

Outlook for Indigenous Politics in the Andean Region

A Report of the CSIS Americas Program

AUTHOR
Peter DeShazo

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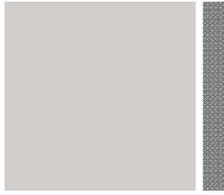
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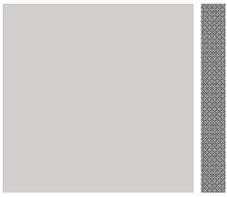
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OUTLOOK FOR INDIGENOUS POLITICS IN THE ANDEAN REGION

Peter DeShazo

Introduction

Indigenous populations in the Andean region of Latin America have played an increasingly larger role in local politics in the past two decades, with some successes at the national level as well. In Ecuador and Bolivia, peoples self-identified as indigenous profited from political reforms aimed at decentralization, promotion of greater autonomy for local and municipal government, and expanded political participation. The Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), a political umbrella group founded in 1986, became a more prominent actor in local and national politics. With backing from CONAIE, the indigenous-based political party Pachakutik was established in 1996 and immediately experienced success at the national level, winning nearly 10 percent of seats in Ecuador's parliament only months after the launching of the party. In Bolivia, indigenous-based organizations gained political prominence at the local level during the 1990s by taking advantage of national reforms in political participation and decentralization, opening the door to the eventual rise of Evo Morales and the Movement Toward Socialism (MAS) with strong backing from indigenous voters. Although in Peru indigenous political participation has never reached the level of institutionalization of Ecuador and Bolivia, indigenous voters have an increasingly greater effect on the outcome of national politics and are likely to gain further influence at the local level.

The tendency toward increased indigenous participation in self-identified political movements appears to have peaked, however, at least at the national level. This process has been driven by the rise of populist figures in the region with a proto-leftist and nationalist appeal aimed at broad-based political mobilization cutting across ethnic and class differences—especially bridging the indigenous/mestizo lines of differentiation. Presidents Lucio Gutiérrez and Rafael Correa in Ecuador, Evo Morales in Bolivia, and the defeated candidate in the 2006 elections in Peru, Ollanta Humala, personified this trend. The success of what some observers have termed “ethno populism” in attracting indigenous votes without espousing an exclusively indigenista agenda undermines the potential for the consolidation of national-level indigenous political movements in the Andes.

As a means of better understanding the outlook for indigenous politics in the Andes, the Americas Program of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) held a conference on

December 1, 2009, bringing together leading experts to discuss the cases of Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru. The conference was divided into four panels, one on each of the three countries and a fourth providing conclusions and analysis on a regional basis. (The agenda for the conference is provided on page 14.) This report summarizes individual presentations given at the conference and overall conclusions regarding the outlook for indigenous politics in the Andes. It is meant to be a reference point for policymakers in government and in nongovernment organizations who deal with key issues in the region. An audio record of the entire conference can be found on the CSIS Web site at www.csis.org/americas.

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Panel I: Peru

Jóhanna Kristín Birnir, Center for International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland

Dr. Birnir outlined the very large discrepancies that exist between measurements in the size of the indigenous population in Peru, ranging from some 19 percent of the national population in the census of 1993 to nearly half of the total national population in other surveys. These differences are based on the variables used in determining ethnicity, such as primary language spoken, self-identification, or cultural norms. Regardless of how the demographic indicators are measured, the indigenous vote in Peru went overwhelmingly to Ollanta Humala in the last presidential election held in 2006—with a direct relationship between the concentration of indigenous population by area and the Humala vote in a given region. (Humala lost the election in a second round runoff but nonetheless garnered some 47 percent of the national vote.) Another close statistical relationship (inverse) existed between the percentage of salaried employees in a region and the vote for Humala.

Looking ahead to local elections in 2010 and national presidential and congressional elections in 2011, Birnir described the political forces contending for the indigenous vote in Peru. One indigenous-based organization is Perú Plurinacional, which held a party summit in Puno in May 2009 to develop a party platform. Perú Plurinacional is formed out of a series of grassroots indigenous organizations, including the National Confederation of Peruvian Communities Affected by Mining (CONACAMI), with a strongly anti-liberal identity. Miguel Palacín, a Quechua, and Alberto Pizango, from the Amazon region, compete for leadership. Another movement within the indigenous political movement with national aspiration is Tierra y Libertad, also anti-liberal but less radical in overall rhetoric and policies and therefore with a greater potential to attract votes at the national level than Perú Plurinacional, according to Birnir. Indigenous-based parties in Peru benefit from a rise in self-identity among Amerindian people throughout Latin America and greater facilitation for participation in national and local politics. However, unless indigenous parties moderate their rhetoric and image, they are unlikely to attract votes outside of the indigenous community and even there suffer from lack of unity. They are

caught in a bind: to shore up their base they need to promote an indigenous-specific agenda and identity, but this limits their appeal to mestizos. These factors imply a much higher potential for success of indigenous parties and movements at the local level of politics than at the national.

Gender-related issues are now “on the table” in the wake of the Puno meeting, according to Dr. Birnir, although it is difficult to judge how committed indigenous leadership is to them. A “National Organization of Andean and Amazon Indigenous Women” has been recently formed, as well as youth organizations in the Amazon, that underscore this new trend.

Oscar Espinosa, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú

Dr. Espinosa postulated that indigenous populations of the Amazon region of Peru rather than in the highlands have been the most dynamic and successful in political organization over the past 10 years. The violent confrontation between police and indigenous protesters in Bagua in June 2009 underscored the poor relationship between indigenous communities and the government of President Alan García and the growing state of indigenous militancy in the Amazon, according to Espinosa. Stating that the García government “has no indigenous policy—but rather an anti-indigenous policy,” he traced past developments by which the National Institute for the Development of Andean, Amazon, and Afro-Peruvian Peoples (INDINA) has “neither voice nor vote” within the Peruvian government, and how the government entity charged with promoting bilingual education was downgraded from autonomous status to being an appendage of rural education. In the wake of the Bagua incidents, a state/civil consultative group was formed with the umbrella coordinator of indigenous peoples in the Amazon region to investigate what occurred at Bagua and develop proposals for more effective state cooperation. This initiative, according to Espinosa, is unlikely to produce important results because the government affords it little support and because the indigenous peoples feel persecuted by the state. The mainstream media projects a highly negative picture of indigenous movements and leaders, claiming they are violent and disinterested in dialogue.

Looking ahead, Dr. Espinosa predicts more conflict between the García government and the indigenous. García’s ruling party—the APRA—is likely to create its own indigenous organization in order to compete with autonomous indigenous groups. Future tension is likely to occur over issues most sensitive to indigenous communities, including hydrocarbons, mining, and hydroelectric projects that are strongly promoted by the government. While the Amazon indigenous political groups will concentrate on electing more district mayors (they already have 14), there will also be a strong desire to run an indigenous candidate for president and to elect representatives to the national congress. Espinosa predicts that the indigenous population of the Amazon region will turn out “massively” for any candidate who is not seen as representing the current government (APRA), mainstream Peruvian politics, or Lima. According to Espinosa, the influence and prestige of Bolivian president Evo Morales is very strong in the southern highlands of Peru, especially in the Aymara-speaking areas around Lake Titicaca.

David Scott Palmer, Boston University

Dr. Palmer remarked that indigenous political mobilization is a new phenomenon in Peru and that a process of change is taking place, due to several factors. One is the rise of a new and broader definition of being “indigenous,” which now permits a more “anthropologically proper” approach of self-identification, rather than older concepts of language, clothing, or occupation, and a growing tendency of the indigenous to act on this self-awareness. In the past, indigenous politics in Peru had been inhibited by the geographical divide between highland and Amazon indigenous populations, the scarcity of arable land, causing indigenous peoples to concentrate efforts on basic survival, improved communications, and education, which led to an out-migration from indigenous communities of many of the most energetic and capable potential leaders from the highland regions, the location of Peru’s capital and population center on the coast (as opposed to Ecuador and Bolivia), and the rise of Sendero Luminoso in the 1980s, which, combined with state repression against Sendero, led to the destruction of much of the fabric of highland indigenous society. The transfer of resources to elected municipal governments, while stimulating the rise of political activism among indigenous people at the local level, has also reinforced the fragmentation of indigenous politics at the national level.

The “entire highlands” (Sierra) voted overwhelmingly for Ollanta Humala in 2006, a demonstration of local frustration with Lima politics, according to Palmer, but the “erratic” behavior of Humala limited the possibility of greater inroads with nonindigenous society. The Bagua incident of June 2009 was a dramatic demonstration of the organizational capacity of the indigenous and the growing power of Peru Plurinacional. Bagua also underscored the unwillingness of the Peruvian government to address indigenous issues, anticipate problems, or engage in dialogue. In the future, the peoples of the highlands and Amazon are likely to operate in a more cohesive political fashion, enhancing the possibility for greater effectiveness, although success is far more likely to come at the local than the national level.

Well over half of conflicts between indigenous populations and the government have arisen over variables related to mining and hydrocarbons development and environmental issues, especially water rights. According to Palmer, the government response to these indigenous concerns should be greater respect for and sensitivity to local viewpoints, as well as reexamining the utility of the plethora of micro-development programs successfully carried out in indigenous areas by the Fujimori government.

Panel II: Ecuador

Ampam Karakras, Consejo de Desarrollo de las Nacionalidades y Pueblos del Ecuador (CODENPE)

Mr. Karakras, a leader of the Shuar people of the Amazon lowlands, remarked with irony that Ecuador’s last census claimed that the indigenous constituted only 7 percent of the population—with 14 different “nationalities” represented, when “we thought we were 40 percent.” He

predicted that the 2010 census will correct some of the discrepancy. Karakras traced general trends in the political fortunes of CONAIE and Pachakutik since the mid-1990s and the relationship of indigenous peoples in Ecuador to the state and other elements of society. The indigenous agenda in coastal regions is “invisible,” he claimed and did not begin to emerge in the highlands until the 1970s, at a time when indigenous were still termed “*campesinos*” (rural dwellers/peasants). In the Amazon, outside contact with indigenous peoples was the product of the “internal colonization” of the Catholic Church and Protestant evangelists, who inscribed the indigenous in civil registries with Christian names rather than their own. Over time, the indigenous have spoken with their own voices and promoted an independent agenda. The experience of both CONAIE and Pachakutik in forming alliances with other political groups has produced both positive and negative results. Since October, the Correa government and CONAIE have entered into a formal dialogue process on key issues such as water, land rights, natural resources, and indigenous institutions. The goal from the indigenous point of view is to (1) construct a “plurinational” state giving full recognition to indigenous rights, rather than merely assigning offices in government ministries to handle indigenous affairs, (2) attain the Quechua goal of “*buen vivir*” (Spanish translation), in essence the concept that one group cannot affect the lifestyle of another, (3) to exercise the collective rights of all indigenous nationalities, and (4) to ensure development without destruction of the natural environment. This last topic, Karakras emphasized, is not just an indigenous theme, but a human one, noting that indigenous people do not have the final word on how this can be done but stressing that “our lifestyle is destroyed by development.” He urged that a middle position be found between full conservation and rampant destruction of natural resources and the environment.

Carmen Martínez, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales Sede Ecuador (FLACSO Ecuador)

Dr. Martínez judged indigenous political movements in Ecuador to be in a state of “relative weakness.” They are involved in an ongoing effort to manage their education and other key variables in the face of growing state pressure and have not had input into the drafting of key legislation regarding mining and other economic activities affecting their lifestyle. The Correa government is in the process of firmly asserting its authority nationwide, putting it at loggerheads with indigenous political organizations. The indigenous movement in Ecuador is typically characterized as the strongest in Latin America, with unified efforts at the national level that led to the militancy in the 1990s that halted liberal economic reform in the country and contributed to the ouster of two presidents. Some 8 to 10 percent of congressional seats and regional and local political positions were in the hands of the indigenous, with important gains in access to and control over health and education.

CONAIE, however, is now in a state of a multidimensional crisis. The process of decline followed in the wake of the CONAIE alliance with the military leader Lucio Gutiérrez, who came to power in 2002 with support from Pachakutik. Within months, however, Gutiérrez expelled the Pachakutik ministers from his cabinet and then worked to weaken the indigenous political

movement by using government resources to lure local leaders away from Pachakutik, promote socialist and evangelistic parallel organizations to compete with CONAIE, and expand the state bureaucracy over indigenous affairs. Current president Rafael Correa has further broadened this process, luring local organizations away from CONAIE into his Alianza País party, increasing direct state subsidies to entice indigenous voters and creating parallel community federations linked directly to the government. Increasingly, leftist and indigenous voters have also come to see Correa and not CONAIE as the driving force against neoliberalism in Ecuador. A division has also arisen between indigenous leaders who are promoting a strongly indigenous identification and international outreach and rank-and-file who are focused on socioeconomic issues. In the 2006 presidential election, Pachakutik eschewed linkage with Correa and ran its own candidate, Luis Macas, who garnered a mere 2 percent of the vote.

Although the 2008 constitution signifies some advances in the indigenous agenda, Martínez cites a number of ambiguities and even reverses in the text for the indigenous. While the sought-after term “plurinational” to describe the Ecuadoran state was adopted by the constitution, the definition was used to fortify the predominance of the central state and confirm state sovereignty over indigenous territorial autonomy. Spanish was confirmed as the only official language of the country. Though antidiscrimination language was strengthened in the constitution, mestizos and Afro-Ecuadorans were also covered. To many observers, this was meant more as a gesture to the Afro-Ecuadoran community, which is close to Correa, than as a pro-indigenous move. There are also many ambiguities regarding natural resources, with a confirmation that nonrenewable resources belong to the state and that indigenous communities have no special power over decisionmaking on their use. In sum, Martínez sees considerable tension within the Correa administration on the issue of the indigenous political agenda, with a dominant trend toward an authoritarian central state dominated by Correa increasingly usurping aspects of the indigenous agenda while undermining indigenous political organizations. The government has also effectively usurped the anti-neoliberal mantle from CONAIE and Pachakutik, leaving both in the difficult position of vacillating between becoming an outright opposition to Correa or joining his coalition.

Panel III: Bolivia

Robert Albro, School of International Service, American University

Dr. Albro described Bolivia’s new constitution as the culmination of a long process to shape Bolivia’s “decolonialization.” He outlined a “new Bolivia” that should not be compared with Venezuela in a Cold War frame of reference but rather seen as a move toward democratic socialism driven by the previously disenfranchised indigenous majority and a rejection of the neoliberal model. The path to today’s Bolivia passed through the stage of mestizo assimilation into society, embodied by the national revolution of 1952, and through the neoliberal reforms of the 1990s, especially the Law of Popular Participation that established and recognized many local civic and territorial organizations that opened substantial political space to the indigenous.

Popular Participation catapulted indigenous leaders into municipal government and gave legal validity to indigenous customary law, citing the importance of the “water war” in Cochabamba in 2000 as a key moment in establishing the concept of “use and custom” as a point of reference. Precursors of autonomy-oriented indigenous movements included the Katarista organizations espousing Aymara nationalism since the 1970s and the rise of “indigenized” unions of coca growers in the Chapare region of Cochabamba in the 1980s and 1990s. Evo Morales and his political group, the Movement Toward Socialism (MAS) used the cause of indigenous rights to mobilize against the liberal state.

The MAS is now firmly in power and a new constitution is in place. This new regime establishes the organization of the state as plurinational and communitarian, with indigenous rights distinct from other rights and in which the indigenous enjoy wide autonomy and self-governance, as well as cultural rights, language, self-education, and traditional systems of community justice. The new system establishes the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as a key point of reference.

Dr. Albrow feels that it would be difficult for the United States to be a constructive actor in Bolivia, that regime change cannot be a U.S. policy, and that the United States has in the past taken a “massively simplistic” viewpoint toward Bolivia, especially in considering Morales as a mere appendage of Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez. The bottom line is that Morales has strong domestic political support.

René Mayorga, Centro Boliviano de Estudios Multidisciplinarios (CEBEM)

According to Mayorga, the key aim of the MAS and Evo Morales is to refound Bolivia from the reference point of the “ethno-Aymara” vision outlined in the new constitution—with distinct indigenous “nations,” dual citizenship, a dual system of justice, indigenous electoral districts, widespread control over land, and the enshrinement of coca as a product governed by special rules. The policy agenda of the MAS in practice is unevenly applied, however. To date, the land reform promised by the MAS has been very modest—hardly the revolutionary policy it was intended to be—with perhaps 100,000 families benefited. Support for coca, however, has been “unwavering,” with a 20 percent increase in the number of hectares under cultivation between 2005 when Morales was elected and 2008, as well as an estimated 40 percent increase in cocaine production.

Mayorga sees Bolivia under the MAS at a stage of consolidation of party control and authority over indigenous organizations and the indigenous agenda. The diverse social movements that brought Morales to power—the coca growers, neighborhood groups, peasant confederations—have now been subsumed into the corporatist structure of the MAS, with indigenous interests under government control. There has been little pushback by the indigenous, in part because the goal of a new constitution has been accomplished and Morales’s rise to power is also seen as a culmination of indigenous aspirations. The former MAS, a dual social/political umbrella movement has been transformed into a ruling party controlled by a small group of professional

politicians. MAS leadership prevails over the indigenous by means of a top-down authoritarian structure, with the indigenous used periodically as “shock troops” to advance Morales’s agenda—most notably in using “anti-constitutional” steps to gain approval of the new constitution ratified in 2009.

Future problems may arise regarding the interplay between indigenous expectations as enshrined in the new constitution and the objective of the MAS to build a broad support base and concentration of power in the executive. The indigenous issue was brought to bear on constitutional change as an ideological tool for strengthening the power of the president. With the document approved and Morales’s power further enhanced, the MAS moved to extend its reach to the urban middle class. Looking ahead, the implementation of many aspects of the constitution will prove difficult and could generate instability, especially the consolidation of institutional autonomy, parallel systems of justice, and agrarian reform. There is also the threat of indigenous communities taking control of mining operations and clashing with government plans for the expansion of hydrocarbons production. Increasingly, the master plan of the MAS for total political hegemony will clash with implicit promises to the indigenous community for special privileges, and it is unlikely that Morales will move to implement the indigenous agenda. The divide between political power centered in La Paz and economic power in Santa Cruz is a factor that will occupy his attention. Morales is hostile to the private sector in general and will attempt to destroy the power of private enterprise in Santa Cruz.

Asked about a future role the United States could play in Bolivia, Mayorga commented that the trend toward authoritarian populist regimes in Latin America cannot be stopped from the outside and that his advice to the United States is not to interfere. Populist regimes like that of Morales do not enjoy staying power beyond a certain point.

Carlos Toranzo, political economist and consultant, La Paz, Bolivia

Mr. Toranzo, like other panelists, noted the wide discrepancies in measuring the size of the indigenous community in Bolivia, ranging from as low as 18 percent to as high as 73 percent. Regardless, however, political discourse in Bolivia has been strongly indigenista, and because poverty is closely linked to rural society, the plight of indigenous peoples has been a high-priority issue. Toranzo traced variables in the perception of indigenous identity from the indigenous congress of 1943 to the conversion of Indians into campesinos by the Revolution of 1952. According to Toranzo, the dominant political culture in Bolivia since the 1940s has been one of “revolutionary labor unionism” (*sindicalismo revolucionario*) mixed with the trappings of *indigenismo*. Key elements of this outlook include the goal of a controlling state, revolutionary nationalism, and anti-imperialism. Evo Morales conforms to this model, a revolutionary nationalist with an indigenous image and matching rhetoric. In this regard, he is particularly appealing to foreign audiences, especially Europeans, who admire the kind of revolution taking place in Bolivia that they cannot bring about in their own countries. They have helped empower civil society in Bolivia, resulting in the “globalization of anti-globalizers.” The indigenous discourse in Bolivia is Aymara-centric, reflecting the Katarista movements of the past. While

Toranzo predicted Morales would win the December 6 elections by a landslide and without the need for fraud, he noted that there will still be limits on his power and considerable tension between the need for him to further strengthen his urban support while still being indigenista and his desire to reach out to the eastern lowland departments without neglecting his political base in the highlands. He is, however, very popular, aided in part by his indigenous background but also due to the cash subsidies his government is paying out to children, senior citizens, and others. Asked what the United States can do regarding Morales's anti-imperialist stance, Toranzo retorted "keep out." As for Bolivians themselves, they want to "live better," including the desire to own property, not to "vivir bien" as conceived by the indigenista agenda.

Panel IV: Regional Outlook

Erick Langer, Georgetown University

Indigenous-specific politics reached its high-water mark in the Andean region during the 1992–2003 period and "got burned" when indigenous parties entered into broader political allegiances and began to lose their base. The rise of populist leaders Correa and Morales have undercut the appearance of indigenous figures such as Luis Macas and Felipe Quispe. In Peru, the violent incident at Bagua demonstrated that regional indigenous movements are alive in the Amazon as opposed to the highlands. Events at Bagua portend the growing importance of the indigenous agenda in Peru. While Pachakutik is "more or less dead" at the national level, it and CONAIE still have influence at the local level and maintain a close linkage with the Ecuadoran military, which uses them as a brake on any attempt by Correa to intervene in the military sphere. In Bolivia, indigenous voters will turn out in large numbers for Evo Morales but pro-indigenous rhetoric does not translate into indigenous influence or power inside the government. The indigenous, however, have no other viable option than to support Morales because, even though the MAS is not an indigenous party, the opposition defines itself as nonindigenous. Violent pressure from the MAS put an end to the presidential hopes of former vice president Víctor Hugo Cárdenas, an Aymara and a potential political threat to Morales. Langer predicts future conflict between the government and the Guaraní-speaking peoples of the eastern departments over natural gas, with the indigenous demanding a considerably greater share of benefits. While the trend toward lesser political power at the national level for indigenous parties is clear, indigenous movements are not played out by any means and the indigenous agenda will remain part of the political scenery.

José Antonio Lucero, Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington

The issue of multiculturalism has put indigenous and Afro-Latin people on government agendas but with some negative reactions. Multicultural official policies may remain at the stage of mere symbolism or may not be applied because of lack of political will. Once applied, they run the risk of provoking a backlash or can trigger uneven outcomes. The analysis by outsiders of indigenous movements in the Andes has also fallen victim to mistaken thinking, especially that all

indigenous groups should grow from the local to the national level. It is likewise a mistake to view indigenous movements as being top-down in terms of authority. Furthermore, multiculturalism can have both transformative and conservative implications. In Bolivia during the 1990s, for example, the neoliberal regime of Sánchez de Lozada promoted a brand of multiculturalism within his liberal economic model, while Ecuador provided the opposite effect of multiculturalism halting the neoliberal reforms. While multicultural movements must be careful to avoid backlash from other sectors of society, their ideas can also spread across ethnic lines, such as in the case of the autonomy drive by the “media luna” lowland departments in Bolivia.

Regarding Peru, Dr. Lucero noted that the establishment of a truth commission in the wake of the Bagua incidents opened a window of opportunity that quickly closed, with no indigenous commissioners named and little political will to move forward. However, middle class Lima voters appear to have rejected the government’s version of Bagua as the work of dangerous radicals and government television spots designed to promote that image failed to convince urban viewers. The 2006 presidential election was not a positive factor for indigenous politics. Ollanta Humala did not represent the indigenous but rather was a military populist. There may be new space for women within the indigenous movement of Peru. Afro-Peruvians, meanwhile, have been marginalized in the multicultural political outlook of the indigenous, who are proud of their own languages and culture but have lesser regard for the place of Afro-Peruvians in society.

Lucero warned against considering multicultural and indigenous movements as homogeneous. Rather, he argued, they should be seen as bridges between indigenous peoples. He concluded that the focus of indigenous politics will move away from the national level to concentrate on municipal and local matters, especially as related to the extractive industries.

Raúl Madrid, University of Texas at Austin

The trends in indigenous politics in the three countries are clear: the rise of the MAS as the dominant element in Bolivia at the expense of indigenous-based parties; the decline of Pachakutik in Ecuador; and the lack of a significant indigenous party in Peru. While the Amazon peoples of Peru have relatively stronger federations than communities in the highlands, the Amazon is far less populated, the local organizations lack the legitimacy and resources to form a national party, and without the participation of the highlands, there is no basis for a national indigenous movement.

Dr. Madrid noted the differences in the size of the indigenous communities in the Andean region and the means of measurement. The demographics are most favorable in Bolivia, where some 50 percent of the population speaks an indigenous language as opposed to less than 20 percent in Peru and far less still in Ecuador. Indigenous self-identification is a complicated matter, based on how questions of ethnic affiliation are phrased. In Bolivia, for example, less than 20 percent of respondents will claim indigenous status if the category “mestizo” is offered as an option. Nonetheless, the portion of self-identifying indigenous is higher in Bolivia than Peru or Ecuador.

In political terms, however, a strongly ethnic appeal alienates voters, which in part explains the success of the MAS in Bolivia in contrast with Pachakutik in Ecuador. When Pachakutik reached its peak strength during the 1990s, it reached out beyond indigenous voters, especially in urban areas, but prominent mestizos began to leave the party after 2000, and the candidacy of Luis Macas in 2006 further alienated mestizo voters. The MAS took the other approach in Bolivia, beginning first as an indigenous-based movement in Cochabama with no extensive outside alliances but branching out for the 2002 elections and then afterward shifting its strategy away from a focus on ethnicity to win urban and mestizo support.

Analyzing the impact of indigenous movements in the three countries over time, Madrid mentioned several key observations: (1) larger indigenous representation—from almost no indigenous people in key institutions, appointed or elected, to many more now; (2) larger voter turnout in indigenous areas; (3) greater satisfaction with democracy in Bolivia; (4) many indigenous demands have become law, but much of this legislation is symbolic and has not been implemented; (5) regional political polarization is increasing; (6) only modest changes in the economic area; (7) very little social change.

In terms of future outlook, the MAS will dominate in Bolivia over the short term, according to Madrid. The MAS is a traditional populist party that is dependent on Evo Morales, so that his future is the future of the party. Perhaps one-third of Bolivians are hard-core supporters of Morales, and so he must concentrate on satisfying his softer support base. Madrid sees tension developing between the MAS and its ethnic constituencies; the MAS could run into serious difficulty if government resources for political largesse become restricted. For Peru, Madrid is skeptical that an indigenous-based party will emerge—the prerequisites are not in place. That said, populist leaders in Peru from Alberto Fujimori to Alejandro Toledo to Ollanta Humala have consistently used ethnic appeal to garner votes and the bulk of the indigenous vote in the future will go to such a candidate. In Ecuador, Pachakutik is unlikely to recover its former influence although it will retain some core support.

Conclusions

- The size of the indigenous community in the Andean region varies widely according to methodologies used to measure it. Increasingly, measurements are based more on self-identification than on language, clothing, occupation, or place of residence, although self-identification will also depend on the options provided for respondents. Regardless of methodology, however, Bolivia has the largest indigenous community as a percentage of national population, followed by Peru and then Ecuador.
- In the past two decades, the region has experienced an important expansion in the political participation of indigenous peoples at both the local and national level of politics. Many factors account for this increase in indigenous political awareness and participation, ranging from improved levels of education and communication to government decentralization

policies that have empowered local government and transferred fiscal resources to municipalities.

- The influence of indigenous-based political organizations at the national level appears to have reached its apex around 2002 and has since diminished. Several variables have contributed to this decline. A central factor involves the relationship between indigenous political groups in all three countries and the rise of nonindigenous-led populist regimes cutting across ethnic and geographic lines that nonetheless address or claim to address issues central to indigenous voters.
- Manifestations of this trend include the regimes of current presidents Rafael Correa in Ecuador and Evo Morales in Bolivia, as well as the failed candidacy of Ollanta Humala in Peru in 2006. In all three cases, populists espousing anti-neoliberalism, anti-U.S. rhetoric, and addressing other issues of a traditional indigenous agenda captured large number of indigenous votes at the expense of indigenous political movements.
- The rise of “ethno-populism” in Ecuador and Bolivia has resulted in an increased concentration of political power in the hands of the Correa and Morales administrations, respectively, with their political movements, Alianza País and the MAS, evolving into political parties that have actively and successfully displaced indigenous-based political movements.
- In the case of Peru, where indigenous-based political parties have not been as advanced as in the other two countries, national-level political participation by the indigenous is also manifested in support for populists representing a power base extending well beyond the indigenous.
- As populist regimes in Ecuador and Bolivia attempt to further concentrate power, tensions will arise in the area of policymaking on many issues central to the indigenous agenda, such as local autonomy and self-governance, control of natural resources and income from those resources, and education. Governments will attempt to balance national policy objectives with indigenous-specific concerns, often a difficult task.
- To date, many of the constitutional and legislative measures taken to address the political agenda of indigenous peoples have gone unapplied. In the case of Bolivia, application of the 2009 constitution regarding issues such as parallel systems of justice and institutional autonomy for the indigenous will be particularly difficult.
- Looking ahead, indigenous political movements in the Andean region face a common dilemma. By mobilizing constituent support with an indigenous-specific policy agenda and emphasizing ethnic identity, they can improve their chances to win local elections in majority indigenous districts and place representatives in congress. This approach, however, severely limits the possibility of effectiveness at the national level.
- In the case of Peru, indigenous organizations in the Amazon region have been more dynamic and active than those in the highlands region. While there is potential for substantially greater

success of indigenous-specific political groups in local elections, the emergence of an effective indigenous party at the national level is unlikely.

- Given the low potential for improved relations between the García government and the indigenous communities of Peru, the indigenous vote in the 2011 presidential election will likely go to a candidate who is not a member of the APRA party and is not seen as a representative of mainstream Lima politics. This opens the door for the emergence of another anti-systemic populist in the mold of Ollanta Humala to compete for the presidency.
- In Ecuador, CONAIE and Pachakutik face the dilemma of opposing the nonindigenous, nationalist, and populist regime of Rafael Correa or cooperating with it—either way an arguably lose/lose situation.
- Evo Morales enjoys enormous power in Bolivia. The MAS is a nonindigenous movement that is increasingly controlled by urban mestizos but is pledged to address key indigenous issues in order to maintain its strong support among indigenous people. The dynamic involved in satisfying the expectations of indigenous voters while maintaining support from other elements in society will be a key challenge to Morales.
- The rising tide of ethno-populism in Ecuador and Bolivia and the potential for it resurfacing in Peru is something over which the United States has little or no control. Domestic considerations will dictate the flow of political events. What the United States can and should do is to encourage the adoption of policies in the Andean region aimed at sustainable economic development that includes and benefits indigenous populations and tailor its assistance and public diplomacy to support those objectives.

Appendix: Conference Agenda

8:15–8:30 a.m. Registration

8:30–10:00 a.m. Panel I: Peru

Jóhanna Kristín Birnir, *Center for International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland*

Oscar Espinosa, *Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú*

David Scott Palmer, *Boston University*

Moderator: Cynthia McClintock, *George Washington University*

10:00–11:15 a.m. Panel II: Ecuador

Ampam Karakras, *Consejo de Desarrollo de las Nacionalidades y Pueblos del Ecuador (CODENPE)*

Carmen Martínez, *Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales Sede Ecuador (FLACSO Ecuador)*

Moderator: Kevin Healy, *Inter-American Foundation*

11:15–12:45 p.m. Panel III: Bolivia

Robert Albro, *School of International Service, American University*

René Mayorga, *Centro Boliviano de Estudios Multidisciplinarios (CEBEM)*

Carlos Toranzo, *Political Economist and Consultant, La Paz, Bolivia*

Moderator: Katherine Bliss, *CSIS*

12:45–2:30 p.m. Panel IV: Regional Outlook

José Antonio Lucero, *Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington*

Raúl Madrid, *University of Texas at Austin*

Erick Langer, *Georgetown University*

Moderator: Peter DeShazo, *CSIS*

About the Author

Peter DeShazo is director of the Americas Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, D.C. Before joining CSIS in 2004, he was member of the career U.S. senior foreign service, serving as deputy assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs and deputy U.S. permanent representative to the Organization of American States. During his foreign service career, DeShazo directed the Office of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs in the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs at the State Department and was director of Western Hemispheric affairs at the U.S. Information Agency. He served in U.S. embassies and consulates in La Paz, Medellín, Santiago, Panama City, Caracas, and Tel Aviv.

DeShazo received a B.A. from Dartmouth College and a Ph.D. in Latin American history from the University of Wisconsin at Madison, with postgraduate study at the Universidad Católica de Chile. He is the author of *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902–1927* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1983) and articles in academic and foreign affairs journals. Himself a former Fulbright scholar, DeShazo was president of the U.S.-Chile Fulbright Commission. He is currently a professorial lecturer in the Latin American Studies Program at the Johns Hopkins University School for Advanced International Studies, where he teaches a course on the Andean region. He is frequently interviewed by leading U.S. and international media on topics related to the Americas and U.S. foreign policy in the Western Hemisphere.

