



Institute of Social Studies

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Encountering the State:
The Ecuadorian Indigenous Movement in the Era of Globalisation

A RESEARCH PAPER PRESENTED BY

Julia Patricia Carbo Alcívar

(Ecuador)

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
SPECIALIZATION: AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

MEMBERS OF THE EXAMINING COMMITTEE

Dr. Cristóbal Kay
Ir. Wicky Meynen

THE HAGUE, NOVEMBER 2001

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies; the views stated therein are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Research papers and theses are not made available for outside circulation by the Institute.

Enquires:

Postal Address:

**Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT, The Hague
The Netherlands**

**Telephone : -31-70-4260460
Telefax: -31-70-4260799
e-mail: postmaster@iss.nl**

Location:

**Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX, The Hague
The Netherlands**

ENCOUNTERING THE STATE: THE ECUADORIAN INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT IN THE ERA OF GLOBALISATION

INDEX

Chapter 1	INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter 2	THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	
2.1	Concepts and Theories	5
2.2	Social Movements	10
Chapter 3	EVOLUTION OF THE ECUADORIAN INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT	
3.1	Background of indigenous resistance	13
3.2	Indigenous organisations from the times of Agrarian Reform	15
3.3	Indigenous organisation in the Neoliberal period	20
	CONAIE	22
Chapter 4	TACTICS OF THE ECUADORIAN INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT	
4.1	Ethnodevelopment projects and institutions	27
4.2	Electoral representation: PACHAKUTIK	31
4.3	Indigenous uprisings	35
Table	Major indigenous uprisings of the last 11 years	36
Chapter 5	CONCLUSIONS	48

Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

This paper is an historical exploratory analysis of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement, focusing on the last decade's organisational processes and tactics, and analysing the opportunities and threats the indigenous struggles face now a day. This study is motivated by our interest on understanding the socio-political realities of our country; where, hopefully, our increasingly conscious future work will be inserted.

Globalisation, and the rapid spread of dominant economic, social, political and cultural norms and values has reached Less Developed Countries in an incomplete and often contradictory way, which has generated or given new strength to a variety of social movements based on indigenous, ethnic, ecological, gender, sexuality, or human rights concerns and identities. These movements are said to forward alternative concepts that challenge the dominant political culture with a new form of doing politics, different from traditional political parties and unions. Is the Ecuadorian Indigenous Movement one of these “new” social movements? How have its “new” characteristics come about? Through an overview of the indigenous social movement's history, we will attempt to confirm that social movements are processes often ending in institutionalisation within the State without this meaning failure, and that their class dimension is present.

The strength of indigenous peoples emerges in a moment where globalisation not only expands (a) a process of world economic integration under the hegemony of financial transnationals, but also (b) the presence of particular identities; and, even more, when the neoliberal project lifts the floor of trade unions and opens the conditions for the presence and insertion of these new actors, led by the “return of the Indians”. (Saltos, 2001). In the same way, Bretón (2001) lists the processes that have come together in the formation of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement: “the limitations of Indigenist policies and a certain model of national building; the asymmetric results of the agrarian reforms; the recurring paradigmatic incapacity of the classical left to deal with the ethnic question; the bankruptcy of the developmentalist state and the consequent advent of the neoliberal model, and, with it, the coming up of other focuses and other ways of intervention on the rural areas.”¹

¹ Unless indicated otherwise, translation/interpretation of quotes from Spanish and French references are ours.

Not only respected historians (v.g. Acosta, Ayala-Mora) but most progressive Ecuadorian analysts coincide on the point that policies of economic liberalism —for instance promotion of individual private property and entrepreneurship, deregulation of international trade, regulation favourable to foreign investment and finance, reduction of state interventions and social programmes— have resulted in intensified inequalities and further exclusion of large segments of society from real participation on formal labour, capital and commodities markets, basic services, and representative democracy. Cameron (2001) points at the tensions between decentralisation and the Ecuadorian socio-political situation characterised by “highly unequal socio-economic power relations, clientelism, corruption, populism, instability, processes of neoliberal economic restructuring, and economic crisis.” In this environment, indigenous uprisings are almost a constant in the past decade. Since 1990, the indigenous movement has constituted an autonomous and strong political and social force that from the excluded’s experience raises to protest and propose a change.

Exploited, dominated and marginalised during the colonial times, the indigenous peoples have struggled for their rights under military and democratic governments after Independence, and in the last decades of State crisis, their organisations have grown to unite as the leading social movement, countering the national political and economic system. The multiple dimension of indigenous marginality has been turned into an opportunity for mobilisation with a strategy based on the strengthening of their social and political organisations, in the continuous defence of their identity and cultural essence. Indigenous activists claim that their strategy has evolved from survival, through resistance, to the proposal of social, political and economic alternatives. But also their tactics have been enriched with mobilisation backed negotiations, increased participation in State organs, and even as a political movement that reaches representation in local governments and even national congress.

The initial purpose of the indigenous struggle was identity related: the recognition of their dignity and status as full citizens with rights in a pluralistic and multicultural State. Then, in protests of local, regional and national reach, the indigenous peoples have fought for control over their lands and territories, against reactionary/marginal agrarian legislation, against privatisations and other neo-liberal policies of structural adjustment, and for political and legislative autonomy. With time, the struggle for short-term economic vindications has reached a political dimension, for a more equitable society and for indigenous participation in decision-making organisms. (CONAIE, 1989)

By challenging the present model, strongly questioning state policies—including the neoliberal project—and maintaining a constant opposition to them for the last 11 years (including the overthrowing of two presidents), the indigenous movement has presented a political agenda unseen in other sectors, that constitutes an important example for the region. (Walsh, 2001)

In the 1990s, when inter-American indigenous organisations prepared to resist celebrations for the 500th anniversary of Columbus arrival, the Ecuadorian indigenous re-emerged with their matured organisational experience into the national political arena. In 1998, the National Confederation of Indigenous Peoples presented an alternative political project and registered the independent political movement of Plurinational Unity Pachakutik-Nuevo País that actually holds significant public offices.

In January 2000, thousands of indigenous people marched into the capital, occupied the National Congress building and demanded the resignation of president Jamil Mahuad and for a few hours constituted a military-civilian junta. Since then, indigenous demonstrations persist in the struggle for what they call a genuine democracy of popular participation inspired by their three basic indigenous principles: “not lying, not stealing and not being lazy” (Macas, interview for Vistazo, 1996). Somewhere these uprisings have been classified as “IMF riots”, for conditions of living for most of the population deteriorate inexorably at the call of the Bretton Woods institutions for structural adjustment.

In the international context of the ILO Convention 169 of 1989 that declared the right of indigenous peoples to self-determination, and of the United Nations declared Decade of Indigenous Peoples (from 1995 until 2005) this paper is an opportunity to explore the processes followed by the indigenous movement in a country where this actor has proved its determination in shaping or at least delaying State policies, both from the side of mobilised protest and from the legislative arena.

After a short exploration amidst the theories that could frame an analysis of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement (Chapter 2), the paper addresses the questions of how this latter came to reach such protagonism in Ecuadorian political life (Chapter 3), what are the tactics employed by the movement to achieve its goals and whether these are effective (Chapter 4).

Finally, in the light of the theories reviewed, a forecast of the possible steps in the process of the social movement is drafted (Chapter 5).

Chapter 2 THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Concepts and Theories

2.2 Social Movements

Here we review the concept of indigenous and the ethnic-national question, the policies and paradigms for incorporation of indigenous peoples into mainstream society, those that explain ethnic inequalities within Latin American society and the last approaches to indigenous self-development. The chapter continues to address social movements and new social movements' theories that have appeared in the context of global neoliberalism and the crisis of the State.

The theoretical review sets a frame for analysing the Ecuadorian indigenous movement, which has developed in the policy context of different Indigenisms. Different authors' conceptions of social movements, in turn, provide the lens to scrutinise the phenomenon of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement.

2.1 — CONCEPTS AND THEORIES

Abstract concepts such as identity, Indian or indigenous, nation-state, and culture are not monolithic and static categories but fluid and flexible concepts built around historical consciousness (Wade, 1997). In other words, concepts are social constructions for they correspond to specific social contexts. In this logic, we shall attempt an historical approach to the theoretical perspectives on Indigenism in order to grasp their current meanings.

Let us begin by defining “**indigenous**” and unveiling the indigenousness discourse. For this we borrow from Stavenhagen (1994): ‘Indigenous’ is employed as a reference to groups of the population that occupy a determined position in society as a result of specific historical developments, colonial situations or internal colonialism as in Latin America. The discourse of ‘indigenousness’ leads to a denunciation of injustices committed against the indigenous peoples and to the formulation of specific human rights that derive from the injustices suffered and from the quality of being indigenous.

Let us continue by addressing the **ethnic-national problem**. In Latin America, the formation of nation-states implied the pursuit of the complete integration of society, the homogenisation

of the persisting ethnic² groups and their social-cultural particularities. The social homogenisation searched for in Latin American states, its failure to-date and the social-cultural tensions derived from the unresolved heterogeneity, constitute the ethnic-national question. Stavenhagen (1969) wrote that national integration, as an objective process, and the birth of a national consciousness, as a subjective process, depend on structural factors and not on the biological characteristics of people. The solution of the ethnic conflict is vital to social and economic development.

For dealing with the ethnic-national problem, academics and policy makers, especially between 1930s and 1970s, have produced the theories of “**Indigenism**” to refer to the political, economic and cultural integration of the Indians in the building of a national “mestizo” identity. Economically, the Indian had to become peasant or proletarian, through agrarian development or agrarian reform. His/her cultural integration was to be achieved through bilingual education programmes. Politically, any form of autonomy had to be refused for sake of the national unity. But theoretical and political Indigenism have served to cover up or rationalise inequality and oppression exerted over indigenous peoples. Díaz Polanco (1997), has identified three phases of Indigenism in Latin America: Colonial segregationist Indigenism, Post-Independence Incorporativist Indigenism, and Modern Integrationist Indigenism, which respond more or less to the socio-economic development stages of the national society in Latin America.

Since the 1970s and 80s, criticisms to Indigenist theories lead to postmodernist and Marxist-dependency theories to deal with the issues (Díaz, 1979; Wade, 1997). Moreano (1993) says that in its search for an original thesis, the indigenous movement has flirted with three positions --the post-modern Indianist (of return to the past); the internal colonialism/socialist position (of popular alliance); and the ethno-populist (fusing the ethnic demand with state politics)—to end up unifying them three in what he calls the “Multinational State thesis”.

On one hand, during the 1980s and 1990s, *Neo-Indigenism*, *Ethnicism* or *Fourth Worldism* theories³ came to value indigenous cultural traditions for confronting the modern world. Post-modern theories became the justification of a political project: the opposition between western

² the concept of **race** is based on external characteristics or phenotypic differences, while that of **ethnicity** is based on cultural identifications of sameness in language, appearance, customs, values.

developmentalism –especially western-style revolution—and an independent indigenous project. However, since indigenous communities have been impacted by capitalism and express its contradictions and conflicts, the search for mythical solutions in the past has retreated in the measure of rising consciousness and maturing global perspectives and critical discernment by indigenous peoples themselves.

On the other hand, In Latin America, the criticisms to Indigenism gave origin to the theories of **internal colonialism** to explain the situation of indigenous peasants. González Casanova and Stavenhagen⁴ conclude that unequal development is linked to the structure of internal colonialism, in which subordinate ethnic groups, often regionally localised, bear the costs of capital accumulation and unequal exchange and are impelled to react or resist in regionalist, nationalist, or ethnic terms. In other words, backward, underdeveloped regions of Latin American countries have acted as internal colonies in relation to the developing urban centres or the productive agricultural areas.

Critiques on internal colonialism theories (Wade, 1997) pointed at homogenisation of the colonisers' and colonised' groups; at the rigidity of the boundary between these; and to the reduction of ethnic identity to a product of class relations. Kay (1989) concludes that although the theory of internal colonialism has proven useful for developing political consciousness among the Indians, the conditions for internal independence are not feasible as long as capitalism prevails in the world. He signals to the development of class-consciousness towards true liberation in “utopian” socialism. Díaz (1979), instead, is optimistic that the alternative solution proposed by Internal Colonialism theorists departs from capitalism, but instead of a post-modern “indigenous socio-economic way” it calls for a possible global solution uniting the indigenous struggle to the worker's and other social sectors' to end all forms of exploitation.

Increasingly, beyond Indigenisms, and in the “new anthropology” current⁵, current policies are less linear impositions but processes where indigenous peoples themselves intervene and are trusted to solve their integration to the complex, pluricultural societies of the early 21st Century. The re-emergence of indigenous peoples as social subjects in an organised

³ Originated in the US think tanks such as Indian Law Resource Centre. For more on this we refer to Hector Díaz-Polanco: *Etnia, Nación y Política*, chapter 3.

⁴ See also Ramón and Gámez, 1993. Kay, 1989. Stavenhagen, 1969, 1990.

movement, proposes a solution to the ethnic-national problem: a new democratic nation where ethnic subjects conquer autonomy or the project of their development within the state framework. In fact, Ecuadorian indigenous peoples are self-denominated “**nationalities**” and “peoples”. Nationalities’ discourse, expressed in multinational and pluricultural state theories, therefore, implies the questioning of Ecuadorian nation, its democracy and development paradigms.⁶ Stavenhagen (1990) states that in reaction to the policies that preserve internal colonialism, there has arisen a call for self-determination, autonomy and ethnodevelopment.

Self-determination, which Barre calls Indianist positions, is therefore the alternative to Indigenism. For example, Galo Ramón and Elba Gámez (1993) understand the Ecuadorian indigenous proposal for indigenous nationalities within a multinational and pluricultural state as an innovative and valid proposal that finds a complement between the notions of ethnicity and class. The indigenous ethnic aspect recuperates the historical and cultural identity as the unifying base of the diverse indigenous peoples, while class identity allows an analysis of their exploitation, the search for a classless society and the multiple class alliance with all the exploited and excluded from power.

Ethnodevelopment theorists call for a redefinition of the state and the enrichment of its social fabric with the recognition of the aspirations of culturally distinct ethnies that constitute it. For Stavenhagen (1990) the quest for ethnodevelopment means that indigenous and other ethnies demand the rights to decide about their own affairs, to participate in decision making bodies and processes where their future is discussed and decided; to political representation and participation; to respect for their traditions and cultures; to the freedom to choose what kind of development they want, negotiating their relationship with the State.

But the ethnodevelopment discourse can also be misused, for instance, the purported goal of “ethnodevelopment” is to keep first in mind the needs, desires, cultural specificity and grass-roots participation of the ethnic groups themselves⁷ on specific development projects financed by multilateral institutions and international financial institutions such as the World Bank, or at least to give that impression. The effect of the policies of these institutions has been extensively questioned, and some even argue that they have contributed to the continued

⁵ described by Marie Chantal Barre, op cit., pp.57

⁶ Moreano (1993), on the Multinational State thesis of the indigenous movement.

⁷ Stavenhagen, 1990. The Ethnic Question, pp. 91

levels of poverty and inequality in Latin America.⁸ Therefore, we should be ware that the concept of ethnodevelopment as purported by IFIs, can constitute a threat to the organisation of indigenous peoples, to their alternative political project and especially to their radicalisation.

In the first Continental Meeting of Indian Peoples held in July 1990 in Quito, indigenous peoples declared that partial integrationist ethnodevelopmental policies were insufficient and that the solution to their problems lied in a comprehensive socio-political transformation of the State. (Díaz, 1993) They emphasised the need for authentic participation of the groups involved in a negotiated autonomy within the State, which leads us to the next concept.

Despite the multiple myths that obscure the meaning of **autonomy**, the theories of autonomous development are an attempt to solve the ethnic-national conflict based on the self-government for certain integrated communities in accordance with the particular historical situation and context of those communities. Macas⁹ has declared that autonomy is necessary to develop indigenous communities in a collective form, to stimulate their own model of development using traditional ecologically sound techniques. For the achievement of autonomy, indigenous communities have to become social subjects with political force of negotiation. That is, departing from their ethnic consciousness, develop a political consciousness.

The ethnic option of autonomy was triggered in the minds of the Ecuadorian indigenous peoples, who in the 1960s began to organise in local, regional and national levels to defend their cultures, lands and rights. The vindication of “nationalities,” which implies the existence of a differentiated culture, economy and territory for those, has a crucial role in the indigenous movement’s discourse.

⁸ Suzanne Clisby, 2000. Ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples in Latin America: an exploration of contemporary commonalities of experience.

⁹ Indigenous leader, CONAIE’s vice-president, as quoted by Becker, 1992.

2.2 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

We define a social movement as a process that, by the constitution of new social actors with new practices and discourses, promotes social change¹⁰. Social movements express new values and new kinds of political activities and have thus been important in making a more plural and democratic political culture.

In the process of consciousness raising, political socialisation and the establishment of social institutions, social movements join the power structure. On the measure that the new actors – previously excluded from social benefits and political decision making—come to the national social and political scenario with their own practice and discourse, their political project and their particular forms of doing politics will become less differentiated, under risk of formal insertion into the national political scene and under State regulation. What appears as a challenge to the system in the mounting phase of protest, may be viewed as a reformist attempt in a longer historical perspective (Diani, 1992).

Fuentes and Gunter Frank (1989,1990) study the characteristics of the social movements that have been the focus of academic attention in the last decade. Some of their theses are that contemporary social movements have cyclically existed throughout the ages; However, movements present new features such as less hierarchisation, more women's participation, and inherited organisational experience from labour movements, political parties, churches and other “old” organisations; In their process, social movements are often incorporated, if not co-opted by the system, which ends up being invigorated and reinforced; Nonetheless, social movements with their participatory, self-transforming, trial-and-error approach and adaptability constitute important agents of social transformation, that extend democracy to civil society.

Other authors¹¹ stress the difference between new and old social movements, the latter framed in terms of modernisation and dependency; struggling for control of the state –v.g. unified working class and revolutionary vanguards—and by a view of society as an entity composed of more or less immutable structures and class relations that only great changes (large-scale development schemes or revolutionary upheavals) could significantly alter.

¹⁰ See Sanchez Parga, 1990; Foweraker, 1995; Calhoun, 1993; Gundelach, 1989; Diani, 1992; Bebbington, 1996; CONAIE, 1989...

¹¹ v.g. Escobar and Alvarez, 1992

The origins of NSMs could be identified with the crisis of development and the state (its lack of representation for the popular masses and the historical repression of the old social movements) as well as the crisis of the political parties throughout their narrowed spectrum. Maybe as a consequence of repression there has been a contraction of the old political classes such as progressive parties, trade unions, and students associations, which has given way to the recognition of formerly overshadowed social movements.

NSMs have been well studied in the first world¹². The North American theories on new social movements bring reference to the aspects of resource mobilisation (organisation and management of resources), the rational choices (that explain behaviour as benefit maximisation of the social actors), and the political processes (context that favours or constrains the expression of social conflict) to explain how do social movements appear and function. European academics have in turn focused on the reasons behind the existence of NSMs: their symbolic contents and the processes of identity building and transformation at the roots of collective action.

Zamosc (1993) proposes an integrated analysis of NSMs that respects the different dimensions of collective action and at the same time connects them to structural processes. Escobar and Alvarez (1992), also combine three elemental axis of NSMs: 1) Identity. The construction of collective identities from different roles and positions, influenced by postmodernism. 2) Strategy. The tactics, strategic initiatives and the forms taken by NSMs organisations. 3) Democracy. The democratisation or creation of democratic social, economic and political spaces. In the same way, McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996) compile three analytical foci—context, strategy and identity of NSMs—, to explain the phenomenon and its dynamics, the emergence and development of NSMs, as well as to compare them.

More progressive authors (Petras and Veltmeyer, 2000) criticise the post-modern construction of new social movements that emphasises the subjectivity of the experiences and identity self-constitutions that can not explain Latin American social movements and their dynamic struggles in resisting and opposing the neoliberal agenda. For them, objective conditions surround the emergence and importance of NSMs in Latin America:

¹² We refer to Zamosc, 1993; Diani, 1992...

- debt-crisis and economic stagnation that has deteriorated living conditions for the majority of the population.
- retrenchment of military, authoritarian regimes and their replacement by constitutional, democratically elected civil regimes that relatively allow for more popular organisation.
- widespread implementation of structural adjustment programmes that search for macroeconomic stabilisation through austerity measures and structural economic reforms.
- the re-foundation of capital accumulation processes.

Camacho (1993) proposes the generation of a political front uniting the different “new” social movements in order to generate objectives in general and global terms, and also to elaborate the strategy of a social subject of historical change to face the mentioned conditions.

One of the most important social movements is the one with ethnic character, subject of the present paper. Stavenhagen (1990) indicates that in the Third World, ethnic movements are usually of a progressive nature because they arise out of a reaction against oppression and exploitation. New indigenous movements are characterised by the unified ethnic-national content of their demands, and this distinguishes them from the historical indigenous movements whose resistance actions were isolated events that did not go beyond local and regional spaces. (Wray, 1999)

In summary, this second chapter has dealt with the concepts that guide the explanation of the ethnic-national question and the solutions proposed by Indigenism, internal colonialism, and autonomous development theories. In the same way, a review of social movement theories has signalled the important issues in the analysis of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement’s process.

In the following chapter, where the history of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement will be addressed, the different elements of social movements and the Indigenist policies of the Ecuadorian state will find their links in the evolution of one of the most interesting New Social Movements in Latin America today.

Chapter 3 EVOLUTION OF THE ECUADORIAN INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT

- 3.1 Background of indigenous resistance
- 3.2 Indigenous organisations from the times of Agrarian Reform
- 3.3 Indigenous organisation in the neoliberal period
 - 3.3.1 CONAIE

The Ecuadorian indigenous movement has a long history. The organisational forms, the objectives and their insertion into the national and international context have evolved from isolated and very limited daily resistance to the indigenous current protagonism in Ecuadorian political life. In this chapter, the paper will deal with the various forms the indigenous struggle has taken until its consolidation and present emergence as a social actor that contributes to the “stability” of Ecuadorian democratic politics.

The organisational origins to the indigenous movement have been tracked back to the early Communist Party initiative that extended workers struggles to the rural areas, populated by indigenous peasants then in “pre-capitalist”¹³ working conditions. Later, with support from the liberation church and evangelical development agencies, the indigenous identity has consolidated in the social institutions that now portray a unified movement of regional and national character.

3.1 BACKGROUND OF INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE

During colonial times, because of the expansion of *haciendas* over indigenous lands –in addition to the taxes and tributes Indians owed to the government—some early indigenous local rebellions and protests took place but were crushed with great brutality.¹⁴

During the Republican period, indigenous peoples continued to be subjects to *gamonalismo*, a form of ideological, political and economic control, in which the *hacenderos* or white landowners dominated power relations operating with the support of *mestizo* political authorities and of local priests.

¹³ We should not really call pre-capitalist the landowner class that, since the mid 19th century, was linked to the Coast’s capitalist development, who stimulated the affirming of a servile structure and overexploitation of indigenous labour. (see Bretón, 2001)

In the *hacienda*, indigenous resistance took the prosaic form of *asedio*, a silent, subreptitious but permanent harassment of *hacienda's* resources. An everyday form of resistance without planning or organisation, limited in scope and without open symbolic confrontations, that consisted in constantly asking the landowner for reduced *hacienda* obligations, increased access to *hacienda's* resources and petty stealing of tools and land. These struggles were inhibited by mechanisms of ethnic control reinforced by Indian submission –culture of inferiority.

Since the 1920s, indigenous struggles focused on land issues and the abolishment of the *hacienda* system. In 1936 the state legally codified the *huasipungo* system and to press for its enforcement the Communist Party of Ecuador¹⁵ inserted itself and created the Ecuadorian Federation of Indians in 1944. The FEI was an Indigenist non-statal organ of mediation, expression and translation of the indigenous social subject who lacked acknowledgement and therefore also lacked a knowledgeable discourse and direct access to the political system (Guerrero, 1993). FEI grouped peasant unions, co-operatives and communes from the highland's *haciendas*, organised strikes, land occupations and road obstructions by the *huasipungueros*.¹⁶ And this new form of indigenous protest, despite guided by the external and urban Communist Party, and despite the repression inflicted by the Army, presented a valuable alternative to the daily resistance of the indigenous *asedio*.

The main goals of the Federation were the proletarianisation of *huasipungueros* –into wage relations—, and their organisation in peasant unions. However, FEI lacked radicalism to encourage an open struggle for land, least against ethnic discrimination. After the liquidation of the *huasipungos*, FEI became very legalistic¹⁷, articulating and voicing formal demands to the government in the name of the Indians, for improvement of working conditions but missed the ethnical character of the indigenous demands.

¹⁴ In the book proposed for the 500 years of indigenous resistance, “Las nacionalidades indígenas en el Ecuador: Nuestro proceso organizativo” (1989) the CONAIE has documented in annex 3 a table of indigenous uprisings since the 16th century.

¹⁵ Socialist Party, created in 1926, later becomes the Ecuadorian Communist Party in 1931.

¹⁶ FEI also created the first bilingual schools in the early 1940's and published the first newspaper in Quichua: -Ñucanchic Allpa. (Wray, 1989)

¹⁷ Velasco (1983) has also criticised FEI's excess of legalism, which he defines as the will to achieve all goals through claims under the existing legal dispositions that favour the peasants. This legalism, he adds, is characterised in a special way by the tendency to reach agreements with the landlords, or to accept without appeal the authorities' judgements; in both cases the peasant's rights are infringed upon.

Due to indigenous peasant's insistence, in the 1950s and 60s, FEI engaged in the co-ordination of marches and riots for stressing their demands for agrarian reform.¹⁸

In the need for capitalist modernisation of the rural areas, the different social actors expressed their needs according to their interests. In this way, according to Velasco (1983), *huasipungueros* fought for a peasant way of capitalist development, that would allow them access to land and the consolidation of an agriculture of small landowners. The modernisation sector of large landowners, sought to maintain their ideological and political power and to proletarianise the *huasipungueros* and other precarious workers. Urban modernising sectors, in turn, searched for a development of capitalism in democracy, which would end political and ideological domination of the landowners and would consolidate a system of small and medium enterprise in the rural areas also.

3.2 INDIGENOUS ORGANISATIONS FROM THE AGRARIAN REFORM TIMES

In 1964, and after long debates, the Military Junta passed an Agrarian Reform law, as a reaction to an environment of popular agitation, successive *coups d'état*, and framed in the Cold War initiative of the United States' Alliance for Progress, the interest of non-agrarian sectors and the rise of indigenous peasant mobilisations co-ordinated with the left. The Agrarian Reform was part of CEPAL's development strategy of import-substituting industrialisation. The reform was subordinated to the interest represented by the State, ensuring a capitalist modification of the rural areas rather than land redistribution or restitution (Wray, 1989).

The Institute of Agrarian Reform and Colonisation, IERAC, was created along with the Law, to favour landless peasants and direct the colonisation of the tropical lands of the coast and the Amazonia, which threatened the territories of the ethnies living there. FEI implemented a strategy of forming communes and co-operatives and represent them before the IERAC for the process of lands adjudgement. But soon, FEI linked more and more to the IERAC for the application of agrarian law, and social effervescence decreased.

¹⁸ *Huasipungueros* struggled for the property of the land they worked, minimally the *huasipungo*, and maximally for the suppression of *latifundio* and its delivery to the peasants. In the idea of Velasco (1983), the first solution

In the 1970s, there was a new impulse to agrarian reform by direct peasant pressure. In 1973 the second Agrarian Reform Law was issued. But the impacts of these agrarian reforms have been diverse (Cameron, 2001): while they had little or no impact on land tenure patterns and power relations in many cantons, in certain locales the reforms and subsequent political struggles to see them implemented had a significant effect on the distribution of economic assets and political power.

Moreano (1993) uncovers the perfect logic behind the process of agrarian reform in Ecuador:

“Its goal was to stop a time bomb –the hacienda regime—for which it was needed to promote the capitalist modernisation of the old *patron* enterprise and the haciendas located in the best lands and in the areas close to the markets, and channel the peasant struggle towards the least profitable haciendas –property of secondary sectors of the landowner class—and under the state’s legal and institutional framework. In that way, an very powerful agrarian bourgeoisie was consolidated, and the rest of the rural areas was fractures in thousands of small and micro-proprietors, condemned to isolation, progressive differentiation and concurrence among themselves. The poorest among them will serve as cheap labour for the capital.

The plan was implemented to perfection...”

Some authors are of the opinion that the thorough application of an agrarian reform of redistributive character was truncated by the modernisation of the state and by the upsurge of indigenous organisations. With the evolution of capitalism in the countryside, interethnic economic and symbolic relations became simple contractual links. On one hand, with the developing of land markets, many indigenous peasants who lacked access to agricultural inputs were convinced to sell their lands back to *hacendados* and migrated into the urban centres for engaging in construction working, domestic work, or petty ambulant trade.

On the other hand, in other places, a trend to *minifundisation* of *haciendas* --the return of indigenous population reshaping the micro-regional demographic structure of the highlands and the high organisation levels in communes and co-operatives for the purpose of land acquisition-- allowed for the revitalisation of indigenous consciousness and the developing of

leaves out the *arrimados* and fosters their proletarianisation , while the elimination of the *latifundios* implies the peasant way of capitalist development by generalised small independent property.

new demands for the State in the form of protection and incentives. Strengthened by the struggles for application of the agrarian reform, local and regional indigenous organisations developed in the middle term to link peasant and ethnic demands. Indigenous grass-roots organisations –communes—were aggregated in 2nd and 3rd degree organisations who appointed indigenous authorities to some parishes in the highlands.

Some indigenous co-operatives for land acquisition were also set up and, in this, the role of peasant and indigenous organisations was crucial. The most important¹⁹ of these organisations FENOC and ECUARRUNARI were created in the mid 1970s. By the mid- 1970s, then, with the relative arrest of agrarian reform, the indigenous movement begins to develop on the basis of new organisations and a new political and economic context.

In 1965, Christian Democrat and progressive elements of the Catholic Church created FENOC, the National Federation of Peasant Organisations to organise communes and rural co-operatives and claim access to land under agrarian reform. FENOC, FEI and other peasant organisations joined in 1976 the United Front of Peasant Struggle, for application of the Agrarian Reform Laws, derogation national security acts that protected large landowners from indigenous demands, and for denouncing peasant repression by the military regimes.

From 1974 until 1980s, FENOC took a class position, providing political education for peasant leaders. But from the 1980s on, FENOC limited to pose legal demands for land tenure and access to State agricultural credit and services under programmes as Agricultural Promotion and Integrated Rural Development, that –instead of tackling true agrarian questions—attempted to regulate and stabilise the agricultural sector, keeping the status quo and restricting agrarian reform.

In this context, ethnic organisations gained importance with their concerns for ending discrimination against the Indians and for re-valuing their language, culture and medical knowledge. FENOC, disappointed for the lack of rapid and massive social mobilisations in the highlands, began to acknowledge ethnic demands and in 1998 changed its name to National Federation of Peasant, Indigenous and Black Organisations of Ecuador, FENOCIN.

¹⁹ According to Zamosc, 1993.

Today, FENOCIN is composed by 27 unions grouping more than one thousand grass-roots peasant organisations and also indigenous communes who work together to ensure service provision –such as credit and technical assistance to the peasantry—, as well as managing agro-ecological and eco-tourism projects (FENOCIN website). FENOCIN’s discourse still emphasises class demands more than ethnic vindications (Bretón, 2001).

Indigenous communes and their second degree organisations²⁰ proved very important for the management of development projects including technical assistance and commercialisation of indigenous produce; projects whose redistributive function consolidated the organisational basis. Indigenous organisations have been deeply influenced by the Catholic and Evangelical churches and their related non-governmental development organisations.

A military intelligence report, published in the press and commented by Jijón (Vistazo, 1990), identifies the roots of the actual indigenous movement in the progressive Catholic missions’ support and promotion of Indian union and organisation in the 1960s. In the late 1960s and early 1970s emerged a progressive political force, the Latin American Theology of Liberation.

In Ecuador, bishop Leonidas Proaño, of the Riobamba diocese, earned titles as “the of bishop of the Indian poor” or “red bishop” for preferring to engage in pastoral works with the poor and the Indians, considered subversive by large landowners and cattle ranchers associations²¹. Monseñor Proaño organised popular radio schools in an indigenous literacy campaign, established hostels and peasant leadership schools, opposed the building of a sumptuous cathedral and distributed all the Church lands of his diocese to indigenous peoples. Some of the popular organisations promoted by the Liberation Church contributed to the formation of indigenous leaders and evolved into today’s social movements.

²⁰ Second degree organisations are federations of 9 to 40 base organisations such as communes or cooperatives. Coherent with parish or province boundaries, these organisations are rather democratic and participatory. The elected government body holds weekly meetings in the organisation office. These indigenous organisations see agricultural modernisation as the source of ethnic cohesion and cultural survival, in its role of preventing periodic migration. Bebbington has identified two types of supracommunal organisations according to their origins. 1st generation formed in struggles over land and transportation costs are often more radical and anti-capitalist, they favour modern technologies and are mostly evangelical. 2nd generation organisations convey a more developmentalist and reformist approach, but limit agrochemicals use and are more attentive to market opportunities for certain crops. The work methods of second degree organisations are similar to state and non-governmental organisations.

²¹ quoted by Jijón, 1990.

Radical Catholic sectors have conveyed a message of indigenous self-liberation through their own efforts and resources, the rescue of cultural values and practices and the practice of authentic indigenous politics. Also Evangelical Protestant churches have influenced Indian organisation: the emphasis has been put on decentralisation and self-management by grass-roots organisations, self-confidence building (stressing the indigenous need to take control over their lives and improve themselves), and the promotion of modern agriculture.

In parallel to CONAIE's indigenous confederations, the Ecuadorian Federation of Evangelical Indigenous –created in 1980—is the second more important indigenous organisation [with 25% of the Indian population (Diners, 2000)]. FEINE promotes integral development of indigenous Evangelical organisations, communities and peoples of Ecuador, manages development projects and ensures participation of indigenous Evangelical peoples in decision and policy making processes concerning their reality. Despite Evangelical leaders early refusal to participate in national indigenous mobilisations, pressure from the basis has recently achieved full participation of FEINE members and leaders hand in hand with other indigenous organisations and other social sectors' uprisings.

Influenced by the churches and taking from their organisational experience, an independent indigenous organisation has emerged to struggle for improvement of living conditions and for their culture. They search to recover their myths, beliefs, rituals and legends, and with this new religious identity linked to ethnic identity comes their political affirmation; an ethnic politics in the beginning more important than political integration with other social sectors.

In the commune –basic political-administrative rural organisation—ethnic consciousness began to develop and with it, the imaging of an ethnic project within the national society. The Communes Law, passed in Ecuador in the 1960s, with the intervention of the United Nations' Andean Mission²², promoted the institution of peasant indigenous grass-roots organisations that –as part of the State's structure—could demand State attention. Communes, along with co-operatives and peasant unions created for the application of the Agrarian Laws have persisted in the basis of the larger indigenous institutions.

²² The Andean Mission, a project designed in 1953 by the UN and directed by the ILO in favour of indigenous populations of the Andean region; integrated the notions of modernisation and Indigenism in development policies and also engaged in small scale local development projects that despite their limited impact for the rural indigenous populations, set the basis for what came to be Integrated Rural Development. For a deeper view on this experience, we refer to Bretón, 2001.

Indigenous peoples organisation –especially CONAIE—are funded in the commune as their organisational cell. The advantage of this form of organisation is that having a territorial setting, it can act as an organ parallel to the state. And after the agrarian reforms and the recovery of ethnic territories, indigenous communes are strategically located along the Sierra region, with the possibility of sieging urban economic centres and the most important ways of transport. Added to their production of 67% of the country's basic foods, organised communes can have quite some control on the internal market.

3.3 INDIGENOUS ORGANISATION IN THE NEOLIBERAL PERIOD

The impact of neoliberal governments since the 1980s, constrained the state's capacity of redistributing and dialoguing with the ethnic sectors, stopping support of their organisations and thereby mining the negotiation capacity that legitimised them. In this context, NGOs took the post and ethnic organisations have kept development projects in one hand but a maturing political project in the other.

With the early advice of the progressive sectors of the Catholic church and lay leftists –from whom highlands' Quechua indigenous communities appropriated initiative and control—between 1968 and 1972 ECUARUNARI Ecuador Runacunapac Ricchamui (Dawn of the Ecuadorian Indian) was born as the movement of the poor and exploited indigenous peasants.

This alternative organisation, led by an Indian elite²³ in its origins accused FEI and FENOC²⁴ of manipulating the indigenous masses for purposes of proselytism and undertook the project of developing indigenous capacity for autonomous mobilisation. This undertaking of collective consciousness and ethnic identity strategies has served the indigenous to establish direct negotiation with the State and to develop international networks of solidarity. ECUARUNARI's demands were the creation of the Indigenist college, state attention to the communes confronting co-operatives regulations, struggles against structural adjustment

²³ The Indian elite is composed by young with schooling, partially urbanised, who have nonetheless kept a communal base; leaders formed in co-operative or syndicate action; pastors or religious animators; of peasants/craftspeople/traders. (Le Bot, 1991)

²⁴ FENOCIN and FEINE organisations have reached the status of national-level indigenous organisations. Historically, they have had competitive and at times conflictive relations with each other and the CONAIE but currently, they keep fraternal relations. Some of the grass-root basic organisations are members both of CONAIE and of other indigenous or peasant federation.

policies that increased the cost of life, for indigenous direction of bilingual education programmes and vindication of gender issues.

ECUARUNARI faced an ethnic dilemma: On one hand, it portrayed an inverted ethnocentrism versus the white and mestizo populations. The mainstream racist ideology portrayed the indigenous peoples as dirty, ignorant, lazy and incapable; it justified domination and aggression in physical, moral, cultural and political terms. But on the other hand, indigenous inverted racism did not allow for articulation of the movement with other social sectors and the joining of forces for the achievement of their economic demands contrary to neoliberal measures. Therefore, the struggle for indigenous pride and hegemony turned to a class struggle united with the working classes against the dominant sectors. In 1977, Christian Marxist left members tried to push away the ethnic line defenders. But again in 1979, left wing leaders within ECUARUNARI lost support from the base when engaged in alliances with the Popular Democratic Union. The ethnic trend did not disappear but grew stronger as the agglutinating basis for local and regional Quechua movements in the highlands.

In the Amazonian region, another indigenous²⁵ movement was taking shape to face ethnic exploitation (Wray, 1989). In some parts agro-industry, oil exploitation and the introduction of the hacienda system implied a violent aggression of the natives, their territories and way of life. Other groups retreated to the jungle and joined in pluriethnic units organised by Catholic missions (Salesian, Jesuits, Carmelitas and Capuccinos), the Summer Institute of Linguistics and Evangelical sects to ensure their landholdings and maintain their culture. The churches exerted ethnic control and acculturation that altered the ethnies' defence ability, but also proved important at the early stage of the indigenous organisational process. For example, united against the SIL, the Amazonian Indians have increased social cohesion and developed a stronger regional and national identity.

In this way, the ethnic strategy of retreating to the jungle was changed to the strategy of organising —overcoming dispersion and co-ordination problems— for facing the State with demands regarding territorial rights and economic and cultural development. Until the mid-1970s, the Amazonian indigenous organisations were supported by the churches and the State

²⁵ Today the region is inhabited by the Quichua or Quechua of the orient --quijo y canelo--, the Siona-Secoya, the Ai' Cofán, the Huao or Huaorani and the endangered Záparo and Tetete. (Wray, 1989)

itself with the vision of fixing the limits of indigenous territories while opening the region for transnational exploitation of natural resources. From the mid-1970s provincial and regional organisations emerged: the Federation of Indigenous Organisations of Napo (FOIN), and the Organisation of Indigenous Peoples of Pastaza (OPIP). Along with the Federations of Shuar and Achuar Centres and other indigenous associations and federations, the Amazonian ethnies begin to mobilise integrated and in 1980 they institute the regional Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazonia, CONFENIAE.

As reviewed to this point, despite the regional differences in terms of oppression and protest forms²⁶, the struggle for land has been at the basis of development and consolidation of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement. The Quechua organisation ECUARUNARI along with the Amazonian Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities, joined for the forerunner of CONAIE, the National Co-ordination of Indigenous Nationalities.

In the Coast, indigenous groups lost subsistence sources in the beginnings of colonisation and engaged in a process of accelerated “*mestizaje*” where they lost their languages, although keeping some cultural traits, especially culinary arts and funerary rituals. Three nationalities – Chachi, Tsáchila and Awa or Espera—persist under the threat of land concessions from the State to lumber and palm oil corporations and have joined CONAIE.

CONAIE

In the 1980s, the presence of an indigenous intellectual elite in the search for a national political identity lead to the construction of a unified social movement, an indigenous political subject presenting a common political programme, that has adopted indigenous cultural values and the identity of indigenous nationalities. CONAIE is considered the most powerful non-violent social and political movement in Ecuador, and one of the better-organised indigenous movements in the Americas. This credit has been earned by CONAIE’s success in uniting a variety of ethnic groups throughout the country, for its mobilisation capacity, and for its achievements over the last 20 years.

²⁶ In the highlands, the struggle has been for access to land and against landowners’ domination, in the Amazon forest, the struggle has been for the defence of the ethnic territories against colonisation and corporate exploitation of natural resources.

By 1980 the CONACNIE, Co-ordination Council of Ecuadorian Indigenous Nationalities was conformed as a previous step towards the Confederation of Ecuadorian Indigenous Nations, CONAIE. In 1986, Ecuarunari and Confeniae united in a single national-level organisation to struggle for the conservation of their language and culture, territorial autonomy and to redefine the Ecuadorian nation as multicultural and plurinational. In other words, the indigenous movement leaders skilfully combine the social and economic dimension of capitalist exploitation with the history of cultural exclusion and oppression. After decades of struggles for local issues of higher wages and access to land, and for cultural issues such as bilingual education, since the 1990s the indigenous organisations focus on broader political issues such as self-determination. The different politically independent and culturally divergent Ecuadorian indigenous groups united in a pan-Indian movement for cultural and political change.

Currently, CONAIE members include federations representing 12 indigenous nationality groups (Collins, 2000) and this supports CONAIE's claims of representing 70% of the country's total indigenous population.²⁷ Coastal organisations joined CONAIE later, with their regional organisation the Confederation of Indigenous, Black and Peasant Organisations of the Ecuadorian Coast, COICE. The different nationalities and regions represented in CONAIE, contribute to the movement's strength and dynamics but on the downside limit its capacity to act cohesively on the national level.

The pyramidal organisational network that structures CONAIE has at the basis local communes, associations and co-operatives,²⁸ extended over the national territory. These basic cells are united in different forms of federations or second-degree organisations. The second level is in turn grouped in third degree organisations, generally of provincial character. These latter belong to one of the three regional federations: CONFENIAE, ECUARUNARI and COICE. However, every organisation along the pyramid is autonomous and potentially can

²⁷ There are no reliable statistics on the absolute size of Ecuadorian indigenous population. Estimates range from 10 to 40% of Ecuador's 12 million inhabitants. The last national census, carried in 1990 did not include a question on ethnic identification and was boycotted by CONAIE's members. CONAIE, though, claims to represent 70% of a total indigenous population of over two million in the Andean highlands, over 100,000 in the Amazonian lowlands and a small number in Ecuador's tropical coastal region. Coastal organisations and leaders have not had a high profile in the organisation, maybe in relation with the fact that indigenous and afro-Ecuadorian populations on the coast are relatively small and less well organised than those in the highlands and Amazonian lowlands. (Collins, 2000)

Diners, 2000, states that CONAIE accounts for 60% of the Indians.

²⁸ known as first degree or base organisations.

enter in conflict and competition with each other. What unites them is their mobilisation capacity and the will to consolidate a negotiation front with the state powers (Bretón, 2001).

The maximum instance of CONAIE's institutional structure is the Congress²⁹, followed by the Regional, Province and Communities' Assemblies. At all levels, decisions are consensual or by democratic voting. Every three years, a National Congress elects a Council of Government where 20 delegates represent every nationality³⁰. The Council of Government, executor of the institutional policies and decisions, works permanently with a presidency, a vice-presidency, a head of political promotion and organisation, and seven directions (International Relations, Womens' Rights Defence, Health, Education and Culture, Youth, and Territories and Environment). Beginning 2001, a new element is added to CONAIE's structure, the Council of Ecuadorian Peoples and Nationalities, an amplified government council with representatives from all peoples and nationalities, to follow on the projects funded by state-indigenous institutions and become the planner and executive branch of the organisation. (El Universo, February 14, 2001)

Behind the creation of the CONAIE was the will to end with the mediation of the churches, political parties and unions, and raise an independent indigenous mass movement to deal with agrarian and ethnic-national questions. CONAIE's strong emphasis on indigenous identity has been combined with the protest against deterioration of the economic situation of the indigenous peoples and other marginalised groups. The demands of the movement are various, ranging from land rights and agricultural aid to peasants, to the creation of a national bilingual education programme, to the recognition of the pluricultural and multi-ethnic character of Ecuador, and to demands for degrees of political and legal autonomy within the context of the State.

The movement has been successful in achieving the creation and management of the bilingual education programme, the acknowledgement in the first article of the Constitution of the pluricultural and multi-ethnic character of the State, the legalisation of territorial land and land rights, in obtaining recognition of land rights for several Amazonian groups, and blocking the passage of legislation that would have benefited agro-exporters at the expense of

²⁹ The indigenous Congress held on October 12, 2001, elected Leonidas Iza as president.

³⁰ At present, 14 nationalities and 13 peoples are represented in CONAIE. (Ulcungo, quoted by El Universo, February 14, 2001)

peasants' produce for the internal market. In other successful area, the Department of Programmes and Projects of CONAIE has well-established contacts with international and multilateral NGOs and co-operation agencies. The tactic of bringing development goods to the indigenous communes and various organisational levels has strengthened the confederation. At the same time, the development project and programme management by the indigenous movement has led to their institutionalisation inside the state apparatus. Today, indigenous organisations are represented within state development institutions such as CODENPE and PRODEPINE.

Other tactics of the movement, in the strategy of achieving a more participatory democracy that includes the indigenous peoples, consist of direct negotiations with the national government. Until 1990, systematic negotiation did not include mobilisations, but that year was a turning point, when the Ecuadorian indigenous movement began to engage, beyond lobbying and negotiation, to the negotiation empowered and endorsed by mass mobilisations, non-violent uprisings of tens of thousands of indigenous people throughout the country. The uprising actions, that add pressure from below, include civil disobedience and consist on roadblocks, marches to the government building in the capital and the refusal to bring food to the urban markets.

Constantly, the indigenous movement faces hostile political forces who seek to contain and isolate the indigenous movement from other peasant and popular movements and also profit from the internal fissions to divide the movement. But the challenge of uniting the various indigenous organisations in one movement and the co-ordination of that movement with other popular social actors is the apex of the movement's agenda.

The CONAIE's tactic of opposition and protest from outside the system, relates to the organisation's origin as a social movement. Until the mid- 1990s, the focus on dialogue and pressure to the State, was accompanied by criticism of the same State form, considered by the movement as "exclusionary, hegemonic, antidemocratic and repressive."³¹ In 1993, CONAIE elaborated a political project to forward their Multinational State thesis and since 1996 conformed with the Social Movements Co-ordinator a registered political movement that runs candidates for public offices.

³¹ CONAIE's political project edited by the CONAIE's government council as quoted by Collins (2000).

In short, this chapter has summarised the history of the indigenous movement since the colonial times, through the period of agrarian reforms and the neoliberal epoch where the main indigenous movement organisation, CONAIE, is inserted. The aspects of identity formation, resource mobilisation and the political context have intertwined in the historical review of the indigenous movement process.

Other indigenous organisations such as FEI, FEINE and FENOCIN –reviewed in this chapter—are also actors in the present political scene, that unite with other non-peasant and non-indigenous popular movements to oppose neoliberal government policies. The tactics employed by the indigenous movement are the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 4 TACTICS OF THE ECUADORIAN INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT

4.1 Ethnodevelopment projects and institutions

4.2 Electoral representation: PACHAKUTIK

4.3 Indigenous uprisings (Table: Major indigenous uprisings of the last 11 years)

Indigenous movement tactics since 1990 –analysed in this chapter—can be summarised in:

- 1) participation in formal electoral politics, through their political movement Pachakutik;
- 2) participation in bureaucratic development institutions; and,
- 3) political protest or mass mobilisations, characterised by shutting down transportation through highway blockades, civil disobedience and protests in urban centres.

The actions of the Ecuadorian indigenous social movement over the last decade, framed into the political opportunities given the national and international context, mark a transformation inside the movement itself, and of the society, that more than ever understands and respects the initiative of the indigenous actors. The events of the last decade about to be reviewed have pushed the indigenous proposal of the construction of an alternative pluralist and participatory nation, where discrimination would disappear and the values of the different cultural groups would be respected and valued.

4.1 ETHNODEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND AGENCIES

In their search for an alternative development way, Indian movements have met with NGOs, especially foreign ones, whose financial support has been determinant for the expansion and success of Indian organisations of second and third degree (Le Bot, 1991). Although they have assisted the process of ethnic organisations, NGOs are true para-statal development organisations in line with the parameters of an increasingly globalised economy, and their years of work in rural Ecuador have not reduced real economic exclusion (Bretón, 2001).

Although the organisational evolution of the indigenous movement has been intimately linked with the channelling of state resources and later –with state reduction—to the work of NGOs and international NGDOs (who searched for an ethnic component or “social capital” elements for their project counterparts), the effects and intentions of such state and non-governmental development institutions should not be left without more serious analysis. Bretón (2001) offers such a publication, that denounces the effects of NGO intervention as benefiting small

communities, often limited family groups, while weakening community organisation and the strength of the second degree organisations. Bretón's thesis is that the present development co-operation model is the neoliberal counterpart for social policies in many Latin American countries; that even though NGDOs offer an image of formal independence from the state and funding international organisms, they are very dependent on funds provided by public powers. In this sense, NGO's labour can be called "privatisation by externalisation", defined when a country's development is in hands of West European or North American NGOs.

NGOs have become a poor relief for the effects of macroeconomic adjustment that in some cases make up for the State with the excluded, at the same time subsidizing their insurgent potential; and in others, creating a survival zone for professionals to be safeguarded during the period of adjustment. (Bretón, 2001) However, for diverse restrictions, this paper will focus on the actual major state development institutions of ethnic character.

By the tactics of participation in bureaucratic channels we mean state development institutions such as CODENPE and PRODEPINE. Among the resolutions of CONAIE's Sixth Congress in 1999, was the political take over of CODENPE and PRODEPINE, to favour policies for the vindication of Ecuadorian peoples and nationalities.

CODENPE, Development Council of Ecuadorian Nationalities and Peoples, was created attached to the Presidency in December 1998, as a result of the Constitutional changes that prescribe participation of peoples and nationalities in all planning levels of the State. CODENPE is conformed by representatives from the Ecuadorian state, indigenous nationalities and the different peoples that belong to the Quichua nationality. Its mission is to plan, promote and co-ordinate integral and sustainable development projects with identity components through policy making, co-management, and search for financial co-operation, as well as fostering the legalisation of community organisations and systems. The strategic plan of CODENPE is focused in three lines:

1. Sustainable integral development with identity: programmes for water and irrigation, soil improvement, housing, migration assistance, et cetera.
2. Strengthening of peoples and nationalities: programme for enforcing collective rights, territorial legislation, cultural exchange promotion, education, indigenous languages recovery, support for local and community governments, support for self-management initiatives, etc.
3. Institutional strengthening: consolidation of CODENPE.

CONDENPE also appoints the executive director of PRODEPINE, in other words, acts as the state's counterpart of the project.

PRODEPINE, the Project for the Development of the Indigenous and Black Peoples of Ecuador, is the largest fund for indigenous and rural development in Ecuador, which works in a supposedly participatory, decentralised way³² with local and regional level (especially second-degree) indigenous organisations. It finances 270 small community projects --with ethnic components—in the areas of social infrastructure, water management, production, environment, technical assistance and education. The main stated goals of the Project for sustainable development with identity, are the strengthening of indigenous and afro-Ecuadorian organisations; regularisation of water rights and land tenure regularisation³³; rural investment; local capacity building; and institutional strengthening of CODENPE³⁴.

Prodepine's four year budget is provided mainly by a World Bank³⁵ reimbursable credit, plus contributions from FIDA³⁶, the government, and the indigenous organisations.³⁷ The project is supposed to end in 2002 and the participant organisations are: CONAIE, FENOCIN, FEINE, FENACLE, FEI and CNA. In other words we could say Prodepine is a development programme, forwarded by the World Bank initiative on ethnodevelopment, managed by indigenous organisations in co-ordination with the state.

It is a great contradiction that the same institution that politically pushed the "modernising" liberal agrarian legislation of 1994 –against which an indigenous uprising achieved some alterations—is now assisting development and the generation of techno-bureaucratic structures. In a way the World Bank, through Prodepine, keeps an eye on the organisational and political capability of the indigenous movement, and at the same time, for the vast

³² in practice, two of the seven regional offices complain of a minimal budgetary allocation, while one of the two located in the coast did not even exist by July 2000 (Marlon Puertas, Vistazo, 2000)

³³ Prodepine has found that 50% of the indigenous population lack sufficient land to produce and 19% does not own it. In the last couple of years, the state has regularised only 4% of the lands traditionally occupied by the indigenous communities. And CONAIE alone counts more than 100 pending land conflicts (Hoy, February 12, 2001).

³⁴ Codenpe's executive secretary is the indigenous Luis Maldonado, who has lately been appointed to a state ministry. Segundo Andrango ex- executive director of Prodepine also comments on the article referred.

³⁵ A mission from the World Bank controls the project's accounts every 6 months.

³⁶ International Fund for Agricultural Development.

³⁷ For more on the roles of the state and INGOs in Ecuadorian ethnodevelopment project, read Laurie, Radcliffe, Andolina (?) "Transnational Connections and Indigenous Development in Ecuador and Bolivia.

amounts of money engaged is subtly threatening them. On one hand it funds the organisations, but on the other it limits the theoretical and epistemological frameworks of the organisations' actions (Rimay, 2001).

Prodepine –designed in 4 years (1998-2001) by the state, the World Bank and the Decennial Committee³⁸ of Indigenous and Black Peoples—does not execute projects, his role is limited to fund, advice, facilitate, control and solve conflicts between second degree organisations.

Prodepine is considered an executive unit with autonomous decision power and resources management. Its funding is directed to second degree organisations' projects, organisations that somehow have to compete and therefore the indigenous movement could end up atomised and weakened. At times of uprisings, Prodepine shows the back to the Indians who are victims of state repression. We should be ware of these efforts of neoliberalism from below, which jeopardise the unity of the movement. And now, when the Indians protest in uprising, can not make any reference to the strategic role of the World Bank in the worldwide imposition of the neoliberal model.

Ecuadorian president Noboa has denounced that a large portion of these institutions' budgets go to consultants fees and salaries --where appointment quotas have been politically negotiated among the participant organisations—as well as for the organisations' economic support (Puertas, 2000). It is apparent that the leadership of these institutions constitutes the “discord apple” for indigenous organisations and disagreements between both institutions have not been absent either. Polemics concerning indigenous representation to the CODENPE ended in splits between the CONAIE and FEINE, FENOCIN.³⁹

It is contradictory for indigenous organisations to participate in a project that is funded by external debt when one of their “flexibilised” demands has been the non-payment of these obligations. Especially when these “development institutions” have been criticised (Lucas, 2001) for representing foreign or government's instead of the indigenous movement interests.

³⁸ Superstructure set in 1995 by the main national organisations, including CONAIE, FENOCIN and FEINE.

³⁹ Leaders of the latter institutions Marco Morillo and Pedro de la Cruz occupied CODENPE building in June 2000, expressing the rivalry between indigenous organisations. Finally, after declared non-gratta in CONAIE's Assembly, Morillo and de la Cruz reappeared together with Vargas for the uprising of February 2001.

Another front of the World Bank's ethnodevelopment project is managed through the Ecuadorian Exports Promotion Corporation (CORPEI) with non-reimbursable credits for investments in indigenous organic produce micro-enterprises. Can we catalogue this as "ethnic neoliberalism?"

In fact, in the Indigenous Summit held in Panama⁴⁰ this year, attended by 200 indigenous leaders from all continents, United Nations experts and representatives from different organisations and international co-operation agencies, many criticisms were expressed in relation with the ethnodevelopment discourse adaptation of the World Bank and FMI. "Some delegates denounced that these institutions promote an 'ethnic neoliberalism' aimed at reinforcing the world economic predominance of some multinational corporations" (Lucas, 2001). Bretón (2001) is very sceptical about Prodepine:

"In the moment of a certain crisis of the prevailing macroeconomic pattern; when without being expected indigenusness made an irruption in Latin America as a referent capable of publicly questioning the moral legitimacy of globalisation; when suddenly some *externalities* of economic growth—the social costs—got in the way of the perspectives of short and medium term profits as real *internalities* that jeopardised the viability of the model; in that precise moment *development* planners turn their faces towards organisational strengthening as a strategy against exclusion and, by the way, as an indirect way of co-opting and limiting the reach of the new emerging social movements."

4.2 ELECTORAL REPRESENTATION: PACHAKUTIK

Despite CONAIE's early position, since 1995 indigenous tactics have been complemented by the formation of an official political movement that works within the existing political institutions, running candidates for elected office. In other words, a branch of the movement has adopted the appearance of a political party and, even more, this political movement includes Indian and non-Indian social movements under the umbrella organisation Social Movements Co-ordination (Coordinadora de Movimientos Sociales).

⁴⁰ Organised by the Association Napguana (Earth's nucleus) and supported by the Dutch Centre for Indigenous Peoples.

Indigenous participation in “representative” democracy began in 1978 and has traditionally been characterised by “block” voting, where the commune agrees for the “least bad” candidate and applies this form of community democracy in universal elections. The commune’s strategy extended to the ethnies, and the capacity for national consensus of the indigenous nationalities grew with the movement’s process. The ethnic consensus expressed in the political Indian block, called the attention of politicians and social movements upon the place and importance of the indigenous peoples in democracy.

According to Collins (2000), CONAIE’s official position regarding national elections until 1995 was to boycott the elections by invalidating the vote⁴¹ and to restrain its leaders from running for office, on the claim that the system would not respond to the interests of the whole population, least to those of the Indians. But this position mostly forwarded by highland’s indigenous who have been subject to internal colonialism in the Republican times has been challenged by Amazonian Indians who are more prone to electoral politics. In 1993 (Diners, 2000) in the Amazonian province of Puyo, the vindicative struggle of CONAIE took a political turn with the first steps towards the conformation of the Pachakutik political movement.

In 1996, a coalition between CONAIE, peasant organisations as the Peasant Social Security affiliates and the non-indigenous Social Movement Co-ordinating Committee, CMS, formed Pachakutik⁴² (a registered political movement) to participate with candidates in national and local elections. Despite its intimate links to the CONAIE and CMS, and although it is called their political wing, Pachakutik is declared not dependent on these. Nonetheless, half of Pachakutik’s executive committee is composed by CONAIE representatives and the co-ordination is in hands of indigenous leaders.

Indigenous organisations’ proposals have an organic expression in the Pachakutik movement, whose purpose is to achieve larger indigenous peoples participation in the local and national governments, stressing ethnic and cultural values, and based on the criteria of territorial

⁴¹ According to Ecuador’s Constitution, all Ecuadorians older than 18 years, including illiterates, are obliged to vote in public office elections.

⁴² For the Quichua Andean peoples, the term Pachakutik is meant to be a transcendental change, product of a long preceding evolution, that marks the beginning of a new era; the opening and expansion that breaks away from former actions and ruptures on one hand, and the beginning of a new historic phase, on the other. (CONADE/GTZ, 1992) Pacha means time and space in their circular relationship; Kutik means rapid and violent change. (Cornejo, 1993)

continuity and population settlement patterns especially in the highlands and Amazonian jungle, as provided by the Constitutional amendments of 1998.

In the first elections where Pachakutik participated, in 1996, its candidates have won a total of 75 seats at all levels of government, from town councils to Congress. In 1997, it achieved to conform a block in Congress with 15 deputies out of the 70 in the National Assembly, as well as the election of 10 city mayors, town councils in 11 *municipios* and province counsellors in 13 (out of 22 provinces). In the National Constitutional Assembly established in 1998 to reform the Constitution, Pachakutik won 7 seats.

The participation of the indigenous movement in formal politics puts it at the vanguard of Latin American Indians (Escobar, 1996) because it opens the political process to the marginalised and therefore leads to the inclusion and democratisation of the central government, beyond the vindicative and conjunctural struggle. The success and social support of indigenous actions respond to the lack of a stronger social organisation in the country, added to the discredit of traditional political parties.

Tensions between the indigenous movement and its political party have become evident during major uprisings such as the one of January 2000 and on issues such as the revoking of Congress. Also, at the time of electoral agreements it is harder for the political movement to maintain the identity and leadership that the social movement mandates. The two main indigenous tactics are difficult to reconcile but a constant spirit of dialogue has proved effective in approaching them.

Similarly to the social movement, another risk to the political movement is set by the pressure of the non-indigenous adherents to the movement who might reorient the axis of the struggle towards more general issues such as corruption and privatisation, away from the plurinationality thesis at the basis of the indigenous political project.

A couple of successful cases, where formal political representation has complemented the main tactics are those of the municipalities of Guamote and Cotacachi. Mariano Curicama, twice mayor of Guamote (1992-2000), created the Indigenous and Popular Parliament as the highest representation in the *cantón*—composed of the presidents of the *cabildos* of the 114 communities of the *cantón* and 7 neighborhoods of the village centre—to propose and

evaluate municipal policies --including budgets--, to hold councillors and the mayors accountable for their work and to co-ordinate and regulate the work of NGOs. Participation then is ensured.

Tituaña, “a mayor of human development, not of cement” during the indigenous uprisings has provided municipal vehicles to transport protesters from the village centre of Cotacachi to blockades on the Panamerican highway. These majors, opting for a strategy focused primarily on formal politics and institutionalised participation, have not ignored or abandoned political strategies of protest, the real force for all real forward movement in social history, a much broader political struggle for social and economic change at the national level. It is important also to note that NGOs have funded some of the indigenous municipal projects.

Pachakutik should not become another centre-to-left party in the spectrum, but instead support from the inside of the government institutions the actions and demands of the social movement. This is a big challenge that asks for the most surrendered attitude of the personal interests of the indigenous elite (who might use their ethnic identity and difference to improve their inclusion in the institutionality) and their serious compromise to develop a deeper political debate at the bosom of the system. Other challenge for Pachakutik as a political movement is to represent and reflect the whole of Ecuadorian social movements interests.

In a very valuable draft prepared for LASA Congress 1998, Mijeski and Beck analyse the electoral strategy of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement. Their ending discussion and conclusions are enlightening; for instance, the authors are clear that social movements are uneven processes through which goals and means to achieve them can change. They interpret the widening of tactics to reach more visible progress as a sign of the hard task of maintaining the movements unity in difference. Beck and Mijeski say Pachakutik can be viewed as the outgrowth of continuing strains and pressures within social movement organisations to advance corporate and even individual interests. But the political movement could also be taken as an honest attempt to achieve the goals of improving standard of living and the operationalisation of plurinationality as stated in the reformed Constitution.

Beck and Mijeski see promises and pitfalls in the near present success of Pachakutik. Paraphrasing them, the promises depend on the movement’s ability to broaden its social base, gathering support from urban (especially from the Cost) and rural poor beyond election times.

The pitfalls are all around: if the electoral success continues the normal-absurd intra-parliamentary alliances and compromising can reduce the movement's credibility in front of the masses, or give the impression that uprisings and participatory democracy are no longer needed, only voting. Also, that indigenous claims either take over the social agenda or are left aside after all these years of struggle.

For 2002 Ecuador's presidential elections, there are many going debates in and outside the movement about the launching of an Indian candidate for the national government office. Disagreements on this issue shall be settled by a plebiscite among CONAIE's members and the Social Movement Co-ordination. (<http://www.hoy.com.ec>, various dates October 2001)

4.3 INDIGENOUS UPRISINGS

The most important indigenous tactic, since it has given the movement the major achievements and recognition, is the one of pressing the government to negotiate by way of uprisings. Since 1990, CONAIE and other indigenous and non-indigenous social movements have effectively displayed civil disobedience to make their voices heard. We have chosen the most salient uprisings from the last 11 years, and we close the chapter with the most actual dilemma faced by the movement.

Since 1982, after the external debt crisis that followed the pursuit of the ISI development model in Latin America, Ecuador began implementing structural adjustment policies prescribed by the IMF. Eight years later, in June 1990, took place the first indigenous uprising that marked the incorporation of the indigenous peoples as a powerful actor on the national political scenario, setting an organisational example for Latin American social movements.

MAJOR INDIGENOUS UPRISINGS

<i>Date</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Presidential period</i>	<i>Triggering Causes</i>	<i>Achievements</i>
1990, June	INTI Raymi Uprising	Rodrigo Borja	Constitutional acknowledgement of State's plurinationality and solution to land conflicts	First national presence of the indigenous movement and
1992, April	Amazonian indigenous territories	Rodrigo Borja	Amazonian communities' mobilisation for the legalisation of a million hectares of land	Access to important territories for Amazonian indians
1994, February	Alternative Agrarian Law	Sixto Durán Ballén	Against proposal to reform Agrarian Law, by privatization of land and water resources	Blocks the proposal of privatising communal lands
1997, October	Never again without us	Abdalá Bucarám - Fabián Alarcón	Against Bucarám's government. In support of the proposal of Constitutional Amendments including specific and collective rights of indigenous peoples	Exit of president Bucaram. Incorporation in the Constitution of the country's pluriculturalty and collective rights in ratification of ILO 168 Convention. Creation of the Council of Planning and Development of the indigenous and black peoples –CONPLADEIN (now CODENPE)
1999, July	Jatarishun for life and against hunger	Jamil Mahuad	Against neoliberal measures	Stop the increase in fuel prices, speed up the "descongelamiento" or unfreezing of funds of the financial system clients.
2000, January 21	Rainbow Uprising	Jamil Mahuad	Against the government of Mahuad and structural adjustment and dollarisation of the economy	Exit of president Mahuad based on ethic public and political issues. Ephemeral instauration of a popular government. Instauration of the indigenous-popular parliament with social movements.
2001, February	Nothing only for the indians	Gustavo Noboa	Against increase of fuel and transportation prices, other "all-indigenous" issues.	Instauration of participatory "negotiation tables" Unification of the different indigenous organisations (-> National Council)

Among others, the policies questioned by the uprising were the devaluation of the local currency⁴³, the increase of interest rates, the opening of the economy, reduction of the government's expenditure through reduction of State agricultural development aid, elimination of subsidies and price controls, the increased cost of public services (former and following to their privatisation). One of the consequences of these policies was the rise of the price of manufactured goods, while agricultural produce prices fell or stagnated. Salary increases did not catch up and lost purchasing power. The neoliberal policies for the agrarian sector consisted in the market liberation of land, water, supplies, credit, etc. and the promotion of "non-traditional" exports cultivation such as flowers and tropical fruits. But only agro-business with the financial capacity to acquire latest technologies are able to profit from market policies, while the situation for the remaining rural population, who lacks access to credit and other inputs, deteriorates inexorably (Pacari, 1996).

Adding the neoliberal policies to the decreased access to land, to the level of maturity reached in the indigenous organisation process (as reviewed in the previous chapter), and the international indigenous peoples campaign in resistance to the commemoration of the 500 years of the arrival of Columbus to America, it is easy to understand the reasons behind the historical uprising of June 1990, when thousands of Indians all over the country achieved to make their struggle visible.

Indigenous 16 demands included issues on land ownership and distribution; the commitment of national resources for economic development of indigenous communities; the financing of bilingual-education programmes managed by the indigenous communities; indigenous control of archaeological sites; the expulsion from Ecuador of the Summer Institute of Linguistics; the Constitutional amendment to acknowledge multi-culturality and plurinationality of the State. (Becker, 1992)

Besides marches to the capital and demonstrations in cities all over the country, this uprising consisted in the paralysis of the country for one week: roads were blocked with large rocks, water supplies were cut to some urban areas, the Indians refused to take produce to the markets, and took hostage of police and local authorities. The protest actions also included a

⁴³ The local currency used to be the Sucre, but actually Ecuador is one of the first countries to have US dollarised its economy.

10 day occupation by 170 Indians of the colonial church of Santo Domingo in Quito⁴⁴. Despite the radical the measures, the magnitude and broad base of the uprising, 82,7% of the Ecuadorians⁴⁵, agreed with the measure taken by the Indians and expressed their solidarity with the movement.

In the end, the government agreed to nation-level negotiations with CONAIE. The Borja government ignored most of the 16 indigenous demands collected but it made two important concessions: it gave the CONAIE the authority to name the director of the bilingual education programmes and granted large tracts of land to the Huaoranis and the OPIP in Pastaza.

León Zamosc (1993) analysed the causes of the indigenous uprising of 1990. The methodology Zamosc applies in his analysis focuses on the New Social Movements dimensions as referred in chapter 2: the framing process, the organisation process and the structural context. Under the heading of actors, he looks at the identity expression that links the agency and the structure. The indigenous identity characterised and built upon ethnic pride, solidarity, their common language and the social and cultural features shared by the traditional peasantry. Zamosc identifies a common status of indigenous subordination in relation with the white landowners and town *mestizos*. Identity built in relation with the challenges of integration.

Then he focuses on the organic aspects of the indigenous movement. Indigenous communes and *cabildos* assemblies, who have organised over the last 30 years, take the initiative of the uprising. These *cabildos*, historically supported and strengthened --politically and ideologically—by religious and leftist sectors, have mediated between the local indigenous population self-management efforts and state and non-governmental development agencies. Another organic aspect considered by Zamosc is the development of their own indigenous leaders, the formation of a leading educated indigenous elite.

Finally, for determining the goal of the uprising, Zamosc refers to the instrumental reasons. These are, according to him, the government's forgetfulness of indigenous needs and the

⁴⁴ A curious fact is that uprisings' timing had historically been related to agricultural productive cycles, generally when the peasant labour force is at rest and the resources of previous harvests have gone. In 1990, the uprising happened in a period of harvest and parties; however, it was the time of a pre-electoral national context which gave it special political signification. (Sanchez Parga, 1992)

⁴⁵ According to Vistazo magazine's survey; 87% according to CEDATOS, as cited by Curbelo, 1992

increased cost of life. In other words, he finds reasons for the uprising in the crisis of the peasant economy, reduced employment and therefore reduced salaries of indigenous semi-proletarian seasonal migrants, et cetera, which add to the list of causes of what Zamosc calls a FMI riots and disturbances. FMI disturbances, he explains, are those derived from economic crisis and structural adjustment programmes, where popular unrest is expressed and state policy changes are demanded.

One year later in June 1991, CONAIE protagonised another 3 day uprising in protest for the government's lack of attention. And, on April 11 of 1992, hundreds of indigenous nations from the Amazonian lowlands protagonised a historical 13 day march from Puyo (capital of the Pastaza province) to the capital⁴⁶, for the legalisation of their ancestral territories and reform of the national constitution to reflect its plurinational and multicultural nature.

During the presidential period of Sixto Durán Ballén, in June 1994, a mass mobilisation called by indigenous organisations in Ecuador shut down the country this time for two weeks to oppose a reactionary Agrarian Development Law (Ley de Ordenamiento Agrario), key piece of the structural adjustment framework being implemented by the government. The law approved by Congress included the elimination of communal lands in favour of agricultural enterprises and other market liberal measures that, ignoring the views of and repercussions on indigenous peasants and other segments of rural society, favoured the interests of large landowners also called agrarian entrepreneurs. The idea was to attract new investments, increase productivity of the rural sector, and solve the supposed inefficiency of communal property.

Against the counter agrarian reform inherent to the Agrarian Development Law, CONAIE, FEINE and FENOCIN conformed the National Agrarian Commission (CAN), who along with the II Agricultural Chamber from the coast and a solidarity front conformed by the support of indigenous and peasant organisations from all Latin America, launched the measure of national "mobilisation for life", in impulse of an alternative proposal. The proposal, produced in consensus and consultation with indigenous and non-indigenous peasants and farmers, established fairer terms of access to land and improvement of local technologies and productive capacities.

⁴⁶ About three-hundred miles distant.

The State apparatus reacted to the uprising with a declaration of “State of Mobilisation” which called for violent repression on the hands of the Armed Forces to restore order. Despite the violence inflicted, the mobilisation did not back down and the government had to begin negotiations with indigenous organisations, with the mediation of the Catholic church, and the monitoring of international Indigenous and Human Rights organisations. (Pacari, 1996)

In the negotiations, one of the important points conceded was that the process of agrarian reform had not finished and the redistribution of fertile land was an ongoing necessity, therefore, communal lands would not be divided and sold. The articles concerning privatisation of land were modified and the government also acknowledged the diversity of actors in the rural sector with their particular cultures, organisation forms and technologies. Although the final revision did not include all of CONAIE’s proposals, the events represented another landmark for the serious dialogue between the government and the indigenous organisations about national policies.

In 1995, peasant and indigenous organisations protested against privatisation of social security. In 1996, an electoral year, a slip inside the movement was made evident about the institution of an Ethnic and Cultural Ministry for the Indigenous, offered by a presidential candidate, on the hope that such ministry would mean true participation of the indigenous sector in the process of state modernisation. But some indigenous leaders mistrusted the initiative on the grounds of oblivion of the Decennial Committee⁴⁷ proposals and of the previous consecutive attempts that had failed:

- Social Welfare Ministry’s Direction of Integral Rural Development and the office of Indigenous Affairs.
- The Office of Indigenous Affairs attached to the Presidency under the government of Hurtado;
- The Direction of Indigenous Affairs under the government of Febres Cordero;
- An Indigenous consultation instance attached to the presidency, with Borja; and,
- The Secretariat of Indigenous and Ethnic Minorities’ Affairs, SENAIN, in the period of Durán Ballén.

⁴⁷ composed by seven Indian, black and peasant organisations.

- The Ethnic and Cultural Ministry, under the government of Bucaram, issue of this part.⁴⁸

In the end, CONAIE's Assembly agreed on rejecting the creation of the ministry and on favouring their autonomous institutions.

On February 1997, CONAIE participated in the mass mobilisation that preceded the destitution of president Bucaram; conformed CONPLADEIN --Council of Planning and Development of Indigenous and Black Peoples of Ecuador, now CODENPE--; and marched for the Assembly to reform the Constitution "Never Again Without Us".

In 1998, as a result of the efforts of Pachakutik delegates, the Constitutional Assembly acknowledged indigenous collective rights and incorporated them in a chapter of the Constitution, modelled after the ILO convention 169. On this matter, that progressive legislation still has to be operationalised in the legal framework in force.

In October 1998, March and June 1999, indigenous uprisings achieved to slow down and make gradual the application of neoliberal policies implemented by the Mahuad government. Another achievement was the setting of "dialogue tables" to initiate social policies debate and to revise the structural adjustment programmes. However, a new series of economic measures followed after months of talks.

The first weeks of January 2000 were critical: on the 9, Mahuad announced the intention of dollarising the economy, and since that moment protests extended all the long of the country: marches, blockades and journeys of repression under the government declared "State of Emergency". More than 800 delegates from all sectors and regions of the country constituted on January 11 the Parliament of the Peoples to discuss an alternative political programme. The combination of these protests and the adhesion of a sector of the military provoked the exit of the president who had lost credibility.

On January 21, 2000, the CONAIE, the Social Movements Co-ordinator (CMS) and other workers, peasant and popular organisations organised a national uprising that reached the

⁴⁸ After the exit of Bucaram, the SENAIN became CONPLADEIN for planning and development of indigenous peoples. All these institutions were later dissolved in favour of the creation of the Development Council of Nationalities and Peoples of Ecuador CODENPE, according to the constitutional changes.

capital centre. In alliance with a rebel fraction of the military, some thousand protestants, leaded by indigenous peoples from the highlands occupied the Congress Building and the siege of the Supreme Court of Justice. At the same time, in other ten provinces social forces took local government and municipality buildings.

President Mahuad was destitute that day, and the government of National Salvation, a military-civilian Junta, was installed by the president of CONAIE, Antonio Vargas, a former supreme court judge and a bunch of army colonels. The *triumvirato* was dissolved 24 hours later by the head of the Armed Forces whom after promising to support the popular uprising and to fight corruption helped set the vice-president Noboa back into “constitutional” power. Noboa has continued dollarisation and the implementation of neoliberal policies. The economic and political crisis of Ecuador continues and the indigenous movement keeps centre stage within the complex array of social forces with the “sense of possibility” of a true popular government left from the achievement of the uprising of 2000. (Collins, 2000)

A downside of the events was the evident divorce between the social movement CONAIE and the political movement represented by Pachakutik. These differences have been analysed by Lucas (2001). On one side, he points at the Pachakutik deputies to congress who feared and were resented by the attitude of the social movement that occupied Congress and replaced the whole parliament (including Pachakutik elected members) under the tag of corruption. Some Pachakutik majors and local government members did not act coherently supporting the social movement, despite the movement’s direction to offer the uprising solidarity.

On the other side, some indigenous leaders took an individualistic protagonic position that did not foster dialogue with other sectors, and ended up losing the opportunity of negotiating better terms at the installation of Noboa. It is clear, however, that the social movement well connected to the basis keeps a good response capability, ahead of political parties and even of Pachakutik.

After the events, CONAIE engaged in a signature collection to pressure the government to carry out a Plebiscite about the reengineering of the state. This attempt resulted in a scandal of false signatures that affected the movement’s legitimacy. Meanwhile, the government continued its neoliberal agenda, consolidated the process of dollarisation and involved the country in Plan Colombia. (Rikcharishun, 2000)

CONAIE held an Assembly from November 28 to December 1 to deal with the crisis. The leaders' response was evaluated as well as the process of the movement in the last decades. The self-criticism ended with an agreement for the re-structuring of the organisation and the future emphasis on its political project consisting in the building of a plurinational state, the struggle for collective rights and the vindication of all peoples and nationalities. Another theme was reaffirming the CONAIE's strategy of building the power from the basis and not taking it by force (Rikcharishun, 2000).

After a year of the fall of ex-president Mahuad, between January 26 and February 7, 2001, another indigenous uprising, larger than those of 1990, 1994 and 1997, took place. Despite the success of Pachakutik in 2000, the government lacked a political proposal on the indigenous problems, blocking dialogue opportunities and attempting to divide the movement and the People's Parliament with small concessions to few scattered indigenous communities. The detonator that articulated the new uprising was the government's economic measures—pushed by the IMF in view of oil world prices decrease—, dollarisation, and the continuous support to corrupt bankers by the government of Noboa.

The conflicts and discredit within the indigenous movement, between CONAIE, FEINE and FENOCIN, consequence of the uprising of 2000, were made evident both at the moment of appointing representatives for CODENPE and PRODEPINE, at the failed convocation for another uprising in September 2000 by Antonio Vargas, and at the failure of signature collection in support for the plebiscite.

Due to grass-roots pressure to the movement directors⁴⁹ (Guamán, 2001), the peasant and indigenous organisations sat down to dialogue about the situation of increased poverty for the majority of Ecuadorians, about the brutal repression exerted by military and police public forces on indigenous protesters⁵⁰, and decided on co-ordinating a new uprising early this year. For the first time after the uprising of 1990, all national indigenous and peasant organisations

⁴⁹ Vargas, Morillo, de la Cruz and two other leaders of CONAIE, Estuardo Remache (ECUARUNARI) and Ricardo Ulcuango (CONAIE's vice-president).

⁵⁰ By mid- January, a group of indigenous peoples from Cotopaxi, began the protests by closing the PanAmerican highway at various points. The government reacted violently, and this action ended up in tens of wounded and imprisoned.

–CONAIE, FENOCIN, FEINE, FENACLE, FEI and CONFEUNASSC-- articulated a unified strategy.

The previous year failures were openly analysed by the CONAIE in March 2001 Assembly, and determinations were taken: CONAIE's government council was replaced; and, in favour of an indigenous and peasant alliance, temporary distance was taken from the Social Movements Co-ordination and the Popular Front⁵¹. The previous targets of dissolving the state powers were replaced by the latest concrete economic measures that affected the whole country's poor and as mentioned the movements own political project.

Rural and indigenous organisations', communes' and religious leaders went to Quito. In view of the governmental prohibition to occupy public parks –as had been done in previous uprisings—the Indians stayed at the Salesian University. 50 Indians declared in hunger strike when dialogues with the government were abandoned at a point of the uprising. The Indians that stayed at home were responsible for the local protest mobilisations.

The road blocking began in Chimborazo and soon expanded to the whole country with support of urban sectors. The country's economy paralysed with daily loses estimated in 30 million dollars⁵². In other front, on January 30, the 40 thousand people march took an ecumenical character, with catholic priests, evangelic pastors and commune leaders who took the Cathedral of Riobamba and kept it until the end of the uprising.

On Friday January 2, as a response to the violence and the consequent rupture of the dialogue between the indigenous movement and the government⁵³, as well as for the intention of dissolving the uprising, a “state of emergency” was declared, denying basic rights such as free association and mobilisation.

Contrary to expected, urban population joined the uprising, the military and police violence escalated causing more deaths, tens of wounded and hundreds of detentions; social pressure national and international was increasingly felt. The government, therefore, had to re-establish

⁵¹ Considered to be partially responsible of the signature collection failure for the plebiscite.

⁵² According to the Chambers of Commerce, as mentioned by Guamán, 2001. According to the Chambers of Production, referred by Puertas (2001), blockades and other aspects of the uprising cost the country some US\$5 million per day.

dialogue with the indigenous and social leaders and after many working hours on January 7, an agreement was signed. The Agreement did not include the full agenda presented but it did consider the revision of fuels and transportation prices, the increased budget of the Fomentation Bank to be directed in credits to small peasants and community enterprises, reimbursing the victims of the violence, et cetera.

In the text of the Agreement, the government acknowledges the “historical exclusion of the peoples and the inequalities generated by the adjustment.” And for promoting understanding and permanent dialogue to solve the situation, citizenship participation spaces are installed in the form of dialogue tables.⁵⁴

In summary, despite criticisms on the uprising’s balance, the indigenous and small peasant groups begin to be considered for policy making debates on fiscal, monetary and commercial issues after a year of the coup that ended with the possession of president Noboa.

For RIMAY (Editorial, March 2001), the February 2001 uprising was the most important for “the emergence of a new type of social organisation represented by the united indigenous movement, where alternative processes can be found based on dialogue and consensus for conflict management, economic reciprocity, community work, solidarity criteria, continuous control from the grass-roots to their directors, and so on.”

As a consequence of the uprising, negotiation tables have been instituted between the government and the indigenous and peasant organisations. Despite the dominant agenda of dissolution and discredit of the indigenous movement⁵⁵, the unity of the indigenous organisations has been strengthened after this year’s uprising, especially with the ecumenical relationships established within the movement.

The conformation of the “dialogue tables”, however, makes evident the indigenous movement’s organisational strength and its political weakness. Organisational strength that

⁵³ the dialogue was mediated by a commission including Human Rights personalities, the Church, international peasant organisations, etc.

⁵⁴ the document is subscribed by the President of Ecuador, the Vice-president, the Secretary of Public Administration, the Presidents of CONAIE, FENOCIN, FEINE, FENACLE, FEI and CONFEUNASSC.

⁵⁵ Since 1990, Government dialogue with the movement has been an attempt to illegitimise the Indian movement, and apply dilatory bureaucratic or technocratic tactics to the issues debated.

through mass mobilisations pressed the government to dialogue; and at the same time the failure to include other social sectors in the dialogue. Isolation of the Indian movement from other popular sectors, limits their political reach and circumscribes the dialogue to punctual and technical issues on public policies. The indigenous movements finds itself trapped on the dialogue tables that could not deal with priority issues of social change, and that can not be abandoned without a heavy cost on the movement's legitimacy and credibility.

The agenda for the dialogue tables was produced during, not before the uprising and therefore became rather technical than political. The agenda –speedily closed by the government— included the most important aspects of the moment's economic situation such as the prices of fuels, transportation, and gas. But again it left out structural changes concerning political reforms, operationalisation of plurinationality and pluriculturalty, questionings to the economic model, democratisation, decentralisation, autonomies and the proposal of territorial entities, dollarisation, etc. In this way, a historical opportunity to discuss the larger national themes has been wasted.

According to RIMAY bulletin (June, 2001), the consequences of the judged recent “political mistake” of the movement have two main implications:

- The dialogue tables have helped legitimise the government's politics with the demobilisation and constraint of the response capability of the indigenous and other social movements. During the dialogue process, economic adjustment measures were implemented such as tax increases, social security reforms, authorisation of the building of another oil pipeline and continuation of the “support” to the financial crisis, without the indigenous movement's protest.
- Secondly, the dialogue tables raise sceptic expectations within the organisations grass-roots who would press for radicalisation of the positions, which would lead in turn to new confrontations and conflicts and even new uprisings.

The experience of almost a yearly uprising has perfected organisational aspects of the measures. However, and despite the decisions taken in the recent Indigenous Assemblies, the movement misses in the negotiation processes where the “political project” ends once and again left out in favour of short term “patch” economic measures.

CONAIE and the Social Movements Co-ordination, united –and the second propped up by the latter—for the constitution of Pachakutik-New Country and split by the uprising of 2001. On the upside, the indigenous movement consolidates with the various indigenous organisations. On the downside, the Indian movement is left without a wider representation base. The Social Movements Co-ordination constitutes itself after the uprising as an autonomous organisation which means a step back in the long term strategy for the indigenous project of plurinationality, interculturality and participatory democracy. However, the reborn Social Movements Co-ordination --made up of actors such as the peasant organisations, retailers, pensioners, barrios', youth, engaged Christians, human rights organisations, ...--- could on due time reach consensus with the indigenous movement to act jointly both in mobilisations as in electoral politics.

With the government's decision to privatise electric companies, the Indigenous movement is analysing various proposals to the national government --including a plebiscite— and has offered to exhaust all resources and dialogue mechanisms. However, if an agreement is not reached, it is possible that a new uprising might soon gestate. This time, also the struggle for a plurinational state –where cultures, customs, and territories are respected—will be in force, since “only then [under such state] will we see true development in the country” (Leonidas Iza, quoted by www.hoy.com.ec, October 20, 2001)

In this chapter, the different fronts of the indigenous movement have been analysed as well as the current issues that Ecuadorian Indians face in the strategy stated in their political project. The electoral tactics, combined with ethnodevelopment programmes that reinforce Indian organisation and the uprising measures, are complementary and point to the way the movement should maintain in the quest for participatory democracy.

In this paper, we have taken a look at the theories that frame the picture of social movements, at the long way that the Ecuadorian indigenous movement has come, at the strong pyramidal organisation and the tactics that shape the movement at the present time. The early indigenous organisations were created on the light of Indigenist theories but, in time, the indigenous peoples undertook ethnodevelopment programmes and elaborated their own discourse of autonomy and a multinational state.

The Ecuadorian Indigenous movement, one of the most dynamic and strong contemporary social movements in Latin America, has gone beyond the integrationist dreams of Indigenisms. Indeed, the rise of the Indians to stand for their rights was, in part, a result of the weaknesses of the same Indigenism that did not achieve the development of these peoples within the national developmentalist project. While it laid the basis for their autonomous organisation, Indigenism, in all its variations, did not foresee the nature of contemporary indigenous mobilisations in the years of the Neoliberal State crisis.

Social movement theories, then, have proven more useful as a way of looking at the Ecuadorian indigenous movement as a process, and at the identity, resource and contextual elements of that process, whose maturity –equated with institutionalisation—can claim the achievement of integrating the Indians into the mainstream social, political and economic national scenarios.

The achievements of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement are many. After a decade of indigenous uprisings, their institutional leadership and their electoral participation, the Ecuadorian society has a new view on the Indian: acknowledged as part of the society 's structure and cultural/ideological matrix. The indigenous peoples are no longer a problem or a question to be dealt with paternalism or racism.

The change experienced by Ecuadorian society cannot be denied: the Indians have become social agents fully respected by the rest of society and, with a very positive international image; they have asserted themselves in the national political scene and achieved a number of substantive outcomes. Among these, we can mention the creation of the National Direction of Intercultural Bilingual Indigenous Education, the 1994 Agrarian Law amendment in partial

consensus with the Indian movement and its ethnic discourse, and the reforms of the Constitution which include collective indigenous rights. Nonetheless, juridical reforms have not been enough to ensure quality of life improvements for the indigenous society and the struggle must continue in hand with other popular sectors, not just to ensure their survival, but to forge an effective alternative political economic model.

Another strength of the movement is its ecumenical integration, since the conflict between Catholic, Protestant, and Shamanic creeds has been one of the root impediments to the integration of the National Indigenous Movement.

Some challenges to the unified Indian and peasant movement are:

- To harmonise the proposals, discourse and strategies. As long as there are form and depth differences within the ensemble of indigenous movements, these will be less effective in pressuring the government who always presents a solid and coherent position in relation with its political project.
- Internal political agendas of the various organisations should also be harmonised and prioritised in a common strategy of negotiation with the government. In this way, the aspects favoured in the dialogue would not respond, for example, to the context of internal elections.
- The ethnic overload over political elements tends to isolate the indigenous movement from other segments of society. At the same time as unifying element, the ethnic factor is also one of the greatest risks of the indigenous organisations.
- The missing articulation of a wider joined political project with a long term vision of the country wished for by the indigenous movement and society as a whole, despite common points in the political projects of the various organisations.
- Each organisation possess their own scenario, tactics and leaders for the near coming electoral period. The strategies chosen respond to their political alliances and interests.

CONAIE's political project has not been updated since 1994. This constitutes a major threat, as lack of a guiding light to produce clear alternative proposals to complex problems such as the external debt, dollarisation, privatisations. A fresh and constant supply of qualified indigenous leaders is needed, for many have now been devoted to state-indigenous institutions achieved in the struggle, and for international migration has weakened some ranks of the organisation. Dependence upon external funding, threatens also to prevent CONAIE from

linking leadership and conduction with a more effective participation from the base to the base.

Some authors judge that from frontal opposition to the system, the indigenous movement has already been consumed by it and can only look for a safe place within it. But for us, the evolution of the relationship between the state and the social movement, and the insertion of the latter in the functioning of the former does not have to mean failure or abandonment of the concerns of the base communes. The diversification of tactics, the development of complementary strategies and especially the co-ordination of uprisings as a tactic with a wider community can be useful for this part of the challenge. Indeed, negotiation weaknesses, lack of a clear unified project, divergences from other social sectors and absorption by the state machinery threaten to end the process of the major social movement fostered since the Ecuadorian state goal ceased to be “development” to become the payment of external debt.

The expressed fragility and vulnerability of the actual political system points at the need to transform it; and in this context, the demands and proposals of the indigenous movement are legitimate and fair. The acknowledgement of different societal forms through the vindication of ethnic nationalities can transcend the “dead letter” on plurinationality to challenge the model of the national state itself and give democracy a truer character.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

	Author	Year	Title/Article	Publisher	Title/Series	Editor
1	Almeida, José	1993	El levantamiento indígena como movimiento constitutivo nacional	Cedime - Abya Yala Quito	Cismo étnico en el Ecuador: varias perspectivas	Centro de Investigación de los Movimientos Sociales del Ecuador
2	Alvarez, Sonia E. + Dagnino, Evelina + Escobar, Arturo	1998	Culture of politics, politics of culture. Re-visioning Latin American social movements	Westview press, Boulder CO US, Oxford UK		
3	Andrango, Alberto	1993	"La democracia no existe en el Ecuador"	Abya Yala, Quito	Los indios y el estado-pais. Pluriculturalidad y multietnicidad en el Ecuador: contribuciones al debate	Cornejo Menacho, Diego
4	Bebbington, Anthony J.	1996	Movements, Modernisations and Markets. Indigenous organisations and agrarian strategies in Ecuador	Routledge London & NY	Liberation Ecologies. Environment, Development and Social Movements	Peet, Richard + Watts, Michael
5	Bebbington, Anthony J.	1996	Organisations and Intensifications: campesino federations, rural livelihoods and agricultural technology in the Andes and Amazonia	Elsevier Science Ltd UK	World Development, Vol 24, No 7, pp 1161-1177	
6	Bebbington, Anthony J.	1993	Modernisation from below: an alternative indigenous development?	http://weber.ucsd.edu	Economic Geography v69, n3 July	
7	Bebbington, Anthony J.	1992	Searching for an 'indigenous' agricultural development: Indian organisation and NGOs in the central Andes of Ecuador	CEDLA, University of Cambridge UK		
8	Becker, Marc	1997	Draft: Class and ethnicity in rural movements in Cayambe, Ecuador	LASA, Guadalajara		
9	Becker, Marc	1995	Indigenismo and Indian Movements in Twentieth-Century Ecuador	LASA, Washington, D.C.		
10	Becker, Marc	1992	Nationalism and Plurinationalism in a Multi-ethnic State: Indigenous organisations in Ecuador	http://www.ukans.edu/ftp/pub/history/articles/ecuador2.txt	Mid-america Conference on History, Sept 17-19	

11	Berryman, Philipp	1997	Church and revolution: reflections on liberation theology	NACLA	Report on the Americas, Volume XXX, No. 5 March/April	
12	Bretón Solo de Zaldívar, Víctor	2001	Cooperación al desarrollo y demandas étnicas en los andes ecuatorianos. Ensayos sobre indigenismo, desarrollo rural y neoindigenismo	FLACSO Quito - Universitat de Lleida GIEDEM Lleida, España		
13	Calhoun, Craig	2000	"New social movements" of the early nineteenth century	Blackwell Publishers Inc. Malden Massachusetts, Oxford UK	Readings in Contemporary Political Sociology	Nash, Kate
14	Camacho, Daniel	1993	Popular movements	United Nations University Press. Tokyo, NY, Paris	Latin America Today	González Casanova, Pablo
15	Cameron, John	2001	Work in progress: Local democracy in Rural Latin America: lessons from Ecuador	LASA, Washington, D.C.		
16	Carrasco, Hernán	1993	Democratización de los poderes locales y levantamiento indígena	Cedime - Abya Yala Quito	Cismo étnico en el Ecuador: varias perspectivas	Centro de Investigación de los Movimientos Sociales del Ecuador
17	Carrión, Marlon	1999	Sexto congreso nacional de la Conaie	http://www.llacta.org/notic/991119a.htm		
18	Cevallos, Diego	1997	Los nuevos dirigentes indios	ENSA, Guayaquil	Vistazo, Noviembre 6	
19	Chancoso, Blanca	1993	"Damos la cara"	Abya Yala, Quito	Los indios y el estado-país. Pluriculturalidad y multiétnicidad en el Ecuador: contribuciones al debate	Cornejo Menacho, Diego
20	Chantal Barre, Marie	????	Políticas indigenistas y reivindicaciones indias en América Latina 1940-1980	?		
21	Chiriboga, Manuel	1986	Crisis económica y movimiento campesino e indígena	CLACSO, ILDIS Quito	Movimientos sociales en el Ecuador	Escobar, Santiago
22	Clark, A. Kim	2001	Unpublished: Shifting Paternalisms in Ecuadorian Indian-State Relation (1895-1950)	LASA, Washington, D.C.		

23	Clisby, Suzanne	2000	Ethnic Minorities & Indigenous Peoples in Latin America: and exploration of contemporary commonalities of experience.	http://www.swan.ac.uk/cds/devres/pubs/pid23.htm	Papers in International Development, No. 23	Clarke, Gerard
24	Collins, Jennifer	2000	A sense of possibility. Ecuador's indigenous movement takes center stage	NACLA	Report on the Americas, Volume XXXIII, No. 5 March/April	
25	CONAIE	1980	1992: 500 años de resistencia india. Las nacionalidades indígenas del Ecuador: nuestro proceso organizativo	Tincui - Conaie / Abya Yala Quito		
26	<u>CONAIE web oficial</u>	2001	Acuerdo entre el gobierno nacional y las organizaciones indígenas, campesinas y sociales del Ecuador	http://www.conaie.org	Quito, Febrero 11	
27	Cornejo Menacho, Diego	1993	Prólogo	Abya Yala, Quito	Los indios y el estado-pais. Pluriculturalidad y multiétnicidad en el Ecuador: contribuciones al debate	Cornejo Menacho, Diego
28	Curbelo, Nelas	1992	Las naciones indígenas en Ecuador. Del silencio a la palabra. De la resistencia a la propuesta.	Revista Educación y Derechos Humanos No. 15, marzo Uruguay		
29	Dávalos, Pablo	2001	Coyuntura política y movimiento indígena: elementos para el análisis	http://icci.nativeweb.org/boletin/24/davalos.htm	RIMAY, Boletín ICCL, Año 3, No. 24, marzo	Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas
30	Diani, Mario	2000	The concept of Social Movement	Blackwell Publishers Inc. Malden Massachusetts, Oxford UK	Readings in Contemporary Political Sociology	Nash, Kate
31	diario El Universo	2001	La Conaie se reorganiza	Diario El Universo, Febrero 14	Sección Política	
32	diario Hoy	2001	Comunidades sin tierra	Diario Hoy, Febrero 12	Sección Actualidad	
33	Diario Hoy, versión electrónica	2001	varias fechas. Octubre	http://www.hoy.com.ec		
34	Díaz Polanco, Héctor	1987	Etnia, nación y política	Juan Pablos editor, S.A. Mex, d.f.		

35	Díaz Polanco, Héctor	1979	La teoría indigenista y la integración	Juan Pablos editor, S.A. Mex, d.f.	Indigenismo, modernización y marginalidad. Una revisión crítica	Díaz Polanco, H. + Guerrero, F.J. + Bravo, V. + Allub, L. + Michel, M.A. + Arizpe, L.
36	Díaz Polanco, Héctor (tr. Rayas, Lucía)	1997	Indigenous peoples in Latin America. The quest for self determination	Westview press, Boulder CO US, Oxford UK	Latin American perspective series, No 18	
37	Domínguez, Norma	1997	El movimiento indigenista ecuatoriano	Nueva mayoria.com		
38	Escobar, Arturo + Alvarez, Sonia	1992	The making of social movements in Latin America. Identity, strategy and democracy	Westview press, Boulder CO US, Oxford UK	Series in political economy and economic development in Latin America	
39	Espinosa, Simón	1994	!Puro Atahualpa!	ENSA, Guayaquil	Vistazo, Febrero 24	
40	Espinosa, Simón	1991	En el fondo oscuro y fresco	ENSA, Guayaquil	Vistazo, Junio 20	
41	Espinosa, Simón	1990	Demasiada inteligencia	ENSA, Guayaquil	Vistazo, Agosto 23	
42	Estupiñán de Burbano, Patricia	1991	Los indígenas tienen razón	ENSA, Guayaquil	Vistazo, Enero 10	
43	FENOC-I	1994	various press bulletins on the Agrarian Law proposal, October	http://www.movimientos.org/cloc/boletin/28.php3		
44	Foweraker, Joe	1995	Theorizing social movements	Pluto press, London, Boulder CO	Critical studies in Latin America	CEDLA
45	Fuentes, Marta + Gunder Frank, André	1989	Ten Theses on Social Movementss	Pergamon Press plc, UK	World Development, Vol 17, No 2, pp 179-191	
46	Guamán Gualli, Julián	2001	El levantamiento indígena del 2001	http://icci.nativeweb.org/boletin/24/guaman/html	RIMAY, Boletín ICCI, Año 23, No. 24, marzo	Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas
47	Guerrero Fernando	1990	Etnia, poder y diferencia	Abya Yala, Quito	Etnia, poder y diferencia en los andes septentrionales	Sánchez Parga, J. + Guerrero, Fernando + Haubert, Maxime + Santana, Roberto
48	Guerrero, Andrés	1993	La desintegración de la administración étnica en el Ecuador	Cedime - Abya Yala Quito	Cismo étnico en el Ecuador: varias perspectivas	Centro de Investigación de los Movimientos Sociales del Ecuador
49	Guerrero, Francisco Javier	1979	La cuestión indígena y el indigenismo	Juan Pablos editor, S.A. Mex, d.f.	Indigenismo, modernización y marginalidad. Una revisión crítica	Díaz Polanco, H. + Guerrero, F.J. + Bravo, V. + Allub, L. + Michel, M.A. + Arizpe, L.
50	Gundelach, Peter	1989	Effectiveness and the structure of new social movements	Jay press, Inc.	International social movement research, vol 2, pages 427-442	

51	Gunder Frank, Andre + Fuentes, Marta	1990	Civil democracy: social movements in recent world history	Monthly Review Press, NY	Transforming the revolution: social movements and the world system	Amin, Samir + Arrighi, Giovanni + Gunder Frank, André + Wallerstein
52	Haubert, Maxime	1990	Reforma agraria y poder campesino en la sierra del Ecuador	Abya Yala, Quito	Etnia, poder y diferencia en los andes septentrionales	Sánchez Parga, J. + Guerrero, Fernando + Haubert, Maxime + Santana, Roberto
53	http://attac.org/fra/toil/doc/confenunassces.htm		Nuestra propuesta el desarrollo humano sustentable. Plan de gobierno campesino			
54	http://fenocin.nativeweb.org					
55	http://www.codenpe.gov.ec					
56	Huerta Rendón, Francisco	1963	El indio, gran problema ecuatoriano	ENSA, Guayaquil	Vistazo, Septiembre	
57	International Leninist Current	2001	Los caminos del poder popular	Soviet ILC No. 5, verano Viena		
58	Jijón, Carlos	1990	La iglesia subversiva? El reino de este mundo	ENSA, Guayaquil	Vistazo, Octubre 4	
59	Landsber, Henry A. + Hewitt, Cynthia N.	1970	Ten sources of weakness and cleavage in Latin American peasant movements	Anchor Books. Doubleday & Company, Inc. Garden City, NY	Agrarian Problems and Peasant Movements in Latin America	Stavenhagen, Rodolfo
60	Landsberger, Henry A.	1974	Rural protest: peasant movements and social change	MacMillan Press Ltd, Edinburg UK	International Institute for Labour Studies	
61	Larrea, Silvana + Trujillo, Ernesto	2000	Resurgimiento del pueblo indígena	http://www.dinersclub.com.ec/revista/abr00/tema.htm	Revista Diners No. 214 - Marzo	
62	Laurie, Nina + Radcliffe, Sarah + Andolina, Robert	2001	Transnational connections and indigenous development in Ecuador and Bolivia	unpublished paper	Development and Culture: Transnational identity making in Latin America	
63	Le Bot, Yvon	1991	Dans l'Amérique des cordillères. Le bref été des mouvements paysans indians (1970-1991)	Review Tiers Monde Vol. 32		
64	León, Jorge	1993	Versiones de los protagonistas. Hechos históricos y el valor de los testimonios disidentes	Cedime - Abya Yala Quito	Cismo étnico en el Ecuador: varias perspectivas	Centro de Investigación de los Movimientos Sociales del Ecuador

65	Letelier, Elías	2001	La situación indígena	Soviet ILC No. 6, verano Viena	International Leninist Current	
66	Llucó, Miguel	2001	Las mesas de diálogo y la doble estrategia del poder	http://icci.nativeweb.org/boletin/26	RIMAY, Boletín ICCL, Año 3, No. 26, Mayo	Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas
67	Llucó, Miguel	2000	Proceso histórico del movimiento indígena ecuatoriano	http://icci.nativeweb.org/elecciones2000/lluco.htm		
68	Lopez Boca, Angela	1996	El poder indio	ENSA, Guayaquil	Vistazo, Octubre 24	
69	Lucas, Kintto	2001	A propósito del último levantamiento indígena: divorcio entre movimiento político y movimiento social	http://icci.nativeweb.org/boletin/23	RIMAY, Boletín ICCL, Año 3, No. 23, Febrero	Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas
70	Lucas, Kintto	2001	Cumbre indígena en Panamá: llueven críticas sobre Banco Mundial	http://www.rebellion.org/sociales May 21		
71	Macas, Luis	1993	"Tenemos alma desde 1637"	Abya Yala, Quito	Los indios y el estado-país. Pluriculturalidad y multietnicidad en el Ecuador: contribuciones al debate	Cornejo Menacho, Diego
72	Males, Antonio	1993	El levantamiento del general del pueblo indio	Cedime - Abya Yala Quito	Cismo étnico en el Ecuador: varias perspectivas	Centro de Investigación de los Movimientos Sociales del Ecuador
73	Matamoros Ileana	2000	Dinero & negocios. Minifundio for export	ENSA, Guayaquil	Vistazo, Abril 19	
74	Mejía, Luis + Neira, Mariana	1990	Alerta blanca: indios alzados	ENSA, Guayaquil	Vistazo, Septiembre 6	
75	Mijeski, Kenneth J. + Beck, Scott H.	1998	Draft: Mainstreaming the indigenous movement in Ecuador: the electoral strategy	LASA, Chicago, IL		
76	Mijeski, Kenneth J. + Beck, Scott H.	1997	Draft: Ethnic identity and support for indígena demands in Ecuador: Report from a preliminary Study	LASA, Guadalajara		
77	Moreano, Alejandro	1993	El movimiento indio y el estado multinacional	Abya Yala, Quito	Los indios y el estado-país. Pluriculturalidad y multietnicidad en el Ecuador: contribuciones al debate	Cornejo Menacho, Diego

78	Moreno Mendoza, Cecilio Alfonso	1993	Héroes Olvidados	ENSA, Guayaquil	Vistazo, Noviembre 5	
79	Moreno Mendoza, Cecilio Alfonso	1992	La voz de los indios	ENSA, Guayaquil	Vistazo, Octubre 22	
80	Moreno Mendoza, Cecilio Alfonso + Granja, Diego + Neira, Mariana	1991	Bandas paramilitares para matar indios	ENSA, Guayaquil	Vistazo, Abril 18	
81	Neira, Mariana	1990	Despierta el gigante	ENSA, Guayaquil	Vistazo, Julio 22	
82	Pacari, Nina	1996	Ecuador. Taking on the Neoliberal Agenda	NACLA	Report on the Americas, Vol XXXIX, No. 5, March/April	
83	Pacari, Nina	1994	various press bulletins on the Agrarian Law proposal, May			
84	Pacari, Nina	1993	Levantamiento indígena	Cedime - Abya Yala Quito	Cismo étnico en el Ecuador: varias perspectivas	Centro de Investigación de los Movimientos Sociales del Ecuador
85	Ponce, Alexis	2001	El levantamiento indígena de enero de 2001: interpretación y perspectivas desde los derechos humanos	Universidad Santa María de Guayaquil	Debate: Movimiento indígena: ecos de varias voces	
86	Puertas, Marlon	2001	El presidenciable indio	ENSA Guayaquil	Vistazo, Abril 11	
87	Puertas, Marlon	2001	La guerra de los ponchos	ENSA, Guayaquil	Vistazo, Febrero 8	
88	Puertas, Marlon	2000	El país: polémica indígena	ENSA, Guayaquil	Vistazo, Julio 20	
89	Ramón, Galo + Gamez, Elba	1993	Hay nacionalidades indígenas en el Ecuador?	Cedime - Abya Yala Quito	Cismo étnico en el Ecuador: varias perspectivas	Centro de Investigación de los Movimientos Sociales del Ecuador
90	Rikcharishun Editorial	2000	La restructuración fortalece al movimiento indígena	http://ecuarunari.nativeweb.org/rikcharishun/dic2000.html	Rikcharishun ("Despertemos") Edición electrónica. Periódico biling:ue deECUARUNARI	
91	Rikcharishun Editorial	2000	Mobilización por la vida y la soberanía, éxito, fracaso?	http://ecuarunari.nativeweb.org/rikcharishun/septoct2000.html	Rikcharishun ("Despertemos") Edición electrónica. Periódico biling:ue deECUARUNARI	
92	RIMAY Editorial	2001	Significaciones del levantamiento de febrero del 2001	http://icci.nativeweb.org/boletin/24/editorial.html	RIMAY, Boletín ICCI, Año 3, No. 24, marzo	Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas

93	RIMAY Editorial	2001	Banco Mundial y Prodepine: Hacia un neoliberalismo étnico?	http://icci.nativeweb.org/boletin/25	RIMAY, Boletín ICCI, Año 3, No. 25, Abril	Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas
94	RIMAY Editorial	2001	La coordinadora de movimientos sociales y el movimiento indígena ecuatoriano	http://icci.nativeweb.org/boletin/26	RIMAY, Boletín ICCI, Año 3, No. 26, Mayo	Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas
95	RIMAY Editorial	2001	Mesas de diálogo gobierno-indígenas: las trampas de la política	http://icci.nativeweb.org/boletin/27/editorial.html	RIMAY, Boletín ICCI, Año 3, No. 27, junio	Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas
96	Salto, Napoleón	2001	Movimiento indígena y movimientos sociales: encuentros y desencuentros	http://icci.nativeweb.org/boletin/27/saltos.html	RIMAY, Boletín ICCI, Año 3, No. 27, junio	Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas
97	Sánchez Parga, José	1992	Presente y futuro de los pueblos indígenas. Análisis y propuestas	CONADE/GTZ Quito	Ecuador Siglo XXI, Proyecto CONADE/GTZ	
98	Sánchez Parga, José	1990	Etnia, poder y diferencia	Abya Yala, Quito	Etnia, poder y diferencia en los andes septentrionales	Sánchez Parga, J. + Guerrero, Fernando + Haubert, Maxime + Santana, Roberto
99	Santana, Roberto	????	La cuestión étnica y la democracia en Ecuador	Revista Mexicana de Sociología		
100	Santana, Roberto	1992	Les indiens d'Equateur, citoyens dans l'ethnicité?	Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris		
101	Santana, Roberto	1990	El protestantismo en las comunidades indígenas del Chimborazo	Abya Yala, Quito	Etnia, poder y diferencia en los andes septentrionales	Sánchez Parga, J. + Guerrero, Fernando + Haubert, Maxime + Santana, Roberto
102	Stavenhagen, Rodolfo	1994	Indigenous rights: some conceptual problems	IWGIA Amsterdam, Copenhagen	Document No. 76. Indigenous peoples' experiences with self-government	Assies, W.J. + Hoekema, A.J.
103	Stavenhagen, Rodolfo	1990	The Ethnic Question	United Nations University Press. Tokyo, NY, Paris		
104	Stavenhagen, Rodolfo	1969	Seven erroneous theses about Latin America	Random House, NY	Latin American Radicalism. A document report on left and nationalist movements	Horowitz, Irving Louis + de Castro, Josué + Gelassi, John
105	Veltmeyer, Henry + Petras, James	2000	The dynamics of social change in Latin America	McMillan Press Ltd. London UK; St.Martin's Press, Inc. NY, US		
106	Vera Herrera, Ramón	2001	Ecuador: la ruta de la debacle	mail communication forwarded article		

107	Vivanco, Jorge	2000	La cátedra del búho. Los indios esperan	ENSA, Guayaquil	Vistazo, Abril 19	
108	Wade, Peter	1997	Race and Ethnicity in Latin America	Pluto press, London	Critical studies in Latin America	CEDLA
109	Walsh, Catherine	2001	Qué conocimientos? Reflexiones sobre las políticas de conocimiento, el campo académico, y el movimiento indígena ecuatoriano	http://icci.nativeweb.org/boletin/25	RIMAY, Boletín ICCI, Año 3, No. 25, Abril	Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas
110	Wray, Natalia	1989	La constitución del movimiento étnico-nacional indio en Ecuador	América Indígena, vol XLIX, No. 1, enero-marzo		
111	Zamosc, León	1993	Protesta agraria y movimiento indígena en la sierra ecuatoriana	Cedime - Abya Yala Quito	Cismo étnico en el Ecuador: varias perspectivas	Centro de Investigación de los Movimientos Sociales del Ecuador
112	Zamosc, León	1989	Peasant struggles and agrarian reform: the Ecuadorian Sierra and the Colombian Atlantic Coast in perspective.	LA ISSUES No. 8		