

## Bibliographic Essay

MARC BECKER

Ecuador, as a small country on South America's Pacific coast, often receives little attention in broader works on Latin America. For example, not a single chapter in the landmark volume, *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World: 18th to 20th Centuries*, ed. Steve J. Stern (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987) is dedicated to Ecuador. Likewise, *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*, ed. Frank Salomon and Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) devotes relatively little attention to Ecuador. In bibliographic essays on the Andes in that volume, Brooke Larson notes that Ecuador's nineteenth century is one of the least studied topics in the region, and Xavier Albó notes that "the first half of the twentieth century shows a deafening silence on the part of scholars, as if nonwhite Ecuador no longer existed."<sup>1</sup> In a 1985 survey of North American writings on Latin American history, David Bushnell counted only one book on Ecuador. In comparing the number of historical studies in English on Ecuador to its size, Bushnell noted that the country "would again lose half its territory, this time by reason of North American neglect rather than war or diplomacy."<sup>2</sup>

This scholarly lack of interest has not been the result of an absence of compelling themes in the country's history. In the early 1970s, political scientist John Martz observed that Ecuador, even though little studied among scholars of Latin American issues, "serves as a microcosm for a wide variety of problems, questions, and issues relevant to various of the other Latin American countries."<sup>3</sup> Slowly but surely Ecuador is beginning to take a more prominent place in the scholarly literature on Latin America. One notable attempt is *Historia de América Andina*, vol. 5, *Creación de las repúblicas y formación de la nación*, ed. Juan Maiguashca (Quito: Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, 2003). As dissertations written over the past twenty years make their way into print in the form of articles, monographs, and books, the literature on Ecuador has become richer.

Although somewhat dated in its focus on the emergence of civilian government in the 1980s, a short and highly readable introductory study is David Corkill and David Cubitt, *Ecuador: Fragile Democracy* (London: Latin American Bureau,

1988). Broader in scope and also focusing primarily on political developments is Enrique Ayala Mora, *Resumen de historia del Ecuador* (Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional, 1993), which summarizes much of the information presented in *Nueva Historia del Ecuador*, 15 vols., ed. Enrique Ayala Mora (Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional, 1983–1995). Organized chronologically and thematically, the *Nueva Historia* brings together many advances in Ecuador's historiography. Particularly relevant to the themes of this book are Gerardo Fuentealba, "La sociedad indígena en las primeras décadas de la república: continuidades coloniales y cambios republicanos," in *ibid.*, vol. 8, *Epoca republicana II: Perspectiva general del siglo XIX*, 45–77; Xavier Andrade and Fredy Rivera, "El movimiento campesino e indígena en el último período: fases, actores y contenidos políticos," in *ibid.*, vol. 11, *Epoca republicana III: El Ecuador en el último período*, 257–82; and Diego Iturralde G., "Nacionalidades indígenas y estado nacional en Ecuador," in *ibid.*, vol. 13, *Ensayos Generales II: Nación, Estado y Sistema Político*, 9–58.

An introductory survey of Ecuadorian anthropological studies is Segundo E. Moreno Yáñez, *Antropología ecuatoriana: Pasado y presente* (Quito: Editorial Ediguias C. Ltda., 1992). More in-depth treatments include a study by the political scientist and Ecuador's former president, Osvaldo Hurtado, *Political Power in Ecuador* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980); and by an economist, David W. Schodt, *Ecuador: An Andean Enigma* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987). A good volume, though now somewhat dated, that gives a broad overview of the ethnic diversity in Ecuador is *Cultural Transformations and Ethnicity in Modern Ecuador*, ed. Norman E. Whitten Jr. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981). Also essential is the updated edition, *Millennial Ecuador: Critical Essays on Cultural Transformations and Social Dynamics*, ed. Norman E. Whitten Jr. (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2003). Complementing these works is Michael Handelman, *Culture and Customs of Ecuador* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), with its focus on popular culture. An ambitious study is *Ecuador: una nación en ciernes*, ed. Rafael Quintero and Erika Silva (Quito: FLACSO–Abya-Yala, 1991), which provides much information on Ecuadorian history. These more recent works provide interesting contrasts to two classic studies that provided the basis for an earlier generation of research on Ecuador: Lilo Linke, *Ecuador: Country of Contrasts* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954); and George I. Blanksten, *Ecuador: Constitutions and Caudillos* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), which argues that passive Indians were responsible for the creation of an authoritarian state in Ecuador.

Less archaeological research has been conducted in Ecuador than in Peru. An outstanding book that reconstructs the political and economic institutions of pre-Inka societies in the northern Andes is Frank Salomon, *Native Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas: The Political Economy of North Andean Chiefdoms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). Much of the most developed research

on Ecuador concerns the colonial period, when it was known as the Audiencia of Quito. The earliest book in English on the subject is John Leddy Phelan, *The Kingdom of Quito in the Seventeenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967). Galo Ramón, *La resistencia andina: Cayambe, 1500–1800* (Quito: Centro Andino de Acción Popular, 1987) examines indigenous resistance to colonial policies within hacienda settings. Karen Powers, *Andean Journeys: Migration, Ethnogenesis, and the State in Colonial Quito* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995) examines indigenous migrations as a form of resistance to state structures. Kris Lane, *Quito 1599: City and Colony in Transition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002) extends this analysis in a variety of directions, including a look at maroon slave resistance on the coast and Shuar resistance to gold mining in the eastern Amazon.

Only recently has the nineteenth century begun to receive the attention it deserves. A useful starting point on this century is *Historia y región en el Ecuador 1830–1930*, ed. Juan Maiguashca (Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional, 1994); and in particular Juan Maiguashca, "El proceso de integración nacional en el Ecuador: el rol del poder central, 1830–1895," in *ibid.* Maiguashca's rethinking of state formation has influenced subsequent interpretations. One of the best essays on Indian-state relations in this century is Andrés Guerrero, "The Construction of a Ventriloquist's Image: Liberal Discourse and the 'Miserable Indian Race' in Late Nineteenth-Century Ecuador," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 29, no. 3 (October 1997): 555–90 (originally published as "Una imagen ventrilocua: el discurso liberal de la 'desgraciada raza indígena' a fines del siglo XIX," in *Imágenes e imaginarios: representaciones de los indígenas ecuatorianos, siglos XIX y XX*, ed. Blanca Muratorio [Quito: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales-Sede Ecuador, 1994], 197–252). Guerrero examines how liberals represented indigenous concerns and exploited them for their own political gain. See also Andrés Guerrero, "Curas y tenientes políticos: La ley de la costumbre y la ley del estado (Otavalo 1830–1875)," *Revista Andina* 7, no. 2 (no. 14) (December 1989): 321–66, which examines a shift from ethnic to secular authority in Otavalo in northern Ecuador.

The three chapters on Ecuador in *Los Andes en la encrucijada: indios, comunidades y estado en el siglo XIX*, ed. Heraclio Bonilla (Quito: Ediciones Libri Mundi–FLACSO, 1991) are also all useful treatments of nineteenth-century Indian-state relations. Conservative efforts to establish a Catholic state are described in Derek Williams, "Assembling the 'Empire of Morality': State Building Strategies in Catholic Ecuador, 1861–1875," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 14, no. 2 (June 2001): 149–74. The 1871 revolt in Chimborazo against taxation and labor drafts led by Fernando Daquilema is receiving an increasing amount of attention. See Hernán Ibarra, *Nos encontramos amenazados por todita la indiada: El levantamiento de Daquilema* (Quito: CEDIS, 1993). Innovative research on relations between gender and ethnicity may be found in Erin O'Connor, "Widows' Rights Ques-

tioned: Indians, the State, and Fluctuating Gender Ideas in Central Highland Ecuador, 1870–1900,” *The Americas* 59, no. 1 (July 2002): 87–106; and Erin O’Connor, *Gender, Indian, Nation: The Contradictions of Making Ecuador, 1830–1925* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007). A chapter in *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* has been expanded into Brooke Larson, *Trials of Nation Making: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810–1910* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). The chapter on Ecuador provides an excellent synthetic treatment of this period.

The 1895 Liberal Revolution and its aftermath has begun to attract more attention from scholars. See Enrique Ayala Mora, *Historia de la Revolución Liberal Ecuatoriana* (Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional, 1994). A. Kim Clark, *The Redemptive Work: Railway and Nation in Ecuador, 1895–1930* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1998) examines the political economy and culture of the railroad in Ecuador that, uniquely in Latin America, was designed to unify the country rather than create an export infrastructure. Mercedes Prieto, *Liberalismo y temor: imaginando los sujetos indígenas en el Ecuador postcolonial, 1895–1950* (Quito: FLACSO, 2004) presents a solid analysis of liberal attitudes toward race. Also see Nicola Foote, “Race, State and Nation in Early Twentieth Century Ecuador,” *Nations and Nationalism* 12, no. 2 (April 2006): 261–78. For indigenous uprisings against government taxes in the 1920s, see Michiel Baud, “The Huelga de los Indígenas in Cuenca, Ecuador (1920–1921),” in *Indigenous Revolts in Chiapas and the Andean Highlands*, ed. Kevin Gosner and Arij Ouweleen (Amsterdam: CEDLA, 1996), 217–39; and Michiel Baud, “Campesinos indígenas contra el Estado. La huelga de los indígenas de Azuay, 1920/21,” *Procesos: Revista Ecuatoriana de Historia* 4 (1993): 41–72.

Much of the research on twentieth-century Ecuador is composed of anthropological studies of indigenous groups in the eastern Amazonian basin, called the Oriente. Early twentieth-century accounts tended to sensationalize Amazonian “headhunters.” See Rafael Karsten, *The Head-hunters of the Western Amazonas: The Life and Culture of the Jibaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador and Peru* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, 1935); and M. W. Stirling, *Historical and Ethnographical Material on the Jivaro Indians* (Washington, DC: American Ethnological Society, 1939). The literature has developed significantly since then. See Blanca Muratorio, *The Life and Times of Grandfather Alonso: Culture and History in the Upper Amazon* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991); Norman J. Whitten Jr., *Sacha Runa: Ethnicity and Adaptation of Ecuadorian Jungle Quichua* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976); and Norman J. Whitten Jr., *Sicuanga Runa: The Other Side of Development in Amazonian Ecuador* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985). These books on lowland Quichua Indians have inspired a generation of anthropologists. An important historical perspective is presented in Anne-Christine Taylor, “El Oriente

ecuatoriano en el siglo XIX: ‘el otro litoral,’” in *Historia y región en el Ecuador 1830–1930*, ed. Juan Maiguashca (Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional, 1994), 17–67. Ethnographic work examines how indigenous peoples in the Amazon have confronted challenges from the imposition of state structures on traditional communities. Among the best recent treatments are Suzana Sawyer, *Crude Chronicles: Indigenous Politics, Multinational Oil, and Neoliberalism in Ecuador* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Michael Uzendoski, *The Napo Runa of Amazonian Ecuador* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005); Steven L. Rubenstein, *Alejandro Tsakimp: A Shuar Healer in the Margins of History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); Laura M. Rival, *Trekking Through History: The Huaorani of Amazonian Ecuador* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); and Lawrence Ziegler-Otero, *Resistance in an Amazonian Community: Huaorani Organizing Against the Global Economy* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2004).

Unlike the Amazon, the western coast has received little scholarly attention outside of the port city of Guayaquil. Guayaquil has a long history of working-class struggles against capital, expressed most vividly in a strike that was repressed through a massacre of workers on November 15, 1922. The history of subaltern attempts to influence government policies in Guayaquil is examined in Ronn F. Pineo, *Social and Economic Reform in Ecuador: Life and Work in Guayaquil* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996). An interesting examination of the conformation of political and social power in Guayaquil is found in Patricia de la Torre, *Lo privado y local en el estado ecuatoriano: la Junta de Beneficencia de Guayaquil* (Quito: Abya Yala, 1999). Few indigenous peoples remain in the coastal region, with much of the rural population assimilated into a poor mestizo population; see José de la Cuadra, *El montuvio ecuatoriano* (Quito: Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas de la Universidad Central del Ecuador, 1937). Peasant struggles in the early twentieth century for recognition of their rights are covered in John F. Uggen, *Tenencia de la tierra y movilizaciones campesinas: zona de Milagro* (Quito: Andean Center for Latin American Studies, 1993). A compelling book is Steve Striffler, *In The Shadows of State and Capital: The United Fruit Company, Popular Struggle, and Agrarian Restructuring in Ecuador, 1900–1995* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), which examines how agrarian workers on the Tenguel banana hacienda engaged state structures in attempts to improve their lives.

Important works on highland indigenous cultures include Linda Smith Belote and Jim Belote, “Drain from the Bottom: Individual Ethnic Identity Change in Southern Ecuador,” *Social Forces* 63, no. 1 (September 1984): 24–50, which examines the resurgence of ethnic consciousness in Saraguro. A now classic article on religion and ethnicity is Blanca Muratorio, “Protestantism and Capitalism Revisited, in the Rural Highlands of Ecuador,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 8, no. 1 (October 1980): 37–60. Good starting points for understanding indigenous relations

with the broader society in the central highland provinces of Cotopaxi and Chimborazo include Mary J. Weismantel, *Food, Gender, and Poverty in the Ecuadorian Andes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988); and Barry J. Lyons, *Remembering the Hacienda: Religion, Authority, and Social Change in Highland Ecuador* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006).

The early emergence of peasant organizations in Cayambe in the northern highlands that challenged white hegemonic control over indigenous labor on haciendas is explored in Mercedes Prieto, "Haciendas estatales: un caso de ofensiva campesina: 1926–1948," in *Ecuador: cambios en el agro serrano*, ed. Miguel Murmis et al. (Quito: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales [FLACSO]–Centro de Planificación y Estudios Sociales [CEPLAES], 1980), 101–30; Muriel Crespi, "Changing Power Relations: The Rise of Peasant Unions on Traditional Ecuadorian Haciendas," *Anthropological Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (October 1971): 223–40; and Marc Becker, "Una Revolución Comunista Indígena: Rural Protest Movements in Cayambe, Ecuador," *Rethinking Marxism* 10, no. 4 (Winter 1998): 34–51. Biographies of two important indigenous leaders are Raquel Rodas, *Dolores Cacuango: Gran líder del pueblo indio* (Quito: Banco Central del Ecuador, 2006); and Cecilia Miño, *Tránsito Amaguaña* (Quito: Banco Central del Ecuador, 2006).

In the highland region, the Otavalo Indians have received significant scholarly attention owing to their financial success and international renown for their weaving. As a result, they have not experienced the degree of racism faced by other groups, a fact that has also influenced the nature of their relations with state structures. John Collier Jr. and Aníbal Buitron, *The Awakening Valley* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949) presents the metaphor of the Otavalo Indians coming of age. Although most work on Otavalo has been ethnographic, Andrés Guerrero examines a historical shift from ethnic to secular authorities during the nineteenth century in "Curagas y tenientes políticos: La ley de la costumbre y la ley del estado (Otavalo 1830–1875)," *Revista Andina* 7, no. 2 (no. 14) (December 1989): 321–66. The role of Indians in the privatization of communal lands since the 1700s is examined in Elizabeth Marberry Rogers, "Ethnicity, Property, and the State: Legal Rhetoric and the Politics of Community in Otavalo, Ecuador," *Research in Economic Anthropology* 19 (1998): 69–113. Among the best recent studies on this region are Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld, *The Native Leisure Class: Consumption and Cultural Creativity in the Andes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); and Lynn Meisch, *Andean Entrepreneurs: Otavalo Merchants and Musicians in the Global Arena* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

Politically, *indigenismo* has not been as strong a force in Ecuador as in Mexico and Peru, but the intellectual presence of this ideology has been felt culturally. A novel published in 1934 by Jorge Icaza, *Huasipungo* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), is one of the best examples of *indigenista* literature in Latin America. Icaza portrays Indians as incompetent fools who need the assis-

tance of white liberals to save them from the worst abuses of the dominant culture. A more scholarly work along the same lines is Pío Jaramillo Alvarado, *El indio ecuatoriano*, 2 vols., 7th ed. (Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional, 1997 [1922]). Jaramillo's work contributed to the formation of the Instituto Indigenista Ecuatoriano in 1943, which published an occasional journal called *Atahualpa* and a variety of books, including *Cuestiones indígenas del Ecuador* (Quito: Edit. Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, 1946). In the 1950s and 1960s, Alfredo Costales Samaniego and Piedad Peñaherrera de Costales published 24 monographs in a series entitled *Llacta* which summarized much of the contemporary scholarly research on Indians. Among significant works by indigenista intellectuals in the twentieth century is Gonzalo Rubio Orbe, *Los indios ecuatorianos: Evolución histórica y políticas indigenistas* (Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional, 1987).

Many of the discussions concerning indigenous-state relations have revolved around issues of agrarian reform. An early study that interprets this history from the peasants' point of view is Fernando Velasco, *Reforma agraria y movimiento campesino indígena de la sierra*, 2d ed. (Quito: Editorial El Conejo, 1983). Velasco's untimely death in 1978 ended his important contribution to this debate, but Osvaldo Barsky and Andrés Guerrero continued the discussion. The thesis that modernizing landowners initiated the agrarian reform process is presented in Osvaldo Barsky, *La reforma agraria ecuatoriana* (Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional, 1984).

Guerrero argues that peasant initiative forced these changes. See Andrés Guerrero, *Haciendas, capital y lucha de clases andina: disolución de la hacienda serrana y lucha política en los años 1960–64* (Quito: Editorial El Conejo, 1983). A similar view is found in Paola Silva, *Gamonalismo y lucha campesino* (Quito: Ediciones Abya Yala, 1986). Galo Ramón criticized these authors for adhering too closely to a class analysis that blinded them to the ethnic dimensions in the peasant struggle to regain ownership over land which they historically had occupied. See Galo Ramón, *El regreso de los runas: la potencialidad del proyecto indio en el Ecuador contemporánea* (Quito: COMUNIDEC–Fundación Interamericana, 1993). A good summary of the debate is in Leon Zamosc, *Peasant Struggles and Agrarian Reform: The Ecuadorian Sierra and the Colombian Atlantic Coast in Comparative Perspective*, Latin American Issues Monograph 8 (Meadville, PA: Allegheny College, 1990).

Several works examine how specific images of Indians are formed and how the indigenous population fits into models of the Ecuadorian nation. Mary Crain, "The Social Construction of National Identity in Highland Ecuador," *Anthropological Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (January 1990): 43–59, critiques how national governments have exploited symbols of indigenous cultures for their own political gain. A now classic study of national ideologies in Ecuador is Ronald Stutzman, "El Mestizaje: An All-Inclusive Ideology of Exclusion," in *Cultural Transformations*

*and Ethnicity in Modern Ecuador*, ed. Norman E. Whitten Jr. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981). Accounts of how images of Indians have articulated with nationalist ideologies at different times may be found in Blanca Muratorio, ed., *Imágenes e Imaginarios: Representaciones de los Indígenas Ecuatorianos, Siglos XIX y XX* (Quito: FLACSO, 1994). In a rather different vein, Ecuadorian beauty pageants and how Indians participate in them figuratively and literally are examined in Mark Rogers, "Spectacular Bodies: Folklorization and the Politics of Identity in Ecuadorian Beauty Pageants," *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 3, no. 2 (1998): 54–85. On the social construction of images of Indians, see A. Kim Clark, "Race, 'Culture' and Mestizaje: The Statistical Construction of the Ecuadorian Nation, 1930–1950," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 11, no. 2 (1998): 185–211; "Racial Ideologies and the Quest for National Development: Debating the Agrarian Problem in Ecuador (1930–1950)," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 30, no. 2 (1998): 373–93; and "La medida de la diferencia: Las imágenes indigenistas de los indios serranos en el Ecuador (1920s a 1940s)," in *Ecuador racista: Imágenes e identidades*, ed. Emma Cervone and Fredy Rivera (Quito: FLACSO, 1999), 111–26.

Andrés Guerrero, *La semántica de la dominación: el concertaje de indios* (Quito: Ediciones Libri Mundi, 1991) is a masterful study of mechanisms of domination on highland haciendas and indigenous resistance to those systems. A wide-ranging study of the highland hacienda economy is Jorge Trujillo, *La hacienda serrana, 1900–1930* (Quito: Instituto de Estudios Ecuatorianos–Ediciones Abya-Yala, 1986). Marc Becker, "Comunas and Indigenous Protest in Cayambe, Ecuador," *The Americas* 55, no. 4 (April 1999): 531–59, argues that politicized indigenous activists rejected a 1937 law that extended legal recognition to rural communities because it would deepen dependence on the dominant culture. Marc Becker examines how rural and urban activists joined together in a common struggle for social justice in "Indigenous Communists and Urban Intellectuals in Cayambe, Ecuador (1926–1944)," in *Popular Intellectuals and Social Movements: Framing Protest in Asia, Africa, and Latin America*, ed. Michiel Baud and Rosanne Rutten (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 41–64.

A variety of works analyze indigenous-state relations, most of them focusing on recent decades. These include Diego Iturralde G., "Nacionalidades indígenas y estado nacional en Ecuador," in *Nueva historia del Ecuador*, vol. 13, *Ensayos generales II: nación, estado y sistema político*, ed. Enrique Ayala Mora (Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional, 1995), 9–58; Diego Cornejo Menacho, ed., *Los indios y el estado-país; pluriculturalidad y multietnicidad en el Ecuador: contribuciones al debate* (Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala, 1993); Enrique Ayala Mora et al., *Pueblos indios, estado y derecho* (Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional, 1993); Juan Carlos Ribadeneira, ed., *Derecho, pueblos indígenas y reforma del estado* (Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala, 1993); and Ilena Almeida and Nidia Arrobo Rodas, eds., *En defensa del pluralismo y la igualdad: Los derechos de los pueblos indios y el estado* (Quito: Fun-

dación Pueblo Indio del Ecuador; Ediciones Abya-Yala, 1998). A useful collection of essays is Víctor Bretón and Francisco García, eds., *Estado, etnidad y movimientos sociales en América Latina: Ecuador en crisis*, ed. (Barcelona: Ausiás Editorial, S.A., 2003).

A related theme is the interplay between class and ethnicity within indigenous movements. See Alicia Ibarra, *Los indígenas y el estado en el Ecuador: La práctica neoindigenista*, 2d ed. (Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala, 1992), which examines the relationship between the state and indigenous peoples in Ecuador during the government of Jaime Roldós and Oswaldo Hurtado (1979–1984). Employing a Marxist analysis, she argues that the class content of an indigenous movement is more important than its ethnic elements. In contrast, Roberto Santana, *¿Ciudadanos en la etnidad? Los indios en la política o la política de los indios* (Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala, 1995) emphasizes the importance of ethnicity in these movements. Amalia Pallares, *From Peasant Struggles to Indian Resistance: The Ecuadorian Andes in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), describes a shift from peasant to indigenous consciousness.

Much has been written about recent indigenous movements in Ecuador, thus expanding the discussion of indigenous relations with state structures. Anthropologists, political scientists, and sociologists have analyzed the significance of the 1990 uprising, related actions, and the corresponding ideological shift within indigenous politics and indigenous attitudes toward nationalism and state power. In a manner rarely seen in Latin America, indigenous actions spawned an academic "Generation of 1990," with countless books, articles, and doctoral dissertations on indigenous politics in Ecuador. Examples include José Almeida et al., *Sismo étnico en el Ecuador: varias perspectivas* (Quito: CEDIME–Ediciones Abya-Yala, 1993); Diego Cornejo Menacho, ed., *INDIOS: Una reflexión sobre el levantamiento indígena de 1990* (Quito: ILDIS, 1991); Segundo E. Moreno Yáñez and José Figueroa, *El levantamiento indígena del inti raymi de 1990* (Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala, 1992); Fernando Rosero, *Levantamiento indígena: tierra y precios* (Quito: Centro de Estudios y Difusión Social, 1990); Jorge León Trujillo, *De campesinos a ciudadanos diferentes: El levantamiento indígena* (Quito: CEDIME–Abya-Yala, 1994); Melina H. Selverston, "The Politics of Culture: Indigenous Peoples and the State in Ecuador," in *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America*, ed. Donna Lee Van Cott (New York: St. Martin's Press in association with the Inter-American Dialogue, 1994), 131–52; Melina Selverston-Scher, *Ethnopolitics in Ecuador: Indigenous Rights and the Strengthening of Democracy* (Coral Gables, FL: North-South Center Press, 2001); Leon Zamosc, "Agrarian Protest and the Indian Movement in the Ecuadorian Highlands," *Latin American Research Review* 29, no. 3 (1994): 37–68; Xavier Albó, "El retorno del Indio," *Revista Andina* 9, no. 2 (December 1991): 299–345; and Lynn A. Meisch, "We Will Not Dance on the Tomb of Our Grandparents: 500 Years of Resistance in Ecuador," *Latin American Anthropology*

*Review 4, no. 2 (Winter 1992): 55–74.*

Building on this activism in the 1990s, a quickly exploding body of literature emerged on indigenous involvement in electoral politics. See Robert Andolina, "The Sovereign and Its Shadow: Constituent Assembly and Indigenous Movement in Ecuador," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 35, no. 4 (November 2003): 721–50; Jennifer Collins, "Linking Movement and Electoral Politics: Ecuador's Indigenous Movement and the Rise of Pachakutik," in *Politics in the Andes: Identity, Conflict, Reform*, ed. Jo-Marie Burt and Philip Mauceri (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004), 38–57; and Pablo Dávalos, "De paja de páramo sembraremos el mundo": Izquierda, utopía y movimiento indígena en Ecuador," in *La nueva izquierda en América Latina*, ed. César A. Rodríguez Garavito, Patrick S. Barrett, and Daniel Chavez (Bogotá: Grupo Editorial Norma, 2005), 359–403. An important collection of documents from indigenous participants is presented in Augusto Barrera, *Entre la utopía y el desencanto: Pachakutik en el gobierno de Gutiérrez* (Quito: Editorial Planeta del Ecuador, S.A., 2004). Pablo Ospina Peralta, ed., *En las fisuras del poder: Movimiento indígena, cambio social y gobiernos locales* (Quito: IIE; CLACSO, 2006) examines how Pachakutik has worked with local development projects in Cotopaxi and Cotacachi.

Recent indigenous challenges to state power continue to receive scholarly attention. The failed January 21, 2000 military-indigenous coup against Jamil Mahuad is examined in Catherine Walsh, "The Ecuadorian Political Irruption. Uprisings, Coups, Rebellions, and Democracy," *Nepantla: Views from South* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 173–204; and the April 2001 issue of *Íconos*, a journal from the Ecuadorian branch of FLACSO, includes essays on this topic by Manuel Chiriboga, Fernando García, Jorge León, Eduardo Kingman, and others. A summary of recent literature is in Leon Zamosc, "The Indian Movement in Ecuador: from Politics of Influence to Politics of Power," in *The Struggle for Indigenous Rights in Latin America*, ed. Nancy Grey Postero and León Zamosc (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2004), 131–57. Zamosc examines the relationship between neoliberalism and political volatility, with an emphasis on the continued relevance of class conflict in an Indian movement that transcends ethnic rights.

Many works have emerged to analyze the impact of neoliberalism on Ecuador. See *Rural Progress, Rural Decay: Neoliberal Adjustment Policies and Local Initiatives*, ed. Liisa L. North and John D. Cameron (Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2003), which uses Ecuador as an example of the adverse consequences of neoliberal macroeconomic policies on equitable development. On relations between neoliberalism and indigenous movements, see Fernando Guerrero Cazar and Pablo Ospina Peralta, *El poder de la comunidad: Ajuste estructural y movimiento indígena en los Andes ecuatorianos* (Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2003); also see Luciano Martínez, "El campesino andino y la globalización a fines de siglo (una mirada sobre el caso ecuatoriano)," *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean*

*Studies* 77 (October 2004): 25–40; and Víctor Bretón Solo de Zaldívar, "Los paradigmas de la 'nueva' ruralidad a debate: El proyecto de desarrollo de los pueblos indígenas y negros del Ecuador," *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 78 (April 2005): 7–30. On how these factors trigger rural-urban migration, see Carola Lentz, *Migración e identidad étnica: La transformación histórica de una comunidad indígena en la sierra ecuatoriana* (Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala, 1997).

A growing arena of inquiry is indigenous justice, or how local communities use traditional authority structures to resolve internal debates rather than relying on external state structures. See *Derechos de los pueblos indígenas: Situación jurídica y políticas de estado*, ed. Ramón Torres Galarza (Quito: CONAIE/CEPLAES/ Abya-Yala, 1995); *Justicia indígena. Aportes para un debate*, ed. Judith Salgado (Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala; Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, 2002); and Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld, "Don't Be Lazy, Don't Lie, Don't Steal": Community Justice in the Neoliberal Andes," *American Ethnologist* 29, no. 3 (August 2002): 637–62.

Any consideration of indigenous and state issues would be incomplete without the perspectives of the indigenous peoples themselves. Although there is no end to indigenous pronouncements and statements, most of these remain buried in archival collections. More accessible to a general audience is the CONAIE's institutional history: Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador, *Las nacionalidades indígenas en el Ecuador: Nuestro proceso organizativo*, 2d ed. (Quito: Ediciones Tincui–Abya-Yala, 1989). Also see local organizational histories such as Ecuarunari, *Historia de la nacionalidad y los pueblos quichuas del Ecuador* (Quito: Ecuarunari, FUDEC, ILDIS, CODENPE, 1998); and Lourdes Tibán, Raúl Llaquiche, and Eloy Alfaro, *Historia y proceso organizativo* (Latacunga, Ecuador: Movimiento Indígena y Campesino de Cotopaxi "MICC," 2003). Indigenous intellectuals have also published several essays presenting their view on indigenous-state relations. In particular, see Ampam Karakras, *Las nacionalidades indias y el estado Ecuatoriano* (Quito: Editorial TINCUI-CONAIE, 1990). A journal, *Yachaykuna*, along with a monthly bulletin *Rimay*, published by the Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas (ICCI) in Quito, is dedicated to such inquiries and is available on their web page (<http://icci.nativeweb.org>).

electoral victory. In presidential, congressional, and local elections, Morales and his MAS Party have done much better than their Ecuadorian or Peruvian counterparts.

44. C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), 215.

45. On the importance of exploring “seeing and not seeing,” see Jeffrey Rubin, “Meanings and Mobilizations: A Cultural Politics Approach to Social Movements and States,” *Latin American Research Review* 39 (2004): 106–42.

### Bibliographic Essay

This essay does not attempt to cover all writings on Ecuador, but rather focuses on those most relevant to the themes of this book.

1. Brooke Larson, “Andean Highland Peasants and the Trials of Nation Making during the Nineteenth Century,” in *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*, ed. Frank Salomon and Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 691; Xavier Albó, “Andean People in the Twentieth Century, in *ibid.*, 867. A more recent volume also fails to include essays on Ecuador. See *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America*, ed. Kay B. Warren and Jean E. Jackson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

2. David Bushnell, “South America,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 65, no. 4 (November 1985): 772.

3. John D. Martz, *Ecuador: Conflicting Political Culture and the Quest for Progress* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1972), vii.

## Bibliography

### Archives

AAP/MNM	Archivo de Asistencia Pública in the Museo Nacional de Medicina
AGPC	Archivo de la Gobernación de la Provincia de Cotopaxi, Latacunga
AHN/C	Archivo Nacional de Historia, Cuenca
AJPA	Archivo de la Jefatura Política de Alausí
ANH/Q	Archivo Nacional de Historia, Quito
ANH/R	Archivo Nacional de Historia, Riobamba
APL	Archivo Palacio Legislativo
BEAEP	Biblioteca Ecuatoriana Aurelio Espinosa Pólit
IOA	Archivo del Instituto Otavaleño de Antropología

### Newspapers

<i>Atahualpa</i>
<i>El Comercio</i>
<i>El Hoy</i>
<i>El Nacional</i>
<i>Registro Oficial</i>

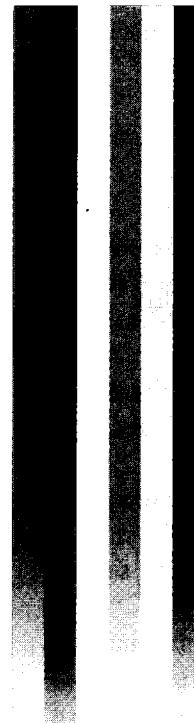
### Books and Articles

- Abrams, Philip. “Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State.” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1, no. 1 (March 1988): 58–89.
- Ackerman, Samuel. “*El Trabajo Subsidiario*: Compulsory Labor and Taxation in 19th-Century Ecuador.” PhD diss., New York University, 1977.
- Adelman, Jeremy. “The Problem of Persistence in Latin American History.” In *Colonial Legacies: The Problem of Persistence in Latin American History*, edited by Jeremy Adelman, 1–13. New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Adriánzén, Alberto, et al. *Democracia, etnicidad y violencia política en los países andinos*. América Problema 16. Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos; Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1993.
- Albó, Xavier. “Andean People in the Twentieth Century.” In *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*. Vol. 3, *South America, part 2*, edited by Frank Salomon and Stuart B. Schwartz, 765–871. Cambridge, England, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

PITT LATIN AMERICAN SERIES

George Reid Andrews, *General Editor*

Catherine M. Conaghan *Associate Editor*



HIGHLAND  
INDIANS  
AND THE STATE  
IN MODERN  
ECUADOR

*Edited by*

**A. Kim Clark and**  
**Marc Becker**

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH PRESS