of hydrocarbon facilities. Unlike the existing SOTE, the OCP pipeline is being constructed underground. The implementation of this pipeline is a direct result of the law TROLE II that was part of the World Bank and IMF’s reform policies to relieve Ecuador’s $16 billion external debt. The controversial route of this pipeline traverses a number of pristine protected areas of Ecuador that possess high degrees of biodiversity and large amounts of tourism activity. Despite strong opposition from scientists, the eco-tourism industry, local communities, and property owners, and the inevitable disaster of oil spills, the consortium is continuing construction. The intrusion of oil companies in the protected bio-diverse areas of Ecuador raises many issues for Ecuadorian society.

The oil industry has nearly destroyed sizeable areas of Ecuador’s Amazonian region. Large quantities of oil crude leak from the oil pits in which waste oil is collected. This crude leaks into rivers and streams. The oil pipelines also leak and the SOTE pipeline has broken 30 times in the past twenty years, releasing a total of almost 400,000 barrels of oil into the Amazon basin, almost one and a half as much as during the Exxon Valdez disaster in Alaska. Indigenous communities have been especially affected by this penetration and pollution. The literal and symbolic relationship between land and identity is another concept that has become central to the indigenous movement. By preserving their land, they are preserving their culture and by permitting oil exploration

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34 van Renterghem and Roos, pp.51.
and drilling, the Ecuadorian government is exploiting their territory and consequently their culture.

There is an evident correlation between oil and cancer in the oil-producing regions of the Amazon. A medical report revealed the high incidence of cancer among indigenous communities inhabiting in these oil-producing areas. The results indicate that the people of the region have "three times the risk of contracting cancer faced by people in other parts of the country." In addition, the study declares that "the rivers are habitually used by the inhabitants of the area. They are contaminated with oil in a proportion 200 to 300 times greater than the limit permitted in human drinking water."35 This study was the first of its kind to prove the health risks that occur from oil-production and was based on thirty years of statistics.

Encroachment of indigenous land by foreign oil companies has been the driving force for many indigenous organizations to mobilize and challenge the Ecuadorian government. The issue that has arisen between oil companies, the Ecuadorian government, and indigenous communities is the ownership of resources underneath the Ecuadorian soil. A PetroEcuador executive stated "according to the Constitution, all the natural resources beneath the ground belong to everyone, not any one person."36 In 1993 a $1.5 billion lawsuit was filed against Texaco by indigenous groups, claming that the US transnational had been negligent in its operations in the Amazon. Texaco was supported by the Ecuadorian government, which insisted that legal action would discourage further foreign investment. Currently, the case has not been closed but the lawsuit has "run out

35 Lucas, pp.31.
of steam." Although oil from the Amazon region has benefited the economic situation of the country, little of the revenues are reinvested in the region, which accounts for the highest poverty levels in the country.

THE ANDEAN REGIONAL INITIATIVE

Plan Colombia, the drug eradication project in Colombia created by the United States government, has now been changed to the Andean Regional Initiative and includes Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. The program seeks to strengthen anti-drug strategies at all levels and to find global solutions to the lucrative narcotic industry. There has been widespread opposition to this plan as many are concerned about the crop fumigation policies in Colombia that were financed by the US as part of Plan Colombia. The environmental impacts of spraying glyphosate-based herbicide on plants has been damaging, as many farmers are suffering health problems due to the chemicals used for eradication. In addition, many indigenous communities are being displaced as a result of the fumigation.

Even before the creation of the Andean Regional Initiative, Ecuador had become deeply involved with US anti-drug efforts through the 1999 Manta agreement, which allows U.S. Air Force use of a coastal port for its anti-drug surveillance and as a forward operating location in exchange for a $30 million expansion of it. The U.S. now plans to triple the number of troops operating from the Manta base. Some activists argue that the Regional Initiative and the utilization of the Manta base is directly related to the U.S. attempt to protect and assure control of the Amazon’s petroleum reserves. Both U.S. and

van Renterghem and Roos, pp.51.

Ecuadorian military operations throughout Ecuador have increased in the past six months and the military presence has infiltrated the Amazon region. "The Manta base will allow the U.S. to observe the movements of local indigenous groups who are against the wholesale exportation of national resources and who are trying to defend their traditional homelands from the devastating pollution caused by the unwanted incursions of Transnational Corporations." International, and especially the United States', influence in Ecuador is a factor that contributes to the analysis of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement.

The complexities surrounding the oil trade, the Andean Regional Initiative, and economic reforms bring many economic and political issues into the scope of the indigenous movement in Ecuador. In order to understand the movement's political and social claims, it is important to be aware of the national and international atmosphere in which it exists. The interconnectedness of these issues proves that the indigenous movement is challenged and inhibited by a variety of both national and international factors. Indigenous groups in Ecuador are not only asserting their rights and identity within the nation-state, but also in an international context. Because the Ecuadorian nation-state has failed to ensure their rights to territory in negotiations with international bodies, the indigenous peoples are questioning their citizenship within Ecuador and are finding transnational networks of support across Ecuador's borders.

**SOCIETY**

The instability and inconsistency of Ecuador's political and economic systems inevitably affects all sectors of Ecuadorian society. The majority of Ecuador's

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population descends from both Spaniards and indigenous peoples. Through processes of mestizaje, this majority group is termed the mestizo sector of Ecuador. Although I argue that mestizo culture in Ecuador is weak in comparison to other Latin-American countries, it is still prevalent. Through processes of assimilation and indigenism, mestizo culture has become the mainstream of Ecuadorian society. Minority groups in Ecuador, however, have begun to conceptualize their own identity apart from this mestizo culture. The distribution of wealth in the country reflects this division between the mestizo majority and minority groups and leaves many of the indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian population below the poverty line.

**ECUADOR STATISTICS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POPULATION</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>13,183,978</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Growth Rate</td>
<td>2% per year</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-14 years</td>
<td>35.8%</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-64 years</td>
<td>59.8%</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 years and over</td>
<td>4.39%</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mestizo</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish and others</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-Ecuadorian</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>below poverty line</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**HEALTH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Life expectancy at birth (male)</td>
<td>68.52 years</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life expectancy at birth (female)</td>
<td>74.28 years</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant Mortality</td>
<td>34.08/1,000</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Fertility Rate</td>
<td>3.12/ woman</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV/AIDS – people</td>
<td>19,000</td>
<td>1999</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In theory, education in Ecuador is compulsory for nine years, but figures reveal that most children attend school on average for only six years. In the rural areas this estimate is lower, as many indigenous and peasant communities do not have access to secondary schools and do not have the economic resources to afford registration, uniforms, materials, and the cost of travel. There has been an increased migration to the urban centers in recent years. Many people, including children, are forced to sell goods and offer services on the streets. It has been estimated that over the last few years "more than 500,000 children aged between ten and seventeen joined the already large army of itinerant peddlers in the informal sector."  

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41 van Renterghem and Roos, pp.32.
RELIGION

Ninety-five per cent of the Ecuadorian population is considered to be Roman Catholic. Despite the colonial cathedrals and the Church's influence on the public sector, the number of practicing Roman Catholics is questionable. There is an increasing amount of growth among religious denominations such as Seventh-Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentacostalists, and other Protestant Evangelical faiths. The influence of these groups has spread rapidly since the 1960s and in my time in Ecuador I came into contact, in both the rural and urban areas, with more practicing Protestant Evangelicals than practicing Catholics.

The rise of evangelical Protestantism is becoming a Latin American phenomenon. Protestant evangelicals comprise over 20% of the population in countries such as Brazil, Chile, and Guatemala. Many authors believe that the rise of Protestantism is due to the social demand for a more meaningful kind of religious experience. Protestant missionaries have worked in Latin America for over a century, and during the 1930s the number of Protestants on the continent was less than 2 million out of a population of 109 million. By the late 1960s, Protestants numbered 5 million. In 1990, however, there were approximately 40 million out of a total population of 430 million. The growth of Protestantism has been attributed to the rapid breakdown of Latin America's ancient order based on the authoritarian trinity of the Catholic Church. Protestantism preaches a message of self improvement rooted in bourgeois sentiments such as: "stay away from the booze; work hard; take care of your kids; and don't beat your wife. The message is

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43 Gill, pp. 287.
Protestant communities reject the monopoly of the Catholic Church and offer protective networks, both in rural and urban settings, that serve as employment agencies and therapeutic networks of friends who will help in times of trouble. Protestantism also offers a faith that is activist and participatory and rejects traditional patterns of passive social and political participation.

The spread of these traditions seems to have significantly penetrated two disparate sectors of the population: the upper-middle class in the urban areas and the indigenous communities in the rural areas. In the rural areas, many missionaries initiate and fund small-scale development projects to win the allegiance of the indigenous communities. The members of the indigenous community Tortora, a community in the province of Chimborazo I visited during field research in January 2002, were primarily evangelical. This community was not aligned with CONAIE, but rather with FEINE, the Protestant Evangelical Indigenous Federation in Ecuador. Although it is unclear how long the community has been affiliated with FEINE and the Protestant Evangelical faith, it is fair to assume that the work of Protestant missionaries in the Chimborazo province influenced many indigenous communities and their faiths.

The Protestant theology has effectively entered a sector of indigenous communities because of its rejection of tradition and its inclusive and active role in the social sector. "It doesn't matter if Catholicism takes an old-fashioned view or a modern liberationist view; it's seen as part of the things that were there before. If you want to walk out and create a new life and do it your own without the assistance of priests or

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45 Minard, pp. 41.
anybody else, then Protestantism offers you the way." \textsuperscript{46} The theology is also focused on re-visioning the future, a concept central to the indigenous movement.

Protestant evangelicalism has not only influenced the rural and indigenous communities, but also the upper-middle class urban communities. The two families I lived with during my first visit in 2000 and my second in 2002 were both upper-middle class and were both evangelical. Like rural communities, the upper-middle class in Ecuador is also breaking from traditional Catholic traditions that have been the undercurrent of Ecuadorian society since the arrival of the Spanish. These disparate sectors of Ecuadorian society are establishing their own religious communities based on imported Protestant Evangelical ideals. The influx of Protestant missionaries has caused this insurgence of Protestant faith, but the social networks that these religious communities offer directly appeal to upper-middle class Ecuadorians in urban settings.

I accompanied my host family to one Protestant Evangelical service in Quito. The service was one of three offered on Sunday because the congregation was too large for the building. The community hall in which the service took place was packed with 400 people, singers, drummers, and other musicians. The service was a powerful display of how the religion has affected and transformed many Ecuadorians. The pastor, a man from the United States, and his Ecuadorian wife led the service, which consisted of rock-n-roll music, jumping, shouting, bible reading, sermons, and many expressions of salvation. Out of 400 people at the service, I was probably the one of maybe five that did not experience a sensation of 'the divine,' did not cry, did not shake, and did not fall on the floor. What was surprising to me was that this service took place in one of the most

\textsuperscript{46} Minard, pp.42.
conservative upper-middle class sectors of the country, in the most conservative city of the country.\footnote{Field Notes. January 20, 2002.}

**RACISM**

Racism is very apparent in Ecuador, although many Ecuadorians deny it. Afro-Ecuadorians make up a significant part of the population in the country’s coastal region. Many are descendants of African slaves who were sent to work in the plantations of the tropical lowland at the beginning of the eighteenth century. A large number of Afro-Ecuadorians still occupy this region, especially the coastal provinces of Manabí and Esmeraldas. The Afro-Ecuadorian population is estimated at just fewer than one million and their social status is generally very low. Anti-black racism tends to be common among all strata of society, and most Ecuadorians refer to Afro-Ecuadorians as ‘negritos.’

Culturally ingrained racism among indigenous, Afro-Ecuadorians, and mestizos is deeply rooted in Ecuador’s social institutions. Whites and mestizos tend to view indigenous peoples and Afro-Ecuadorians as lower class and the racial stereotypes and discrimination only intensifies the regional, political, economic, and social conflicts that exist in Ecuador. Many view racism as the ultimate inhibitor to the indigenous movement’s success in Ecuador.

**THE INDIGENOUS POPULATION**

According to the World Factbook report issued annually by the CIA, fifty percent of Ecuador’s population lives below the poverty level. Eighty percent of this group is indigenous. The most principal concerns regarding their economic situation are as
follows: there is a lack of financial support for productive projects, commercialization, credit, and the buying of land. There is a scarcity of infrastructure needed for basic services such as water, irrigation, latrines, electricity, roads, transportation, health, and education. There exist only minimal amounts of education for leadership, negotiation, technical management, and marketing. The widespread suppression of indigenous rights has led to a loss of identity, loss of land, and many internal conflicts. Above all else, there is a lack of work available to indigenous peoples. These concerns were raised by a representative selection of national, regional, and second-level organizations and is part of the "Report on Fundamental Development," created by the Inter-American Corporation for Fundamental Development. The economic situations of indigenous groups vary between communities, however similar economic concerns are shared by all. For a detailed description of the indigenous nationalities of Ecuador see Appendix II.

**UTILITIES IN DISTRICTS WITH AN INDIGENOUS NUCLEUS**

1990 Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVINCE</th>
<th>DISTRICT</th>
<th>WATER</th>
<th>SEWAGE</th>
<th>ELECTRICITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bolivar</td>
<td>Guaranda</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canar</td>
<td>Canar</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotopaxi</td>
<td>Pujili</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotopaxi</td>
<td>Saquisili</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimborazo</td>
<td>Riobamba</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimborazo</td>
<td>Alausi</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imbabura</td>
<td>Ibarra</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imbabura</td>
<td>Cotacachi</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Indigenous Group</th>
<th>Awa</th>
<th>Chachi</th>
<th>Quichua</th>
<th>Tsachila</th>
<th>A'í (Cofán)</th>
<th>Siona-Secoya</th>
<th>Quichua</th>
<th>Amazon Basin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loja</td>
<td>Saraguro</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morona</td>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastaza</td>
<td>Pastaza</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pichincha</td>
<td>Cayambe</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tungurahua</td>
<td>Ambato</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite a range of pressures including disease, violence, and expulsion from their lands, indigenous groups in the Andes, on the coast, and in the Amazon have managed to survive and preserve their cultural identity. Oil extraction in the Amazon, however, has

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49 de la Cruz, pp. 276.
50 “Ecuador’s Indigenous Nationalities” http://conaie.nativeweb.org/images/map2.gif
already caused the near extinction of the Tetete and Zaparo Nationalities and continues to
threaten indigenous peoples. Unregulated logging, mining, and pesticide use are other
factors that contribute to the devastation of indigenous land.

“It is no accident that most of the remaining natural resources are on indigenous
land. First the white world destroys their own environment, then they come
asking for the last pieces of land they have put us on, the earth we have
protected.” – Luis Macas, former President of CONAIE. 51

Land remains very central to the conflicts that exist between the Ecuadorian
government and the indigenous communities. Because of demographic pressures and the
expansion of export agro-industry in the Andean highlands, each year indigenous
communities are left with less land to produce. “A people without land is a people
without life. From the land we get food, medicines, materials for ceremony, clothes,
tools, and crafts. Land is our sustenance.” 52 The relationship between land and identity is
an important characteristic of the indigenous movement.

It is indigenous identity that is at the root of the indigenous movement. During
the latter portion of the twentieth century, many indigenous peoples began to reclaim
their identity by returning to traditional indigenous dress, traditional artisan craftwork,
and original territory. Indigenous peoples are strengthening traditional economic
practices, such as artisan craftwork, market-based manufacturing, and agricultural
practices in order to maintain their identity within the Ecuadorian landscape. Many
indigenous goods are targeted at tourist markets and many communities, especially
communities in the Amazon, are establishing and independently managing eco-tourism
projects on their territory. These indigenous symbols, such as land, dress, and indigenous

crafts reflect a reinvestment in indigenous heritage and identity. The adoption of traditional symbols is also an expression of resistance. This re-vindication of indigenous identity has been necessary for the effectiveness of the movement. Without a recognition and renewed solidarity of indigenous identity, the movement would not have a collective identity to promote. CONAIE operates solely on the basis of this shared identity and Pachakutik promotes "unity in diversity" and recognizes the disparate identities of many sectors of Ecuadorian society.

Although there has been a revitalization of indigenous symbols and identity throughout Ecuador, this does not suggest that the indigenous experience has significantly improved. Indigenous identity has become increasingly politicized, but indigenous livelihood and discrimination has not yet changed substantially. Many indigenous peoples are forced from their land, due to territorial conflicts, or poverty, and migrate to urban centers where they have better chances of securing a stable wage. These wages, however, are often very low. Many indigenous women become 'empleadas,' work approximately twelve hours a day, six days a week and earn $70 a month. The racism against indigenous peoples has not disappeared and is expressed politically, economically, and socially.

CHAPTER THREE: THE FORMATION OF THE INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT

Although the indigenous movement is considered a contemporary phenomenon because of its recent emergence in both the social and political spheres of society, the ethnic equality upon which it is based has long been entrenched within Ecuador and throughout Latin America. Indigenous resistance dates back to the insurgence of Spanish colonial rule and the Andean region experienced a large amount of turmoil even before the establishment of independent Latin American states.

Documentation of indigenous organization and uprising began when Incan leaders, such as Tupac Amaru in the region of what is today Peru, led revolts against European insurgents during the period of colonization.

It was during the twentieth century, however, that indigenous groups began to create a collective and increasingly politicized identity. This section will describe the formation and solidification of the modern indigenous movement, with emphasis placed on causative agents such as the Agrarian Reform Law of 1964 and the Bilingual

54 "Bilingual Intercultural Education School." Source: Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas, Photographer: Lori Waselchuck, October 1992
Intercultural Education Program. After a description of these institutionalized state programs, I will explain the organization of the indigenous movement both in the social and political spheres. I will describe how ideological concepts, such as minga and ushay, have laid the groundwork for the construction of indigenous power at local, provincial, and national levels. In conclusion, I will outline the goals of the movement, with specific attention devoted to the definitions of multiculturalism and pluri-nationalism.

The indigenous movement has gained momentum in the past decade and has initiated the popularization of indigenous concerns throughout Ecuador. During the latter half of the twentieth century the state granted more legal rights to indigenous municipalities, allowed for indigenous control of the bilingual intercultural education program, and opened dialogues with indigenous groups about land reform. All of these factors contributed to the rise of the indigenous movement on the political and social frontier of Ecuador. This movement can also be linked to a larger transnational indigenous movement that has begun to emerge in the global community.

The most promising aspect of the indigenous movement in Ecuador is the successful unification of indigenous groups to promote the same cause. Although the interests of many indigenous communities vary widely, they have united around common struggles. Regionalism plays a large role in the differences among these communities. The majority of the indigenous populations reside in the highlands, working as artisans or subsistence farmers. The Highland Quechua, the largest indigenous group, inhabits the Andean region, in addition to the Salasaca, the Cotopaxi, the Otavalo, and the Cayambe. The Amazonian indigenous peoples live in communities throughout El Oriente. These include Lowland Quechua, Shuar, Achuar, Secoya, Siona, Huaorani, and Cofan ethnic
groups. There are a small number of indigenous communities along the coast as well, such as the Tsachila, Chachi, and Awa nationalities. Quechuan peoples comprise the largest majority of indigenous peoples in Ecuador, share the same language, and reside in both the highlands and the Amazon. This dispersal of Quechuan culture, which dates back to the expansion of the Incan empire, has helped unify the movement and has become a linguistic and cultural common denominator that links a majority of indigenous peoples. Although a significant majority of indigenous peoples are descendants of Quechuans, a large number of indigenous groups remain linguistically, culturally, and historically separate from this majority group. The twelve indigenous nationalities in Ecuador, however, have united around shared notions of communal power, decision-making, and kinship ties. These concepts form the framework of the movement’s construction and will be addressed in subsequent sections. The fact that all groups have joined together to create organizations, promote national campaigns, and cultivate transnational alliances, has given strength, legitimacy, and credibility to this movement.

Despite differences inherent to their heritage, ancestry, and culture, these indigenous groups are uniting around a common, shared experience of ethnic exclusion. They have politicized their indigenous identity by organizing to promote it in political and social arenas and have called for a transformative social change in the country. The indigenous organizations have created a social movement, based on ethnic identity, that promotes a collective indigenous ideology. In addition, they have created a political movement that encompasses other sectors of the population to instigate a reform of traditional Ecuadorian politics.
Indigenous claims have revolved around four main topics: the constitutional recognition of a pluri-national, multicultural and multilingual state; rights to self-determination; self-reliance and self-development; and the strengthening of indigenous cultures. A description of the history of the movement and the formation of the modern indigenous movement will examine the progression of these demands.

The Ecuadorian indigenous movement challenges the exclusion and oppression that has characterized indigenous livelihood and their role within the nation-state for 500 years. The Spanish conquest brought major changes that still reverberate today. Most detrimental was the usurpation of indigenous land and labor, which forced indigenous people to work in mines and textile sweatshops. The arrival of Spanish colonists also brought about the establishment of haciendas, or colonial farms, on which indigenous people labored as indentured servants in return for the right to farm a parcel of land (huasipungo). This system of perpetual debt servitude did not collapse until the late twentieth century with agrarian reforms.

The conquest and exploitation of ethnic groups is a phenomenon that should not be limited to European colonization, but in fact existed throughout Incan and pre-Incan civilizations long before European contact. The era of Spanish conquest, however, can be considered the beginning of a long history of significant economic and political exploitation and subjugation of indigenous peoples. There is a growing body of literature suggesting uprisings and revolts of indigenous peoples throughout these centuries of repression and marginalization, however my focus remains on the modern indigenous

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movement in Ecuador, which became increasingly politicized and active during the second half of the twentieth century.

**AGRARIAN REFORM LAW**

The dissolution of the hacienda system in Ecuador marked the beginning of the modern indigenous movement. This debt-peonage farm system using service tenure, or indentured labor, had previously dictated much of the social structure of rural Ecuador. The post-World War II economic boom initiated export expansion on the coast and increased urbanization and the demand for food throughout the country. This demand influenced the modernization of the hacienda production system, thereby increasing reliance on wage labor. The combined experience of this modernization and peasant migration led to the erosion of landowner hegemony and debt-peonage in the hacienda system. During this time the Federacion Ecuatoriana de Indios (FEI – Ecuadorian Indian Federation) was formed by the Communist Party in 1944. FEI was the first indigenous organization as well as the first national attempt to organize indigenous rural communities as laborers, rather than as indentured peasants. The FEI united indigenous peoples based on their shared economic status rather than their shared indigenous identity. The FEI also encouraged the formation of hacienda unions that demanded stable wages and vacation time. Due to increased struggles with the FEI, rapid modernization, and low agricultural productivity, the hacienda system was dismantled by the Agrarian Reform Law passed by the military regime in 1964.

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Agrarian reform was part of a national development project to modernize Ecuadorian society. The land reform granted former indigenous laborers property rights to their small plots of land, abolished service tenure, and created the Instituto Ecuatoriano de Reforma Agraria y Colonización (Ecuadorian Institute for Agrarian Reform and Colonization – IERAC). The reform was enacted to divide large landholdings and redistribute land to the smallholders and the landless. The effects of this land reform were twofold. The land promised to peasant and indigenous farmers was rarely transferred and they lost access to important resources that they had been assured as indentured laborers. Additionally, due to the accelerated settlement of the Sierra, the reform encouraged the colonization of lands considered uninhabited, primarily the lands in the Amazonian region.

The encouraged colonization of the Amazon initiated the onslaught of oil exploration. In 1972, the construction of a 313-mile oil pipeline (SOTE) was completed between Lago Agrio, in the north-eastern region of the Amazon, to Esmeraldas, a city on Ecuador’s coast. The ecological impacts of oil exploration and extraction have devastated many areas throughout the Amazon, most notably the north-eastern region. Indigenous communities that exist in the route of the pipeline were not considered in this oil development project and many were driven from their territory. Land previously inhabited by indigenous communities was claimed by settlers who were granted land titles by the government to clear the land and begin agricultural production on it.57 The reforms produced by the Agrarian Reform Law commenced the enduring struggles of territory and resource conflicts that exist between indigenous groups and the state.

57 Selverston-Scher, pp. 33.
A large amount of literature on Latin American indigenous movements cites the connection between ethnicity and territory in indigenous ideology. Authors argue that indigenous organizations have represented themselves as integrally linked to their environments and specific territories. This is true for both highland and coastal indigenous groups, and becomes the center of the Amazonian indigenous struggle for rights to land and to communal identity within the Amazon. “For Amazonian indigenous groups, place and identity become sources of legitimization for territorial claims, and are in this way intimately linked to struggles over material resources.”

When analyzing these resource and territory struggles, one must examine the power relations that dictate the domination and resistance of the parties involved. Indigenous communities confront policies dictated by indigenism that have denied their access to their ancestral territory. Place and identity are therefore inextricably linked in this movement and are sources upon which indigenous groups have organized.

Although indigenous peoples lost access to resources they had been assured as indentured laborers, the Agrarian Reform Law can be seen as a political victory for indigenous peoples. “The collapse of the semi-feudal hacienda order was followed by a rapid growth of indigenous community organizations.” These organizations spurred the formation of collective action. A “sense of collective purpose emerged based on appeals to primordial loyalties. In reactivating the ties of extended kinship and reciprocity, this process reinforced (and in many cases even regenerated) the old Indian community as the

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59 Perrault, Thomas, pp. 385.
60 Korovkin, pp. 29.
natural organizational framework for these relationships. There emerged a revitalized sense of community formed around the return and preservation of heritage and ethnic identity.

This revitalization of community was both symbolic and literal. The Ley de Comunas (The Community Law), established in 1936, allowed for communities to organize official local governments, local councils, and promised a limited degree of autonomy over natural resources and government support for community development. Many indigenous communities organized primarily around land conflicts and registered as communities in order to make land claims to the government. Between 1974 and 1990, the number of registered indigenous communities or other types of indigenous associations grew from 1,530 to 2,236.

It is suggested that the effects of the capitalist transformation of agriculture, migration, and the modernization of the countryside also had effects on the indigenous household. These changes contributed to the erosion of traditional patriarchal relations and the emergence of a new generation of young leaders. Traditional relations were increasingly questioned in this era by younger indigenous migratory workers, traders, and leaders. These people had greater exposure to non-indigenous culture, relied less on their parents' economic resources, and were not expected to enter prearranged marriages. Many of these young leaders, mostly men but also women, were elected as community leaders because of their useful literacy and bilingual skills. The emergence of these

leaders undoubtedly dispossessed a generation of older leaders of their positions within the movement and national and local organizations. The accelerated succession of leadership positions led to a rapid increase in the diffusion of new political and social ideologies that contributed to the rise of the indigenous movement in Ecuadorian society.

BILINGUAL INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

A large amount of literature concerning Ecuador’s indigenous movement highlights the bilingual intercultural education program as a catalyst for the movement. In 1980 the government designed a bilingual education program for indigenous communities. Initially, this bilingual education project was a method of indigenism, designed to assimilate the indigenous into the Spanish and mestizo culture of mainstream Ecuadorians. This program was given limited funding and was overseen by the National Directorate of Indigenous Bilingual Education. This Directorate, made up of the Ministry of Education and Culture and CONAIE, oversaw the establishment of bilingual schools throughout the country.

64 "Bilingual School" Image Source: http://icci.nativeweb.org
65 Selverston, pp. 173.
As a result of the Directorate's formation, a literacy project, designed by the Center for the Investigation of Indigenous Education (CIEI), at the Pontifica Universidad Catolica del Ecuador, CONAIE, and indigenous leaders, was created. Although the government funded this project, it was not involved in its administration and exercised little control over its content. The literacy project trained indigenous people to teach Quichua literacy in the communities in order to preserve indigenous languages and culture. This project ultimately redesigned the bilingual education program and was termed the Bilingual Intercultural Education Program. It resisted the patterns of assimilation by promoting bilingual education as well as indigenous cultural education. Although initially designed as a method of assimilation, the program soon became a method of resistance. "Along with practical lessons in literacy, and local political processes, the students also learned to value their language, and with it, their culture. In a country where, only a decade before, schoolchildren were forced to cut their braids and speak Spanish, this constituted a significant change."  

This project represented a dramatic break from traditional government policies towards indigenous peoples that promoted linguistic and social assimilation to the Ecuadorian mestizo culture. The program was staffed almost fully by indigenous students, many of whom are national indigenous leaders today.

As a result of the bilingual intercultural education program, 300 rural bilingual education schools were opened and illiteracy in the country went from 25.7 per cent in 1979 to 12.6 per cent in 1984. These programs were designed to instruct both adults and children in order to promote change within the communities. The effects of this program

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have had large ramifications for the indigenous political movement. This return to community and cultural values created a source of identity that promoted indigenous pride and solidarity throughout Ecuador. The introduction of the bilingual education strengthened the new ethnic identity and helped erase the social stigma attached to indigenous cultures by non-indigenous sectors of Ecuadorian society.67

The literacy project at the CIEI that included the training of teachers lost funding from the government after four years, yet it has still enjoyed widespread success. Fernando Mino-Garces, Ph.D, one of the founders of the project and a Dean at the university believes that the effects of the project have been successful. He believes that the incorporation of indigenous leaders into the creation of the project was crucial in its formation and the maintenance of its success. Bilingual schools in the rural communities of Ecuador are still opened and being increasingly considered the norm. There was a bilingual school in an indigenous community I visited in the Chimborazo Province during January 2002. I was able to converse with the students in the upper classes comfortably in Spanish, while Quichua still remained their vernacular language. The adults of the community, however, could not speak as much Spanish as their children. The majority of the men, who had remained in school longer than the women, were fluent in Spanish, but the majority of the women were not. Both sexes were represented equally in the bilingual school I visited.68 The Bilingual Intercultural Education Program has helped indigenous communities maintain their native language and heritage, understand Spanish and other sectors of Ecuadorian society, while stressing the importance of education for all people; indigenous, non-indigenous, male, and female. The indigenous communities' increased

67 Korovkin, pp. 50.
68 Field Notes, January 21, 2002.
control over education within communal and cultural boundaries has led to an increased awareness and active role in the public sphere.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRATEGIES AND REPRESENTATION

Indigenous organizations in Ecuador are arranged in hierarchical fashion. Community-level base organizations affiliate with regional secondary-level federations, which in turn affiliate with supraregional confederations. There are two supraregional confederations in Ecuador, one for the Sierra, and one for the Amazon. They are ECUARUNARI (Ecuador Runacunapac Riccharimui – Quichua for Indigenous Awakening) and CONFENAIE (Confederacion de Nacionalidades Indigenas de la Amazonia Ecuatoriana), respectively. ECUARUNARI was formed in 1977 and was

originally affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church, however it has since renounced any
religious alliance and works to promote the identity and rights of the indigenous and
peasants of the Sierra.

CONFENAIE was formed in 1980 as an organization to unite the indigenous
federations of the Amazon. These federations, such as the Federation of Shuar Centers,
are well-organized, as pressures of colonization and oil exploration introduced in the
1960s by the Agrarian Reform Law led to their early formation and action. The Shuar
federation works to secure indigenous territory as community holdings or community
centers, in order to ensure their rights to their traditional land. The OPIP (Organizacion
de Pueblos Indigenas de Pastaza – Organization of Indigenous Peoples of Pastaza) and
FOIN (federacion de Organizaciones Indigenas de Napo – Federation of Indigenous
Organizations of Napo) were also formed due to the threat of land encroachment by
mestizos in the 1970s. "These federations mixed traditional methods of community
organization, such as shamanism (with traditional medicine men and ‘chiefs’), together
with a Western model of organizational structure (including a president, vice-president,
secretary, etc.)" 70 These regional federations organize under the leadership of
CONFENAIE. "The leadership of CONFENAIE has been mostly Shuar and Quechua,
although the other, smaller nationalities of the Amazon are active participants. It is
particularly important that these small nationalities are involved because they are nearly
extinct, due to infrastructure development and oil extraction in their traditional
territories." 71 CONFENAIE has worked to protect and ensure land rights for indigenous
peoples in the Amazon. It has also cultivated alliances with transnational and national

71 Ibid. pp.34.
activists in environmental and territorial struggles with the Ecuadorian government and foreign oil, mining, and logging companies.

These regional confederations, ECUARUNARI and CONFENAIE affiliated with a national-level organization CONACNIE (Consejo de Coordinacion Nacional de las Naciones Indigenas) formed in 1980 to unite all indigenous organizations throughout Ecuador. Later that year CONACNIE became CONAIE (Confederacion de las Nacionalidades Indigenas del Ecuador) and is the most public and prominent indigenous organization in Ecuador, largely responsible for organizing the social movement tactics employed by the movement. It is an autonomous organization, independent of political parties, or any state, foreign, or religious institution. Since its formation, CONAIE has brought the indigenous people of Ecuador form isolation and marginalization to its prominent position in Ecuadorian society.

Under new leadership this year, CONAIE has altered its base of representation. Previously, it had representatives from provinces and nationalities. According to Iliana Soto, an indigenous activist in Quito, provincial representation was not efficient, as the "provincial boundaries for the indigenous groups were artificial."72 CONAIE now represents nationalities and pueblos (towns or communities) that are not provincially restricted. CONAIE is not a single, indigenous voice, and conflicts based on ethnic, regional, and ideological differences are present within the organization. It has succeeded, however, in becoming the base for organizations to unite and agree on an overall agenda that will address the individualized concerns of each community and pueblo it represents.

72 Iliana Soto, Interview, January 8, 2002.
CONAIE remains the most prominent and powerful social indigenous organization, however the regional organizations are also very active. Along with CONFENAE and ECUARUNARI, a coastal organization was developed in order for Ecuador’s three regions to be represented by CONAIE. This organization is COICE (Coordinadora de Organizaciones de la Costa Ecuatoriana – Coordinator of Organizations of the Ecuadorian Coast).

Two other indigenous organizations that have been influential in the indigenous movement are FEINE (Federacion Ecuatoriana de Indigenas Evangelicos – Ecuadorian Federation of Indigenous Evangelicos) and FENOCIN (Federacion Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas, Indigenas, y Negros – National Federation of Farmers, Indigenous, and Afro-Ecuadorians). FEINE is strong in the Sierra region, especially in the province of Chimborazo. The Tortora indigenous community I visited was affiliated with FEINE and not CONAIE. FEINE is primarily funded by fundamentalist Christian groups from the United States that have been sending an increasing number of missionaries to Latin America. Since the 1990s FEINE and CONAIE have forged a stronger relationship. In the central province of Bolivar, for example, Juan Arevalo, an indigenous leader who converted to evangelical Christianity, was elected president of a CONAIE affiliate, FECAB (Federacion Campesina de Bolivar – the Bolivar Campesino Federation.73

FENOCIN, was formed in 1944, shortly after FEI, and was originally composed of campesinos (rural farmers) but extended its support base to indigenous groups and more recently, to Afro-Ecuadorians. FENOCIN’s role in local politics seems to be strong, however it is not as nationally recognized as CONAIE. It was developed to “put

all emphasis on the struggle for land, and to pay little attention to ethnic considerations.\textsuperscript{74} This chasm between the struggle for pragmatic goals and identity politics will be addressed in subsequent chapters. Although there have been conflicts between many of the federations, members of organizations say they believe "the movement as a whole is strengthened by a plurality of voices."\textsuperscript{75} They have organized around specific projects and have all been involved in national protests.

CONAIE was formed as a forum that could unite indigenous peoples without going through political parties and organizations. In the 1990s, however, the indigenous movement's success raised ideas of participating in the electoral process. For the 1996 elections, a political movement Movimiento de Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik – País Nuevo (PN–Pachakutik Movement for Pluri-national Unity – New Country) was created. This political movement, commonly referred to as Pachakutik, draws indigenous peoples together with governmental organizations, ecologists, women's groups and various social organizations. The candidate for municipality is nominated after a long assembly in which local communities take part. The same system is used in the provinces and at the national level.\textsuperscript{76} Nina Pacari, a member of the Quechua nation, was elected in 1998 to the national parliament and was then elected vice-President of the new parliament. Pacari states that the unity of the movement has become stronger. "Indigenous people are not uniform. We are 11 nations with different visions, processes and strategies, which depend partly on our geographical environment...Nevertheless, although we respect our differences, we are beginning to reach some consensus. We have to realize that the fact that there are different views within the movement does not mean division but

\textsuperscript{74} Zamosc, pp. 48.  
\textsuperscript{75} Selverston-Scher, pp. 41.  
\textsuperscript{76} Lucas, pp. 110.
plurality." The Pachakutik political movement calls for unity in diversity and works at local, provincial, and national levels to promote the concept of pluri-nationalism. There is a lack of literature describing the relationship between CONAIE and Pachakutik, although many are confused by it. The simultaneous tension and cooperation between these groups, and their independent success has become the point of focus for this study and will be addressed in subsequent chapters.

Alison Brysk’s research on Latin American indigenous movements is indicative of Ecuador’s experiences. She describes Ecuador’s case as “promising” because the country has a “large and diverse indigenous population, a strong and internationalized Indian rights movement, and a variety of international forces present; it has also achieved some response from the state and relevant international factors.” Brysk also mentions that the indigenous movement in Ecuador has been relatively more successful in facilitating indigenous mobilization than those in its neighboring countries. This is due to “its small size, the fact that its capital city exists in an area of ethnic density, and the fact that it has a common indigenous language (Quichua) in both the highlands and the lowlands.” Although specific to Ecuador, this indigenous movement is part of a larger transnational movement that has begun to separate indigenous groups all over the world from the identity of their respective nation-states and create an ethno-political movement centered upon the organization of their own indigenous nationalities.

Brysk’s work focuses on transnational indigenous rights movements. She profiles movements and the actors that comprise them apart from the indigenous communities themselves. These actors include: indigenous advocacy groups, individuals such as

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77 Ibid, pp.110.
78 Alison Brysk, pp. 25.
79 Ibid, pp.25.
lawyers, anthropologists, scientists, and clergy who work primarily to promote the rights and autonomy of indigenous people in their societies and within the international system. This movement has become increasingly global. In profiling the indigenous rights movement, Brysk distinguishes three types of transnational movement.

“First, in both location and chronology, there is transnational mobilization of local Indian rights movements by international actors. A subsequent phase involves the formation of linkages across borders among Indian movements, advocacy groups, issue-networks, and foreign publics. Concurrent with both local and linkage organizing, a transnational pan-indigenous movement has formed that is global in its identity, goals, and activities.”

Brysk argues that this global movement returns to the tribal village and perpetuates local mobilization. This act of global participation connects to Brysk’s theory of ‘thinking locally and acting globally.’ This theory can be analyzed on a micro-level by examining the strength derived from the Ecuadorian bilingual intercultural education programs, community organizations, and a revitalization of indigenous ideology in order to form a larger political movement in Ecuador and within the international community.

Indigenous peoples have strengthened their local communities in order to make economic, political, and social demands on the nation-state.

The work of CONAIE, CONFENAIE, ECUARUNARI, COICE, as well as many other regional organizations throughout Ecuador has resulted in the creation of a network of non-indigenous support both within and outside of Ecuador’s boundaries. Through the creation of websites, these organizations have been able to express their motives and concerns to a larger global community. These websites display information in Spanish, Quichua, and English and contain information on recent protests, assemblies, and

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80 Ibid, pp.69.
agreements made with other organizations or with political bodies. They also contain information on legal proceedings, oil exploration, and business negotiations that have occurred within the communities. Not only does this allow the global community to become aware of the indigenous struggle, it reinforces the growing realization that the indigenous groups can no longer be manipulated, marginalized, and constrained to Ecuador's borders. The indigenous people are using this technology to cross nation-state boundaries. The CONAIE website is more extensive than others and offers facts about each indigenous nation within Ecuador. It also contains links to pertinent documents and information about the movement, business affairs, and environmental concerns that affect Ecuador's indigenous communities. The maintenance and strengthening of the indigenous organizations coincides directly with their role in the national affairs of the nation-state.

This communication between the indigenous groups in Ecuador has also contributed to their ability to organize successfully. This organization has become the most crucial element in the success of the movement. Through regional information networks, indigenous peoples are able to successfully carry out nation-wide non-violent protests. The effects of every large-scale indigenous uprising have been apparent throughout the country, as people block roads, protest in local government buildings, and take part in mass marches to Quito. These mobilization tactics depend on the efficient communication and organizational system that the indigenous movement in Ecuador has perfected throughout the past decade.

Many authors have questioned why Ecuador has such a clearly defined ethnic movement, when its neighbors, even those with large indigenous populations — such as
Bolivia, Peru, and Guatemala—tend to have more fragmented organizations based on class or other issues. The majority of the Ecuadorian indigenous organizations have been able to create their own autonomous agencies, and have non-violently mobilized to promote their pluri-national, multi-cultural views. The strength of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement is a direct result of its ability to organize. It is centered upon the solidarity that even disparate indigenous groups share, based on a common experience of social, political, and economic exclusion. In addition, the movement has capitalized on common indigenous ideologies, such as minga and ushay, which have strengthened the movement.

**MINGA and USHAY**

One of the most significant aspects of the indigenous movement is its ability to capitalize on ancient concepts that have survived within indigenous communities, traditions, and discourse for generations. These concepts lie at the core of the indigenous movement's strategies of organization and mobilization, and have become integral to the movement's political and social objectives. This is a pan-Andean phenomenon that is not recent and is not inherent to Ecuador.

In Peru's 'Age of Andean Insurrection,' from 1742-1782, indigenous rebellion occurred on a pan-regional scale in response to a variety of pressures, but was most importantly spurred by the "emergence of 'Incan nationalist' ideologies, which idealized Inca rule as an indigenous alternative to Spanish colonial administration." The strengthening of Incan nationalism during the eighteenth century exemplified the

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existence of indigenous alternatives to the social and political livelihood of the Andean mestizo culture. It also demonstrates that indigenous groups throughout the region, despite their differing ethnic heritage, began to unite on common concepts of indigenous identity that pre-dated Spanish and Incan imperialism.

The Incan Empire is famous for its centralized state and its political and economic organization. Although regional fragmentation persisted, processes of linguistic change occurred during the period of Incan rule that resulted in the creation of many hybrid dialects of Quechua. In Ecuador, most indigenous groups, despite their ethnic background, speak a dialect of Quechua, termed Quichua. This linguistic similarity has helped indigenous groups form organizations and alliances with other groups outside of their community and has ultimately strengthened the indigenous movement.

The concepts that have become the basis of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement can be traced back to Incan culture, but have significance for groups who do not consider themselves ancestors of the Incas. These concepts revolve around communal work, kinship identity, consensual decision-making, and power construction. Indigenous groups within the movement have adopted these ideologies as well as a common indigenous identity. This identity is one that was not prescribed by indigenism or European influence, but is rooted in the history of indigenous populations and has been recreated by indigenous groups who are using it to assert their own self-determination within mestizo-dominated societies. By capitalizing on these ancient concepts, indigenous groups are not merely returning to the past to further their movement, they are re-conceptualizing it and applying it to the context in which they exist. The increased use of these concepts symbolizes the modernization of the indigenous movement.
The concept of minga is a defining characteristic of indigenous livelihood throughout Ecuador. Not to be confused with mita, a term once synonymous to minga but appropriated by the Spanish to describe the forced labor of indigenous people, minga is translated as “communal labor or mutual help.” It has enabled families, communities, and organizations to remain united. “Minga is a way of working in solidarity, which is rooted in our culture. It is a way we Indians have of helping each other and helping the community. The work of recovering land is done in mingas and our people all share in it. Then what is produced on this land is for everybody,” stated an indigenous woman from the community of Licto, in the province of Chimborazo. This value system has been present throughout generations of indigenous civilizations for hundreds of years. “When a family in the community needs help with their home, or raising their children, or harvesting, people in the community help. That is how it has always been.”

Miguel Llucto, the director of Pachakutik, says “that is why we call our movement a ‘minga for life,’” (working in common for the sake of life.) Indigenous peoples have been able to organize based on this principle as well as the concept of ushay, which translates as power and perfect living conditions.

For the indigenous movement, ushay is a collective concept. “It is the capacity to develop collectively, with each making his or her own distinct contribution.” Ushay is intrinsic to the indigenous movement and is derived from collective identity and collective organization. This collective solidarity is what drives the movement. Pachakutik representatives state that the power, ushay, of the movement is in its

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82 Lucas, pp. 29.
83 Field Notes January 21, 2002.
84 Lucas, pp.8.
85 Ibid, pp.105.
The strength and degree of unification that is apparent in the movement is largely due to the application of indigenous ideology and principles, such as minga and ushay, to the political platform of the movement. The indigenous movement’s mobilizations of the past decade have also depended on work of communities, organizations, families, and individuals. Indigenous people have repeatedly marched to Quito, sometimes traveling days at a time, in order to protest. Others have blocked the roads in order to ensure complete paralysis of the country and indigenous people involved in service have not attended work. These actions show their collective strength and prove that the indigenous movement in Ecuador is a force to be reckoned with.

THE GOALS OF THE MOVEMENT

The most notable achievements of the indigenous movement in Ecuador have been accomplished by CONAIE and Pachakutik. The political presence the movement has been able to achieve in the last decade has been significant not only for indigenous groups, but all sectors of the Ecuadorian population. CONAIE has succeeded in its organizational strategies and its ability to effectively mobilize indigenous groups to challenge the government. Pachakutik has aligned with other sectors of society and has been able to consolidate a national network of indigenous local authorities in provincial councils, districts, and rural municipalities.

Bilingual education is one of the reasons for the success of the indigenous movement. After the creation of the Bilingual Intercultural Education Program, indigenous federations have opened new schools, educated more teachers, and increased
enrollment throughout the country. Education has enabled indigenous people to take on
leadership roles in the indigenous movement.

Education helped our organizational process in two ways. On the one
hand it provided knowledge and a space in which to question the social,
economic and political situation of the country. On the other it created
expectations of employment and social advancement which were not
satisfied by society, given the few offers of work that were made because
of continuing discrimination; this induced us to reflect and to question the
system" (CONAIE 1989:278)

Access to bilingual intercultural education remains a fundamental priority of the
movement's goals. Demands for access to health care and the national support of
traditional medicine are also significant, but a large amount of the movement's goals are
economic. One impressive aspect of the movement is that it has repeatedly offered
alternative economic proposals to the government in order to rid Ecuador of its economic
underdevelopment. These proposals include a demand for more government services,
lower taxes, and the forgiveness of debts owed by indigenous communities to banks and
government agencies. Another demand is for unrestricted export and import privileges
for indigenous merchants and crafts. In addition, the movement proposes the creation of
credit unions at the local and regional level to be controlled by CONAIE. In most cases,
these economic proposals are not accepted by the Ecuadorian government because they
do not coincide with the IMF-backed adjustment policies that the Ecuadorian government
imposes in exchange for loans. The general economic demands that tend to be supported
among all indigenous groups include the construction of high-priority, basic
infrastructures in indigenous communities, such as the creation of schools, potable water
systems, and electricity.
While land rights, economic resources, and access to health care and education remain central to the priorities of the indigenous movement, the objectives of the movement have become increasingly political. Indigenous peoples are asserting their own identity and demanding a change in social and political dialogue so that they are not perpetually defined as outsiders. This marginalization has been institutionalized in Ecuadorian society for over 500 years. Both CONAIE and Pachakutik are calling for a need to reform the country's existing structure which they say is discriminatory and exclusionary. The movement has popularized terms such as pluri-nationalism and multiculturalism in order to challenge the political and social ideologies that have contributed to the mestizo-only models of 'nationalism' and 'citizenship' which characterize the republic's democracy.

MULTICULTURALISM AND PLURI-NATIONALISM

In his discussion of the formation and role of the nation, Benedict Anderson proposes the following: "it is an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."87 The concept of nationalism in Latin America became increasingly prominent as countries achieved independence and re-defined themselves as Latin American nation-states, separated yet largely influenced by reverberations of colonial rule.

Anderson argues that nationalism forced each country to reconstruct the state into a nation form and create a common sense of fraternity, obligation, and commitment to one nation. As ethnic communities in Ecuador assert their autonomy both within and

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outside of nation-state boundaries, however, the legitimacy of the nation-state is being questioned. In Ecuador's case, Anderson's definition of a nation applies to ethnic communities. The indigenous movement in Ecuador utilizes this conception of nationalistic identity in order to re-define the nation-state. Through transnational networks both within and outside of Ecuador, these indigenous nations have been able to establish and maintain their own nationalistic identity. They argue that national identity is not based on an existing state system, but on history and ethnicity. Ironically, the myth of mestizaje ignores the survival of indigenous identity. The indigenous movement promotes concepts of national plurality within the Ecuadorian state.

In this study I separate 'nation' from 'nation-state' and refer to nation as an 'imagined community' formed and based on principles of ethnic and cultural belonging. The mestizo culture of Ecuador accounts for a nominal degree of Ecuadorian nationalism that has been reproduced and transformed for generations by policies of indigenism and reinforced mestizaje. The indigenous movement is challenging Ecuadorian nationalism and the 'myth of mestizaje' that has become apparent throughout Latin America. Indigenous nations in Ecuador have called for a transformation of the nation-state into a pluri-national and multicultural state that represents all ethnic nations within the country's boundaries. The difference between these two concepts is inherently vague, but is defined by their legal ramifications.

A multicultural country signifies a country made up of diverse cultures and heritages. The recognition of Ecuador as a multicultural state essentially reflects the country's tolerance of cultural pluralism. The concept of pluri-nationalism has more significant legal meanings. A pluri-national country is a country made up of a diverse
number of nations. These nations are given the legal rights to create their own branches of government and remain autonomous. If Ecuador were to recognize itself as pluri-national, the nation-state would have limited control of the nations within its borders and would have to create and define legal means to ensure political hegemony. The revised constitution of 1998 recognizes Ecuador as multi-ethnic and multicultural, but the concept of pluri-nationalism was not included. Many Ecuadorians fear that if the concept of pluri-nationalism were to be included in Ecuador's constitution, the stability of the nation-state would disappear.

"Many people in Ecuador, especially politicians and the elite believe that if we consider Ecuador a pluri-national country, we will lose our identity as Ecuadorian citizens. They believe that by recognizing the plurality of nations, we will not have one nation-state."

The inclusion of pluri-nationalism within the constitution raises many issues for Ecuadorian society. For example, if numerous nations are recognized within Ecuador, will they be given rights to make their own laws and create their own systems of governance? Additionally, if people are recognized as citizens of different nations, can they be considered Ecuadorian citizens as well? If this concept were to be included, Ecuador would be comprised of autonomous nations; a system mestizo Ecuador is not yet willing to accept. Ampan Karakras, one of the founders of CONAIE suggests that the issue of autonomy does not mean separatism, although many Ecuadorian citizens fear this. Adopting the concept of multi-nationalism would transform the state structure of Ecuador, something that the majority of society is not yet prepared to do. Concepts of multiculturalism and pluri-nationalism have become central to the modern indigenous

\[88\] CONAIE interview, January 21, 2002.
movement's discourse over the past five years. Indigenous leaders argue that in order to challenge the history of racism and indigenist policies, these concepts must be politically and socially institutionalized in Ecuadorian society.

The indigenous movement has made considerable gains over the course of the last few decades. The focus of this study is on the modern indigenous movement, however the modern indigenous movement has only been shaped by its past. This past, however, did not begin with the arrival of the Spanish. In fact, the organization, protest, and mobilization of indigenous peoples existed before the arrival of the Europeans. The indigenous movement, therefore, does not merely protest the enduring influence of European conquest and the creation of a dominating mestizo culture and uni-nationalism. The movement uses concepts and organizational strategies that have existed within indigenous cultures for centuries in order to articulate demands for multiculturalism and pluri-nationalism. Essentially, the indigenous movement seeks to preserve the equality and autonomy of culture and community; something that indigenous groups have been trying to do long before the arrival of Europeans, throughout colonial rule, and today. The modern indigenous movement is thus a re-articulation of these ancient concepts of identity, autonomy, and pluralism.
On January 19, 2002 at a CONAIE meeting in Cuenca, Ecuador, CONAIE leaders declared January 21 the “Dia de la Resistencia Indigena” (The day of Indigenous Resistance), in memory of the successes achieved during the 2000 and 2001 indigenous uprisings. The day also reflects the number of significant uprisings that have taken place since 1990. These uprisings are organized primarily by CONAIE, the federation at the forefront of the indigenous movement. This declaration is symbolic of the power CONAIE has achieved in Ecuadorian society during the last decade. This chapter will describe CONAIE’s history in Ecuador to provide a contrast from Pachakutik’s involvement in the country. It will cite social movement and identity movement theory in order to analyze CONAIE and the indigenous movement in the context of social movement research. It will also illustrate CONAIE’s hierarchical organization by
focusing on its elections and its role as the central social organization that unites various indigenous communities, federations, and organizations throughout the country.

In Ecuador, the words “indigenous movement” and “CONAIE” are synonymous. The organization of CONAIE is often considered a movement in itself. Although a movement cannot be conflated to a single organization, CONAIE has become the driving force of this social movement. A small number of social movement theorists have shifted their attention on the study of “social movements” to the study of “social movement organizations.” They argue that understanding the organization that drives the movement is crucial in quantifying and predicting its success. Since its formation in 1986 as a forum for national indigenous federations, CONAIE has played an active role in leading indigenous peoples of Ecuador to a prominent position in both the social and political spheres of the country.

SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY

What constitutes a social movement? Alan Touraine states, “it is impossible to define an object of study called ‘social movements’ without first selecting a general mode of analysis of social life on the basis of which a category of facts called social movements can be constituted.” He attempts to define social movements as “the action, both culturally oriented and socially conflictual, of a class defined by its position of domination or dependency in the mode of appropriation of historicity, of the cultural models of investment, knowledge and morality towards which the social movement itself”

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is oriented." Some scholars believe that the whole idea of a social movement as a description of collective action should be abandoned because it traps our language in conceptual traditions that have to be discarded. Escobar and Alvarez suggest that social movements cannot be defined solely in terms of economic and social categories; they must also be placed in political and cultural domains. Today's social movements do not restrict themselves to traditional political activities, such as those linked to parties and state institutions. Rather, they challenge our most entrenched ways of understanding political practice and its relation to culture, economy, society, and nature. The indigenous movement in Ecuador is a form of social movement that challenges the economic, political, and cultural structures that shape the nation-state.

Social Movement research generally separates into two distinctive theoretical categories: resource mobilization theories, and identity-centered theories. Resource mobilization theory is concerned with strategy, how a movement organizes and represents its members. "The resource mobilization model provides an integrated theory of how organizations are formed, public support is mobilized, organizational behavior developed, and political tactics decided." In addition, it is centered on questions regarding participation, expectations, interest, and the quantification of success. The identity-centered theories emphasize the processes by which social actors constitute collective identities in order to create democratic spaces for more autonomous action.

In this context of social movement theory, indigenous movements throughout Latin America are commonly placed within the "collective identity" category. Collective

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92 Alvarez and Escobar, pp. 6-7.
93 Ibid, pp.7.
94 Dalton and Kuechler, pp. 9.
95 Alvarez and Escobar, pp. 5.
identities, such as ethnic identities, become the spine of indigenous movements. This school of social movement research is often referred to as the New Social Movement approach (NSM). NSMs were believed to give expression to "new popular interests," to practice "new ways of doing politics," and even to embody the possibility of creating a "new hegemony by the masses." Alvarez and Escobar argue however, that using these theories, much remains to be discovered in the study of recent indigenous movements in Latin America. They suggest that a cross-pollination of research – between identity-centered and resource mobilization approaches, quantitative and qualitative methods, endogenous and external theories – is necessary. In the study of social movements, increased attention is being placed on both the strategic and symbolic dimensions of movements. It is this approach that is best applied to the study of the indigenous movement in Ecuador. The movement is formed on a shared indigenous identity and has mobilized its resources by organizing federations, alliances, and communication networks that link the indigenous groups involved in the movement.

Alvarez, Escobar, and Andolina contend that social movements engage in 'cultural politics' by contesting the meaning of democracy/citizenship and development, and by redrawing political frontiers and the players, institutions, and issues that make up the political arena. Andolina states that in order to understand cultural politics, it is important to study not only the actions of social movements, but also the interaction of

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96 Ibid.
social movements, political parties, and the state. These players are all intertwined in the history of the indigenous movement in Ecuador.

Using the resource mobilization theory, the Ecuadorian indigenous movement has successfully organized a forum for the participation of national indigenous federations. The organization of the movement is very apparent. During interviews with Ecuadorians outside of the movement, many referred to the indigenous movement as the most successful and organized movement in Ecuador. Similarly, using the identity-centered theories, indigenous peoples in Ecuador have organized on the basis of a collective indigenous identity and are attempting to change Ecuador’s inherent racial and cultural ideologies.

What constitutes its success? In order to measure the success of a movement, attention is placed on its ability to mobilize. In this case, Ecuador’s indigenous movement has been successful as a social movement. It has used tactics such as mass demonstrations, takeovers of government buildings, cross-country marches and blockades of major commercial highways with boulders or burning tires, and boycotting agricultural markets. In addition, many note the importance of indigenous resistance that takes place on a variety of levels that are less easily observed. "In the case of the indigenous movement, when its members are not in the streets, they are engaged in reinventing indigenous identity through bilingual education and through organizing in indigenous

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It has created a place for itself, through the strength of its mobilizations and the strategies of less visible resistance, in Ecuadorian society.

**CONAIE**

Since its formation in 1986, CONAIE has worked to promote indigenous economic, social, political, and cultural rights. It has united Ecuador's different indigenous groups as a movement that was separate from political parties and state-sponsored organizations. CONAIE is an autonomous organization that has no affiliation with any political or religious group, and it receives support from international economic benefactors, environmentalists, anthropologists, and institutional supporters from the United States, including OXFAM America, the Inter-American Foundation, and the Rainforest Action Network. Initially, CONAIE focused on land, ethnic, and cultural issues and soon after it became prominent in politics, although did not become a political actor, and still works to reform the constitution to include the concept of plurinationalism. The indigenous movement, through CONAIE, is not only working to improve the livelihood of the indigenous in Ecuador, it is working to reform the entire nation-state.

CONAIE represents indigenous federations and pueblos throughout the country, however there are still a small number of communities that do not affiliate with CONAIE but with FENOCIN or FEINE. Although autonomous, these organizations maintain ties with CONAIE. CONAIE's main office is a large building in the northern section of Quito. CONAIE leaders regularly travel throughout the country and hold frequent meetings in a variety of provinces.

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CONAIE ELECTIONS

CONAIE is a hierarchically-organized institution and has adopted a form of
democratic representation. Delegates from the nation’s indigenous federations meet at a
large conference every three years to elect new leadership. This leadership is made up of
a nine-member executive council and includes a president, vice-president, secretary of
organization and promotion, secretary of human rights, secretary of women and family,
secretary of health and nutrition, secretary of education, science and culture, secretary of
territory, natural resources, environment and development. There is also a subcommittee
made up of 13 delegates from indigenous nationalities in Ecuador, as well as 14
representatives from the pueblos. These delegates are also elected every three years in
local elections.

Many refer to the 1990 Indigenous Uprising, organized by CONAIE, as the
movement’s breakthrough into public life. It was due to this uprising that the indigenous
movement earned its reputation as the most important social movement in Ecuador and
one of the best-organized in Latin America. “It was the only one capable of paralyzing
the country, and became a feature of politics in Ecuador that could no longer be
ignored.” 100 This uprising legitimized the movement among both the indigenous groups
and the rest of Ecuadorian society. Indigenous people began to have a stronger sense of
hope and faith in the movement, and consequently worked harder to support it. 101 In
addition, political leaders of Ecuador began to create dialogues with the movement’s
leaders, and Ecuadorian citizens began to be accustomed to the movement’s presence in

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100 Lucas, pp.5.
101 Leo Coloma. Interview, January 8, 2002.
the social sector. "Whether elevated or lowered, admired or misunderstood, idealized or banalized, the Indians have returned to the Ecuadorian conscience, and it is no longer possible to imagine a destiny together without considering their presence and participation."¹⁰² A larger amount of international attention was given to the movement after its uprising in 1990 as well.

The strategies of resource mobilization employed by CONAIE have led to its success and involvement in the affairs of the Ecuadorian nation-state. Its organizing achievements are widely known and its carefully planned mobilizations and negotiations with the government have gained international recognition. After the uprising in 1990, the Borja administration entered into dialogues with leaders from CONAIE. These negotiations gave political legitimacy to CONAIE. The indigenous population was no longer disenfranchised by the Ecuadorian government and dialogue with the government represented a political voice. As the popularity of the movement increased, so too did its goals. The mass mobilization and direct negotiation strategies employed by the movement have contributed to its success.

As mentioned earlier, CONAIE is proposing changes that are both short-term and long-term. Leaders are concerned with the pragmatic goals of economic and land rights, but they are also working to transform identity politics. Yashar suggests that the indigenous character of contemporary movements extends beyond material concerns for land as a productive resource. The potential loss of land also affects the viability and autonomy of local indigenous political institutions that operate in and assume a relatively

well-defined and stable geographic space. Land has become a central theme in the discourse of the goals of the indigenous movement. By protecting their land they are not only protecting their physical territory, but also their identity and their geographical and symbolic space in the civil and political sectors of Ecuadorian society.

CONAIE places a strong focus on supporting community development, sustainability, and organization, while challenging the economic reforms of the government that inhibit this development. CONAIE states that it supports modernization, but not privatization. According to CONAIE, the government talks about reactivating the economic apparatus, and they employ methods that go against the people. “For us, modernization means reactivating the productive apparatus, both in the city and in the country. Our country is agricultural; the state needs to contemplate the problems of all social sectors and steer support accordingly to small and medium-sized producers.”

CONAIE views modernization in terms of land, the recuperation of lands and defense of territories; production, state-sponsored technical support, credit, and irrigation needed to activate the economy. In terms of commercialization, CONAIE hopes to create communal business in order to better market indigenous products.

CONAIE states that in order to modernize the state, action must be taken to modernize the constitution. Indigenous leaders were involved in the Constituent Assembly of 1997 and the completion of Ecuador’s most recent constitution of 1998. Although some indigenous proposals were included, such as multiculturalism, their demand of pluri-nationalism was not included in the constitution. A Pluri-national state, according to CONAIE, is formed when the different nationalities agree on the same

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104 “CONAIE Web Official” http://conaie.nativeweb.org/conaic2.html
constitution and same governing. The pluri-national society has to be distinguished from the present system of Ecuador.

The increasingly political role that CONAIE has achieved does not weaken its influence in the social sector. Several scholars have argued that many contemporary social movements, such as the Ecuadorian indigenous movement, reflect an unconventional style of political action—based on direct action—that challenge the basic goals, structure, and organizational style of Western industrial democracies. Most contemporary social movements intentionally remain outside the institutionalized framework of government. “Attempts to negotiate with the socio-political establishment often result in a clash of contrasting value paradigms...movements feel that close cooperation with government bodies may lead to cooptation and de-radicalization of the movement by dominant corporatist-industrial interests.” It is for this reason that Ecuador’s indigenous movement intentionally abstained from the political system until 1996 when it created the political movement Pachakutik.

CONAIE’s demands have become more fundamentally identity-centered and political. As the demands of CONAIE have changed, so too does its involvement with Pachakutik. The separation between these two bodies is erratic, yet mutual. Although CONAIE’s political demands are similar to Pachakutik’s, such as pluri-nationalism, CONAIE insists on remaining outside of the traditional political system. Moreover, CONAIE represents the indigenous nationalities in Ecuador, while the Pachakutik movement encompasses not only indigenous demands but also those of other movements and other sectors of the population. It is this schism that is straining the movement and

105 Dalton and Kuechler, pp.10.
indigenous leaders have been involved in a constant debate surrounding electoral participation and its effects on the indigenous movement.
CHAPTER FIVE: THE PACHAKUTIK POLITICAL MOVEMENT

"The Power of the Pachakutik Movement is in its Construction."107

The term Pachakutik is symbolic of the indigenous experience in Ecuador. It refers to the Incan conception that time is circular and repeats itself every 500 years. Pachakutik is a period in time; a period of great change. Five-hundred years ago was a time of Pachakutik, and it was 500 years ago that the Spanish conquistadors, led by Francisco Pizarro, invaded Incan territory in the Andes. Now, 500 years later, it is once again a time of Pachakutik, thereby signifying a time of great change. This change has manifested itself in the rise of the indigenous movement. By naming the political movement Pachakutik, its founders and leaders are demonstrating their capacity for

change, a change that is not only modern but has been brewing for 500 years. This chapter will examine the creation of Pachakutik, provide an analysis of its electoral success, and describe its involvement in both the social and political sectors of Ecuador.

A number of parties in Ecuador's political system have promoted indigenous candidates in local elections and have aligned with indigenous communities. The indigenous federations do not sponsor candidates, as they feel that specific party interests may contradict their own and often do not coincide with indigenous movement's objectives. CONAIE went so far as to pass a 1995 resolution that forbade its own leaders from holding public office. In 1995 CONAIE's president at the time, Luis Macas, in response to pressures to run for vice-president, stated that he was "a leader of the country's indigenas, not a politician." 108

In 1996, however, indigenous groups shocked the country by joining together to form the Pachakutik Movement for Pluri-national Unity, a new political movement to participate in electoral politics. The movement is not registered as a political party and functions as an electoral coalition representing indigenous and other social movement groups. Apparently, several indigenous organizations in the Oriente had been planning the creation of the movement for at least a year before the 1996 elections. 109 Leaders of the Oriente federations argued that because voting is a citizen's obligation, rather than a right according to Ecuadorian law, there should be an electoral coalition of both indigenous and non-indigenous progressive causes. This coalition, Pachakutik, offers voters an alternative body that represents the causes of their movement. Moreover, many

arguments stressed that indigenous causes could be furthered significantly by aligning with non-indigenous organizations and other progressive social movements.

It is important to note the formation of CMS (Coordinadora de Movimientos Sociales – Coordinating Body of Social Movements) in 1995. Under leadership by Marcelo Roman, an alliance was formed among diverse social movements, including Afro-Ecuatorianos, women’s rights groups, student groups, and other labor unions, yet indigenous organizations were not included. CMS, however, has a strategic relationship with CONAIE and participates in many protests and uprisings organized by CONAIE. Since CONAIE’s formation, its leaders have been intent on pursuing an agenda of advancing the economic, legal, social and cultural interests of only indigenous peoples. Although these interests may overlap with other sectors of the population, CONAIE has primarily acted independently and only briefly entered strategic alliances. CMS, like CONAIE, and Pachakutik, has significant political influence in Ecuador and repeatedly enters in and out of alliances for strategic purposes. CMS, however, has not been as public or politicized as CONAIE or Pachakutik, perhaps because it does not have a collective identity to capitalize on. Without an organized sense of identity, CMS has not achieved the prominent space in Ecuadorian politics that the indigenous movement, through both CONAIE and Pachakutik, occupies.

In the context of Ecuadorian society, Pachakutik is known as the “brazo politica del CONAIE,” (the political arm of CONAIE). This statement, however, is never uttered within the offices or by the leaders of Pachakutik and CONAIE. Interestingly enough, the more involved a person becomes within the social and political movements, the more one realizes that Pachakutik and CONAIE are become increasingly separated.

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Beck and Mijeski, pp.16.
Pachakutik claims to speak for all members of the country, including both indigenous and non-indigenous, campesinos, Afro-Ecuatorianos, public and private workers, women, children, ecologists, academics, and others. The fundamental element of Pachakutik's ideological base is to respect the diversity of the country and its many forms of plurality and pluri-nationality. This is reflected in its motto, "unity in diversity."

Pachakutik defines itself as a political organization independent from the traditional political parties that represent the groups of power. It supports a new form of economic, political, social and cultural development that hopes to decentralize the bureaucratic system of governance by focusing on the local sector. It fights the suppression of all forms of exploitation, oppression, and injustice and specifically targets corruption and works for the sovereignty and self-determination of local communities. "The Pachakutik Movement is an open space for all Ecuadorians who fight against regionalism, all forms of discrimination, including economic, religious, racial, etc..and who work for the construction of a new country based in values of solidarity, equality, justice, respect for life, and plurality."

Virgilio Hernandez, the Social Coordinator for Pachakutik, argues that the Pachakutik Movement has made significant electoral successes since its entrance into the electoral process in 1996. In these elections, the President of CONAIE, Luis Macas, won a seat in the National Congress along with seven other candidates supported by Pachakutik. These candidates were both indigenous and non-indigenous. Although the eight deputies constituted only 10 percent of the total seats, the new political movement was, nonetheless, the fourth largest bloc in Congress. Additionally, including all elected

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offices from city council members through congressional deputies, Pachakutik won 76 positions. The rapid success of Pachakutik’s entrance into the political system reflects the widespread support it has from indigenous organizations, other social movement organizations, and local associations.

During the 1996 elections, a broadcast journalist, Freddy Ehlers – considered a public personality – was Pachakutik’s presidential candidate. He finished third in the election behind Jaime Nebot of the Social Christian party and Abdala Bucaram of the Ecuadorian Roldocista party who eventually defeated Nebot and became President. Ehler’s failure in these elections “led to the first major split within the indigenous movement.” After Ehler’s defeat in the run-off elections, Pachakutik refused to endorse either Bucaram or Nebot, but then Valerio Grefa, a leader of an indigenous organization in the Oriente announced that Pachakutik was supporting Bucaram. This ignited tension between CONAIE, Ehlers, and Pachakutik. After Bucaram was elected, he created a new ministry of ethnic affairs and appointed Grefa as secretary. CONAIE accused Grefa of “personalismo,” (following his own interests).

In February 1997, Bucaram, nick-named ‘el loco,’ was ousted from office due to a decision by the National Parliament on the charge of mental incompetence and corruption. Representatives from Pachakutik, such as National Congress member Miguel Lluco, joined other indigenous people in protest for his removal from office prior to the Congress’ decision. After Bucaram was forced out of office, Fabian Alarcon, an

114 Ibíd, pp.7.
interim President, replaced him. Alarcon called for a referendum that questioned whether or not the country's political constitution should be amended. CONAIE, Pachakutik, CSM, and other organizations called for the formation of a National Constituent Assembly to be elected democratically and reform the constitution. Ecuador's political history has been characterized by constitutional assemblies that have rarely resulted in profound political changes due to no strong, independent interpreter of the constitution and because political leaders routinely ignore, manipulate, or reform it to their liking.\textsuperscript{115} CONAIE, Pachakutik, and other social organizations, however, had faith that the Constituent Assembly of 1997 would initiate a change for indigenous people in Ecuadorian society. “CONAIE believed that a constitutional assembly, with a proportional participation of indigenous delegates and representatives of civil society, would have a different outcome than previous constitutional creations...CONAIE wanted the constitution to recognize a reality: that Ecuador has been and is made up of diverse groups that are not simply ethnic minorities but “nationalities.”\textsuperscript{116} Unfortunately, the idealistic goal of CONAIE was not realized in the outcome of the Constituent Assembly.

The assembly was made up of traditional political leaders, including representatives from Pachakutik. It met for three weeks and passed reforms to the constitution in November 1997. CONAIE protested the reforms and the assembly amended Article One to recognize Ecuador as a multiethnic, and multicultural country. Spanish and Quichua were also acknowledged as national languages. The concept of pluri-nationalism, however, was not included. Luis Macas, former President of CONAIE, Pachakutik Deputy in the National Congress, and member of the Constituent

\textsuperscript{115} Andolina, pp. 5.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid.
Assembly was not “optimistic about the work of the Asamblea regarding recognition of Ecuador as a pluri-national country and attention to greater participation by grassroots organizations.”\textsuperscript{117} This was another moment in which the solidarity between CONAIE and Pachakutik was called into question because Pachakutik members were involved in the assembly. According to one representative from the assembly, however, the meaning of pluri-nationalism was implied in Title III (Of rights, guarantees, and obligations), Chapter Five (collective rights), Article 83, which states that “the indigenous peoples, who define themselves as nationalities from ancestral races, and the black or afro-ecuadorian peoples, form part of the Ecuadorian State…”(Constitucion Politica de la Republica del Ecuador).\textsuperscript{118} While this incorporation highlights the state’s recognition of indigenous nationalities, it does not give them rights as autonomous nations and therefore does not represent the true meaning of pluri-nationalism.

The 1998 presidential elections posed a similar situation for Pachakutik. The majority of the Sierra contingency of Pachakutik strongly supported the nomination of Luis Macas for President, while the Oriente contingency of Pachakutik supported Paco Moncayo, a retired general. In addition, there were rumors circling around the possible candidacy of Ehlers, who later ended up creating his own movement to run for the presidency. The support of candidates is an issue for any political movement or registered political party. According to the Pachakutik movement, candidates for each municipality are nominated after a long assembly in which local communities take part and negotiate a suitable candidate. This method of consensual decision-making is grounded in indigenous concepts and has become part of the movement’s foundation.

\textsuperscript{117} Beck and Mijeski, pp. 7.

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid, pp.10.
This system is used at not only the local level, but at provincial and national levels as well. However, in a political movement as encompassing as Pachakutik, and in a country whose regionalism draws geographical, economic, political, and cultural boundaries, the nomination of candidates becomes widely disputed. CONAIE and Pachakutik do not necessarily always support the same candidates and this leads to dissension and heightened tension.

In 1998 seven congressional representatives from the Pachakutik movement were elected out of an expanded congress of 121. Therefore, Pachakutik made up 6 percent of the Congress, while in 1996, with eight representatives out of 82, they made up 10 percent. Nina Pacari, a representative of Pachakutik was selected as vice-President of the congress. Pacari belongs to the Quechua nation, is a lawyer, and was the head of lands and territories for CONAIE until 1998 when she was elected into the national parliament and was then elected vice-President. “For the indigenous movement this event is historic (the 1998 elections), because until now not a single indigenous comrade, much less a woman, had ever held any office in parliament...Ecuador must get used to seeing indigenous, men and women, occupying decision-making posts, without losing their identity or their commitment to the sectors they represent.” Pacari sites the transformation of local power one of Pachakutik’s greatest successes.

In the 2000 elections, Pachakutik did not increase its number of representatives in the National Congress, however it made significant advances at the local and provincial levels. Twenty-seven mayors and eighty local council members were elected throughout the country. The elections were considered an important triumph for Pachakutik because

in the mayoral elections, Pachakutik was then the third political force of the country. The construction of local power is the basis of the Pachakutik political movement and is the first step toward the construction of power that will lead to a transformative social and political change of Ecuador's republic.

This year, 2002, is another important year of elections, as the terms of Pachakutik's congressional representatives are up for re-election. Additionally, 2002 is a year of presidential elections, and Pachakutik is still undecided as to whom they will support. According to Virgilio Hernandez, Social Coordinator for Pachakutik, they will announce their support for a candidate in the spring. There is much speculation regarding this announcement because of the rumors circulating that former President of CONAIE, Antonio Vargas, wants to run. Members of Pachakutik such as Ana Miranda and Virgilio Hernandez have made no official comment as to whether or not they will back Vargas, however they stress that they have no obligation to support him.

According to some within the movement, because Pachakutik was created by CONAIE and represents the indigenous movement, as well as other movements, it should also support an indigenous movement leader's candidacy for president. This confusion, however, is a source of contention. If Vargas does make a run for the Presidency, and Pachakutik decides not to support him but backs another candidate instead, the tension between Pachakutik and CONAIE may only increase and the strategic relationship between the two could further crumble. Pachakutik, however, argues that it is an independent political movement that represents a diverse group of social movements and is not obligated to support a candidate from any of these movements, unless they believe the candidate worthy of election.

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### Percentage of Votes Received by Pachakutik-Sponsored Candidates for Provincial Deputy in 1996 and 1998 Elections, by Province.

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Pachakutik was born from the indigenous movement, yet has become a movement to advance the causes of both indigenous and non-indigenous sectors of the population. Pachakutik representatives describe the success of the political movement in these terms:
"the power of the movement is in its construction." According to Luis Macas, power for the indigenous people is referred to as 'ushay' and means perfecting living conditions in a collective manner. "It is the capacity to develop collectively, with each making his or her own distinct contribution, as happens in the minga, in which children, women, and old people each have a role in society." The construction of collective power has been a starting point for the Pachakutik movement. This construction has not been centralized and has started at the local and provincial levels.

Pachakutik’s Nina Paearí, vice-President of the National Congress, admits that indigenous people are not uniform. She notes that because there are 12 different indigenous nationalities within Ecuador, there are a variety of different demands, ideologies, and strategies. "We cannot expect the same demands to be made in Amazonia as in the Sierra. Nevertheless, although we respect our differences, we are beginning to reach some consensus." Paearí notes that the different views within the movement do not divide it, but only exhibit its plurality. The movement has become a microcosm of its goals for the state of Ecuador. The respect and promotion of pluralism has been an obstacle to realize, overcome, and transcend to the Ecuadorian political system.

Virgilio Hernandez noted many successes of Pachakutik, including its involvement in the Constituent Assembly that recognized collective rights of peoples and the pluri-ethnic and multiculturalism of Ecuador. In addition, ninety percent of land conflicts are being resolved and the practice of indigenous medicine is now considered

124 Pacari, pp.105.
legal. In addition to the constitutional reforms of 1998, the Parliament approved Agreement 169 of the International Labor Organization (ILO), which recognizes the rights of indigenous peoples and indigenous law. These successes are matched with a growing realization, supported by Pachakutik, that political participation must be established and strengthened in the rural communities of Ecuador. “Scholars of political processes in Latin America increasingly are observing the need for political participation to be established in the rural sector.”

Miguel Llaco Tixe was one of the founders of CONAIE and then of Pachakutik in 1998. He was elected to Parliament in 1996 and then in 1999 he was elected the President of Pachakutik’s national executive committee. Llaco suggests that Pachakutik is trying to encourage the popular sectors to become involved in politics. He suggests that the involvement in politics is not just about the vote, which he considers passive and an act of submission. “Participation means that we have to create, to produce politics. We have to be protagonists of change, subjects not objects. We have to realize that as inhabitants of this country, we have obligations and rights, and one of these rights consists of demanding that those who represent us maintain their dignity.” The creation and production of grassroots politics is exactly what Pachakutik is trying to accomplish at local, provincial, and national levels.

CHAPTER SIX: CONFLICTS AND ALLIANCES BETWEEN CONAIE AND PACHAKUTIK

The indigenous movement has made a significant amount of progress since 1990. Indigenous groups in Ecuador went from occupying a marginalized and oppressed sector of society, to becoming an influential force in national politics. The indigenous movement is arguably the most organized movement in Ecuador. This organization, however, is not without its regional, ethnic, and personal cleavages. This section will describe these cleavages and their effects on both CONAIE and Pachakutik. It will also examine the conflicts that have surfaced in the past eight years between the political and social organizations that drive the Ecuadorian indigenous movement.

Leaders of both organizations admit that inherent tensions exist in their relationship. Since 1996 there have been numerous occasions of disagreements, open conflicts, as well as strategic alliances and renewed solidarity between the movements. It is obvious that in the past few years both organizations have made attempts to separate from one another, yet maintain a relationship based on strategy and similar ideologies. Both movements have similar goals, however their approaches are different. Pachakutik leaders are convinced that in order to make a significant change within Ecuador, they must define for themselves a place within the political system and create their own political power. CONAIE proponents say that this only leads to “cooptation and the submission of fundamental ideologies.” The political system has long denied the indigenous population a voice and many fear that attempts at cooperation with political bureaucrats would only lead to the movement’s demise. CONAIE leaders also state that in order to change the system you must mobilize the civil society that exists around it.

The Pachakutik movement has entered formal politics while CONAIE has explored informal politics and extra-institutional methods of gaining power. CONAIE proposes an alternative model for leadership, yet is becoming increasingly involved in the country's political system through political negotiations. It is ironic that many of former CONAIE leaders become involved in Pachakutik. Additionally, it seems contradictory that Antonio Vargas, former President of CONAIE who was publicly opposed to involvement in the political system, is now considering running for President. "CONAIE wants to remain outside of the political system, but why do the leaders want to be president...is it about power or is it about the indigenous movement?" This issue of self-interest and personalismo is central to many social and political movements in Ecuador. Ecuadorians have long become accustomed to corruption and personalismo exercised by leaders and consequently are hesitant to put their trust in most candidates. Although there is a degree of tension that exists in the relationship between Pachakutik and CONAIE, it is important to stress that both movements experience similar internal conflicts. Personalismo, cooptation, regionalism and ethnic divisions are factors that affect both CONAIE and Pachakutik.

PERSONALISMO

Personalismo has long been an issue for well-established political parties in Ecuador, as well as across Latin America. Personalismo is defined by the view that formal parties function solely as vehicles for powerful leaders who are often well-financed by the oligarchic elite. It is often the case that populist, charismatic leaders, such as Bucaram in 1996, win the support of the popular sector of the country because

130 Angel Medina. Interview, January 18, 2002.
they are not traditional politicians and appeal to many citizens dissatisfied with traditional politicians. Some authors argue that the quick success of Pachakutik in 1996 may be linked to this central feature of Ecuadorean politics. Because the Pachakutik movement was a new option for frustrated voters, its candidates received more votes.

Both CONAIE and Pachakutik articulate their opposition to personalismo and the power of established parties, however it is not easy to resist these influences. Accusations of personalismo are frequent in the indigenous movement, especially between the social movement and political movement. CONAIE has been skeptical of the role of personalismo in the Pachakutik deputies' political careers, however it is important to remember that many Pachakutik deputies were once CONAIE leaders. Rumors circulating around Vargas' run for presidency indicate another example of CONAIE leadership entering the political system. It is important to note, however, that the support base of CONAIE and Pachakutik is not as divided as the organizations and leaders themselves.

REGIONAL AND ETHNIC DIVISIONS

The personal, regional, and ethnic differences present within the indigenous movement are often masked during country-wide protests and uprisings. The different histories as well as contemporary differences of the indigenous groups and communities in Ecuador, cleavages in regard to ideology and political strategies, are not surprising. It is common for these differences to consolidate into a regional division between the Sierra and the Amazon.

Mijeski describes an example of the regional divide that became apparent after Luis Macas resigned from CONAIE’s presidency to run for Congress. This vacant leadership position resulted in tensions within CONAIE, directly due to the creation of Pachakutik. In CONAIE’s 1996 Congress, replacing Macas was at the forefront of the agenda. The numerical majority of Sierra representatives chose Jose Maria Cabascango, of ECUARUNARI but the Oriente representatives elected Antonio Vargas, a leader of OPIP. When the Congress ended they had not reached a result. "The day before it was to reconvene in Quito, a group of Shuar military commandos from the Oriente took over CONAIE’s headquarters. This threat to the integrity and solidarity of CONAIE was finally resolved with the Sierra faction acquiescing to the Oriente’s presidential choice of Antonio Vargas."133

Vargas presided over CONAIE for three years until 2001. During that time he led CONAIE in substantial uprisings and was a member of the three-person coalition rule that took the power of the government during the January 21, 2000 uprising. In 1998, prior to the presidential elections, Vargas was interviewed about the differing positions Pachakutik and CONAIE took in their support for a presidential candidate. Vargas stated, "We will maintain our own strategy in the future...CONAIE is autonomous of Pachakutik."(El Comercio, February 28, 1998)134 This quote stressed the separation of CONAIE and Pachakutik. Vargas was replaced, in the elections of 2001, by Leonidas Iza who has made significant strides to further strengthen CONAIE and extend its representative base to not only indigenous nationalities and provinces, but to pueblos as well.

133 Ibid.
134 Ibid, pp.11.
Members of CONAIE are opposed to the traditional political route that Pachakutik has taken because formal politics is controlled by corrupt political and economic elites. "I do not have a doubt that the Pachakutik deputies are working to promote the pluri-national agenda and similar goals that we (CONAIE) have. The problem is that in order to realize these goals, they will undoubtedly have to sacrifice the ideologies of the movement along the way."

Karakras states that this sacrifice has shaped indigenous history for centuries and it is the cooptation of even well-intentioned political leaders that may hinder the movement. Much of the tension that exists between CONAIE and Pachakutik is not only a product of differing agendas, but also of personal conflicts. During a series of interviews at the Pachakutik Office in Quito, one employee in charge of information systems and technical assistance stated that he had previously worked at CONAIE for six years but resigned to work for Pachakutik because he did not agree with the leadership of CONAIE. The personal conflicts that develop within and between CONAIE and Pachakutik do not serve to strengthen the indigenous movement.

Beck and Mijeski argue that in order to be successful, the Ecuadorian indigenous movement must overcome the difficult task of maintaining solidarity. They view the political movement Pachakutik as an outgrowth of continuing strains and pressures within organizations such as CONAIE to advance corporate, regional, ethnic, or individual interests. "There is a possibility that the central driving force behind the creation and advancement of Pachakutik were pressures to create avenues for personal advancement and the various rewards possible with political careers." Proponents of Pachakutik, however, argue that this is far from the truth. They suggest that the entrance

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into electoral politics was a reaction to the failure of social organizations to achieve the movement's goals. The indigenous movement saw the creation of a political movement that encompassed other sectors of the population as a successful vehicle for permanent change.

During field research in January, I was surprised by the mestizo reaction to the indigenous movement. There was a large degree of respect that was directed towards the indigenous movement by the majority of mestizos I interviewed. The movement was described as "more organized than any other movement in Ecuador" and "successful in mobilizing their bases of support." These sentiments were similar to the reactions I heard in 2000, but something was different. In 2000, I had not heard the fear that mestizos have of the indigenous movement. This fear has evolved over the last two years and is primarily in response to CONAIE.

Although the nation-wide indigenous uprisings, organized primarily by CONAIE, have proven the movement's strength and have led to a series of negotiations with the government, they may also predict the movement's decline. In order to quantify the success of a social movement it is essential to measure the results of the uprisings. There is no question that the uprisings in Ecuador have been successful: they have demonstrated the organizational capacity of the movement's federations and bases of representation; they have led to agreements with the government; and they have further politicized indigenous identity and legitimized their important role in the nation's political sphere. The uprisings, however, also contribute to the increasingly apparent unrest among the mestizo sector of Ecuador.

138 Leo Coloma. Interview, January 8, 2002, my translation.
One man interviewed (name withheld) stated, "I know the movement is organized and powerful, but I fear that it will join other Latin American indigenous movements, such as the ones in Colombia and Mexico, and become very violent."\textsuperscript{139} Other mestizos interviewed said that the "more uprisings there are, the less support the indigenous movement will have."\textsuperscript{140} This raises a conundrum for the movement, and especially for the future strength of CONAIE. CONAIE depends on its uprisings to demand change from the government, however if these uprisings simultaneously instigate a decline in support from Ecuadorian society, the future of the movement may be jeopardized.

Pachakutik has combated this dilemma by entering into the political system, a position that they have democratically attained and will keep. The future of Pachakutik is in the hands of its local, provincial, and national support networks. By further working to prove themselves distinct from other traditional political parties (with which popular sectors of the country are disillusioned) Pachakutik has the ability to increase its support base and occupy more spaces in local, regional, and national governments. The grassroots construction of Pachakutik's power strengthens its ability to avoid issues of personalismo and regional conflicts. It is this decentralized construction of power that will ensure the future success of Pachakutik.

\textsuperscript{139} Anonymous Interview January 16, 2002.
\textsuperscript{140} Mariana Del Soto. Interview January 24, 2002.
CHAPTER SEVEN: REBELLION: UPRISING, MOBILIZATION, AND PROTEST

Throughout the last decade, the indigenous movement has effectively mobilized the indigenous population, as well as non-indigenous supporters, in a number of country-wide uprisings to protest traditional racial ideologies, as well as political and economic policies implemented by the Ecuadorian government. These uprisings and non-violent protests reflect the extensive and continuous work that indigenous groups have done to empower themselves by exercising their right to self-determination and by seeking to preserve their own identity. Many uprisings have resulted in the paralysis of the country, as indigenous people throughout the countryside have debilitated the service sector, stalled the transportation of goods, and blockaded the roads. Since 1990, these protests have led the indigenous movement to the space it now occupies in Ecuadorian politics and society.

Uprisings, otherwise known as levantamientos, have successfully politicized indigenous people and their movement. Uprisings include all forms of country-wide protest and vary in severity. Small-scale protests occur frequently throughout the country in large cities as well as smaller towns. This chapter focuses on the large-scale protests, termed uprisings, that have led to nation-wide paralysis and have helped the indigenous movement become an influential actor within Ecuadorian society since 1990. Uprisings are planned during assemblies, in which indigenous leaders throughout the country and from a variety of organizations come together to discuss mobilization strategy. This strategic organization has given the Ecuadorian indigenous movement a high degree of unity and has contributed to the effectiveness of the protests. Unlike many other Latin
American indigenous movements, the Ecuadorian indigenous movement has remained relatively peaceful. The most recent nation-wide uprising of January 2001, resulted in the deaths of four indigenous protestors due to skirmishes with enforcement officers, however the majority of uprisings have been surprisingly bloodless. Peaceful resistance is, according to the movement’s leaders, at the forefront of their strategy.

In order to quantify the success of the indigenous movement within the context of new social movements, it is important to understand the organizational tactics and outcomes of these mass mobilizations. Although the uprisings have yet to fully achieve the movement’s ultimate goal, the dissolution of the three powers (Executive, Legislative, and Judiciary) and the creation and maintenance of a new nation-state, they should not be considered failures. The uprisings show the strength of the movement and often lead to negotiations with political leaders. The outcomes of these negotiations vary. Indigenous leaders and political leaders often come to terms on problematic issues such as short-term economic adjustment measures and land titles, however the agreements tend to remain rhetorical and it is difficult to see immediate and tangible effects. Despite this repeated frustration, the resiliency of the movement’s leaders, organizations, and communities to continue working for the goals put forth in their mandate is impressive. “After 500 years of oppression and exclusion, we cannot expect to change everything in one year.”

The uprisings also become a point of intersection for the indigenous movement and often lead to conflicts and tensions between CONAIE and Pachakutik. Through these uprisings, CONAIE, the social organization behind the movement, attempts to destabilize the political system, of which Pachakutik is a part. By challenging the legitimacy of the Ecuadorian political structures, CONAIE is indirectly challenging

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Pachakutik. In many cases, however, Pachakutik is aware of the uprisings before they occur. Miguel Lluco, the director of Pachakutik’s executive committee states that the uprisings are necessary to challenge the corruption and policies of the ruling elite. Representatives of Pachakutik have even participated in the uprisings. It is also feared that the alliance between CONAIE and Pachakutik may weaken the credibility of Pachakutik within the local, provincial, and national governments. Nevertheless, Virgilio Hernandez, the social coordinator for Pachakutik, believes this fear is not a concern. Hernandez went on to say that although Pachakutik is an autonomous movement, it is important to not be estranged from the social sector, as it is the social sector the movement represents.

This section will outline the uprisings that have occurred since 1990 and will explain the primary causative forces that instigate them. A more detailed description will be given of the January 2000 uprising, as it was one of the most significant of Ecuadorian indigenous uprisings and led to the dissolution of the three branches of government, albeit for less than twenty-four hours. It is important to note that the uprisings are mainly reactionary and are not limited to the indigenous sector. They occur at a space and time of political, economic, and social crisis. The indigenous movement capitalizes on this instability and is therefore able to generate support from other sectors of the country to protest the policies imposed by the government. Selverston suggests that it is important to study how civil society and the state influence each other. “The interaction between the state and civil society actually is a struggle over terms of the broader form of citizenship for which the social movement strives.”

reacting to the instability of the government by exercising its civic duty in order to influence it.

UPRISINGS SINCE 1990

The 1990 uprising introduced the contemporary Ecuadorian indigenous movement as a powerful political and social force in Ecuadorian society. It was especially salient because it was the first of its kind and gave CONAIE the political space it needed to become an influential force in national politics.

Due to agreements made at a variety of indigenous federations in April 1990, CONAIE was prepared to lead a mass-mobilization in June that made specific demands on the Ecuadorian government. The mobilization took place during an economic recession that led to an increase in the unemployment rate in many sectors throughout the country. The purpose of the protest was to challenge the government's economic policies and to call attention to the need for land reform and for the immediate settlement of a number of land disputes. In addition, the protest was further instigated by the granting of oil concessions to foreign companies in indigenous territories without indigenous input. Indigenous groups, led by CONAIE, utilized society's widespread anger and frustration produced by the economic recession and territorial conflicts to increase support among regional affiliates and made demands to the Ecuadorian government.

The mobilization occurred on June 4, 5, 6, 1990 and included an occupation of the Santo Domingo Cathedral in Quito and a 10-day hunger fast sponsored by local groups in the province of Chimborazo. The three-day nation-wide uprising did not occur in one central location, rather it occurred throughout the entire country and was carried out by
local and regional indigenous communities and federations. Traditional non-violent tactics used in other uprisings were employed, such as roadblocks, boycotts of markets, occupations of local government offices, land invasions, and marches. The decentralized character of the 1990 Uprising allowed for the influence of historical and traditional forms of protest, as well as forms of protest specific to the needs of different communities.\textsuperscript{143} The name given to the protest, Levantamiento Nacional Indigena (National Indigenous Uprising), was chosen to establish continuity with the Indigenous struggles at the time of colonization. The effects of the uprising were present throughout Ecuador and, for the first time, the government had to take the movement seriously and open dialogues with indigenous leaders.

The uprising was symbolic of the indigenous peoples' breakthrough into modern politics but it also produced a closer relationship between the army and indigenous people as officers and army officials with links to indigenous communities engaged in the protest. This relationship later proved useful for the indigenous movement as they depended on the support by a large sector of the military in order to effectively mobilize and paralyze the country in future uprisings. The relationship between the army and the indigenous movement is significant. Because a large sector of the army is made up of indigenous people, it is understandable that during times of political and economic instability and corruption, sections of the army align with social movements to overturn the ruling parties. Ecuador's history has been characterized by the sporadic ousting of executive power carried out by the military.

In response to the uprising, the Borja administration engaged in dialogues with the movement's leaders. These dialogues led to the institutionalization of the Bilingual

\textsuperscript{143} Ibid, pp.58
Intercultural Education Program and resolved a number of land conflicts that had been disputed since the Agrarian Reform law of 1964. Although the negotiations did not signify a recuperation of all territorial rights and an end to land, education, and identity conflicts with the government, it was a success because of the political space CONAIE and other indigenous federations gained as a result of the uprising.

In a similar uprising in 1992, entitled "We Will Not Dance On Our Grandparents' Tombs," indigenous groups throughout Ecuador marched to Quito in order to recognize the Latin American Indigenous Uprising, "500 Years of Indigenous Resistance." This uprising was primarily an expression of solidarity with other Indigenous Movements throughout Latin America and symbolized an opposition to 500 years of marginalization, exclusion, oppression, and discrimination. In 1993, an uprising took place in reaction to economic adjustment policies. Like other uprisings, the indigenous organizations, spearheaded by CONAIE, led the indigenous people in a nation-wide mobilization. Many people marched to Quito, where they protested in front of the National Congress building, while other indigenous groups remained in the countryside, protesting outside of their own local and provincial governments, blocking roads, boycotting markets, and ultimately paralyzing the country.

After smaller local and provincial uprisings throughout the mid-1990's, an uprising at the end of 1996 occurred to join other social movements and the military in the oust of President Abadala Bucaram. Fabian Alarcon, the interim president who replaced him called for the creation of a National Constituent Assembly to Reform the Ecuadorian Constitution. As mentioned in Chapter Four, 10,000 indigenous people from all sectors of the country marched to Quito to create a Popular Constituent Assembly to
create an alternative constitutional plan. The demands made by this Popular Constituent Assembly did not have much effect on the National Constituent Assembly's reformation. After the new constitution was hurriedly passed in November, 1997, the indigenous movement, unhappy with the reform, engaged in another protest to call for its revision. In response, Article One was amended to recognize Spanish and Quichua as national languages and Ecuador as a multi-ethnic, multicultural country. This uprising was representative of the shift in the indigenous movement's agenda and the evolution of political discourse. This was the first major uprising that included participation from Pachakutik, the newly founded political movement, and resulted in conflicts between the political movement and CONAIE. Although Pachakutik members were involved in the National Constituent Assembly, many of the proposals given by CONAIE and other members of its representative base were not included.

LA REBELION

The most significant uprising occurred in January 2000 and can be considered a peak of collective mobilization in a continuous undercurrent of protest. Although organized by indigenous federations, it included a substantial percentage of Ecuador's non-indigenous population who were dissatisfied with the state of the country under President Dr. Jamil Mahuad's administration. After Mahuad was elected president in 1998, the country had experienced a substantial economic recession.

Between November 1998 and February 1999 five banks crashed and the state took over their debts, disbursing more than US$1.5 billion. As the government had no money to save it, and under pressure from Guayaquil-based finance groups, Jamil Mahuad decreed a bank holiday for a week. He ordered a fuel price rise and froze for one year deposits in current savings accounts containing more than US $200.145

Like previous executive administrations of Ecuador, Mahuad's administration had earned a reputation of corruption. The wealth of Ecuador is highly concentrated within the hands of the ruling elite, comprised of bank-owners, politicians, and, primarily, business owners of the coast. During the fiscal crisis of 1999, it became apparent that Mahuad was closely connected to the bank owners, who looked for help from him when their banks crashed. Mahuad was indebted to these bank owners because they had illegally given him reserves to fund his electoral campaign during his presidential election the year before. After these banks collapsed, Mahuad supported the corrupt bankers who "carried off nearly two international monetary reserves."146 Officers in the army demanded the imprisonment of the corrupt bankers, however these demands were ignored by Mahuad's government and tension between the military and the government thus ensued.

145 Lucas, pp. 9.
146 Ibid, pp.115.
Throughout 1999 the economic situation of the country continued to worsen and the indigenous groups staged small uprisings to demand the unfreezing of deposits and the decrease in fuel prices. Two-thirds of the Ecuadorian population no longer held full-time jobs and inflation had reached a high of 60 percent, while the economy shrank by 7 percent. As inflation increased at the turn of the century, Mahuad looked for a new proposal. Encouraged by the World Bank and IMF, Mahuad announced the dollarization of the Ecuadorian economy. The exchange rate for sucres to $US dollars was set at 25,000 sucres per US$1, a depreciated rate from the original 7,000 sucres per US$1. As a result, the majority of Ecuadorians lost large amounts of their savings and their personal economic situations worsened. This led to an increased amount of civic unrest and CONAIE, the army, and other social sectors called for the dissolution of the three branches of government.

The increase in fuel prices resulted in the mobilization of taxi and bus drivers who joined the indigenous movement and the CMS (Social Movements Coordinator) in a nation-wide protest. A series of uprisings occurred throughout the country that included demonstrations and blockades and were carried out despite the State of Emergency ruled by the government. On January 21, 2000 protestors marched to Quito to demand the resignation of the government. Many indigenous protestors were not able to complete the journey to Quito after having not been allowed passport on several buses because they were "wearing ponchos." Meanwhile thousands of indigenous peoples blocked roadways and were able to paralyze the country. A report of provincial mobilization tactics on the days of January 21 and January 22, 2000 is included below. This report,

148 Lucas, pp. 94.
documented during the Uprising confirms the communication and successful mobilization of the indigenous movement.

**REPORTS OF PROVINCIAL PROTESTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVINCE</th>
<th>REPORT</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Azuay</td>
<td>Roads were closed, marches took place in Cuenca.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canar</td>
<td>Total Blockade, meetings of local parliaments took place, markets boycotted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimborazo</td>
<td>Roads blocked. Meetings and total blockades by hundreds of participants in Alausi. No vehicles circulating. Evangelical churches joined the uprising, disappointed in the national leaders, who have sold out to the Government. In Riobamba, more than 15,000 people marched on the city.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tungurahua</td>
<td>Vehicles were requisitioned to transport people and produce destined for the takeover of Quito. The Governor committed himself to not stop the marches and blockades. Mayorista market closed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bolivar</td>
<td>5,000 indigenous people marched on the city of Guaranda with university students, villagers and professionals participating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pichincha</td>
<td>Indigenous people arrived to consolidate the takeover of Quito. Marches took place all around Quito. Retired military, students, workers, and villagers joining and giving their support to our struggles. Main access roads were blocked. Thousands of indigenous people protested outside of the national Congress building. University Students organized marches from the outskirts of the city to Quito.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imbabura</td>
<td>All roads were closed. The parliament of Imbabura decreed closure of markets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carchi</td>
<td>All roads were closed. The municipal offices of Canton Mira were seized.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zamora</td>
<td>Blockades around the province. Transport drivers have joined in the uprising. Roads closed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morona</td>
<td>All roads were closed. Gas and fuel supplies have been depleted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastaza</td>
<td>Total blockade. OPIP organized an indigenous march. Students, professionals, and farmers took part in a march to Quito. These people walked 400 kilometers. The Nacionalidad Shuar de Pastaza participated actively in the uprising.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Napo</td>
<td>All roads were blocked. Meetings were held by local parliaments. Marches took place into all cantons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sucumbios</td>
<td>All roads were blocked. People marched from Lago Agrio.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esmeraldas</td>
<td>Many people marched to the city. The Provincial Federation of Neighborhoods of Esmeraldas coordinated actions to fortify the uprising of the people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Rios</td>
<td>Four thousand people started marching at dawn. All roads were blocked and give people were wounded by bullets fired by Police.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guayaquil</td>
<td>People marched in the morning and evenings by torchlight. There was a widespread shortage of food in Quito as well as injuries sustained by tear gas dropped by police. 350 people have been arrested and 25 people have been injured. Representatives of Human Rights Organizations declared that under the state of emergency several laws are being applied that are against the American Convention for the Human Rights.</td>
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149 "Reports of Protest" http://www.stelling.nl/konfront/2ee000/82.html
On Friday January 21, 2000, a Junta of National Salvation was installed in the National Congress that consisted of colonel Lucio Gutierrez, Antonio Vargas, president of CONAIE, and the former president of the Supreme Court, Carlos Solorzano. This junta repudiated the three powers of the government. Later that afternoon, the official General Commander of the Army, General Carlos Mendoza, went to the Parliament to negotiate with the three leaders and agreed to replace Colonel Gutierrez as head of the junta.

During the brief hours that Mahuad was ousted and the junta ruled the country, the international community became involved. The US ambassador to Ecuador, Leslie Alexander, stated that the US government would "not support a dictatorial solution" and urged the country's politicians to find a solution. In the early morning hours of Saturday, January 22, General Mendoza resigned from the Junta and power was handed to the former vice-president of the country, Gustavo Noboa. Mendoza supported the president and dissolved the Junta. Some analysts attribute Mendoza's resignation to international pressure, in particular from the US embassy, which was unhappy with a government made up of military and indigenous.151 Ecuador's dependency on international forces such as the US, the IMF, and the World Bank was critical in the outcome of the uprising.

Although the uprising was not able to fulfill its goals of restructuring the nation-state, it was not a failure. Vargas stated that the indigenous uprising "had not been a failure because it had confirmed their organizational strength and power of mobilization."152 Another outcome of the dissolution of the junta is the decrease in trust that the indigenous movement now has for sectors of the army. Mendoza's resignation

\[\text{Lucas, pp. 90.}\]
\[\text{Ibid, pp.90.}\]
led to this distrust, as the junta did not remain in power because of his actions. Many analysts were afraid that the outcome of the uprising would signify a loss of the political space the indigenous movement had occupied. This, however, was not the case. It only further confirmed the strength of the movement, while displaying its organizational skills and mobilizing capacity.

Vargas added that it was not a defeat because "it not only helped strengthen the indigenous movement, it also increased the unity between Ecuadorians who want changes. It made people realize that this struggle is not just an Indian struggle but everybody's struggle." These sentiments offered by the President of CONAIE largely echo the objectives and concerns of Pachakutik. During the uprising, Pachakutik representatives maintained a low profile, although they were aware of the organizing of the uprising. By occupying the National Congress, the indigenous protestors were demanding the power from all of the Congressional deputies, including Pachakutik. This has led to both tension and renewed solidarity between the social organization and political movement. The uprisings may weaken Pachakutik's legitimacy in the political sector, as many assume that Pachakutik and CONAIE are closely linked. Pachakutik is a separate organization, however its political demands largely parallel those of CONAIE.

At the same time, the work done by CONAIE in the social sector has mobilized Pachakutik's support base and may, in the long run, contribute to its electoral success.

The negative effects of the 2000 uprising are only just beginning to surface. When I lived in Ecuador during the fall of 2000, there were rumors of protests and questions regarding the future of the movement. Yet, when I returned in January 2002, it was obvious that the uprising of 2000 had imprinted a sense of fear among the

153 Ibid, pp.100.
Ecuadorian public. Leo Coloma, an anthropologist and linguist at the Pontificia Universidad Catolica in Quito stated, “the public supports the indigenous movement, but they don’t want to see the indigenous people in power...the levantamiento of 2000 scared the mestizo society.” Many mestizos questioned had similar reactions. This fear is rooted in the racism that persists among Ecuadorians, despite the gains the indigenous movement has made in Ecuador over the past decade.

Professor Carmen Analhizer stated, “you can make demands on the economic and political system, but it is even harder to transform the deeply entrenched social ideologies, such as racism and discrimination.” This racism is the root of the “indigenous problem” in Ecuador, she states, and will not vanish for a long time. While walking down the streets of Quito she has seen graffiti that states, “be patriotic, kill an Indian.”

The political strides made by Pachakutik and CONAIE attempt to transform the role of the indigenous sector in Ecuadorian society, but this transformation requires more than political legislation, it requires the shift of traditional discriminatory ideologies that have been institutionalized in Latin American society for over 500 years.

Exactly one year after the 2000 uprising, a levantamiento occurred in response to the IMF-imposed economic measures announced by the Ecuadorian government as part of an ongoing structural adjustment program. These IMF-backed measures involved the removal of subsidies on cooking fuel and gasoline and the increase of taxes. These policies came in exchange for additional loans. More than 50 percent of Ecuador’s budget is used to pay off foreign debt and for over twenty years the IMF and World Bank have made the implementation of structural adjustment programs a condition of financial support to the government. The uprising took form in a sit-in in the offices of the IMF in

Quito, as well as the occupation of the Salesian Politecnic University which agreed to host protestors. The protestors consisted of indigenous people and environmental and human rights activists. Blockades were constructed that prevented the delivery of food and supplies to large portions of the country, resulting in shortages and an increase in prices. This uprising became more violent than previous demonstrations, including January 2000's. Twenty-four people were wounded in Quito and four people died as a result of the uprising. Despite these violent turns, the indigenous leaders maintain a policy of peaceful resistance and mobilization. “Violent struggle does not lead to much. Mobilizing large masses through organization is the best way to get changes.”155 The deaths of indigenous occurred as a result of police attacks on mass protestors. These protests led to negotiations that resulted in the development of a 23-point agreement between President Noboa and indigenous leaders. (See Appendix IV)

The indigenous movement in Ecuador offers proposals for alternative economic adjustment measures. This is has given legitimacy to their movement because unlike many indigenous movements, its organizations actually offer an alternative strategy for economic development. Indigenous organizations in Ecuador recommend a reorientation of macroeconomic policy to reactivate production, increase employment generation, and improve income levels before removing subsidies or applying measures that negatively affect the living conditions of a large sector of Ecuadorian society.

Many of the protests have been brought about by the severity of economic measures designed to supposedly relieve Ecuador of its economic crisis. After the IMF-imposed policies and structural adjustments were announced in January 2002, there was

no large indigenous uprising, although the country was prepared for it. Schools were
closed for three days, yet other than small student protests at Universities in Quito and
Cuenca, there was no large indigenous uprising. The results of these uprisings have been
successful, yet the future of uprisings is unclear. They prove the organizational capacity
of the movement and they lead to series of negotiations with the government, however
they have also led to a fear of indigenous mobilizations that has become increasingly
apparent across Ecuadorian society. Although this may make the society more willing to
adhere to the movement’s proposals, it may also weaken its support base. For this
reason, Pachakutik’s position in the political sector will have a more consistent and stable
future.

The organization and mobilization of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement is
demonstrated in the success of their uprisings. Zamosc proposes a theoretical
classification to describe this form of social mobilization that includes three analytical
dimensions of collective action: the instrumental dimension, the organizational
dimension, and the expressive dimension. The instrumental dimension refers to the
causes of mobilization, the organizational dimension reflects the ways in which the
mobilization is carried out, and the expressive dimension reflects the reasons for
collective unification. His analysis focuses on these three dimensions of collective action
as guides for tracing the links between the element of agency and the structural processes
that shape the context of indigenous protest.\footnote{Zamosc, Leon. "Agrarian Protest in Ecuador," \textit{Latin American Research Review}. 29.3 (1994):19.} Using his three categories of analysis, the
instrumental dimension is shaped by the fact that most of Ecuadorian indigenous protests
are triggered by the discontent of economic adjustment policies or corruption. The
organizational dimension is characterized by the de-centralized nature of Ecuadorian
indigenous organizing. Although CONAIE leads the movement in organizing protests, the community-based local and regional organizations that coordinate participation at local levels are essential to the effectiveness of the uprising. The expressive dimension is characterized by collective identity and is especially salient for the indigenous movement. Indigenous peoples are reclaiming their identity and politicizing it in order to preserve their heritage and rid Ecuadorian society of the negative connotations associated with indigenous identity. This cohesive identity has fortified organizational strength and the effectiveness of nation-wide uprisings.
CHAPTER EIGHT: THE FUTURE OF THE MOVEMENT

During the last decade indigenous claims within Ecuadorian public discourse have rapidly evolved within the context of a deteriorating political and economic state. The indigenous movement has experienced significant growth by exploiting the instability of the existing state structures and generating support to change them. The capacity of the movement’s organizational ability is especially impressive. This organization is both physical and electoral and has been accomplished by both CONAIE and Pachakutik.

CONAIE has mobilized local and regional federations and pueblos to participate in the demands of this new social movement. It has effectively organized indigenous groups to take part in the nation-wide uprisings that demand a response from the Ecuadorian government. Pachakutik has also effectively mobilized its support base. The political movement has aligned with other social movements and many sectors of Ecuadorian society to decentralize the bureaucracy of the government and transform the political system from within. Pachakutik has achieved significant electoral gains in the local, provincial, and national governments and councils and has expanded the indigenous force into other sectors of the country.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the future of indigenous involvement in the nation-state sector is ambiguous, yet promising. The recognition of twelve indigenous nationalities, the inclusion of multicultural and multi-ethnic concepts in the Constitution, the recognition of Spanish and Quichua as national languages, as well as the control over the bilingual intercultural educational system have been extraordinary victories for the movement. These victories will hopefully allow for the long-term
transformation project of involving indigenous peoples in society. Indigenous peoples of Ecuador have become a legitimate collective actor in both the social and political spheres of the country and have combined the methods of mobilization and dialogue to place demands on the Ecuadorian state.

Prior to my research in Ecuador during January 2002, I was more familiar with the successes, platform, and objectives of CONAIE than those of Pachakutik. After visiting national offices and speaking with representatives from both movements, members of an indigenous community, mestizos, as well as a variety of Ecuadorian academics, I quickly became aware of the division between Pachakutik and CONAIE. I also became convinced that the Pachakutik political movement has a greater ability to effect long-term change in Ecuadorian society because it works within the existing political system. Pachakutik has led the indigenous movement, as well as other social movements, through the doors of the National Congress and local governments to occupy a powerful place in Ecuadorian politics.

The strategic relationship between CONAIE and Pachakutik is becoming less and less significant to the respective agendas of both organizations. Pachakutik has become more popular in the social sector and the demands of CONAIE have become increasingly political. These two forms of movements, however, have the capacity to weaken one another. The support of Pachakutik in the electoral process may weaken the attention and civic support devoted to CONAIE. Similarly, if CONAIE undermines the political role of Pachakutik and places political demands on the state, the legitimacy of Pachakutik may be called into question. The involvement of CONAIE leaders in the electoral process leads to a large degree of tension between the two organizations.
refuses to nominate CONAIE leaders who choose to enter the national elections, the
divide between the two movements may grow.

The uprisings have also been a source of tension for the two movements.
Although Pachakutik supports the uprising of the social sector, the more frequent and
violent the uprisings become, the less credible and significant the indigenous movement
may appear to be. "If CONAIE and its supporters try once again to seize power, Ecuador
may become simply another Latin American nation wracked by violence and bitterly
divided by race and class."157 The uprisings prove the organizational ability of the
movement and they legitimize its strength, however a large fear among Ecuador’s
academics and indigenous leaders is that future uprisings may lead Ecuador’s indigenous
movement to the same position as indigenous movements throughout Latin America.
This is a conundrum that must be further monitored in the analysis of Ecuador’s
indigenous movement.

A RETURN TO EDUCATION: AN INDIGENOUS UNIVERSITY

Education for indigenous people has been a fundamental priority of the
indigenous movement in Ecuador. Not only have demands for education been
incorporated into the platform of the movement, much of the movement’s future success
is reliant upon the education of future generations of children. The bilingual intercultural
education program is an example of the movement’s commitment to re-shaping the
indigenous educational sector. In addition, the program has fortified the movement by
preparing future leaders, political representatives, and activists.

Luis Macas, former CONAIE President and Pachakutik Congressional representative, has invested his efforts in the creation of an indigenous university in Ecuador. Macas is one of the founders of ICCI (Instituto Cientifico de Culturas Indigenas – Scientific Institute of Indigenous Cultures) that is based in Quito. ICCI publishes articles, and literature on the indigenous movement and is autonomous from Pachakutik and CONAIE. With the support of ICCI, Macas and others are developing a university project entitled UINPI (Universidad de Indigenas Nacionalidades y Pueblos – University for Indigenous Nationalities and Towns). The formation of the university began in 2000 and is still in progress.

UINPI does not have a building, but its headquarters of preparation are based out of Quito. The function of the university is to maintain indigenous control over representations of indigenous identity. The majority of indigenous people do not have the money to attend university and the lack of scholarships throughout Ecuador inhibits indigenous students to pursue education past secondary school. Indigenous students who do receive scholarships, however, do not always remain in the university system. Those who matriculate into universities often have to migrate from rural communities to the urban sector and are forced to assimilate to an urban culture to which they are not accustomed.

The failure of indigenous students is also due to an underlying structural problem. Education throughout Ecuador is under-funded, especially in the rural areas. Because of the lack of funds, teacher salaries are low and teacher attendance is sporadic, school materials are not provided, and families cannot provide these materials for their children. Indigenous children in the countryside, therefore, do not receive comparable educations
to those children who live in the wealthier areas of the country. The standards for
traditional universities, however, are based on the academic standards for private
secondary schools because it is these students who regularly attend universities.

UINPI is now funded by international NGOs but requires federal funding for the
construction and maintenance of the university. It is not yet determined if this funding
will be endowed. The federal funding will also provide scholarships for the students that
attend. The university plans include the construction of six campuses throughout the
country in order for indigenous students to remain closer to their communities. The
ideological issues facing UINPI at this moment surround the construction of university
curriculum and pedagogy. Traditional western pedagogy has been the basis and standard
of university education and UINPI seeks to alter this standard.

The bilingual intercultural education program incorporates indigenous beliefs
with traditional curriculum by mixing mainstream curriculum taught in Spanish, and
indigenous culture taught in Quichua. The largest problem facing the bilingual
intercultural education program at this moment is a lack of teachers. Teachers are trained
by indigenous people and are recruited from the community in which they will teach.
The faculty of UINPI hopes to employ a large percentage of indigenous professors. The
training for professors is another issue that UINPI faces. The preliminary plan for
university curriculum includes two years education in indigenous culture, followed by a
two-year period that integrates indigenous culture and applies it to the occidental system
of pedagogy. The concern, however, is how this pedagogical style will be received by
mainstream society and how a degree from this institution will compare to a degree from
a traditional university.
It is unclear whether or not the University will be operating in the near future. Based on Ecuador’s history of educational funding, I would not be surprised if this university project did not receive economic backing from the government. UINPI is still in preparation, however its dependency on governmental funding may unfortunately inhibit its further development.

**CONFLICTS WITHIN THE MOVEMENT**

In 1999, Luis Macas sited three camps that have evolved within the indigenous movement. He suggests that as the success of the movement has grown within the last decade, so too have its conflicts and divisions. Macas argues that, like the majority of other social and political movements, the leaders of the indigenous movement in Ecuador tend to fall within three categories.

According to Macas, the majority of indigenous leaders believe that the moral and the ethics of political action are imperative to the movement. These leaders recognize that the wealthiest have traditionally shaped the political action for the country. They recognize that the most important factor of cohesion is the construction of power on local levels. This organization of power demonstrates to society that the movement is unified and has the ability to question hegemonic authority.

A second camp of leaders are political pragmatists and are willing to co-opt the agenda of the indigenous movement in order to gain personal popularity and success in the political field. These acts of personalismo are acts of corruption and often violate the principles of the movement’s objectives.
A third section of leaders are opportunists who are willing to sacrifice all agendas of the indigenous movement in order to succeed personally. They use CONAIE and Pachakutik as vehicles for popularity and are concerned, for the most part, with power, money, popularity, and prestige. These types of leaders are present within many political movements and social organizations in Ecuador and they unfortunately place political and social movements at risk. Although the majority of the indigenous movement’s leaders remain devoted to the movement’s objective, it is worth noting that the indigenous movement, like all movements, is susceptible to breakdown and corruption from within.\textsuperscript{158}

Another popular critique of the indigenous movement is that the leaders of the indigenous movement become separated from their bases of representation. Many have become more concerned with fundamental identity politics, such as concepts of plurinationality and multiculturalism, than pragmatic goals, such as land rights and economic concerns. This chasm between identity politics and pragmatic goals coincides with the simultaneous concentration of indigenous leadership in the city. The movement’s recent focus on concepts such as pluri-nationalism may sacrifice the attention that is placed on more immediate concerns, such as land titles and disputes, oil extraction, potable water, and health care for the impoverished communities displaced from the urban sector. Among many sentiments expressed to me during field research in January 2002, was the chasm not only between CONAIE and Pachakutik, but the division between the urbanized indigenous federations and the rural indigenous communities.

While these communities support the political role that CONAIE and Pachakutik possess, they feel separated from the roots of the movement.

On January 21, 2002 I accompanied CEDIS (Centro de Estudios y Difusion Social – Center of Studies and Social Diffusion), a non-governmental organization based in Riobamba, Ecuador, two hours south to the Tortora community in the Chimborazo Province of the Andes. Many indigenous communities are concentrated in the Chimborazo Province of the country and practice subsistence agriculture and pastoralism based upon potatoes, flowers, and cattle.

The day before I visited the community, I met with Jorge Almeda, the director of the NGO. The NGO makes monthly visits to this community, and many others throughout the province in order to teach classes on health care and economic concerns such as currency and investment, to help the communities remain sustainable. The

classes are taught by both mestizos who work for the organization and bilingual indigenous people who communicate with the community members in their native language, Quichua. Jorge and I discussed the concerns of the Tortora indigenous community and how they vary considerably from the concerns of the larger indigenous movement. Jorge even stated that if I asked them their “ethnic nationality,” a concept that has become the backbone of the indigenous movement, they would categorize themselves as members of their community, not members of a larger ethnic nationality. “These indigenous groups do not recognize themselves by ethnicity, but by their community.”  

This surprised me, however when I arrived at the community the next day I understood exactly what Jorge had implied. In the process of categorizing indigenous groups and politicizing identity, it is important to understand that even within the indigenous movement there are misconceptions and differing representations of identity.

The Tortora community is one of the larger communities in the region and is made up of 3,000 people. The community holds a primary and secondary bilingual intercultural education school that was made up of both young males and females. The older females of the Tortora community could not speak Spanish, but the older men could. This is due to the fact that previously, more men attended school for a longer period of times than the women. This is a tradition that is slowly changing and although the males made up the majority of the secondary classes, there were females present in each class. This, according to a teacher, is a characteristic of society that is beginning to change.

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I spent the morning in the secondary school talking with the teacher and the students of the upper-class. They ranged between the ages of 16 and 18 and spoke of their desires to attend university. These hopes, however, are rarely realized, as they do not possess the economic resources to attend university. They all expressed interest in furthering their education in agricultural practices, in order to enrich the agricultural output of the community. The teacher informed me that he wishes there were more economic resources within the community to establish scholarships for young adults to continue their education at the universities in the cities of Riobamba or Quito. When I mentioned the indigenous movement, there was absolutely no response among the students or teacher, and after a long period of silence, I asked another question about their community.

During the afternoon I observed the economic class in the community center and ate with the community’s democratically elected president, vice-president, and secretary. They informed me of their plans to become involved in ecotourism. The ecotourism industry, they say, is the only way they can accrue revenue, while remaining on their territory and sustaining their livelihood. It will take years, however, before this community can host eco-tours. Many indigenous communities throughout Ecuador, specifically in the Amazonian region, have capitalized on this niche in the tourist industry. Eco-tourism projects, sponsored and managed by the indigenous communities, offer an alternative source of income for indigenous groups who wish to preserve their land and their culture. The development of these projects requires considerable funding and the Tortora community must receive donations and loans from governmental and private sectors in order to create a successful ecotourism project.
I spoke with the leaders and other community members who spoke Spanish about my project on the indigenous movement in Ecuador. They were surprised that I had taken interest in their situation and offered helpful insight. They informed me that the Tortora community is not affiliated with CONAIE, but rather with FEINE, the protestant evangelical indigenous organization. Although they support the movement and are aware of its goals and achievements, they are much more concerned with their own community. "The language and politics of the movement is important (identity-centered politics) to indigenous people in Ecuador, especially those in power positions in the city, but it is not the most important concern for us." The community members noted that they felt separated from the concerns of the indigenous peoples in the city, however they did admit

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that the movement had made considerable achievements since the birth of CONAIE and Pachakutik. One young man aged 21, had a wife and two children, and said that he was interested in becoming involved in politics in Riobamba, the closest metropolis to the community. I asked him how he would accomplish this, and he was uncertain but said that he would approach the local Pachakutik representative from the region.

After spending the majority of my time in Quito and the other larger towns of Ecuador and carrying out interviews with leaders and academics, my visit to the Tortora community proved very useful. I was able to see the indigenous experience from another perspective; a perspective that is often forgotten and hidden by the indigenous presence in the cities. The Tortora communities and other communities in the Chimborazo province, were not, however, completely isolated from the movement. On the drive from the community to Riobamba at the end of the day, I noticed large boulders in the middle of the road that our truck had to drive around about four miles from Tortora. When I asked if they had fallen from the cliffs, I was told that they had been moved to the roads because there had been rumors circulating of an indigenous uprising. This uprising did not happen, but sectors of indigenous communities even in this remote area mobilized in preparation for road blockades. I remembered then, that it was January 21, and I realized that “El Dia de Resistencia,” as proclaimed by the movement, was rightfully the day of the indigenous movement. It represents the effective resistance displayed by indigenous peoples at all levels to 500 years of oppression and exclusion. It truly is a time of Pachakutik.
A House in the Tortora Community

CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSION

Ecuador’s indigenous movement is the most organized and prominent movement in the country. It has made significant achievements on social and political levels and is now a powerful force in national politics. The movement occupies a space at the forefront of Ecuadorian society, however the situations of indigenous peoples in Ecuador have not yet improved significantly. Although the movement has made considerable political gains since 1990, the economic situations of communities such as Tortora, have not changed substantially. I am not insinuating, however, that the indigenous movement has not succeeded. In fact, it has experienced rapid growth in the last decade and has made considerable achievements reflected in its organizational strategies, electoral gains, land resolutions, education, and negotiations with the government.

Most importantly, the indigenous movement has initiated a process of long-term transformation of socially ingrained discriminatory ideologies of indigenous peoples.

165 Image Source:http://icci.nativeweb.org
Indigenous groups throughout Ecuador mobilize around pride in a shared sense of collective identity. This identity has formed the basis of the movement’s solidarity and has been extended to sectors of the population who also exist in minority spaces.

The Pachakutik Political Movement encompasses these sectors of the population in order to transform the structure of the state from within. CONAIE, in contrast, exists on the fringes of this established system and is therefore not regularly included in decision-making processes. I believe that Pachakutik has the capacity of creating greater permanent social and political transformation in Ecuador because it has entered the formal political system. The construction of power at local, provincial, regional, and national levels is also a source of great strength for Pachakutik.

Like all political and social movements, there are weaknesses and conflicts in both Pachakutik’s and CONAIE’s approach. Further examination of their effects on Ecuadorian society should include a close monitor of the relationship between the two. This will become especially apparent during election years and uprisings. Additionally, future research should focus on the effects of the uprising on the movement itself as well as Ecuadorian society. It is also uncertain how much longer the uprisings can remain non-violent and the analysis of future protests and uprisings will answer this question. Further examination of the cooptation of the movement’s objectives and the personalismo among leaders will provide information on the future strength or potential weaknesses of the movement as well. The division between the movement’s leaders in the city and its bases of representation in the country is another point for examination and will become apparent in upcoming years.
Over the course of this study, many avenues for further research have opened and must be examined to have a greater understanding of the indigenous movement in Ecuador. The use of Incan and even pre-Incan concepts such as minga, ushay, and pachakutik symbolize the survival of ancient Andean concepts that indigenous groups have politicized in order to reflect the movement's modernization. This suggests that indigenous concepts such as kinship identity, communal work, power construction, organization, and decision-making have survived and still play a powerful role in indigenous communities and indigenous politics. Further examination of this aspect of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement will be interesting for the larger study of Latin American indigenous movements.

The bilingual intercultural education program produced a new generation of indigenous leaders in Ecuador who have proven their ability to enter the political framework of Ecuadorian society. This new generation of leaders signified a dramatic break from the past and older generations of indigenous leaders and their agendas were forced out of the limelight of the indigenous movement. The relationship between the young and the older leaders is also an area of further study.

Additionally, the influence of religion on the indigenous movement cannot be ignored in the study of Ecuador. The increasing popularity of Protestant Evangelicalism and the existence of indigenous organizations affiliated with this denomination is an interesting aspect of the movement. The closer examination of religion and its effect on the indigenous movement will offer new perspectives and may help the prediction of the future of the movement in Ecuador.
The true challenge for the indigenous movement is not necessarily territorial, economic, or political; it is racial. In order for the indigenous experience in Ecuador to improve, the racism that exists throughout the country must dissolve. This is a task not easily accomplished and will take generations to come about. Angel Medina, a graduate student at Universidad de San Francisco and a member of the Saraguro nation states:

"It is a long process, and will not be realized soon. There is a lot of talk of action and reaction, but our concept of time is different. That is one thing society must understand. It is one thing that academics and scholars who want to see immediate effects must understand. It will take more than one year to change 500 years of racism."166

166 Medina, Angel Interview: January 18, 2002, my translation.
After field research conducted during the month of January 2002, a number of significant developments began to unfold for the indigenous movement in Ecuador. These developments emerged during the month of April and are direct results of the presidential nominations for the elections of this year.

Two indigenous leaders are candidates for the presidential elections of October 2002. The Pachakutik movement endorsed Auki Tituana, the internationally acclaimed mayor of Cotocachi, who has succeeded in improving the economy of the Cotocachi region. During January 2002, before the nomination, Professor Carmen Analhizer commented, "the best candidate for presidency would be Auki Tituana, but he would never win, let alone be nominated, because he is indigenous." Pachakutik announced its support for Tituana at the beginning of April. Simultaneously, Antonio Vargas, former president of CONAIE, announced his candidacy. Vargas was forced to resign the presidency of CONAIE for allegedly having resorted to fraud in a plebiscite campaign. He has been recently harmed by the news that some of his followers in Guayaquil had struck an alliance with right-wing supporters accused of having links with paramilitary groups during the government of Leon Febres Cordero (1984-1988). The emergence of two indigenous presidential candidates reflects the widening gap between Pachakutik and CONAIE and the media has portrayed it as an embarrassment to the movement. Unfortunately, the attention devoted to the rival candidates may cause both to step down.

167 Field Notes, January 20, 2002.
Tituana’s political power base, made up of the ECUARUNARI organization in the central highlands and the Pachakutik political movement, feels that now may not be the best moment for the indigenous movement to field its own candidate. A greater priority, however, is to consolidate the presence of indigenous politicians in municipal governments and in congress. Efforts of Pachakutik leaders are focused on putting together a broad left-of-center front for the October elections, even if it entails giving up their nomination for presidency.169

Other candidates for presidency include former President Rodrigo Borja (1988-1992) and former President Leon Febres Cordero (1984-1988). Additionally, another candidate in the running is Colonel Lucio Gutierrez, one of the members of the initial ruling junta that was formed during the indigenous uprising of January 2000. Gutierrez, ex-Supreme Court Justice Carlos Solorzano, and Antonio Vargas were the founding members of the junta that was later dissolved by General Carlos Mendoza, who replaced Gutierrez. Gutierrez has been compared to Hugo Chavez in Venezuela and seeks to build a front of left-of-center political groups and social movements. According to Fabian Corral, a columnist in El Comercio, the newspaper in Quito, this “adoption of ‘chavismo’ is a laboratory that is reinventing Latin American populism.”170 Gutierrez’s candidacy was announced by the Sociedad Patriotica 21 de Enero (Patriotic Society of January 21), which was named after the date of the failed coup of 2000.

The fact that two members from the original junta of the uprising in 2000 are both candidates for the upcoming elections of 2002 is an interesting point of examination. It proves that the concerns raised in this uprising still exist within Ecuador. The emergence

169 Ibid, pp. 145.
of two indigenous candidates for presidency proves the politicization of indigenous concerns and exemplifies the strength of the movement. However, the emergence of two indigenous candidates, when even one would be a first in Ecuador, is another example of the conflicts and tensions between the social and political organizations of the movement. Because of this division, conflict, and resulting media attention, both candidates may step down. At this point no official announcement has been made. This development proves that the indigenous movement is a constant and continuous undercurrent of Ecuadorian society and is an issue worthy of immediate and long-term examination.
APPENDICES

Appendix I: Glossary and Acronyms

CONAIE: Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (Confederacion de las Nacionalidades Indigenas del Ecuador)
CONFAINE: Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon (Confederacion de Nacionalidades Indigenas de la Amazonia Ecuatoriana)
DINEIB: National Directorate of Bilingual Intercultural Education (Direccion Nacional de Educacion Intercultural Bilingue)
ECUARUNARI: Ecuador Runacunapac Riccharimui (Ecuador Indians Awaken – the Highlands Indigenous Federation)
FEI: Indigenous Federation of Ecuador (Federacion Indigena del Ecuador)
FENOC: National Federation of Campesino Organizations (Federacion Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas)
FENOCIN: National Federation of Campesino Organizations (Federacion Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas, Indigenas, y Negras)
FOIN: Federation of Indigenous Organizations of Napo (Federacion de Organizaciones Indigenas del Napo)
IERAC: Ecuadorian Institute for Agrarian Reform and Colonization (Instituto Ecuatoriana de Reforma Agraria y Colonizacion)
OPIP: Organization of Indigenous Peoples of Pastaza (Organizacion Nacional Indigena de Pueblos Indigenas de Pastaza)
CEDIS: Centro de Estudios y Difusion Social (Center of Studies and Social Diffusion)
CDES: Centro de Derechos Economicas y Sociales (Center of Economic and Social Rights)
El Oriente: the Amazonian Region of Ecuador
Quechuan Terms:
Allyu: extended family or kinship group
Ayllu llakta: community
Minga: collective work and organization
Ushay: collective power
Rrimanakuy: the practice of dialogue
Yuyarinakuy: agreements
Pacha mama: nature
Pachakutik: a period of change; a period of time occurring every 500 years
Appendix II: Ecuador’s Indigenous Nationalities

Information regarding Ecuador’s indigenous nationalities in this section obtained from the website of CONAIE (the Confederation of indigenous Nationalities in Ecuador).

Quechuas Amazonicas

There are between 30,000 to 40,000 Amazonian Quechuas that are divided into two subgroups: the Napu Quechuas Runa of the Upper Napo river and the Canelos Quechuas, located in the province of Pastaza. They are called Quechuas because they speak the Quichua language which was present in the Amazon before the arrival of Europeans as a trade language and was introduced form the Andean mountains in the seventeenth century by Catholic missionaries.

Huaorani

The Huaorani traditional territory extended from the Napo River in the north, to the Curaray River to the south. There are approximately 1300 Huaorani today and they live in Amazonian communities such as Tona Empari, Dayuno, Cononaco, Yasuni, and others. Huaoranis, like their neighbors the Shuar, have gained a reputation as being hostile, territorial, and willing to resort to violence in order to defend their territory. According to CONAIE, they remain the most isolated from western civilization. Since the earliest recorded contact with European society in the 1600s, violence and bloodshed have characterized their relationships with the outside world.

Contact with white society led to cultural disruption and the introduction of diseases, from which the Huaorani lack natural immunity. The Huaorani have also faced penetration of their lands by Ecuadorian and foreign oil companies and have protested against petroleum exploitation. In order to defend their indigenous national interests, they formed the Organizacion de Nacionalidad Huaorani de la Amazonia Ecuatoriana (ONHAE, Organization of the Huaorani Nation of the Ecuadorian Amazon) in 1990.

Shuar

The Shuar are the second largest Amazonian group. Like the neighboring Huaorani, the Shuar have a long history of survival and defense against outsiders, and have long been considerd ‘headhunters’ and ‘savages.’ They live in the southeastern part
of Ecuador in a rocky region along the lower eastern slopes of the Andes. The Shuar's geographic locale, with the Andes to the west and the unnavigable river rapids to the east, has protected them from outside interference. With support from Salesian missionaries, the Shuar founded the first ethnic federation in the Ecuadorian Amazon in 1964.

**Achuar**

The Achuar are related to the Shuar and are often lumped into the Shuar nationality. They share the same area, many of the same customs and traditions, and speak a similar language.

**Zaparo**

Though some believe the Zaparo indigenous group is extinct, it remains the smallest indigenous group in the Ecuadorian Amazon is the Zaparos. Due to the intrusion of Western civilization, their numbers dropped from more than 100,000 to seven. Their history shows the devastating ramifications that the European conquest, which began five hundred years ago, continues to exercise on indigenous populations.

**Canar**

The Canar Indigenous people first lost much of their land when the Incas incorporated the territory into their empire sixty years before the Spanish conquest, however the Canaris never lost their separate ethnic identity. Ironically, in 1532 the Canaris considered the Spanish invaders their liberators from Incan tyranny and entered into strategic alliances with the Spanish conquistadors. The Canar exist in southern Ecuador and began manufacturing Panama hats in the 1950s in order to avoid increasing poverty as they continued to lose much of their land.

**Saraguro**

The Saraguro exist in Ecuador’s southern Loja province and have earned a degree of economic independence through cattle production. Many Saraguros own large cattle ranches which sometimes causes conflict between their communities and other indigenous groups involved in the indigenous movement who are short of land. This has led to contradictory approaches to land reform on the part of Ecuador’s indigenous population, exemplifying the complexities that exist within the indigenous movement itself.
Quechuas de Chimborazo

Chimborazo has more indigenous peoples than any other province in Ecuador. There are approximately 250,000 indigenous peoples in the province and the principle groups are the Cachas, Lictos, Coltas, Calpis, and Pulucates. Historically, these groups in the province of Chimborazo have gained a reputation as Ecuador's most rebellious highland indigenous groups. These indigenous have been crucial to the success of the uprisings that paralyze the country. During my research in January 2002 I visited the Tortora indigenous community in the Chimborazo province. The day happened to be January 21, when schools were closed throughout the nation because of threats of an indigenous uprising. There were no uprisings, however, there were large rocks blocking the road that had to be moved aside in order to pass. These had been placed on the road by those expecting an uprising and is a common tactic used to literally paralyze the country during the large-scale uprisings.

Salasaca

The Salasacas live in the province of Tungurahua to the southeast of the city of Ambato. According to some ethno-historians they are the descendants of a mitimae (colonist) group brought from Bolivia at the time of the Inca Empire.

A‘l Cofan

There are approximately 600 Cofan that exist in the communities of Sinangue, Dorino, and Dureno in the northern regions of the Ecuadorian Amazon. Part of their territory is included in the Cayambe-Coca Reservation and their language is A‘lngae. Until the 1950s when the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) missionaries began efforts to evangelize them, they had remained relatively isolated from Western society. The region they occupy has been an area of intensive petroleum exploitation, most notably in the 1970s with the Texaco-Gulf consortium. Roads, pipelines, and settlers have had a detrimental effect on their territory. The Cofan have also been affected by Plan Colombia, as their location near the border of Colombia and the expansion of Plan Colombia into the Andean Plan raises issues of immigration and crop fumigation in their territory.
Sionas and Secoyas

The Sionas and Secoyas are located in the northeastern Amazon near the Cofan. These groups have historic and linguistic connections with neighboring indigenous communities in Colombia. Although they were originally two separate ethnic groups with similar cultures and languages, they began to merge through intermarriage during the twentieth century and by the 1970s they were considered only one ethnic group. Their territory has also been hurt by oil exploration and extraction and in 1993 they sued Texaco for environmental abuses. As previously noted, the outcome of this lawsuit has not been determined.

Awa-Kwaiker

There are approximately 1600 Awa-Kwaiker located in the northwest of Ecuador between the Mira and San Juan rivers in the province of Carchi. Other Awa-Kwaiker communities are also located in the province of Imbabura, Esmeraldas, and in Colombia. Their language (Awapi) forms part of the same linguistic family as the Chachi and Tsachila.

Chachi

Roughly 4000 Chachi live in the communities in the territory bordered by the Cayapa, Santiago, and Onzole rivers. They are known for their ability to build canoes and their traditional basket weaving. It is said that they are originally from the province of Imbabura in the highlands, but fled toward the coast due to the rise of the Inca and Spanish empires. Traditionally their economy was based on hunting, gathering, and fishing, but now they engage in agriculture for household consumption and they grow coffee and cacao for export. They have organized into 28 “Centros” (centers) that form the Federacion de Centros Chachi del Ecuador (FECCHE, Federation of Chachi Centers of Ecuador).

Tsachila

There are 2,000 Tsachila indigenous peoples in the forest located at the foot of the western Anex. They speak tsafiqui, a language related to the Awa and Chachi. They are considered the ‘best known indigenous people on the coast’ because their red body paint has attracted tourist curiosity. The Tsachila remained relatively isolated from Ecuadorian
culture and economy, until the government built a road through their territory in the 1950s. Today they are involved in the export-oriented agricultural economy.

_Epera_

The Epera group is made up of approximately 150 people and exists in the northwestern region of Ecuador. The Epera were not widely known until they began to work with CONAIE in the last decade.

_Otavalo_

The Otavalenos, an indigenous population to the north of Quito, are the most popular indigenous group in Ecuador. Their popularity stems from their successful local economy based on the sales of their traditional handicrafts and has catapulted this indigenous group into the global economic market. During a summer internship I had in 2001, I encountered Otavalenos selling their goods in Central Park and on Madison Avenue. The indigenous market in Otavalo attracts many tourists and has proven to be very lucrative and beneficial for Otavaleno entrepreneurs. There are 50,000 Otavalenos that exist in this region. Their situation is considered unique because despite their economic success, both within Ecuador’s boundaries and abroad, they have continued to maintain their ethnic identity and language.

Despite their growing economic success, indigenous peoples from Otavalo have also experienced struggles with the government over land rights like many other indigenous groups in Ecuador. Additionally, a smallpox epidemic that was introduced by Spanish settlers in the 1580’s cut the Otavaleno population in half. The Otavalenos have also been involved in the indigenous movement, but have often come under criticism from other indigenous groups because of their relative wealth and success, even though their demands parallel those of other indigenous groups.171

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Appendix III:

The Indigenous Pluri-national Mandate

1. JURIDICAL POLICY

1.1 Constitutional recognition of the Pluri-national and Multicultural character of the Ecuadorian State.
1.2 Ratification of Agreement 169 of the ILO, concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples.
1.3 Reform of the Municipal Regulations Law, referring to the Non-Payment of Rural Property Taxes.
1.4 A share of 1 per cent of the cost-per-barrel of oil exploited in the territories of indigenous peoples.
1.5 Amnesty for prisoners and penal defendants who have been sentenced as a result of the fight for land or in defense of land.
1.6 Revision of the signed agreements between Religious Missions and the Government that refer to indigenous peoples.
1.7 The Government, the National Congress and the Supreme Court of Justice, must express their disagreement with the commemorations of the quincentennary, and ask an indemnity for damages of the Spanish government and the European Economic Community, which should be used for the benefit of the indigenous people and popular sector.

2. ECONOMY AND PRODUCTION

2.1 Creation of a fund in the amount of 10 billion sucres annually to settle land disputes.
2.2 Delimitation and legalization of the ancestral territories of the indigenous peoples within parks and natural reserves throughout the country.
2.3 Creation of a Special Indigenous Fund for Integrated Development Programs.
2.4 Freezing of the prices of necessary industrial products as well as of machinery and fertilizers.

3. EDUCATION AND CULTURE

3.1 Continuation of the Bilingual and Intercultural Education Program, properly financed with respect to the administrative, technical and financial autonomy of the National Directorate of Bilingual and Intercultural Education.
3.2 Respect for and continuation of the Agreement signed by CONAIE and the Ministry of Education, as well as for other cultural programs, infrastructural projects, etc.
3.3 Establishment of scholarships to support the training of indigenous students.
3.4 We call for the Bilingual and Intercultural Education Program to be directed towards all of Ecuadorian society. The government proposal should not be limited to the learning of the Quechua language alone, but should include the study of the different peoples that constitute Ecuador.

CONAIE
Appendix IV:

Agreement Between the National Government and the Indigenous, Social and Farmer Organizations of Ecuador

This 23-point agreement was reached as a result of the most recent January 2001 uprising in Ecuador.

The National Government, conscious of the existence of historical conflicts not resulting in the [good] relations between the State and the Indigenous People, and that the process of structural adjustment impacts the indigenous people and poor sectors of the country, decided with the Indigenous nationalities, People and Organizations, to impel a process of understanding and permanent national dialogue. It aims to generate state policies to overcome the historical exclusion of the people and the inequalities created by the [economic] adjustment.

To this end, room for citizen participation will be created that allows a collective construction of the solutions that the country demands, and establishes a new type of relation between the State and the Indigenous People. In this spirit of building, the present agreement was signed with the following content:

1) The Government is committed not to change the prices of the extra and diesel gasoline during this year, the Government being able to defer this condition if the economic and financial conditions of the State therefore allow it. With respect to the transport tariffs the agreement establishes a worktable to analyze and review the tariffs at national and provincial levels.

2) The National Government committed to reduce the price of 15 kilos cylinders of gas from US $2.00 to US $1.60 until the system of distribution of the “popular gas” to the poor sectors of the country and the city, throughout the country settles down with the participation of the Indigenous, Farmer, Social Organizations and Sectional Governments to the same price and will remain at US $1.60.

3) To discard the introduction of kerosene in the national market.

4) The National Government is committed to make effective the obligatory legal disposition that will benefit children, students, seniors and the incapacitated by reducing 50% of the value of fares on public transport. This will be developed by a national campaign of awareness and citizen action.

5) Reconstruction, fortification and capitalization of the National Bank of Development and the National Finance Corporation so that it has greater direct action so they can grant special credits to the small and medium producers, micro-industrialists, as well as to the rural and urban communal companies, accompanied by qualification and technical assistance. These credits will give attention in a special window qualified to affect it. As initial fund of capitalization from the national Bank of Development, 10 million dollars will be assigned.

6) To impel the legal mechanisms to recover through compulsory means the resources given to the bank, secured businesses and others indebted in this way,
and to guarantee the processes of extradition asked for by the National Government.

7) Recovery of the portfolio due from the banks taken over by the Agency of Guarantee of Deposits, AGD.

8) Increase the budget for indigenous organizations, like CODENPE, DINEIB and the National Direction of Indigenous Health. To promote the coordination and participation of the Social Organizations.

9) Participation of the Social and Indigenous Organizations in processing Projects of Social Investment in exchange with the external debt, funds that will be reverted with preference for the 50 cantons and the 200 poorer parishes of the country on the basis of a plan of Emergent Development.

10) To solve conflicts of land, water, and other natural resources, giving specific instructions to the corresponding public groups.

11) Support migrants inside and outside of the country though agreements, laws and allocation of funds for it.

12) To promote the basic decentralization of the State, to support the projects of the Coordination of Alternative Local Governments. The Government will arrange for the World-wide Program of Foods and other international organizations, will acquire the nutritional products material to these programs, with preference to the producers and companies of each province.


14) To search for consensuses for the reform of Social Security and proceed to the payment of the debt to the Farmer’s Social Insurance for which the mechanisms and respective terms will be defined.

15) To apply the prevailing arrangement on the elimination of the rates for services that is not received by the user.

16) Not to allow the regionalization of Plan Colombia, nor to involve the country in another people’s conflict. (This point will be discussed around the table with respect to “reclamation from indemnifications to the Governments of the USA and Colombia on the part of the Ecuadorian Government for all the damages that are caused to the society, to the Ecuadorian economy and nature by the execution of the Colombia Plan.”)

17) Special Treatment for all the Nationalities and People of Ecuador, especially of the Amazonian Region for its development. The Tenth Round of Oil Bids at Auction will complete the State Political Constitution and the prevailing International Agreements.

18) To finish the unfinished irrigation projects in the smallest possible time, through the creation of an Irrigation Fund and to compel studies for new projects.

19) To complete the approved Social Expenditure in the General Budget of the State, and to increase this expenditure in a way in which it frees product resources for the renegotiation of the external debt.

20) To extend the discussion on the Tax Reformation in order that the Ministry of Economy and Finance and the Internal Tax Service can receive the observations
from the law project origination from a National Dialogue that will be made up to the 28th of February, 2001.

21) To endorse the proposal of the Executive so that Customs are managed by the Internal Tax Service, proposing to the debate the mechanism of the decision to physically board in dock, and the elimination of the tariff exonerations. (With regard to the form in which the mechanism of the decision to physically board in dock, and the elimination of the tariff exonerations will be discussed.)

22) To make viable the implementation and subscription of agreements between Indigenous Organizations and the national government.

23) To constitute working sessions within one month, to treat the previous points and to solve those not contemplated in this document, such that are evident in the proposal given to the National Government by the Indigenous and Farmers Movement.

Transitory Arrangements:

a. Once the Agreement is signed by the Honorable President of the Republic and National Presidents of the Indigenous, Farmer and Social Organizations of Ecuador the indigenous uprising will end.

b. The National Government will arrange the immediate freedom of all the people detained in regard to his or her participation in the indigenous uprising, and will suspend the legal actions against them and their leaders.

c. The National Government will determine the amount of the indemnifications due to the deceased and to those who were seriously wounded having been hospitalized in Health Centers in the country between the 21st of January and the 6th of February, 2001.

d. The National Government will order the immediate return of nonperishable foods, equipment and documentation retained by the Public Forces during the indigenous uprising.

Gustavo Noboa Bejarano
PRESIDENTE CONSTITUCIONAL DE LA REPUBLICA

Pedro Pinto Rubianes
VICEPRESIDENTE CONSTITUCIONAL DE LA REPUBLICA

Marcelo Santos Vera
SECRETARIO GENERAL DE LA ADMINISTRACION PUBLICA

Antonio Vargas
PRESIDENTE DE LA CONAIE

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INTERVIEWS


