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In The Name of Liberation: The Resiliency of the CONAIE and Its Ability to Maintain Its Autonomy

Department *of* International Studies

In The Name of Liberation: The Resiliency of the CONAIE and Its Ability to Maintain Its Autonomy

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I hereby recognize and pledge to fulfill my responsibilities as defined in the Honor Code and to maintain the integrity of both myself and the College community as a whole.

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Abstract

Within the past three decades, indigenous social movements have emerged with the purpose of fighting the elitist control bourgeois classes have displayed for hundreds of years. Amongst these social movements, the ascendance of one particular organization called the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE) has caught the attention of many scholars, theorists, critics, politicians, revolutionaries, and indigenous ethnic identities. Within this study it will evaluate the dynamics of social movements and political parties, as well as how these two groups form relationships between each other. Additionally, I will go on to analyze the early history of indigenous populations, liberation theology, CONAIE itself, and its connection to the Pachakutik political movement, while reflecting on how the impacts of the past can still be seen in the present indigenous fight for social justice. The primary objective of my research is to gain a comprehensive understanding of how a social organization, such as the CONAIE, can maintain its autonomy despite having political party affiliations. I conclude that the CONAIE has successfully been able to preserve its independence from political parties through the remembrance of historical traumas, preservation of ancestral ties, maintenance of its primary objectives, and previous success attained through its own efforts. In their fight against social injustice, the CONAIE still works towards creating a plurinational state and a united, heterogeneous society.

Introduction

In the typical high school history class, students are introduced to indigenous populations through books regarding the late fifteenth century, a time that precedes the oppression of these various ethnic identities. It can be said that, through many educational experiences people will only learn of the hardships indigenous communities have experienced in the past, however. This work aims to shed light on this matter. Within my research, my main objective is to place a focus on the agendas of indigenous social movements to implement social reform. In particular, this work will center its attention on the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE). The CONAIE is important to discuss as it is both a nationally recognized organization, and Ecuador's largest indigenous organization.

In the emergence of indigenous social movements, the CONAIE has proved to be a well-established, progressive organization. As it continues the long and arduous battle its indigenous ancestors fought against Spanish elites and other bourgeois groups, this organization lays down pavement for a new narrative for indigenous ethnic identities. When looking at a nationally recognized social movement such as the CONAIE, one can observe that some of its characteristics overlapped with the actions and behaviours of a political party, thus bringing me to ask the question: How do social movements with political party affiliations maintain their autonomy.

I aim to answer this question through addressing historical, cultural, social, political, and economic factors. This work will begin by defining social movements and political parties, and the relationships they share. Furthermore, it will analyze the historical contexts of the

marginalization of indigenous communities, as well as the relationship that develops between these groups and the Catholic Church. Additionally, my research will place a spotlight on the CONAIE, and its association with political parties as a social organization. Lastly, I will focus on new generation indigenous activists, and contemporary conflicts the indigenous social movement faces within the twenty-first century. This study will be concluded by answering my central question through a comprehensive analysis of the literary works that were applied to my research.

Within this research, I theorize that the CONAIE has maintained its autonomy through the remembrance of the historical afflictions indigenous communities have experienced, the importance of ancestral ties within these communities, its demand for Ecuador to become a "plurinational state", and the large amount of success and support it has gained since its emergence. Before continuing, it is of the utmost importance to note that this work does not intend to depict the indigenous movement, or indigenous populations, as fragile victims of oppression, but rather it aims to highlight the obstacles they have overcome and their triumphs, as they have become their own liberators. In its final product, my research aims to create a greater awareness not only of the injustice indigenous minorities face, but how they are working to disband the constant cycle of corruption and subjugation of marginalized groups within Latin America.

Chapter I: Social Movements and Political Parties

Before looking at the CONAIE and the relationships it has formed within civil society and the political environment, five questions must be answered. What are social movements? What are political parties? In what ways are these actors characterized, and what differentiates them? As previous research has denoted, there exists an interconnectedness between social movements and political parties. Therefore leading to the question of, what type of relationship is shared between the two? Does only one type of established relationship exist between social movements and political parties? Within this chapter, I aim to answer these questions and provide an in-depth explanation on the complex structures behind these two groups.

The objective of this chapter will be to define social movements and political parties, as well as analyze the role they play within the political system. When discussing the political system, this is in reference to the established system of organizations (political parties, interest groups, social movements) that take the responsibility of consolidating present social interests, as well as declaring themselves as representatives of these various interests. To concisely explain the institutional models of social movements and political parties, this chapter will review previous literary works. It is through this literature review that I hope readers will be able to gain an extensive comprehension of these actors, along with their origins, the connections they form amongst each other, and how collective action acts as a fuelant for social justice.

Social Movements

1.1 Defining

Social movements have been present within various societies for many decades. These organizations have created a prominent presence within civil society, paving a way for individuals to come together as a collective and fight for their interests. David Samuels provides within his book, *Comparative Politics*, an extensive definition on both social movements and political parties. In its broadest understanding, social movements are defined as a group of organized individuals that assemble to coordinate and uphold collective efforts that aim to represent the interests of its members. Samuels (2017) explains how these groups "exist to challenge the power of government authorities", in addition to other groups in civil society.

Within chapter nine of his book, David Samuels provides more context behind the discussion of social movements, in which he characterizes them as fluid organizations. When using the term fluidity, Samuels refers to the flexibility of social movements. The ability they have to redefine themselves, in respect to their own goals and interests, and the way they mobilize. For example, Samuels states, "Such groups [social movements] address broad or narrow issues, vary from liberal to to conservative, and mobilize at the local, national, or even at the transnational level" (Samuels, 2017, p.235).

1.2 The Roots

To elucidate more on the matter of social movements, I have to place emphasis on the significance of their roots. When looking at previous literature there appears to be a constant

debate on what factors act as sustenance for these organizations. Were these influences cultural, political, or something else? In the book *The New Politics of Protest: Indigenous Mobilization in Latin America's Neoliberal Era*, Roberta Rice dives deep beyond the basic understanding of social movements and acts of social protest. Rice applies an analytical approach to creating an extensive examination of these actors. She evaluates "the origins, dynamics, and implications of social protest" throughout her book (Rice, 2012). In chapter two of *The New Politics of Protest*, Rice reviews competing theories that attempt to explain the reasons as to why individuals and organized groups come together to partake in social protest.

Roberta Rice points out a wide range of theories, in which each explanation varies from topics of economics, institutions of civil society, politics, and psychology. To begin, Rice (2012) starts off with explaining the classical model, also known as the sociopyschological approach. This model is constituted by classical theorists' beliefs of social protest movements occurring as a result of "societal strain or breakdown" (Rice, 2012). Rice states, "From this perspective, social movements consist of discontented individuals who group together to satisfy psychological needs rather than political demands" (Rice, 2012, p. 21). Some classical theorists believe that extreme collective action emerges when there is a large presence of relative deprivation amongst individuals. Relative deprivation signifies the inconsistency between actors' expectations of allotments they feel entitled to, and the ability they have to obtain these entitlements. The sociopsychological approach theorists have taken to has fallen short due to its ignorance of the political context behind social movements.

In contrast to the classical model, Rice places her next focus on the resource mobilization model. This approach centers its focus on potential support systems provided to social

movements, in addition to the capacity of resources available to them. It is believed, within this perspective, that the resources social movements received are acquired through alliances formed with institutional agents, "such as churches, labor unions, and professional associations" (Rice, 2012). Rice expounds the resource mobilization model, describing it as an approach that views "assistance from external groups (churches, labor unions, etc.)" as substantial to the development of social movements (Rice, 2012). It is this very assumption that contributes to the downfall of the resource mobilization model. By placing external groups as the root cause of the success of social movements, this implies that these informal groups lack the ability to sustain themselves.

Opposing older explanations of the emergence of social protest and collective action, the new social movement model (NSM) incorporates a sense of modernity when looking at the development of these actors. Rice states, "...NSMs are distinguished by their emphasis on identity or cultural issues, such as gender, ethnicity, the environment, or peace" (Rice, 2012, p. 25). In comparison to this contemporary theory, new social movements view older, traditional movements as groups that were built off of distinct classes that focus on more materialistic demands, such as better salaries. This contemporary outlook defies the argument of the resource mobilization model, placing the triumph of social movements within the bounds of their own self power. Rice discusses how NSM scholars view the maintenance of autonomy from the state and political institutions as imperative to the effectiveness of social movements. This is due to the ideology that the state, and its own institutions, are corrupt and obstructive to the structures of political movements.

Amidst the extensive content Roberta Rice talks about in her book, she examines the political process model. This theoretical approach centers its attention on the opportunities,

produced by the political system, that provide spaces for collective action. Rice characterizes these political opportunities as including, “the presence or absence of institutionalized channels of representation, the cohesion or fractiousness of elite groups, the availability of potential allies, and state repression or tolerance of dissent” (Rice, 2012, p. 24). Implicit in the political process model, is the view that the efficiency of social movements depends on both internal and external factors.

To further elaborate, internal and external factors are in reference to the conditions of the political system, along with the state of the developing social movement as well. When analyzing these factors, it is important to focus on a movement's will of insurgency (internal), the resources they may receive (external), and the political opportunities that are made available to them (external). It is through this combination of variables that a social movement is able to form and persist. Despite its application of both internal and external factors to the foundation of social movements, Rice (2012) notes that there has been hesitancy in applying this particular model to Latin American movements, due to its framework being “too heavily based on European assumptions about state-society relations”.

In reflection of the resource mobilization model and the political process model, Salvador Martí i Puig (2010), José Antonio Lucero (2008), and Enrique Laraña (2009) each apply the dynamics of these very models within their own literature. “The Emergence of Indigenous Movements in Latin America” by Salvador Martí i Puig provides insight on the effects changes in governance has on the formation of political actors. In this context, Martí i Puig states, “‘governance’ reflects a new style of government characterized by interaction between the state and nonstate actors” (Martí i Puig, 2010, p. 76). Additionally, within his written work Salvador

Martí i Puig incorporates the resource mobilization and the political process perspectives when explaining the developing connection between political representation and social movements.

In connection to Rice's discussion on these theoretical approaches, Martí i Puig identifies political actors that emerged within the indigenous world, acting as resource providers, political opportunities and/or doorways to other potential political opportunities (e.g. access to a larger scale of representation). The author further discusses how these political actors come from above (e.g. humanitarian aid NGOs), below (e.g. the Catholic Church), and outside (e.g. anthropologists) (Martí i Puig, 2010). Martí i Puig (2010) explains that these actors form from a displacement of power that goes upward (to international organizations, transnational networks), downward (to local governments, departments, regions) and outward (to communities, nonprofit organizations). Although it is not explained what constitutes these organizations as upward, downward, or outward, it can be assumed that these groups are classified under these terms based on their range of power. From the aid of these actors, received by indigenous movements, an international regime was created, in which these networks gave indigenous peoples the "five Cs: cash, courage, contacts, consciousness, and campaigns" (Martí i Puig, 2010).

When looking at the relationship between social movements and political representation, José Antonio Lucero's *The Struggles of Voice* acts as valuable literature, as this book focuses on indigenous representation within the Andes. Lucero (2008) looks at the dynamics of political representation. He describes it as being comprised of cultural and institutional dimensions, in which he states:

> "Putting it simply, political representation has two dimensions that I will call cultural and institutional. The cultural side of political representation calls our attention to the processes by which certain political subjects are constructed both internally and relationally and therefore become visible and representable. Certain social descriptions and categories—like Indian, black, woman, Republican—are forged in dynamic ways that map certain political spaces in historically

> and culturally specific ways. The institutional dimension of political representation involves the routinized processes through which certain constructions, out of the many possible ones, are selected and linked with larger political communities" (Lucero, 2008, p. 18).

There exists a cycle, in which the absence of representation acts as a political opportunity, like Rice has mentioned before. This opportunity propels political subjects who share the same cultural identity to come together as a collective, and invoke action. It is through the internal strengthening of these cultural bodies that institutions are able to act as external allies and bring forth political change. The synergy between internal and external factors thus returns back to looking at political representation as a whole. Whilst examining the change brought forth by cohesion, it can be said that the contribution of various actors, not solely one, produces the change political subjects aim to achieve. Therefore, this statement relates back to Rice's (2012) previous discussion of the belief, within the political process model, that there exists internal and external factors that affect the development and success of social movements.

In correspondence to José Antonio Lucero, in chapter two of his work, *New Social Movements*, Enrique Laraña looks at social movements from a cultural perspective. To add onto Lucero's perspective, Enrique Laraña looks deeper into the types of opportunities political subjects receive, in which he goes beyond looking at political opportunities. He places attention on the cultural opportunities social movements experience, thus this connects back to the "cultural dimension" José Lucero mentioned previously when talking about the dynamics of political representation. Laraña (1994) identifies "ideological or cultural contradictions, suddenly imposed grievances, dramatizations of system vulnerability, and the availability of master frames" as major cultural processes that present themselves as opportunities to the political

atmosphere. To look at the cultural aspect of the opportunities that play a part in the development of social movements highlights how culture and politics can affect each other.

Political Parties

1.3 Defining

In comparison to social movements and the flexibility they have within the political environment, the same cannot be said for political parties. As its name implies, political parties are groups of people that assemble, aiming to "attain and hold political power" (Samuels, 2017). In reference to David Samuels, he identifies these parties as organized groups that place attention on present collective action problems. Samuels highlights how the power of voting plays a crucial role in the political power a party attains. He later states, "In their pursuit of political power, parties recruit and socialize potential leaders, nominate candidates, mobilize the electorate, represent different social groups, aggregate political interests, structure political issues under consideration, and form and sustain governments" (Samuels, 2017, p. 246). It is through these methods David Samuels mentions that political parties are able to entice targeted audiences to vote in favor of them. When looking at the statement provided above, it is important to hold onto the notion that political parties "represent different social groups", as this will be discussed later on in this chapter.

Within her work, "Gobernabilidad y movimientos sociales, una relación difícil", Marisa Revilla Blanco discusses the idea of governability and its relation to democracy, as well as the concept of representation. Blanco explains that a government's democracy is tied to political parties, in which a government's ability to govern a state is based both on the amount of

representation that is provided by public institutions the government controls, along with how it is able to represent various interests within politics. In other words, the presence of governability within a democracy is seen through the representation that is exhibited within the state. Through her article, Blanco calls attention to the grand significance political parties hold in regards to the level of representation that is provided by governments. Blanco states:

> "...los partidos políticos se constituyen en el nivel de actuación entre Estado y sociedad civil. Los partidos representan diferentes intereses sectoriales en un programa de gobierno (a través de su combinación en la definición de un cierto 'interés general') e integran diferentes identidades colectivas" [...political parties are constituted at the level of action between the State and civil society. The parties represent different sectoral interests in a government program (through its combination in the definition of a certain 'general interest') and integrate different collective identities] (Blanco, 1994, p. 23).

When looking at these organized groups, political parties aid in providing a wider scale of representation for social groups. However, it is important to note that the influence of political parties can differ depending on its region.

For example, Donna Lee Van Cott states, "Latin American party systems tend to be less institutionalized, to have more shallow roots in society, and weaker, less formal party organizations. Latin American party systems are more characterized by associations based on personal connections, corruption, and clientelism, which facilitate their monopoly over state power" (Van Cott, 2005, p. 11). Van Cott's, *From Movements to Parties in Latin America*, gives a detailed analysis of the successes and challenges of indigenous people's movements throughout Latin America, turning into political parties. It is through Donna Lee Van Cott's work that she brings this work back to answering the question of, what type of relationship is shared between social movements and political parties?

1.4 A Dynamic Relationship

In attempting to gain a better conception of the relationship between social movements and political parties, J Craig Jenkins is able to provide a framework for answering this question. He centers a spotlight on the state, going on to explain how the state plays an intrinsic role in the existence of social movements. Jenkins (1995) explains how social movements are "inherently political". In this case he goes on to state, "social movements are based on demands for social change. Because the state constitutes the legitimate monopoly over the means of violence, it is central to the adjudication of conflicting claims" (Jenkins, 1995, p. 16).

To further explain, Jenkins implies that the state is capable of influencing the political environments social movements function in. In the midst of his written work, J Craig Jenkins characterizes both social movements and political parties allowing readers to gain insight on the dynamics of the relationship shared between these two groups. Jenkins states, "….social movements often generate the issues and ideas that political parties adopt and eventually introduce into public policy….Social movements attempt to *make* a new historic actor while parties attempt to *rule* in the name of an already constituted actor" (Jenkins, 1995, p. 6&21). This connects back to David Samuels' statement that political parties represent social groups. Furthermore, these two groups are capable of forming a mutualistic relationship, in which social movements benefit from gaining political representation while political parties gain an increase in votes.

Although J Craig Jenkins is able to distinguish a potential, beneficial relationship between social movements and political parties, Ma. Fernanda Somuano Ventura sheds light on the various relationships that exist between these two actors. Fernanda Ventura identifies five

types of “practical relationships” that can form between social movements and political parties, in which this includes: articulation, permeability, alliance, independence, and transformation (Ventura, 2007, p.41). Ventura (2007) goes on to define each of the five describing relationships based on articulation and permeability as “limitando seriamente la autonomía del movimiento” [seriously limiting the autonomy of the movement], meanwhile relationships built off of independence and transformation are “less restrictive”.

Within this article, Fernanda Ventura describes connections of articulation as a joint relationship where social movements mobilize around the program of political parties, providing potential supporters, in exchange for both institutional support and certain powers within the party. In comparison, permeability refers to the infiltration of political parties. Ventura (2007) explains that social movements infiltrate political parties to guide them in the direction of their interests, attempting to find common objectives parties would seek to promote as well. The author describes an alliance as a case where, “social movements can negotiate alliances ad hoc with parties or party factions that involve close collaboration on specific affairs, in which both the party and the organization retain their own separate structure and general freedom of action” [English translation] (Ventura, 2007, p. 43). Unlike an alliance, an independent relationship consists of social movements acting autonomously from parties, in which they pressure these political actors “to make concessions” (Ventura, 2007). If these “concessions” are not made, then this could result in a decrease of votes and lack of support of the political parties. Lastly, transformation occurs when a social movement becomes a political party.

Conclusion

One would like to conclude that despite the similarities, social movements and political parties are not the same. Social movements act as organizations that aim for social reform and political change, however. They do not desire political power, as their counterparts do. When looking back at the various theories Roberta Rice discussed, it can be said that there is not one sole factor that influences the formation of social movements. These groups form out of the psychological and emotional needs of the masses, political and social repression, as well as cultural issues. In spite of the differences between these two actors, movements and parties manage to maintain relationships that can enable or disable each other. Regardless of the relationship formed between the two, it is important to emphasize that the influences of either groups can be based on the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the masses. Diversity plays a major role in the amount of collective identities that will come to develop within populations, as well as the urgency for social and political representation.

Chapter II: Indigenous Social Movements and The Rise to Political Change

With an extensive comprehension of social movements and political parties, this chapter aims to transition from discussing generalized topics to one that is clear-cut. Specifically, this chapter will look at the Confederación de Nacionalidad Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE). In respect to the CONAIE, I will be addressing: Spanish colonization and the rise of indigenous social movements, the evolved relationship between indigenous populations and the Catholic church, the ironic relationship formed between Church clergy and Marxist ideas, the history of this distinct organization, and the ties it maintains within Ecuador's political terrain. While reading this chapter, the set objective is to be able to fully understand where the CONAIE stands in the indigenous movement, how it has successfully mobilized and retained its prominence, and how it continues to work towards transforming Ecuador into a plurinational state centered around an equal, multi-ethnic society.

Indigenous Social Movements

2.1 Early History

Like a ball of yarn, and many things in life, it is of paramount importance to get down to the root, the starting point of indigenous social movements, to both untangle the extensive history behind these organizations and to truly understand their emergence. Despite these movements being quite young, indigenous communities of Latin America have faced social, cultural, and political injustices for hundreds of years. Looking back into time, a life filled with tyranny and unjustness begins with the arrival of Christopher Columbus in the Americas during

1492. It is through the end of the 15th century and early to middle 16th century that Spanish settlers make their way throughout the Indies and the Andes region imposing a life of subjugation amongst indigenous populations.

Drawing from his book, *The Course of Andean History*, Peter V. N. Henderson refers to the ambitions of the Spanish conquistadors as "the Three G's: Gold, God, and Glory", further describing the settlers to be filled with "missionary zeal" (Henderson, 2013, p. 47). Henderson (2013) explains that this "missionary zeal" comes from religious conflict that occurred between Spain and the Moors for hundreds of years. This conflict is important to note as it acted as a propellant for the Spanish, driving them forward into future conquests with attitudes of religious domination. Religious jurisdiction could be seen in the laws that were enforced in Spanish settlements. For example, John Frederick Schwaller mentions within his work "the ius predicando", in which this law of preaching acts as a base foundation for the religious motives of Spain (Schwaller, 2011). Schwaller states, "....*ius predicando*, the law of preaching: that a nation could establish hegemony over a non-Christian power for the purpose of spreading the Gospel, based upon principles of natural law. Heathens, pagans, and heretics could be subjected to foreign rule, specifically for Christianization" (Schwaller, 2011, p. 41). Through this concealed ploy for control, indigenous communities lost their ties to their own religious beliefs thus stripping them of their original religious identities.

In apprehension of riches and land, Spanish settlers required labor. Being the only population to inhabit Latin America, indigenous people became the vital source of labor for conquistadors. Encomiendas exemplify the labor native populations provided the settlers. Schwaller (2011) defines encomiendas as indigenous communities that were allotted to settlers,

encomenderos, as labor forces. After facing the threat of death from European illnesses, by which they had no immunity to, hard labor, Christianization and religious conversion, indigenous communities struggled against the erasure of their cultural identity as well.

In chapter two of *Highland Indians and the State in Modern Ecuador*, Aleezé Sattar analyzes the attempts of Venezuelan militia leader, Simón Bolívar, to view indigenous peoples as "citizens", while removing the "separate 'Indian' identity". Sattar states, "The eventual status assigned to Indians was that of the corporate collective….All Indians belonged to this separate 'Indian republic,' in opposition to the 'Spanish republic,' each governed and administered by a distinct set of laws and regulations" (Sattar, 2007, p. 23). This attempt of "inclusion" acted as a threat towards indigenous ethnic identities. By placing indigenous populations under the generalized label of "citizen" and erasing the "Indian" identity it would have expunged what remained of the indigenous identity. Ironically, the word "Indian" itself has damaged the cultural identities of indigenous communities, as it has grouped a variety of indigenous ethnoidentities into one. However, the removal of the "Indian" label would work towards creating a homogenous population rather than allowing space for diverse groups to flourish.

2.2 Liberation Theology

Ethnocentrism and persistency; attitudes that provided a foundation for sociocultural and religious ignorance that were exhibited during the Spanish conquest. Due to Spain's long history and strong devotion to the Christian religion, the Catholic Church retained a large presence in indigenous communities. However, in spite of their history of religious oppression and elitist control, the Catholic Church has proven to become an ally of indigenous communities rather

than an enemy. During the mid-to-late twentieth century, Latin Americans saw the Catholic Church forego a change in pastoral ministry. Gilbert Bouhairie explains in his work, "Indigenization and Liberation", how the Cuban revolution and the death of Che Guevara during the 60s acted as "tipping points" in Latin American history, thus giving rise to revolutionary movements and socioeconomic theories (Bouhairie, 2014). Bouhairie also states:

> Latin Americans suffered from both external and internal domination….They did not have external autonomy because of their dependence on outside centers of power and economic influence and, in turn, they were controlled internally by dominating groups from the region, who for the most part had also been westernized and replaced the former European colonizers. The two worked together as defenders of an unjust and exploitative capitalism that only benefited the lesser-populated higher classes (Bouhairie, 2014, p. 24).

It was during this time of neocolonialism that Latin Americans became aware of the systematic oppression that was being enforced on them, further leading to the emergence of the "revolutionary movements" Bouhairie mentioned before. With an increase in the collective consciousness, modernization became a weapon used by the people to combat neocolonialism. This forced the Catholic Church to evolve around the concept of modernity, giving rise to the emergence of liberation theology.

Based on the works provided by various scholars, liberation theology can be defined as a movement, that originated within the Catholic Church, in which it places its focus on liberating the impoverished from socioeconomic oppression (Bouhairie, 2014; Kater, 2001; Löwy, 1996). Michael Löwy explains that the Catholic Church provided support to oppressed populations based off of "razones espirituales y morales" [spiritual reasons and morals] that come from the Christian faith and Catholic tradition (Löwy, 1996). Within his work, Löwy further goes on to state, "la teología de liberación no es un discurso social o político sino, sobre todo, una reflexión

religiosa y espiritual" [liberation theology is not a social or political discourse but, above all, a religious and spiritual reflection] (Löwy, 1996, p. 49). This statement is important to analyze as, in the past years, there has been an ongoing discussion on liberation theology being greatly influenced by Marxist ideologies.

Turning to Michael Löwy's and Claudia Pompan's, "Marxism and Christianity in Latin America", they emphasize the peculiar convergence that occurred between Christian liberation theology and Marxism. Marxism consists of a set of ideologies, "scientific instruments", that focus on socioeconomic oppression and the exploitation of workers (Löwy & Pompan, 1993). While these ideas oppose capitalism, they promote both communism and socialism. It is contradictory to state that liberation theology is simply religious and spiritual reflection, lacking ties to social and political discourse, when it uses ideologies that are rooted in the social sciences and analytical of social and economic subjugation. This further poses the question, how liberation theologists were able to base a spiritual salvation movement on ideologies that were void of concepts dealing with religion or spirituality? To answer this, Löwy and Pompan state, "Liberation theologians saw Marxism as the only theory capable of offering a precise, systematic analysis of the causes of poverty as well as a specific and radical proposal for abolishing it" (Löwy & Pompan, 1993, p. 36).

Although liberation theologians used Marxist ideas as a base foundation for liberation theology itself, Marxism proved to hinder this freedom movement. In his written work, "Whatever Happened to Liberation Theology?", John L. Kater clarifies that the socioeconomic approach Marxism provides fails to look at cultural discrimination, specifically indigenous peoples and people of afrodescent. He states, "....the basic ethical-theological stance which

engaged in the reality of poverty and exclusion continues to motivate both reflection and action. Mindful of the awareness that poverty stretches beyond economic deprivation to include 'non-persons', 'the left-over population', 'the excluded,'...." (Kater, 2001, p. 748). It is through the abandonment of Marxism, and the exposure to diverse minorities (e.g. indigenous peoples and Afro-latinos) that the Catholic Church was able to gain a more extensive perspective on the exploitation of oppressed groups. Furthermore, allowing the Church to develop their methods of support and aid for indigenous communities and social movements.

CONAIE

2.3 Birth and Beginning

Through the service provided by the churches, as well as other organizational networks such as the state, unions, and nongovernmental organizations, they were able to allow "the forging of translocal indigenous identities and movements" (Yashar, 1998). Political opportunities such as the lack of limitations on public expression and assembly, along with the aid of governmental and nongovernmental institutions mentioned previously, created a space for ethnic mobilization around the indigenous identity. In looking at the development of these social movements, the country of Ecuador holds great significance, as it acts as a homebase for many indigenous social movements, specifically, the Confederación de las Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador—CONAIE).

The birth of the CONAIE began in 1986, when the Confederación de Pueblos de la Nacionalidad Kichwa (Confederation of Peoples of Kichwa Nationality—ECUARUNARI) and the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Amazonia (Confederation of Indigenous

Nationalities of the Amazon—CONFENIAE) united as one (Jameson, 2011; Yashar, 1998). The fusion of these two organizations acted as a visual representation of their interests in plurinationalism, as ECUARUNARI consists of indigenous ethnicities within the Andes highlands, while CONFENIAE is made up of indigenous populations that inhabit the Andes lowlands (i.e. the Amazon). These two organizations were able to unite as one, exemplifying the coexistence of a variety of national identities as one, thus forming the beginning of an actor that would later function on the forefront of the fight for indigenous rights, as well as social uprisings.

Although its demands have changed throughout the years, the CONAIE has consistently advocated for a plurinational state. A plurinational state involves cultural diversity within a country, and governmental inclusion amongst various ethnic minorities. Kenneth Jameson explains within his work, "The Indigenous Movement in Ecuador", that amongst this demand of plurinationality, the CONAIE promoted the consideration of indigenous nationalities as "'political economic entities with differentiated cultural histories' and with 'a right to their territory and autonomous internal political administration'" (Jameson, 2011, p. 67). In addition to interests in a plurinational state, the *Proyecto Político de la CONAIE, 1994*, highlights the organization's focus on topics including: economic improvements, agrarian reform, industrial developments, self-managed commerce, artisanal development, tourism, transportation, infrastructure and communications, the privatization of electricity and water, cultural development, and education (CONAIE, 1994).

In reference to Roberta Rice's discussion on the political process model, the national recognition of the CONAIE has arisen from a variety of factors, both internal and external. José

Antonio Lucero states, “Throughout the 1990s, CONAIE in Ecuador and CIDOB in Bolivia had the most success politically, due in part to their abilities to combine ethnic (and not class) discourses with tactics that stressed contestation and negotiation” (Lucero, 2006, p. 38-9). It is through their constant civil and political activity (i.e. strong will of insurgency), substantial provision of resources and support from external allies, and other political opportunities, such as “the simultaneous failure of democratic regimes to uphold liberal conceptions” Deborah Yashar discusses within her work, “Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America”, that the CONAIE was able to mobilize successfully. Due to the success they have experienced throughout the 90s, the CONAIE has been instrumental in the progression of the indigenous fight for social and political equality. Jameson (2011) places emphasis on memorable accomplishments the CONAIE has experienced since its emergence. For example, Jameson (2011) explains how the CONAIE has managed to oust two Ecuadorian presidents, Abdalá Bucaram and Jamil Mahaud, in 1997 and 2000.

Despite its accomplishments, the CONAIE faced the criticism of other indigenous organizations. The Federación de Indígenas Evangélicos del Ecuador (Ecuadorian Evangelical Indigenous Federation—FEINE) heavily criticized the CONAIE, viewing the organization as “unruly”, while questioning the intentions of the CONAIE and its ability to represent indigenous identities. José Lucero quotes the former president of the FEINE, in which he states, “‘Our ancestors were very disciplined, ordered. CONAIE is going in the other direction….They are instructors of yelling. Our organization is peaceful, it respects the government’” (Lucero, 2006, p. 36). The FEINE held distrust in regards to the CONAIE, perceiving its members to be seeking hegemony rather than consensus. For example, Lucero discusses how the CONAIE’s promotion

of transitioning the indigenous movement from a movement of "representation by organization" to "representation by 'nationality and pueblo'" had caused critics to argue that "this new language of representation" was a tool being used by the CONAIE "to marginalize other organizations like FEINE" (Lucero, 2006, p. 42-3). In spite of the disapproval of other indigenous organizations, the success of the CONAIE did not go unnoticed. Furthermore, this led to these very organizations adopting some of the methods and terms provided within the projects of the CONAIE.

2.4 Pachakutik

The history between indigenous movements and politics has tended to be filled with distrust, corruption, and bourgeois class influences. Amidst the numerous interactions that have occurred between these two actors, most cases result in these elitist groups marginalizing minority groups for their own personal gain. As a movement fighting for the equal rights of indigenous ethnic identities, as well as the cultural, economic, social, and political interests of indigenous nationalities, the CONAIE purposefully distanced themselves from political stages. Empty promises provided by previous democratic regimes pushed the CONAIE to view its own potential political participation as a disservice and an act of disloyalty towards indigenous populations. The organization perceived political parties to be ignorant of indigenous concerns. Furthermore, the CONAIE avoided participating in political elections to protect their own reputation as well. In chapter three of *Pachakutik: Indigenous Movements and Electoral Politics in Ecuador*, Marc Becker states, "CONAIE further fostered an autonomous image by banning

partisan political propaganda and keeping political parties at arm's length in order to undercut accusations that outside agitators had organized their events" (Becker, 2011, p.44).

The political environment in Ecuador was dominated by four central political parties. Scott Beck and Kenneth Mijeski discuss within their written work, "Barricades and Ballots: Ecuador's Indians and the Pachakutik Political Movement", that Ecuador's multi-party system consists of "two Quito-based parties, Democracia Popular (DP) and Izquierda Democrática (ID), and two Guayaquil-based parties, Partido Social Cristiano (PSC) and Partido Roldocista Ecuatoriano (PRE)" (Beck & Mijeski, 2001, p. 3). These four dominant political parties provided a fractured, unstable political environment, thus creating open opportunities for arising movements. Due to the lack of social, economic, and political progression parties under the influence of bourgeoisie classes produced, indigenous movements entered the political game as a collective in search of developing a "new and different type of politics".

In 1995, the CONAIE worked with "left-wing unions of state-owned companies" and other rural and urban organizations as well to create the Movimiento Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik (Pachakutik Plurinational United Movement—MUPP) (Becker, 2011). Becker (2011) contends Pachakutik labeled itself as a "political movement" that places its focus on principles of "community, solidarity, unity, tolerance, and respect". Initially, the purpose of this movement was to create a heterogeneous presence within the political terrain, while working to address the concerns and interests of indigenous and non-indigenous populations. However, it is important to note that its connections with left-wing unions will prove to hinder the movement during its political journey. Becker discusses within his book that CONAIE leader, Luis Maldonado, denounced leftist parties for acting like the political right. This is significant as Marc Becker

states, “Indigenous movements ‘could not support the right, because they are the ones who….have exploited the popular sectors, and in particular the Indigenous population’” (Becker, 2011, p. 49).

Despite vocalized concerns of Pachakutik’s ties with the political left, the political movement was successful on local and national levels during the 1996 elections. Beck & Mijeski (2001) and Becker (2011) record that Pachakutik successfully “elected eight deputies”, which included six Indigenous people as well as two Indigenous mayors, into Congress. Beck states, “Although the eight deputies constituted only 10% of the total seats, this new political movement was, nonetheless, the fourth largest bloc in the Congress” (Beck, 2001, p. 5). In addition to the 1996 electoral contest, Pachakutik held a large influence in a 1998 constituent assembly that consisted of constitutional discussions. At the end of this assembly a new constitution was implemented in August 1998, declaring “benefits for the Indigenous movement”, announcing an end to “their [Indigenous peoples] political invisibility”, and highlighting “the need for direct representation in the state” (Becker, 2011, p. 58).

This very constitution visually represented the marginalization ethnic minorities experienced, and continue to experience, as Becker (2011) reveals that ten years after the promulgation of the 1998 constitution hardly any of those constitutional decrees became policy. This constitution became a wasted opportunity for indigenous social movements, and through this it can be said that the power of politics lies within the grasp of elitist classes. The bourgeois influences that still exist within the political scene of Ecuador merely reiterates the cycle of corruption and oppression that is continuously passed down throughout time. Such elitist tactics can be seen through past political figures such as: former Ecuadorian presidents (e.g. Abdalá

Bucaram (1996-1997), Jamil Mahuad (1998-2000), Lucio Gutiérrez (2003-2005)), and previous presidential candidates (e.g. Freddy Ehlers). Each of these figures have exhibited populism within their political careers. As Marc Becker states, "....populist politicians….bypass existing institutions to appeal directly to the people for support for their political projects…." (Becker, 2011, p. 55). Just as previous politicians have done, these former presidents, and presidential candidates, have made false promises to indigenous populations in order to achieve their own personal goals of attaining political power.

As a result of Pachakutik and CONAIE having to endure connections with these political figures, the Pachakutik political movement came to face challenges upon 1998 elections. For example, candidates supported by, or part of, Pachakutik won a total of eight seats in Congress. These eight seats "represent slightly more than six percent of the 121 congressional seats" (Beck & Mijeski, 2001, p. 7). Beck and Mijeski (2001) later go on to theorize that the large presence of personalismo and pre-established political parties, regional and/or ethnic cleavages, and ideological and tactical cleavages explain the decline in Pachakutik's electoral results. Firstly, personalismo refers to praise and admiration of a sole leader, thus resulting in the subordination of political party interests. Abdalá Bucaram's presidency exemplifies personalismo as his personality greatly affects the amount of support his party, PRE, candidates receive, rather than his own political motives. Beck and Mijeski state:

> "All [the four dominant parties in Ecuador: PRE, PSC, DP, and ID] have wealthy supporters, strong organizational structures and extensive client connections at the local level. In that respect, these parties represent some degree of elite fragmentation…." (Beck & Mijeski, 2001, p. 7).

Secondly, the heterogeneous population that makes up the CONAIE proves to challenge its ability of mobilization within the political arena. Beck and Mijeski (2001) explain that the "different histories" and "contemporary differences" between various indigenous communities creates cleavages in respect to "ideologies and political strategies". Lastly, the time period between the 1996 and 1998 elections involved an increase in political conflicts and disagreements between the CONAIE and Pachakutik, and within Pachakutik itself.

It is important to mention the Gutiérrez-CONAIE/Pachakutik coalition, as it not only shows the independence both organizations demonstrate within a movement they coexist in together, but it reflects back on Fernanda Ventura's discussion on the various types of relationships that exist between social movements and political parties. Jameson (2011) explains when Lucio Gutiérrez disregarded the CONAIE's project to place the indigenous movement in "economic policy implementation" this caused an outrage. The March 2003 stand-by-agreement Gutiérrez made with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) symbolized the abandonment of "his campaign platform" with CONAIE and Pachakutik (Jameson, 2011).

As a result, Pachakutik announced political independence from the coalition, while CONAIE approached Gutiérrez with a list of changes that would have needed to be made in order for him to continue receiving support from the indigenous movement. This coalition connects back to two specific types of relationships Ventura discussed in her work; relationships formed through alliance, and relationships of independence. The Gutiérrez-CONAIE/Pachakutik coalition began as an alliance, in which each actor benefits from the alliance in exchange for support or representation. In this case, the CONAIE and Pachakutik expected Gutiérrez to act as a representative for the indigenous, and non-indigenous, oppressed groups, in exchange for this

representation, Gutiérrez gained support from this major social organization and political movement. However, due to his betrayal, the alliance between Gutiérrez and Pachakutik dissolved, while the ties he had with the CONAIE transitioned to an independent relationship. To further explain, the CONAIE pressured Gutiérrez to "make concessions" in order to maintain the support he was receiving from their organization.

It is through this analysis of the relationships the CONAIE shares with Pachakutik, and other political representatives, that it is important to note that social, political, and economic development, as well as progression to equality, is possible only through those who are free of corruption. In the article, "La descolonización en tiempos del Pachakutik", Graciela Irureta states,

> "Only those who assume self-pachakutik [the word *Pachakutik* symbolizes change and transformation] or change at the individual level and in their own family, will transform their energy-matter to become, in themselves, a non-ethnocentric or anthropocentric paradigm for other human beings, in their own or in societies and cultures" [English translation] (Irureta, 2010, p. 17).

It is those who are able to think in terms of ethnic cohesion, rather than ethnocentrism, and are able to maintain full transparency that can truly aid and support indigenous ethnic minorities in their fight for equality and progression as a collective.

The Now: Present Day Evolutions

2.5 New Generation Indigenous Activists

When looking at the social, cultural, and political history of indigenous populations and contemporary indigenous social movements, there exists a parallelism between the two. For example, this can be seen in Barry Lyons' "Religion, Authority, and Identity". Lyons (2001)

contends that the concept of respect between indigenous youth and the elders is changing. In examination of Andean haciendas (lands, typically owned by elite individuals, that binded indigenous workers through debt) Lyons (2001) explains that indigenous residents were subjugated to follow the "standards of proper behavior: the need for spouses to live together harmoniously, for young people to respect their elders, for hacienda residents to greet each other and especially elders with respect, for all to comport themselves amicably" (Lyons, 2001, p. 13). Although these teachings were passed down through the years, the consistent modernization indigenous youth underwent had changed the dynamics of the relationships shared between them and their elders.

Community elders feel like the abandonment of traditional clothing, along with the adoption of urban, Westernized cultures, represented a loss of respect the indigenous youth had for their own cultural identities. Lyons further discusses that in times of modernity, the indigenous youth have to maintain a balance between their traditional indigenous identities and the Western culture they see in their everyday lives. Within his work, Lyons aims to "extend the argument concerning respect for elders widely to customs and beliefs defined as constituting an indigenous cultural inheritance, yet without endorsing wholesale a frozen vision of their culture exactly as practiced by their own parents or grandparents—and while arguing for changes" (Lyons, 2001, p. 21). Despite the constant modernization Latin American societies experience, indigenous youth follow in the footsteps of their ancestors and continue the indigenous movement.

In his article, "The Children of 1990", Marc Becker examines the interests of the younger generation of indigenous activists. Becker states, "The new, younger generation called

themselves the ‘children of 1990’ because they were attempting to follow through on the demands that had led their parents to take to the streets in protest two decades earlier” (Becker, 2010, p. 292). Like previous activists, indigenous youth continue the struggle for a plurinational state against elitist politicians that attempt to preserve the ongoing cycle of corruption and abuse of political power. Becker (2010) discusses new generation indigenous activist’s fight against former Ecuadorian president, Rafael Correa (2007-2017). Although acting as a representative of leftists parties, Correa wanted to implement an economic development model based off of the exploitation of natural resources, and because of this he was determined to terminate the indigenous movement.

For almost two decades, new generations of indigenous youth, along with well-versed activists, have worked to address their concerns of “water and food sovereignty”, fight against political corruption and abuse of power, as well as attend summits that confront modern issues and injustices that are occurring. In addition, Becker reports that the CONAIE organized its own Plurinational Assembly in Ecuador, in which they addressed “climate change, the fight against racism and discrimination, the rights of nature, and cultural diversity” (Becker, 2010, p. 310). Additionally, the indigenous organization held a youth gathering in 2016 to commemorate the thirty years of CONAIE’s life, and to recognize the efforts that have gone into this organization and its fight for indigenous progression (CONAIE, 2016). In respect to the future of the indigenous social movement, it goes without saying that the preservation of the indigenous identity, and the various ethnic minorities grouped under this category, continues to live on through the rebellious attitudes of the youth.

2.6 Current Conflicts & Agreements

Given that the majority of the literature provided in this work dates between the early 90s to early-mid 2000s, it is substantial to provide context behind modern conflicts and agreements that are occurring today. This is crucial as it not only accentuates the CONAIE's persevering and resilient indigenous movement, but it brings further awareness to the ongoing injustices indigenous populations continue to face in this modern era. Amazon Frontlines reported that as of April 26, 2019, the Waorani People of Pastaza successfully won a court ruling that decreed legal protection and conservation of their territorial lands. Through this ruling, the Waorani People prevented half a million acres of their territory from being reserved for oil drilling, disrupted "the auctioning of 16 oil blocks that cover over 7 million acres of indigenous territory", and created a setback for Lenín Moreno's, current president of Ecuador, plans to establish oil resources throughout "across the southcentral Amazon" ("Waorani People Win Landmark Legal Victory", 2019).

In addition to this victory, the CONAIE's article, "Resistencia Waorani Cinco Factores Decisivos de Una Victoria Inédita", commends the Waorani People for their success. Within this article, Andrés Tapia identifies five factors that played a central role in the Waorani's victory. These factors include being well-prepared with the "ideal fusion of experience and youth", educating the world on this struggle through collective work, mobilizing through consistent political action strategies, executing an uncorrupted technical defense, and utilizing the support provided by CONFENIAE, CONAIE, and COICA. The Waorani People have not only managed to succeed in attaining protection for their lands, but they have also managed to work with the state on improving the safety of public health within the Waorani community. Currently, with the

spread of the coronavirus (COVID-19), vulnerable populations, like the Waorani, could mean imminent danger for the public health of their community. Telesur states that the Waorani People have won their court case "requiring the government to take urgent actions against the spread of the new coronavirus in Waorani territory" ("Ecuador's Waorani People Win Another Victory", 2020). This triumph provides the opportunity for the Waorani to safeguard the futures of their youth, as well as the elders within their community.

In comparison to the Waorani's victory, the CONAIE continues to fight against Moreno's presidency, along with the political and economic decisions and agreements he makes in regards to Ecuador. Francesco Manetto highlights in his article, "Las barricadas indígenas de Ecuador", the protests that are being held by indigenous leaders in opposition of Moreno's economic adjustments. In October 2019, protestors demanded Moreno to either withdraw these "economic adjustments" or resign as president. Manetto (2019) emphasizes the CONAIE's presence in this conflict, in which he discusses their determination to make the International Monetary Fund (IMF) leave the country of Ecuador.

On June 24, 2020, Agencia EFE reported that the CONAIE suspects there is a new oil spill in the Cocoa river basin. The CONAIE and CONFENIAE discussed the threats this contamination poses to the public health of the general population and natural wildlife. Despite these warnings, Petroecuador responded by declaring that there are not any present oil spills, and rather the presence of oil within the river basin is simply remnants from previous oil spills. Although oil companies responded to the CONAIE's concerns, the state has yet to respond to indigenous movement requests for "immediate comprehensive reparations" ("Indígenas de Ecuador", 2020).

Conclusion

After taking a thorough look at the historical systems of oppression and contemporary conflicts dealing with the marginalization of indigenous minorities, it can be concluded that corruption maintains a strong presence within the social and political scene of the indigenous movement. Ethnocentric concepts have trickled down from the Spanish conquest to modern electoral systems, thus providing a secure space for bourgeoisie classes to continue to live a life of comfort and opulence provided by the distress and hardships of ethnic minorities. However, it should be that this acknowledgement of perpetual corruption is not to take away from the accomplishments of the indigenous movement.

When looking at the accomplishments of the CONAIE this invokes much faith in the future of these indigenous nationalities. Additionally, it symbolizes the strengthening of indigenous pride, spiritually connecting indigenous people of today with their ancestral ties, and allowing them to share the same cultural appreciation their ancestors once had. In spite of its ever-changing relationships with Pachakutik, other political and/or social organizations, and the Catholic Church, CONAIE and its external connections demonstrate how, within a world obstructed by deception and mal-intent, there still exists room for forgiveness, healing, and unity. In its prevailing resistance against elitist control the CONAIE proves to show that consistency, organized mobilization, external ties, and insurgent resolves can greatly enable, or disable, an organization.

Chapter III: El Resumen Traducido

A dentro de este trabajo, este tercer capítulo actúa como un resumen traducido que discute la información que he proporcionado en los primeros dos capítulos. El objetivo de este capítulo es evaluar la diferencia entre los movimientos sociales y los partidos políticos, así como las relaciones que forman entre los dos. Además, esto hace la pregunta de: ¿Qué tipo de relaciones existen entre estos dos actores? Además de alcanzar una comprensión profunda de los grupos, analizaré los traumas históricos que sufrieron las comunidades indígenas a partir de la llegada de Colón. A través de este análisis, cambiaré de hablar sobre teología de la liberación a discusiones sobre la CONAIE y su relación con el movimiento político Pachakutik.

A través de la discusión de estos temas, esta investigación apuntaré responder a las siguientes preguntas: ¿Cómo se conecta la opresión pasada de las poblaciones indígenas en la historia temprana con las comunidades indígenas contemporáneas y sus sustentos? ¿Cómo fusionó la Iglesia católica sus principios espirituales y religiosos con las ideologías marxistas? ¿Fue esta relación beneficioso para los movimientos sociales indígenas? En la observancia de la CONAIE y Pachakutik, ¿qué tipo de relación formaron para trabajar juntos hacia la progresión de los intereses indígenas y no indígenas? Después entender los conflictos pasados que la CONAIE ha tenido para confrontar, ¿cómo ha progresado en el siglo XXI? ¿Continúan para dirigirse los mismos conflictos en una era más moderna?

Definiendo los movimientos sociales y los partidos políticos

A través de una revisión de trabajos literarios, puede decir que los movimientos sociales son organizaciones que movilizan para representar los intereses de sus miembros. David Samuels afirma a dentro de su libro, *La política comparativa*, que estos grupos "existen para desafiar el poder de las autoridades gubernamentales" (Samuels, 2017). Estos movimientos están caracterizados por su fluidez; esto se refiere a su capacidad para redefinir sí mismos, sus objetivos y sus métodos de movilización. Estos actores pueden dirigir problemas generales o específicas, varían de liberales a conservadores y se movilizan a varios niveles (p.e. local, nacional, transnacional). Los movimientos sociales pueden formarse a partir de una combinación de una variedad de factores que incluyen: sociales, políticos, culturales, psicológicos y emocionales. En su libro *La política de protesta*: *la movilización en la era neoliberal en América Latina*, Roberta Rice explica que los teóricos usan enfoques sociopsicológicos, modelos de movilización de recursos, modelos de procesos políticos o nuevos modelos de movimientos sociales para explicar la emergencia de movimientos sociales.

En contraste con los movimientos sociales, los partidos políticos son grupos de personas que se arman y se centran en alcanzar y mantener el poder político. Diferente a los movimientos sociales, los partidos políticos se caracterizan por su búsqueda de "reclutar y socializar líderes potenciales, nominar candidatos, movilizar al electorado, representar diferentes grupos sociales, agregar intereses políticos, estructurar los problemas políticos bajo consideración y formar y sostener gobiernos" (Samuels, 2017, p. 246). Los partidos políticos actúan como representantes de varias identidades colectivas, en el cual esto es significativo a dentro de la escena política

como la capacidad de un gobierno para gobernar un estado se basa en el nivel de representación que provee a las masas. Es importante para notar que los sistemas de partidos latinoamericanos tienden a ser menos institucionalizados y formales, como se basan más en conexiones, populismo y personalismo.

Cuando observar los movimientos sociales y los partidos políticos conjuntos, la literatura anterior ha demostrado cómo estos dos actores juegan entre sí. Los movimientos sociales crean y promueven nuevos intereses de grupos organizados, mientras que los partidos políticos adoptan estos nuevos intereses para apelar a las identidades subrepresentadas y ganar votos. Fernanda Ventura explica que existen cinco tipos principales de relaciones entre los movimientos sociales y los partidos políticos. Estas relaciones incluyen conexiones formadas a través de: articulación, permeabilidad, alianza, independencia o transformación (Ventura, 2007). Para resumir, las relaciones de articulación surgen cuando los movimientos sociales se organizan alrededor de la agenda de los partidos políticos, creando un intercambio de apoyo y poder entre los dos. Una relación permeable se crea cuando los movimientos sociales invaden los partidos, buscando encontrar intereses comunes que los partidos abogarían. Una alianza creada entre estos dos grupos se refiere a la colaboración de estos actores en temas específicos, mientras manteniendo sus estructuras separadas e independencia. En comparación, las relaciones de independencia se forman de movimientos sociales que actúan de manera autónoma desde los partidos.

La historia de la indígena

Durante el fín del siglo XV Cristóbal Colón y otros conquistadores españoles dominaron a las poblaciones indígenas. Desde la llegada de los españoles, las comunidades indígenas

experimentaron asesinatos en masa, muerte por enfermedad, opresión religiosa y conversión, trabajos forzados y cambios en la identidad indígena por casi dos siglos. Los pueblos indígenas experimentaron estas dificultades debido a la búsqueda de los españoles para "Oro, Dios y Gloria" (Henderson, 2013). Para poner a las comunidades indígenas bajo el control total de los elitistas españoles, los conquistadores asignaron la etiqueta de "indio" a los pueblos indígenas. Hasta cierto punto, esta etiqueta destruyó la identidad indígena como agrupó una variedad de identidades étnicas indígenas bajo un nombre. Los intentos posteriores de eliminar esta etiqueta y ver a las poblaciones indígenas simplemente como "ciudadanos" amenazarían la eliminación completa de la identidad indígena.

Teología de liberación y el surgimiento de los movimientos sociales indígenas

A debido de la conversión religiosa que los conquistadores españoles impusieron a las comunidades indígenas, su relación con la Iglesia Católica estaba lleno con desconfianza. Sin embargo, los finales del siglo XX actúan como una puerta para que la iglesia transformar la relación que tenía con los pueblos indígenas. Durante un tiempo de modernización y el desarrollo de la conciencia colectiva, hubo un aumento de grupos marginados de personas que fueron movilizando, expresando públicamente las injusticias que experimentaban y pidiendo por un cambio. Fue durante este tiempo que la Iglesia Católica decidió evolucionar alrededor del concepto de modernidad y crear teología de la liberación.

La teología de la liberación fue un movimiento que se centró en liberar a las personas pobres de la opresión socioeconómica. Irónicamente, este movimiento fue creado de la fusión de las morales y los principios espirituales y religiosos de la Iglesia Católica con las ideologías

marxistas. Aunque el marxismo consiste en teorías utilizadas como herramientas analíticas para las ciencias sociales, el clero católico utilizó sus ideas como un fundación para la teología de la liberación. Esto se debió en parte a las explicaciones de la pobreza que el marxismo proveyó, así como a las soluciones para este problema socioeconómico. A pesar de la convergencia entre la iglesia y las ideas marxistas, el abandono de estas ideologías es lo que permitió a la Iglesia católica formar una alianza completa con los movimientos indígenas y afro-latinos. Abandonar el marxismo permitió a la Iglesia católica mirar a los sistemas de opresión no solo de un punto de vista socioeconómico, sino también de una perspectiva de discriminación cultural. Es a través del apoyo de la iglesia que el surgimiento de los movimientos sociales indígenas aumentaron.

CONAIE

La Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE) se formó en 1986. Esta organización surgió como resultado de la unidad entre la Confederación de Pueblos de la Nacionalidad Kichwa (ECUARUNARI) y la Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Amazonia. La fusión entre estas dos organizaciones representó la unidad entre una variedad de etnias indígenas que vinieron de ambos las tierras altas de los Andes y de las tierras bajas de la Amazonía. A través del surgimiento de la CONAIE, esta organización social promovió la demanda de Ecuador para convertirse en un "estado plurinacional". Es a través del plurinacionalismo que CONAIE quería crear una sociedad multiétnica y heterogénea. Uno que permitiría la coexistencia de varios grupos étnicos, indígenas y no indígenas.

En conexión con el modelo de proceso político que Roberta Rice discutió en su trabajo, se cree que la CONAIE se convirtió con éxito en un movimiento social indígena basado en

factores internos y externos. Deborah Yashar explica que a través de la constante actividad civil y política, un fuerte apoyo previsto por aliados externos y otras oportunidades políticas, como la falla de los regímenes democráticos para mantener los intereses liberales, la CONAIE podría ascender con fuerza (Yashar, 1998). La CONAIE actuó como una influencia importante dentro del movimiento social indígena. Esta organización logró expulsar a dos presidentes ecuatorianos, Abdalá Bucaram (1997) y Jamil Mahuad (2000).

Aunque este movimiento social indígena creó oportunidades para una mayor representación de las minorías étnicas indígenas, otras organizaciones indígenas criticaron sus ideologías. Por ejemplo, la Federación de Indígenas Evangélicos del Ecuador (FEINE) percibió que la CONAIE era una organización rebelde que no tiene respeto por el gobierno. FEINE creía que la CONAIE tenía objetivos crear una hegemonía entre las organizaciones indígenas en lugar de un consenso. Además, FEINE y otras organizaciones pensaban que la CONAIE trabajaba para hacer la misma cosa que los partidos políticos elitistas estaban haciendo, abusando poder y sometiendo las identidades étnicas indígenas a los oprimidos.

Pachakutik

A pesar de su deseo de no participar en la política de Ecuador, la CONAIE se unió con organizaciones rurales y urbanas, junto con empresas de izquierda, para formar el Movimiento Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik (MUPP). A dentro de esta unidad, la CONAIE mantendría una relación de alianza con Pachakutik. En referencia a Fernanda Ventura, la relación entre CONAIE y Pachakutik permitió que una organización recibiera votos y apoyo político, mientras que la otra recibió una mayor representación dentro del terreno político. En 1996, Pachakutik tuve éxito

para convertirse en el cuarto bloque más grande del Congreso (Beck, 2001). A través del concurso electoral de 1996, Pachakutik logró elegir a ocho diputados (seis indígenas y dos alcaldes indígenas).

Aunque este movimiento político tuvo éxito durante este año, sus conexiones con los partidos políticos de izquierda lo causaron para caer en las elecciones de 1998. Una variedad de candidatos Pachakutik, o candidatos apoyados por este movimiento, eran corruptos y solo se enfocaban en usar el movimiento para sus propios objetivos personales. Los candidatos, como Lucio Gutiérrez, utilizaron el populismo y el personalismo para lograr el poder dentro de la arena política. El populismo se refiere a cuando los políticos apelan "directamente a la gente para que apoyen sus proyectos políticos…." (Becker, 2011, p. 55). Similar, el personalismo se refiere a la alabanza de un líder por su carácter, en lugar de sus motivos políticos, en el cual resulta en la subordinación de los intereses de los partidos políticos.

Como resultado de la caída de Pachakutik, la literatura anterior que he leído intenta teorizar por qué esta derrota que ocurrió. Beck y Mijeski (2001) teorizan que la presencia del personalismo y los partidos burgueses, las divisiones regionales y/o étnicas, y las divisiones ideológicas actuaron como factores en los resultados de las elecciones de 1998. Puede decir que Pachakutik encontró muchos candidatos corruptos debido a las conexiones que tenía con la izquierda política. Durante los años de noventa, se decía que los partidos de izquierda, a veces, actuaban como la derecha política, tratando de reforzar el control elitista sobre los grupos minoritarios indígenas y no indígenas. En conclusión, un movimiento político realmente actuará como un aliado para los movimientos indígenas cuando puedan mantener la transparencia y enfocarse en la cohesión étnica, en lugar del etnocentrismo.

Las activistas indígenas del nuevo generación y los conflictos y victorias contemporáneos

Cuando analizar los movimientos sociales indígenas actuales, es importante mencionar el breve problema que ocurrió entre los mayores indígenas y los jóvenes indígenas. Los mayores indígenas se aferraron a las ideologías tradicionales de respeto que, en realidad, fueron inculcados durante la existencia de las haciendas. Como resultado de esto, los mayores indígenas tenían objetivos para pasar estos valores e ideologías tradicionales a las generaciones futuras. Sin embargo, debido a la modernización de la sociedad urbana, los jóvenes indígenas se enfrentaron la batalla constante de mantener su identidad indígena, mientras integrarse en una sociedad en constante desarrollo. Aunque algunos jóvenes abandonaron ciertas tradiciones indígenas, como llevar ropa más occidental, trabajaron para preservar la cultura que sus antepasados lucharon por proteger.

Los activistas indígenas de la nueva generación continuaron para luchar por la igualdad de derechos de sus comunidades, así como por el fin del racismo, las injusticias sociales, la preservación de su tierra y cultura, y la protección de su soberanía del agua y los alimentos. Mientras continúan movilizar contra figuras políticas corruptas, como Rafael Correa, representan la lucha por la preservación de las identidades indígenas. En el análisis de los conflictos contemporáneos, los activistas indígenas de nueva generación, aquellos que forman parte de CONAIE y otras organizaciones, obtienen victorias políticas. Por ejemplo, el pueblo Waorani de Pastaza ganó dos casos judiciales en 2019 y 2020. Se informó que estas victorias se referían a la preservación de las tierras territoriales contra la extracción de petróleo y a la protección de la salud pública dentro de la comunidad Waorani. Aunque se puede decir que los movimientos

indígenas están progresando en el siglo XXI, la CONAIE y otras organizaciones indígenas continúan luchando por la reparación de los derrames de petróleo en las aguas locales, así como por la reforma económica y política.

Conclusion

To return back to my initial question, I again ask: How do social movements with political party affiliations maintain their autonomy? In the case of the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE), I conclude that historical, cultural, socio psychological, and political factors determine the CONAIE's level of independence as an indigenous social organization. The CONAIE has been successfully able to maintain its autonomy through the acknowledgement and remembrance of historical traumas, the significance ancestral ties pose within indigenous communities, understanding the primary objectives of its movement, and its level of success as a social movement. It is through these influential factors that the CONAIE has been able to avoid transforming into its own political party, or political movement, thus being able to purely focus on social reform within Ecuador.

Firstly, when looking at the historical traumas indigenous ethnic identities have had to face, it would be difficult to ignore how these past experiences have influenced the ideologies of indigenous peoples as a collective. For hundreds of years, indigenous populations were subjugated by Spanish conquistadors, and later on by Latin American bourgeios classes, through genocide, religious conversion, the implementation of power hierarchies within indigenous communities, and abuse of political power by elitist organizations. It is important to ask the questions: Is it easy for a marginalized group of people to forget the subjection of hundreds of years of oppression? Oppression their ancestors have faced, and oppression they continue to face within their own lives? To simply put it, no.

The historical contexts of these traumas accentuate the continuous exertion of corruption and exploitation indigenous communities have undergone. As a result of these past afflictions, feelings of distrust have formed between governmental powers and indigenous communities. Although the development of liberation theology has proven to show that broken relationships (i.e. between indigenous communities and the Catholic Church) can be healed, it is through this distrust and the persistent attempts, exhibited by many elitist political organizations, to erase the indigenous identities, that social movements, like the CONAIE, want to elude political scenes.

These memories of oppression, and the fight for indigenous identity, will continue to be passed down through generations because of the importance ancestral ties hold within indigenous communities. This is in part due to the strong communal orientation that exists within indigenous populations. Scott Beck stated, “Part of this strong community identity emanates from the relatively high level of isolation experienced in most rural areas….” (Beck, 2001, p. 3). Maintaining ties with ancestors, and with the elders, proves to be of importance within indigenous communities because it acts as a source of strength, allowing individuals within these groups to be reminded of the resilience their ancestors have demonstrated in the past. It is through these memories that the CONAIE is propelled further into a pursuit of social reform, and away from forming ties with political organizations. In addition, these past experiences remind indigenous movements of what they are fighting for, and why they continue to pursue social justice, thus switching the focus to center around the goals of the CONAIE.

Although social movements have more flexibility than political parties in respect to their objectives, social movements are still required to have a general understanding of their intentions of mobilization. Answering the question of what is it that fuels the will of insurgency within the

CONAIE is fairly easy. In spite of the CONAIE changing some of its motives over the years it has existed, its first priority is to transform Ecuador into a "plurinational state". Since its emergence, the CONAIE's demand for plurinationalism within the state has always been asserted. This primary objective of the CONAIE allows the movement to concentrate on further implementing social reform within Ecuador. Its desire to transfigure Ecuador into a recognized heterogeneous society, does not necessarily mean that this has to be achieved through politics. The amount of support, and level of power the CONAIE has greatly influences how its ethnic mobilization affects the masses.

Lastly, the accomplishments the CONAIE has achieved inside and outside of the political environment of Ecuador further influences how this organization has managed to maintain its autonomy. Although it went against its initial desire to not participate in Ecuador's arena, the CONAIE formed an alliance with the Pachakutik political movement. Despite its participation within political parties, it goes to be said that the CONAIE has had many triumphs outside of the political stage rather than inside of it. As mentioned in chapter two, the CONAIE consistently faced elitist control and the corruption of Pachakutik's own political candidates. This is not to take away from Pachakutik, as this movement has proved to benefit indigenous social movements through its own victories, however. Since its formation in 1995, it has not been able to provide much aid for the CONAIE. Due to this, it can be noted that this gives more reason for the CONAIE to stay independent as a social movement, despite its political party affiliations.

Limitations

The limitations of my research include regional differences in previous literature I used within my work. Some of the resources I used in the beginning sections of my research were geared more towards European political paradigms when looking at the relationships between social movements and political parties. This can be seen as a hindrance to my work as Latin American politics are different in comparison to Europe, as I have mentioned when discussing Donna Lee Van Cott's book, *From Movements to Parties in Latin America*. The politics of a country can differ based on regions. In addition, my analysis of the alliance between CONAIE and Pachakutik is based on older literary works. This acts as a limitation within my research because using more contemporary sources would have allowed for a better understanding of Pachakutik's influences in CONAIE's political affairs.

Future Research

In regards to future research, an increase in qualitative studies using primary sources would be beneficial in further understanding indigenous social movements. To further explain, I am referring to conducting interviews with indigenous communities, in addition to observational studies. Conducting studies centered around observing these communities will provide future researchers with opportunities to gain an extensive comprehension of how social injustices personally affect indigenous populations. I hope that through this work, and future research provided on indigenous social movements, readers are able to become more aware of the social, cultural, political, and economic injustices indigenous ethnic minorities face within Ecuador, as

well as how they are configuring the future of their liberation through movements like the CONAIE.

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