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**What accounts for the success of new ethnically based parties  
in Latin America and the rise of ethnopopulism.**

– A comparative study between Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru –

**Monica M. Orellana**

**Master's Thesis**



**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of International Affairs at the City College of New York**

**Thesis Advisor: Nicholas Rush Smith**

## **Introduction:**

In the past two decades, ethnic politics—a form of politics where ethnicity is a primary driver of how individual voters evaluate parties and policies and a primary driver of how parties choose candidates, deploy rhetoric and symbols, and develop party programs to appeal to voters (Madrid 2012, 1)—has become increasingly popular throughout Latin America and particularly in Andean nations. What accounts for the success of new ethnically-based parties in Latin America and the rise of ethnopopulism in Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru in particular? This thesis will argue that ethnopopulist parties use populist tactics with ethnic components as electoral strategies in order to get elected and that such appeals have proven popular because of long running legacies of exclusion and dispossession among native populations who in the 1980s and 1990s gained the ability to participate electorally in party politics for the first time—a new voting power that they put to work to elect politician they believed represented their primary ethnic interests.

Legacies of indigenous dispossession run back several hundred years, creating grievances that politicians were able to use to mobilize voters during the countries' democratic openings during the 1980s and 1990s. Through the 19<sup>th</sup> century much of the Latin American economy revolved around export led market growth, which eventually diminished during the great depression. Later on, many Latin American countries changed their policies to focus on import substitution where they created domestic industries and worried about protecting them from foreign competition. Despite changes in economic policies over time, a wealthy landowner class dominated Latin Americans countries, politically and socially. The majority of the population,

meanwhile, was made up of lower class, often indigenous, peasants. The land owning class was very resistant to anything that changed their position and did not want to embrace policies that supported industrialization. The rich were getting richer and poverty remained the same or was becoming worse, which many saw as a great problem.

The effects of land concentration were particularly felt by the indigenous population of Andean countries, particularly after large numbers were killed during the initial colonial encounter because of dispossession and disease. As Salinas de Dosch writes (2012, 1), “Besides Spanish control policies had the effect of atomising large-scale political organisation, and forced natives to settle in small Spanish-style towns, forcing them to work as serfs on farms or in mines.” This history of dispossession helped solidify an ethnic political identity among the dispossessed in Andean nations, particularly with the rise of “indigenismo,” a movement to promote the preservation of indigenous cultural history beginning in the 1930s (Ibid.). The democratic transition happened later on in many Latin American countries where the role of a progressive Catholic church, civil society movements, political reforms and the struggle of leftist political parties occurred to bring about social equality and political change. All these forms of activism paved the way for the creation of social and indigenous movements to come into action and speak up for their concerns.

The rise of an indigenous consciousness coincided with the rise of populist politics in the region as a whole. Populist politicians claimed to represent the common people and a bond between the leader and masses occurred seeking to ameliorate social inequalities. As depicted by *The Economist*, (2006) “In Latin America [populism]

became an urban movement. Its heyday was from the 1920s to the 1960s, as industrialisation and the growth of cities got under way in the region. It was the means by which the urban masses—the middle and working classes—were brought into the political system.” The old regimes could no longer cover and sustain the new powerful and social economic changes that came about by the urbanization of World War I leaving a legacy of inequality that continues to characterize the living conditions in most of these Latin American countries today. This thesis will argue that disenchantment with parties that emerged during the populist period and in its wake plays a crucial role in recruiting citizens, as this disenchantment created space for charismatic politicians and ethnically-based parties to mobilize voters today through appeals to the region’s large indigenous population—a group of voters who are able to participate electorally for the first time. These ethnic voters sought an alternative to the status quo, which was comprised of traditional elites and new political platforms and campaigns that actually represented their interests that had been ignored for decades.

Yet even as ethnopopulist parties began life as ethnically exclusive, the thesis will argue, they have grown to become increasingly ethnically inclusive. Increasingly, ethnopopulist parties aim at creating inclusive appeals, meaning that they wish to work for the poor and marginalized generally, bringing disparate groups of people under one umbrella. As stated by Madrid, (2012, 25) “The inclusive strategies of some indigenous parties have paid off because of the region’s fluid ethnic boundaries and low levels of ethnic polarization.” This has resulted in winning the support of diverse people of indigenous descent as well as from whites, mestizos and non-indigenous people. As they have grown, these ethnopopulist parties have evolved and matured, so that they have

outgrown their exclusively ethnic goals and governed to win votes from a broader socio-economic base.

### **Background/Literature Review:**

Ethnopolitist political parties rooted in indigenous movements have gained increasing electoral success over the last two decades, representing a sea change in Latin American politics as voters did not tend to vote along ethnic lines until recently. As Madrid suggests, (2012, 1) “Not only were there no important ethnic parties in Latin America, but the dominant non-ethnic parties largely avoided ethnic themes in their campaigns and platforms.” In recent years, however, “Non-ethnic parties, especially populist parties, have increasingly embraced indigenous peoples’ demands, recruited indigenous candidates, and employed indigenous symbols. Perhaps most important, in a number of countries, the indigenous movement has formed parties aimed specifically at representing indigenous interests (Ibid.)”

Politics within indigenous communities have also changed. Madrid (Ibid.) reports that in the past, indigenous people “often split their votes among various parties or voted in ways that were indistinguishable from the rest of the population.” Increasingly, though, “Indigenous people have taken to the streets to protest government policy, topple presidents, and demand economic, political, and social reforms (Ibid.)” As a result, parties have increasingly embraced indigenous peoples demands and incorporated indigenous candidates and indigenous symbols to make it more appealing. This clearly shows the changes that have been occurring and how ethnicity has become a major

catalyst in pushing this new wave of governing to transpire. Why did this transition to a new form of politics happen? What changed?

One answer, provided by Weyland, Madrid, and Hunter (2010), focuses largely on outcomes to account for these parties' success. They argue that despite economic and political constraints, Latin America's new left parties have stimulated economic development, enhanced social equity, and deepened democracy when in power. This substantive success has enabled ethnopopulist parties to stay in power once elected because they provide broad-based public goods that are distributed not only to their indigenous bases but also to working class voters generally.

While Weyland, Hunter, and Madrid's focus on the distributive effects of these parties can help us understand their ability to continually be reelected, it gives less insight on why they have risen to power in the first place, nor does it give insight on why they have had different levels of popularity once in power. For instance, ethnopopulist parties in Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru have had different levels of popularity (Madrid 2006, 3). While each has similarly focused on these marginalized communities allowing for the ethnopopulist tactics to succeed, they have had different degrees of electoral success. Bolivia's movements (MAS) has been one of the most successful and dominated Bolivian politics since 2005. Ecuador's Pachakutik Plurinational Unity Movement has also had remarkable success in the 1996, 1998, and 2002 elections while winning approximately ten percent of the legislative vote in alliance with other parties. In Peru, the strongest indigenous movement is located in the Amazon where a number of organizations have emerged to represent the lowlands indigenous population; but the indigenous movements is relatively weak and divided compared to Ecuador and Bolivia. Due to the lack of

organizational resources they have no official national competitive indigenous party but they have reached ethnopopulist success through another method. Weyland, Hunter, and Madrid's focus on broad policy success gives us little leverage explaining the variation in the different levels of electoral success that these parties have had and why they have had different paths to being elected in the first place. Every nation differs in ethnic demographics, the size of ethnic populations, the strength of indigenous movements, ethnic concentration, charisma of their leaders, the intensity of certain well known indigenous activists or leaders and their social, economic and cultural situation overall. These are all different aspects that affect ethnopopulism, its approach and progress.

Another argument in the literature points to disenchantment citizens—and particularly indigenous citizens—feel with current governments. Madrid (2014, 2) argues that, “Indigenous people typically occupy the bottom rung of the socioeconomic ladder in Latin America. They earn less income on average than non-indigenous people, enjoy fewer years of education, and live in more isolated areas with less infrastructure and fewer services.” This shows indigenous people have been neglected in several areas which promotes their dissatisfaction and desire to support the parties that will favor them most, which is where ethnopopulism comes into play.

The desire to reshape the politics of the region is another factor that scholars have argued has given rise to ethnopopulism. Due to the great population of indigenous voters in these Latin American countries, scholars have argued, leaders to take them into consideration and realize the influence they currently have in the political arena. Madrid depicts, (2014, 5), “Parties of all stripes have recruited indigenous candidates, sought the support of indigenous organizations and leaders, and adopted some traditional indigenous

demands, like support for agrarian reform and bilingual education.” In other words, as indigenous groups have gained greater electoral clout because of the large number of voters, parties have been forced to reach out to them. This has resulted in concrete policy changes. As Madrid (Ibid.) states, “Indigenous parties have pushed for the revision of their countries’ constitutions to recognize indigenous peoples’ cultures and rights, and they have helped enact a variety of laws that have benefited the indigenous population, from affirmative action programs to bilingual education.” What is less clear, from this perspective though, is why indigenous voters would consider themselves such a cohesive group to begin with or why they would have a seemingly cohesive set of policy proposals that would appeal to them as with the region’s recent constitutional changes that emphasize cultural group rights—a question upon which this thesis provides insight.

### **Argument / Theory:**

The rise of institutional change and ethnic parties in Latin America with democratic openings have paved the path for success of new ethnically based parties and the rise of ethnopopulism. The thesis argues Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru—three Andean countries that have similarly experienced the rise of ethnopopulist countries despite different political histories and—share a broadly similar cultural heritage that allows politicians to make ethnopopulist claims to mobilize voters. I will argue that the structure of indigenous cultures in the regions themselves (e.g. beliefs in the relationship between humans and nature) allow politicians to make political claims and generate political support. Such appeals have been particularly effective as barriers to the electoral participation of indigenous people in the region—including literacy tests and similar

measures—have fallen, allowing indigenous voters to participate in electoral politics for the first time. The main objective of a populist's appeal is to attract voters in those countries where parties are weak, where political disenchantment is high, and a vast amount of the population undergoes exclusion and marginalization. In these situations, ethnic appeals – like appeals to indigenous ideas about the relationship between people and nature - are used to gain popularity and aim toward the needs and wants of those specific people which have been left out. I will go on to argue, however, that over time parties that began as ethnically exclusive have become more inclusive to broaden their electoral bases. Although, ethnopopulist parties mainly focus on the ethnic populations, politicians have gradually geared their appeals toward the inclusion of whites and mestizos, trying not to leave any ethnic representation out to gain wider acceptance including those voters who do not identify as indigenous.

As Cott (2003, 4) argues, party leaders are strategic actors who make targeted appeals to generate political support. The same is true of ethnopopulist leaders. Specifically, they target marginalized populations. With the democratic opening of the last two decades in Latin America, these formerly excluded citizens have found a political opening to express their needs, wants and ideas while being able to connect back to their similar cultural backgrounds. Indigenous people want their way of living to be represented in national laws and politics and political leaders make decisions within the country so that these deeply held beliefs and practices could now be represented (Arnold and Hastorf 2008, 149).

This shared vision of political representation among indigenous populations entails a history behind it. They relive their roots and beliefs and use them as a guide to

govern in the present. “La Cosmovisión Andina” translated to English as “The Andean Worldview”, is the term that reflects how beliefs from Andean people have influenced the rise of ethnopopulism and promised an ideal of indigenous democracy. As Jessica Frankel (2012, 5) states,

The word ‘cosmovisión’ literally means world view in Spanish; in the context of the Andes, it has become a buzzword synonymous with iconic images like the *whipala* (Aymara flag), coca leaf, *pachamama* (earth mother), the *ayllu* (reciprocal Andean commune), and the concept of *pachakuti* (messianic earth turning). These cultural relics have become symbolically representative of the newly reconstructed Andean ideal of indigenous democracy. Not surprisingly, the new wave of pan-Andean indigenous politicians enthusiastically promote them as a way to pull on the heart strings of the popular masses and metaphorically demonstrate their moral superiority over traditional political parties. The concept of *pachakuti* can be understood as a restorative inversion of time, or a turning point when the past will become the future. It is synonymous with a return from the past and emphasizes the cyclical nature of time. It would not be unreasonable for a person who believes in *pachakuti* to expect that the Inca ancestors will return to liberate their descendants from the troubles of the postcolonized world.

In the ideal, cosmovision represents the reunification of people with nature and living in harmony with the environment – a goal citizens increasingly want their governing institutions to realize.

Ethnopopulist parties have recognized this demand, which, this thesis argues, helps explain their rise to power and their ability to stay there. For example, there is a new notion of environmental justice that is expressed through the emergence of an “earth’s jurisprudence” in these countries of Latin America (Humphreys 2015) that ethnopopulist leaders have incorporated into governing institutions like constitutions (Avendano 2009) that demand greater environmental and social protection and which appeal to indigenous voters. Leaders of such parties have drawn on concepts like “*buen vivir*” and “*sumak kawsay*” (see Davalos 2008), translated into good living, to generate

political support and create change in government's environmental policies. It is seen as a political platform and as an alternative for development based on quality of life and the idea that well-being is only possible within a community and in harmony with nature. Under this idea, development should not be generated from above, either from central governments and transnational corporations, or from the ruling elite level and focus on the needs of both middle and lower class citizens which have been marginalized for long periods of time in history (Avendaño 2009). Therefore, appealing to indigenous ethnicity is not only a means by which to generate political support; it is having concrete impact on the governing institutions of Andean nations. Below I will show that these beliefs and characteristics are not part of only one country but influence all Andean countries in similar forms.

The focus of good living has increasingly appealed to ethnic voters and also non-ethnic voters allowing ethnopopulist parties to broaden their electoral bases because they put an emphasis on human rights and development which is a benefit for all. It gives leaders the opportunity to offer distinct public policies and actions for the strengthening of human rights, environment rights, justice, security and education. These are all topics that not only benefit ethnic voters but the entire population because all sectors of society benefit from an increasingly prosperous and safer community. Through the idea of good living, Andean countries are more committed to social investment and through political will they plan to invest in human beings over capital. All sectors of society are invited to support and consolidate to this new paradigm, which prioritizes and promotes the needs of humans no matter the class. Social, cultural, environmental and economic developments are put into the spotlight to ensure a good and harmonious life for its

citizens and to ensure a lasting protection of the planet and its natural resources. The focus on good living is a development process, which uses strategical plans, which include social equity, political governability, economic competitiveness and cultural identity to build a society where all men and nature live in harmony.

In sum, Ethnic and populist appeals are combined to fulfill ethnic demands and reach out to a greater amount of the population. This both prioritizes the demands of the indigenous population as well as increasing the participations of indigenous people both in general activities and in leadership positions.

### **Research Design**

To explain what accounts for the rise of ethnopopulism in Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru, I will utilize a different systems research design and "process tracing" to illuminate the dynamics by which ethnopopulist parties came to power in three Andean countries. Alexander George and Andrew Bennett (2005, 206) defined process tracing as the "method [that] attempts to identify the intervening causal process - the causal chain and causal mechanism - between an independent variable (or variables) and the outcome of the dependent variable." By looking at the essential facts and sequence of events in these cases and applying them against the main idea of our theory, the relevance of the theory can be understood and other potential explanations can either be proven either not relevant or potentially significant. As George and Bennett state (2005, 205), "Process tracing is an indispensable tool for theory testing and theory development, not only because it generates numerous observations within a case, but because these observations must be linked in particular ways to constitute an explanation of the case." When

combined with a different systems research design, process tracing can therefore be a powerful method by which to explain similarities or differences in outcomes. And Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru are particularly useful cases because each has had different political, social and cultural histories yet each experienced the rise of ethnopopulist parties.

For example, Ecuador is the 69th largest export economy in the world and the 107th most complex economy according to OEC (The Observatory of Economic Complexity) (2014), based largely on commodity exports. According to Minority Rights Group International (MRGI) (2010), based on the 2010 census, indigenous people represent seven percent of the Ecuadorian population; an increase of 22.6 percent from the estimated indigenous population in 2001 and minority groups include 14 distinct indigenous peoples. Depicted by MRGI, “Throughout the 1950s Ecuadorian politics was plagued with problems of corruption, coups and general social unrest; however stability was briefly returned in the 1960s and 1970s with military rule and with the introduction of a multiparty democratic system in 1979. Still, the persistence of weak institutions and party conflict paired with a deterioration of the economy propelled Ecuadorian politics into a perpetual state of emergency.” Ecuador has had seven presidents in the last ten years, most of which have been removed from office through mass protests. Beginning in the late 1980s neo-liberal reform and the presence of international corporations had been the main issue in Ecuadorian politics.

The founding of the Confederation of the Indigenous Nations of Ecuador (CONAIE) in 1986 is one of the fundamental political developments. CONAIE has been a key player in Ecuadorian politics for organizing pan-indigenous uprisings. They have

focused on demanding land restitution for the indigenous and visualized a national economy based on territorial autonomy. They aimed to promote the right to practice traditional medicine, bilingual education and to indigenous control of archaeological sites. They also aimed to define issues of ethnicity and multiculturalism, bringing these issues out of the shadows where they had been left aside from Ecuadorian politics. The indigenous populations and other minority groups have been essential players in opposing neo-liberal reforms and many times have been central to violent uprisings. In 2000, indigenous communities supported Lucio Gutierrez in a brief junta, which replaced President Jamil Mahuad regarding the neo-liberal reform and dollarization policies. The alliance between minority groups and Gutierrez was unsuccessful due to his adoption of neoliberal economic policies. This led to 2006 elections that propelled Rafael Correa, which favored a populist movement with a door open to democratic opening where Correa has become a voice for the marginalized and the poor. He has aimed for transparency, accountability and increased representation, targeting social policies and increased social expenditures, and a weak opposition.

Peru is the 59th largest export economy in the world and the 91st most complex economy; according to OEC (2014) the top exports of Peru are Copper Ore, Gold, Refined Petroleum, Refined Copper and Animal Meat and Pellets. According to MRGI (2016), indigenous people comprise forty five percent of the population and about 4.5 million Peruvians speak Quechua and 8 million identify themselves as Quechua. There are 51 indigenous peoples in Peru. The MRGI described that although there is a historical lack of a national indigenous movement in Peru and an emphasis on class identity among peasant communities in Peru, recently highland organizations have united to form an

increasingly ethnically minded The National Confederation of Peruvian Communities Affected by Mining (CONACAMI). As early as 1970s native leaders in the amazon created their own ethnic federations focusing on protesting against oil company invasion and demanding government recognition of their territorial rights. According to The Interethnic Association of the Peruvian Amazon (AIDSESEP) (2016), created in 1980, “Aguaruna communities have successfully reclaimed land invaded by settlers for production of cocoa and coffee. Since the late 1990s umbrella organizations such as the Permanent Coordinator of Indigenous Peoples in Peru, (COPPIP) have been established to unite Andean and Amazonian interests under one ethnic banner.” Differing from national and pan-national ethnic movements in Ecuador, indigenous activism is less visible in Peru and manifests itself distinctly.

Peru’s colonial and early national history was different from that of Ecuador and Bolivia. The military has been prominent throughout Peruvian history and military coups have repeatedly interrupted civilian constitutional governments. Jan Knippers Black (1984, 406) portrays, “By the seventeenth century, Peru had a thriving economy, producing wine, olives, sugar, rice, wheat, livestock, cotton and wool and had simple manufacturing some mining and a brisk trade with Spain. The aristocracy was cosmopolitan in outlook, and extremely self-assured.” By the eighteenth century, settlement patterns in Peru had decreased the Indian proportion to less than 60 percent of the total population of around one million. Since nearly half of the white population lived in the main cities, Indians outnumbered whites in rural areas in which the treatment toward Indians varied depending on place and time. Tupac Amaru led a major Indian rebellion, which lasted for about two years where violence and bloodshed were the main

actors. For the next two decades Peru was part of bloody civil wars and power struggles. Black portrayed that thirty-five to forty percent of the population could be classified as Indian although this amount had dropped in the past for decades. The definition of an Indian in Peru made it difficult to obtain precise data on the Indians since its definition is more cultural and demographic than racial. When an Indian no longer portrays Indian clothing, eating habits or the characteristics an Indian holds then he or she becomes a *cholo* in the Peruvian society. Although in the present, no major indigenous party has emerged, a large number of regional parties based in local indigenous or peasant organizations have competed successfully in local elections marking an open door for a democratic opening in the present with President Ollanta Humala. Humala seeks for a representative participatory democracy, which promotes full respect, representation and enjoyment of human rights for all Peruvians, especially among poor Peruvians in rural areas.

Bolivia is the 79th largest export economy in the world and the 120th most complex economy according to OEC. The top exports of Bolivia are Petroleum Gas, Gold, Zinc Ore, Crude Petroleum and Soybean Meal. Currently in Bolivia according to William C. Smith, (2009,122)

Bolivia has the largest Indigenous population, with 37 distinct ethnic groups, including 30,000-member Afro Bolivian group the government treats as 'indigenous' and a country in which indigenous identity-based parties formed before the 1990s. Indian led parties began to form during the transition to democracy as a result of two factors. One was the deteriorating relations between the peasant population and the Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario (MNR), which had represented this population since 1952 revolution. The other was the rise of ethnic consciousness and educational attainment among Indians, particularly among urban Aymara. Three such parties contested the 1978 presidential elections.

Bolivia must compete with powerful labor groups, government bureaucracies, the military officer corps, and middle class organizations to a greater extent than in Peru and Ecuador. Bolivia has been well ahead of times compared with other areas of the Andes where little political mingling has taken place between middle and lower classes. Black also depicts (1984, 414), “The frequency of overt military intervention in politics is much higher in Bolivia than in Peru. Indeed, Bolivia is the only country in the world that has averaged more than one president per year of independence for a period of more than 150 years.” All the history this country has gone through has resulted in a democratic opening with President Evo Morales since 2006, where social and ethnic rights are a priority and problems of poverty and social marginalization have been tackled for a more equal society in the present.

As portrayed above, these three countries have their differences and have reached the place they are in today through distinct stories. One might think they all must have gone through the same situations to be in search of similar ethnopopulist tactics in the present but that is not true. The histories of insurgencies one has (Peru) and the others do not is a clear example. Their economic bases are clearly different. The reasons these findings cannot be completely economically based is because they are all different. The fact that Ecuador is a huge oil producer and the others are not is a great example. Peru’s economy is currently based on copper ore while Bolivia’s is based on petroleum gas, which suggests they are all economically different. On the other hand, the population in each country was and is ethnically and politically different of people who make up the country and people who were previously in charge, which shows this, cannot be a single factor for this phenomenon to be occurring. Overall each of the countries are unique and have

weaved their differences together to result in similarities to promote these common ethnopopulist tactics in the present. In what follows, I show how leaders utilize ideas of indigeniety to mobilize populations that had been long marginalized and previously excluded from politics in Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru.

### **Evidence / Analysis**

#### **Ecuador**

Ecuador is one of the countries that clearly represents the success of new ethnically based parties in Latin America and the rise of ethnopopulism. Due to their recent political, economic and social history they have geared to a focus on ethnopopulism, as an alternative to free market capitalism. Amy Kennemore and Gregory Weeks explain (2011, 268), “this new model rejects market policies imposed by any foreign source, seeking to incorporate capitalism within a humanitarian rubric and the state assuming control over critical natural resources and redistributes the revenue.” The rise of a new left has taken place associated with populism and ethnicity. There have been several methods implemented to re-found the country with a new constitution that encompass the most marginalized indigenous populations as well as aiming at all sectors of society. The disenchantment with old parties plays a crucial role in recruiting citizens, it is essential to ethnopopulist parties and has worked comparatively well because of the large indigenous population. The disappointment that occurs on behalf of citizens with old parties is the root of the uprisings in search for changes and new promises as ethnopopulism seeks. It allows people that have been marginalized for so long, have a voice and hopes for their specific issues to finally be taken into consideration. Through the use of inclusive tactics the government has been able to capture an increased amount

of people. This ethnopopulist method has worked toward the unification of the country and serves to prove the democratic opening that has occurred. Along with the rise of constitutions that value ethnic and cultural rights and the structure of indigenous culture in the region allow politicians to make the appropriate political claims for adequate and successful support. Through political and social changes that have occurred within the country have made it more appealing to the population and allow them to relate to this new way of governing in a positive way that makes ethnopopulism a successful way of governing in Ecuador.

Ecuador is a country with history of political instability. As Madrid (2012, 81) writes, “Before the 1990’s there was little reason to believe that an indigenous party might be successful in Ecuador since the indigenous population traditionally played little role in the country’s electoral politics.” Until 1978 the Ecuadorian constitution restricted suffrage to literate citizens, which excluded the rest of the indigenous population in participating. During earlier times indigenous voters were not seen as important and not looked upon as a population that would have a positive and successful outcome like it does in the present. According to Stephanie Selekman (2012, 138), “The indigenous of Ecuador have made tremendous strides since their first mobilizations in the 1970s and 1980s. They only comprise 20 percent of the total Ecuadorian population, yet they are considered to be the strongest indigenous group in the Americas. This is mainly due to the formation of the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) in the 1990s. In 1995, CONAIE joined the Movimiento de Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik, (the Pachakutik party) because of the shared goal of uniting minority voices under a single umbrella political party.”

Along with the appearance of distinct indigenous political parties we also see their alignment and joined effort to reach common goals. “We are no longer Indians that you go to see in a museum. We are not only present; we are also here with proposals” was stated in the 1996 elections by Luis Macas, in the wake of Pachakutik’s impressive performance. The indigenous that were suppressed for a long period of time, came out powerful and decided to be heard and to reach their goals. As they formed their political parties they made clear they were going to reach their goals and promote their unity in symbol of their strength.

Most of Pachakutik’s success was due to ethnic appeals due to its use of various symbolic and substantive appeals to win support of Ecuador’s indigenous population. This indigenous movement gave birth to a political party in the mid-1990’s and performed successfully from its beginning and in less than a decade it emerged as a major player in Ecuadorian politics. It also incorporated numerous indigenous candidates, campaigned extensively in indigenous areas, and embraced traditional ethnic demands, winning the support of not only indigenous people but of Ecuadorians of all ethnicities. Madrid depicts, (2012, 74) “As a result, the party employed inclusive rhetoric, recruited numerous white and mestizo candidates, and formed alliances with mestizo-led parties and movements... It focused its appeals mainly on the lower classes and emphasized its own humble grassroots origins. And it adopted a strongly nationalist and state interventionist platform, denouncing neoliberal policies and foreign intervention in Ecuador.” This was an effective approach since many Ecuadorians had been disenchanted with prior political parties and the social and economic policies. Later in

the 2006 presidential elections the party won only 2.2 percent of the national vote and President Rafael Correa won elections.

Today, Ecuador has a multi-party system with numerous parties and currently has twelve political parties which are the following: Alianza PAIS movement, Avanza Party or AVANZA, Creating Opportunities Movement or CREO, Institutional Renewal and National Action Party or PRIAN, Pachakutik Plurinational Unity Movement or MUPP, Patriotic Society Party or PSP, Popular Democracy Movement or MPD, Roldosist Party or PRE, Social Christian Party or PSC, Socialist Party, Society United for More Action or SUMA, and Warrior's Spirit Movement. No single party has absolute power but instead they all work together in order to form coalition governments.

Correa took office after Ecuador had been experiencing chronic economic and political crisis and had seven different presidents in only ten years. Correa's Alianza PAIS had majority in Parliament, and began success with his Citizens' Revolution, which he named his government goals. Since oil is Ecuador's top export, the Correa government renegotiated contracts with foreign oil companies, and used the increased earnings to start transforming education and health. The government began reducing tax evasion among the rich, got tough with foreign creditors, and forced significant reductions in Ecuador's onerous debts. Correa states, (2015) "We have poverty; we have misery, we must defeat poverty. Our natural resources give us an opportunity to develop without the extremely painful process of exploiting our own workforce." In 2008 a new constitution was drafted that formally recognized the country as a plurinational state and gave concrete rights to the natural environment. Correa's main objective was to develop a plan for good living where inclusion instead of exclusion would be a priority, with the

goal of eliminating the marginalization of lower class, indigenous and deprived populations and teach society to incorporate them for a more equal and prosperous society through the developed social, cultural and economic plans to be discussed in the following paragraphs.

In the present, Rafael Correa's party Alianza PAIS has 100 deputies resulting in the absolute majority. The Council on Hemispheric Affairs (2010) depicts,

“President Rafael Correa, bearing the facade of a new and radical populism, was sworn into office in early 2007 with approval ratings at 73 percent, some of the highest to be found in Latin America. He has since been reelected in April 2009 in a landslide victory. A left-leaning nationalist, and one of the most prominent figures in Ecuadorian politics in recent decades, he is an emblem of hope and progress for the masses. Ecuador's political sovereignty has been increased through initiatives mobilized by Correa's party, Alianza País, aimed at tightening state control of vital industries and thwarting monopolies. This can be seen in reforms to the oil industry, such as the new Hydrocarbons Law that no longer allows foreign companies to take four out of every five barrels of oil produced in Ecuador.”

Correa's party Alianza PAIS being the one that holds majority represents the ideals of the majority of the Ecuadorian population and has mainly focused on such popular policies that work in benefit for all.

A democratic opening gives a voice and a choice for those who have been silenced and not taken into consideration. Through ethnopopulism this marginalization is decreased and empowers those who need attention to express themselves and make change happen. The new wave of ethnopopulism has allowed several ethnic and social groups in Ecuador to voice their concerns and join a more representative and participatory electoral system that gives them greater leverage in the electoral process. The 20<sup>th</sup> century has empowered indigenous groups to open up and take their questions and concerns into the political arena.

It was long overdue, and indigenous people lacked representation. The recognition of indigenous people, their rights, their languages and culture by the new constitution is a great advancement and portrays the success of the democratic opening ethnopolitism has paved. As stated by Cobey (2012, 26),

This has been a process for over 518 years, in which the indigenous populations of Latin America have been resisting and fighting the status quo. There was fighting during both the colonial period and the republican period after independence...during the republican period the indigenous population has suffered the most maltreatment and oppression, including human rights violations, territory disputes, and unfair treatment to women...these struggles are now expressed in the constitution, but only after our most recent fight lasting over twenty years. For Ecuador's indigenous population, this resistance may finally be leading to political change. The majority mestizo population in the past two decades has risen up with indigenous rights groups to oppose past republican governments, which have functioned primarily under a neoliberal framework."

It has not been an easy battle but a democratic opening has arrived and many people are enjoying the ability to speak up and make decisions on the political agenda.

The rise of ethnopolitism have popularized ethnic politics and expressed its many faces and reasons. Due to democratic and social disparities a new series of transformations have begun in Ecuador, as stated by Moises Jaime Bailon Corres (2013, 113), including "a reversal of neoliberal policies, a renewal of democracy, and the inclusions of proposals of social movements like *sumak kawsay*, Kichwa for good living, which prioritizes human welfare over accumulation of wealth and proposes a new relation to nature." The *Sumak Kawsay* approach is a unique one that promotes these ethnopolitist tactics through its ideals and objectives grounded in indigenous concepts.

This popular ethnopolitist tactic challenges neoliberalism and is a democratic opening in the present. Through the use of indigenous concepts and incorporating them into the Ecuadorian constitution, it is a method of reaching development, cultural,

economic and environment change and prosperity. Through *Sumak Kawsay* Ecuador defines its problems in a completely different way. It pushes farther away from the occidental world and focuses more on the Ecuadorian indigenous belief system by neutralizing the globalized world and instead concentrating on traditional culture, values and practices. Ecuador is a unique country and it is imperative to understand the underlying concept of *sumak kawsay* as the new development model representing a mutually beneficial coexistence between the individual, its society and its natural environment. As expressed by Ryan J. Cobey (2012, 24), “It is noteworthy that the Ecuadorian government is developing a political model based entirely, at least in theory, on indigenous Kichwa beliefs about how life should be lived. Indeed, it represents one of the few times in postcolonial history that a government has chosen to redefine itself by returning to its indigenous roots.” This shows the important role indigenous movements have had upon the citizen revolution that is currently taking place in Ecuador. Their thoughts, methods and ways of looking at life have been taken into consideration and put into practice by present generations.

Correa stated he wants the people to be in charge and not capital, in order to bring happiness and stability to all citizens. More accessible public education, healthcare and thousands of miles of new highways have also been other of the results produced by the idea of ethnopopulism. Since he took office in 2007, Ecuador's poverty rate has dropped nearly five percentage points to 32.4%, according to the UN, and some 1.9 million people receive \$50 a month in aid from the state. According to Frank Lara (2012),

the percentage of people in poverty based on income was 35.7 percent, and it dropped to 22.5 percent in 2014, which means more than 1 million Ecuadorians were lifted from poverty. Meanwhile, extreme poverty was reduced from 16.5 percent to 8.5 percent, according the

National Statistics and Census Institute. In urban settings, the reduction was from 24.3 percent to 16.4 percent, and the rural settings experienced a staggering drop from 61.3 percent to 35.3 percent. These statistics show that poverty has been reduced in both the cities and the countryside. Between 2007 and 2012, the South American nation reduced its Gini index (an international measurement to calculate inequality) by 7 points, from .55 to .48. Compare this to the rest of Latin American countries, which on average reduced their coefficients by 2 points, .52 to .50.

Along with the great quantity of reduction in poverty rates, Correa's government is also known for its investment in public services. Last year a record of \$8.85 billion was reached which was invested in the public sector. According to the Lara (2015), the National Secretary of Planning and Development the government in the healthcare sector in the last eight years has invested more than \$12 billion, and around 20,000 new medical professionals have been trained.

Correa has pledged economic relief to the poor, and renewed political sovereignty and regional integration. Largely his promises have been addressed (or at least serviced); economically, in his first months in office, he carried out a variety of popular policies, such as doubling welfare payments, doubling credits available for housing loans, and reducing electricity rates for low-income consumers. Currently an increased number of municipalities are controlled by indigenous leaders, there is more leverage to elect key congress representatives and history has changed since there has been indigenous ministers elected for key cabinet positions, which in the past had been held by dominant elites. This suggests the success of ethnopopulism and how it has been grasped and worked on to promote a more equal society with opportunities and a voice for those who had been in the dark for so long.

The famous citizen revolution, which was named by President Rafael Correa pushed innovative policies to ensure greater social justice. As stated in the Republic of Ecuador National Development Plan for Good Living (2009-2013, 5), the main revolutions are aiming towards a constitutional and democratic revolution based on inclusive foundations that direct the country to promote a diverse, fair, intercultural, plurinational and sovereign society. The plan also focuses on guaranteeing transparency through an ethical revolution. They want accountability and social control to be fundamental factors that build strong social relations where collective trustworthiness allows for this long-term change. The third is an economic, productive and agrarian revolution to promote inclusion and focus on State resources being distributed to education, health, roads, housing, scientific and technological research which all result in a balanced and productive rural and urban community. They also include that it is geared to be a social revolution where the state guarantees the essential rights of all persons, communities and nationalities. A revolution showing the integrity and dignity of Latin America where sovereignty and transparency allow for a proper and respected position with multilateral organization in the international community. A strategic position is necessary in order to be intergraded in a friendly and prosperous way with all countries for benefit of all. These key points the Correa government focuses on through ethnopopulism for social equality and justice for all.

In conclusion, Ecuador is an essential example of the successful emergence of ethnopopulism within the country. This political platform and alternative for development, popularly used by social movements has modified government programs and the constitution of Ecuador, and remains a popular tactic to continue to follow in

benefit of the country and its citizens. Ethnic and populist appeals have been combined to fulfill ethnic demands and reach out to a greater amount of the population resulting in a profitable future for Ecuadorian politics. Even though Ecuador has challenged neoliberalism through ethnopopulism it is important to consider it has been based on strong indigenous concepts. This harmonious coexistence in the Andean world mixes a few thoughts from the occidental world and evolves based on the concept of *buen vivir* which sets precedence for alternative models of governing through the use of ethnic politics for a sense of equality and well-being for all social and cultural classes in Latin America. Due to democratic and social disparities a new series of transformations have begun in Ecuador where people that have been marginalized for decades now have representation and a voice to speak up for their needs and wants. Ethnopopulism empowered indigenous groups to open up and take their questions and concerns into the political arena through new tactics as well as by utilizing the ancient Ecuadorian belief system where they can relate to traditional principles and beliefs systems.

### **Evidence / Analysis** **Bolivia**

Bolivia is a country of vast ethnic, geographical and cultural diversity and one of three countries in Latin America whose population is significantly compromised by indigenous people, with over 60 percent of the population being considered of indigenous origins. Distinct native groups have inhabited its society for thousands of years. There are over thirty major ethnic groups that contain their own culture, religion, language and distinct ways of looking at life that make it a diverse and complex country and society. Once again, it is important to consider that disenchantment with old parties has played an

essential role in recruiting citizens, it is essential to ethnopopulist parties and has worked comparatively well because of the large indigenous population. The disenchantment that occurs with old parties is the root of the uprisings in search for changes and new promises as ethnopopulism seeks. It allows people that have been marginalized for so long, have a voice and hopes for their specific issues to finally be taken into consideration.

Bolivia has been one of the most important ethnopopulist movements to date with their political party Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS), which grew out of the *cocaleros* movement. MAS has achieved electoral success in recent years in large part because it has been able to build an ethnopopulist coalition of the indigenous, poor people, the politically disenchanted, subaltern organizational activists, and left-of-center (especially, statist and nationalist) voters. Raul L. Madrid portrays (2012, 4), “The astounding rise of Evo Morales and the MAS in Bolivia, for example, was due in large part to the party’s decision to embrace populist strategies and reach out to non-indigenous movement and leaders, while still maintaining its close ties to the indigenous movement.” They have sought not to just win the support of indigenous people, but to capture the votes of whites and mestizos as well. Not only have they tried to capture distinct ethnic backgrounds for the votes but also to run for leadership positions within the parties, forging strong ties and adopting broad and inclusive strategies.

This has resulted in positive results because of the regions fluid ethnic boundaries and low levels of ethnic polarization prevailing in the region. Whites and non-indigenous mestizos have supported indigenous parties due to them sympathizing with their ethnic demands as well as supporting parties’ populist rhetoric and policies. The rise and success of ethnopopulism in Bolivia has helped unify the country not only through

different ethnic classes but between them as well. Within the region indigenous groups are divided into communities with distinct languages, traditions, leaders and organizations and through the adoption of these inclusive strategies that barrier between intra-indigenous divisions has been broken and helped unify all under one umbrella. Ethnopolitism has been key in combating ethnic discrimination and marginalization and ethnicity has become a main element in shaping Bolivia's electoral performance. Due to the political, social and economic changes that have been implemented in the country, it has caused them to be appealing to the population and allow a greater connection with this new way of governing that results in ethnopolitism being successful way of governing in Bolivia.

Bolivia has had a difficult history. A great majority of Bolivia's population was excluded from political participation due to discriminatory legislation that conceded the right to elect and to be elected only to literate and salaried men. Bolivia is the Latin American country with the largest proportion of indigenous population. According to Jan Knippers Black (1984, 413) "For more than two generations, Bolivian Indians have been politically aware of the value of organization and have participated in most of the major events of the nation. This awareness began with mass conscription during the Chaco War and grew with unionization of the tin mines during the 1940s and Indian armed participation in the Revolution of 1952 and the agrarian reform that followed. Indians have voted since 1954." Black also explained the traditional upper class in Bolivia is different from those of other countries because it must compete with powerful labor groups, government bureaucracies, the military officer corps, and middle class organizations. The middle class has not yet unified into a coherent class but share power

with other power contenders. Black portrays (1984, 413), “From the turn of the twentieth century through the 1960s, Bolivia’s exports of unrefined tin and silver accounted for an average of over 90 percent of the value of total exports. Natural gas and agricultural products (principally cotton and sugar) account for nearly 20 percent of exports, petroleum and natural gas exports account for over 15 percent of the total, refined minerals and other manufacturers account for most of the rest.” Due to these diversified economic activities that have occurred throughout time has caused a diverse economy in Bolivia with many changes occurring. It has resulted in massive construction projects for roads, airports and buildings of all kinds as well as a growing and diverse middle class. Black depicts, (1984, 413) “This diversification, in turn, has led to a proliferation of political parties. Despite the country’s new economic strengths, however, the corruption and mismanagement of the military government brought about a financial crisis in 1982. Consequently, the military relinquished power to a civilian government.”

For a long period of their history an interchanging government between the military and a major multiclass political party has dominated national political life. They have competed for power with tense relationships but time has demonstrated military institutions have not been able to establish long-term legitimacy as rulers until they reached a state of decline. The indigenous population in Bolivia has been an important actor in electoral politics since the 1950’s. Raul L. Madrid (2012, 35) portrays, “The Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS), an indigenous party founded in the mid-1990s, has dominated Bolivian politics in recent years.” Madrid (Ibid.) also states, “The MAS’s rise to dominance is surprising given that indigenous parties has traditionally fared poorly in Bolivia. A number of indigenous parties emerged in the late 1970s and early 1980s, but

none of these parties won more than a small fraction of the vote. The MAS initially gave little indication that it would enjoy any more success than previous indigenous parties.” Initially MAS only won only three percent of the vote in the initial elections but in the 2002 general elections it has won every single election held in Bolivia. Raul L. Madrid (Ibid. 40) states, “In the wake of the 1952 revolution in Bolivia, the ruling Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR) removed literacy restrictions on suffrage, thereby enfranchising the country’s largely illiterate indigenous population. The MNR also carried out a sweeping land reform program, expanded education and social services in rural areas, and established peasant unions, which it used to control the rural population as well as distribute benefits.”

Due to these initiatives, the rural indigenous population began to increasingly vote for such political party. Currently the major political parties in Bolivia are the following, Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario, MNR), Movement Toward Socialism (Movimiento al Socialismo, MAS), Civic Solidarity Union (Unidad Cívica Solidaridad, UCS), Nationalist Democratic Action (Acción Democrática Nacionalista, ADN), Revolutionary Left Front (Frente Revolucionario de Izquierda, FRI), National Unity Front (Frente de Unidad Nacional, UN), Without Fear Movement (Movimiento Sin Miedo, MSM), Christian Democratic Party (Partido Demócrata Cristiano, PDC), Democratic and Social Power (Poder Democrático y Social), Popular Consensus (Consenso Popular; accredited as a citizen grouping), Plan Progress for Bolivia – National Convergence (Plan Progreso Para Bolivia, PPB), Front for Victory (Bolivia) (Frente Para la Victoria, FPV). These present political parties hold new

promises, they carry new political power structures which incorporate poor and rural people and offer them adequate development and services.

The ethnopopulist power is successful and popular in Bolivia. Raul L. Madrid (2012, 41) suggests that, “Indigenous parties did not emerge in Bolivia until the transition to democracy began in the late 1970s. The first wave of indigenous parties rose from the Aymara-based Katarista movement, which also gave birth to an independent confederation of indigenous peasant unions, the Confederacion Sindical Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CSUTCB). The Katarista parties varied somewhat in ideology as well as leadership, but they all sought to increase ethnic consciousness among the Aymara population and to promote its political and economic advancement.” These types of movements became increasingly popular since traditional parties failed to embrace many of the demands of the indigenous movement or to take into consideration many of the prominent indigenous candidates along with their ideals, needs and wants. Traditional parties marginalized indigenous people and their ideas, which provoked their decline and an increase in popularity of MAS. Many of the citizens were pulled into the inspiring promises of MAS and agreed with their ethnically conscious method and ethnopopulist appeals.

The rise of MAS was where these ethnopopulist tactics came to power and became more prominent. Raul L. Madrid (2012, 53) suggests that,

The MAS has succeeded in part because it has appealed to Bolivia’s indigenous population as indigenous people. It has used a variety of methods to woo indigenous voters. First, the MAS has established close ties with a vast number of indigenous organizations in the country. Second, the MAS has run numerous indigenous candidates, including for high-profile positions. Third, the MAS has made a variety of symbolic appeals to Bolivia’s indigenous population. Fourth and finally, the MAS has aggressively promoted traditional indigenous demands. These ethnic

appeals have helped the MAS consistently win an impressive share of the vote in indigenous areas.

Initially MAS was seen as not having a bright future but proved that wrong with time. In 1995, MAS only won three percent of the elections.

Later, however, in 1999 when Evo Morales left IU/ASP and took over MAS things changed and MAS won nine mayoralties and eighty councilmen positions. In 2002, victory was bigger and MAS won 20.9 percent of the valid vote nationwide. As Madrid (2012, 51) depicts, “In the 2005 general elections, the performance MAS exceeded even its own lofty expectations. Morales not only finished first, he won 53.7 percent of the valid vote, by far the largest share any candidate had won since the return to democracy in the 1980s.”

With the MAS victory, Bolivia began a phase of the promotion of multiculturalism and an emphasis in the indigenous movement. A call for nationalization was present while at the same time calling for recognition of their land, territory, culture and human rights. As stated by Lyubarsky (2009, 62), “The prologue of the Bolivian constitution offers a striking indigenist paen to Bolivia’s multicultural and indigenous composition and the popular struggles of the last several decades. ‘We leave behind the colonial, republican, neoliberal State. We assume the historical challenge of collectively constructing a Social Unitary State of Plurinational Communitarian Law, which integrates and articulates the purposes of advancing towards a democratic, productive, and peacefully inspired Bolivia, committed with the development and free determination of its peoples.’” This part of the Constitution seems to be constant with the ethnopopulist rhetoric, which shows its inclusionary and indigenous aims.

Not too long after Evo Morales took office he called for the election in a constituent assembly in order to rewrite Bolivia's constitution. Madrid (2012, 51) states, "Elections for the constituent assembly were held in July of 2006 and the results cemented the MAS's status as Bolivia's dominant party. The MAS won 50.3 percent of the valid vote in these elections, far ahead of PODEMOS, which finished in second place with 15.3 percent of the valid vote." Once again, MAS showed its power and popularity being the dominant party.

The increased electoral success also translated to changing government policies and institutions that so that they would be consistent with indigenous political goals. For example, Bolivia's constitution was approved on January 25, 2009 by sixty-two percent of the voters, which includes the Suma Qamaña, el Vivir Bien (translated into English as living good). This new ethnopopulist thinking is a radical break away from Western culture, with ideas of progress, development and with modernity. Almut Schilling-Vacaflor (2011, 1) points out, "The new constitution of 2009 defines Bolivia as a representative, participatory and communitarian democracy. It incorporates enhanced mechanisms and institutions for participatory democracy. Moreover, new social rights have been anchored in the constitution and a plurinational state is supposed to be constructed." Indigenous ways of living and interpreting the world are key.

Ethnopopulism has made positive changes since its implementation. In Bolivia, the increased tax revenue has allowed the country to vastly increase its public investment, which has helped the country book, its foreign reserves. According to the BBC (2016), Bolivia's President Evo Morales has reached many positive benefits with his ethnopopulism methods of governing, "With the gas money, President Morales's

administration invested heavily in public works projects and social programmes to fight poverty, which reduced by 25% during his government. Extreme poverty dropped by 43%.” Though the constitutional reform, Morales has pushed for a radical reinterpretation of Bolivian national identity by setting out rights of the indigenous majority, granting more local and regional autonomy, large scale land reform, preserving state control over key natural resources and concentrating on creating multi-ethnic and pluri-cultural Bolivian nation. The new Bolivian identity was represented by the adoption of the whipala, a rainbow colored indigenous flag next to the traditional red, yellow and green banner. Bolivians had a new beginning where their indigenous voices were heard on an international level. Morales represented them well, fighting for them to gain more respect, more rights as well as respect and consideration for Mother Earth. Morales cared for the rights and dignity of land and nature at the same level of its citizens, which was a big change and progress. Another impact is the roads created benefiting isolated communities, which now have easy access to interact with distinct communities whom they were once marginalized from.

When he was inaugurated, Evo Morales (2006) told the country, “We respect, we admire all sectors, professionals and non-professionals, intellectuals and non-intellectuals, businessmen and non-businessmen; we all have the right to live in this land... There you can see that the indigenous movement is not exclusionary; it is inclusive.” Morales aimed at treating all human beings no matter his or her social, economic or cultural class. He wanted to redistribute wealth among all sectors of society. As stated by Maral Shoaie (2012, 58), “the re-writing of the 2009 Bolivian Constitution significantly altered Bolivia in the areas of land distribution, nationalization of natural

resources, education system, health care systems and the overall citizenship status of the indigenous people. In addition, the increased support of democratic institutions and form of government changed Bolivia's makeup for the first time." These changes have been made for the better signifying the people of Bolivia have had major changes to improve their political, economic, and social realms. The party's policies have had positive effects in uniting the country, including the marginalized, guiding them to live in harmony with nature and redistributing wealth and social programs to all sectors of society.

In the past several decades, the Bolivian social movement has been one of the most successful across Latin America, sparking hope for change while at the same time being a role model for other countries willing to incorporate ethnopopulism into their government. The Bolivian case has been a well-organized mobilization of the indigenous people of Bolivia and portrays how they have incorporated themselves into the state while promoting change, including the election of their first indigenous president, Evo Morales of the Movement towards Socialism (MAS) party. The success of these new ethnically based parties and the rise of ethnopopulism in Bolivia resulted in political change where the indigenous people achieved political representation. Change arrived for people who were excluded for centuries from the political, social and the economic arena. The MAS social movement has clearly used ethnopopulist tactics to transform the Bolivian society through a different method of making change and progress occur, working their way up from the lower classes. Indigenous mobilizations have played a critical role in political changes in Bolivia while gaining political, social and cultural inclusion. Through the implementation of ethnopopulist tactics by Morales he has

achieved, the strengthening of civil society and the establishment of a more democratic society that speaks to the needs of the country's long suffering majority.

### Evidence / Analysis Peru

Peru is the third largest country in South America with a mix of many different races and cultures. According to the World Bank, Peru is comprised of, indigenous (45%), mestizo (37%), European (15%), African, Japanese, Chinese and other (3%). Due to the diverse cultures and races present, Peru is a key example of the rise of ethnopopulism in Latin America. Ollanta Humala was elected president in 2011 promising the poor and disenfranchised change for stability and equality. Humala has begun to instill ethnopopulist tactics and ideology into Peruvian politics. Although Peru's 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. Once more, the disenchantment with old parties plays a compelling role in recruiting citizens, it is imperative to ethnopopulist parties and has worked comparatively well because of the large indigenous population. The dissatisfaction that occurs on behalf of citizens with old parties is the root of the uprisings and creation of new parties in search for changes and new promises as ethnopopulism seeks. It allows people that have been marginalized for so long, have a voice and hopes for their specific issues to finally be taken into consideration.

Peru is an interesting example because although it has a sizable indigenous population, it has not reached the level of indigenous movements and indigenous politics

as has occurred in its neighboring countries like Bolivia and Ecuador. It is increasingly working its way up and becoming more involved in the rise of ethnopopulism. As stated by Raul L. Madrid (2012, 108) “Peru, like Bolivia and Ecuador, has some of the key ingredients necessary for the success of indigenous parties. Specifically it has a large politically and economically marginalized indigenous population with only weak attachments to the existing political parties.” Different sectors of society have expressed considerable dissatisfaction with these traditional political parties and their policies, which signify there is a greater expectation for such sectors to be attracted to a party that combines both ethnic and populist appeals. Even though, there is no major indigenous party that has emerged in Peru a lot of indigenous movements are progressing at a local level. A large number of regional parties based in local indigenous and peasant organizations have successfully competed in local elections setting precedence and becoming a role model to gain power on a national level. With the interest citizens are putting on a local level and the combination of ethnic and populist tactics politicians are effectively using at a national level to woo indigenous and non-indigenous voters, prove the viability and success of ethnopopulism in Peru.

Although Peru has experienced a stormy political history, during recent times Peru has taken the necessary steps to fix their situation and consolidate its democracy. Their political history has alternated between periods of democratic and authoritarian rule. Political turmoil goes back to the Spanish conquest, which resulted in economic, ethnic and geographic divisions that compose the Peruvian society in the present. According to Miranda Louise Jasper (2007, 2), “Since its independence in 1821, Peru has had 13 constitutions, with only nine of 19 elected governments completing their terms.

Peru's most recent transition to democracy occurred in 1980 after 12 years of military rule. The decade that followed was characterized by a prolonged economic crisis and the government's unsuccessful struggle to quell a radical Maoist guerrilla insurgency known as the Shining Path." In 1985 leftist Alan Garcia came to power until 1990 because he created hyperinflation due to rocky relationship with the international financial community and his excessive spending on social programs. In 1990 independent candidate Alberto Fujimori came to power and was re-elected in 1995 and began to lose support from citizens against his policies. As stated by Jasper (2007, 2), "He was increasingly regarded as an authoritarian leader, due in part to the strong-handed military tactics his government used to wipe out the Shining Path that resulted in serious human rights violations." Fujimori won a third term in 2000 and because of the irregularities present he was forced to call a new election without him being included. On July 28, 2001, Alejandro Toledo, the first president of Native Indian origin, took office and Jasper indicates (2007, 3), "Toledo was able to push through several reforms, including a tax reform measure and a free trade agreement with the United States. Despite the economic improvements, Toledo's presidency was marred by allegations of corruption and recurrent popular protests." In 2006, former president Alan Garcia celebrates victory after a second round of voting against candidate Ollanta Humala and in 2011 Humala won the presidential elections in the run-off. Humala has revived the ethnopopulism in Peru and promised to revive social democracy and improve conditions for the impoverished population.

Although there is an absence of strong indigenous parties at a national level in Peru they are increasingly gaining power. The problems citizens are claiming is political

parties are supposed to represent broad social currents and diverse interest groups throughout the country, which is not happening. Global Security indicates,

“According to the 2008 Americas Barometer poll, only 20% of Peruvians identified with a party - down from 30% in 2006. This means that 80% of electorate is up for grabs in the next election, without an identified mechanism to channel their interests, proposals, or complaints to the government. It also left the great majority of voters potentially open to the appeal of the "outsider" candidate - a fresh face unconnected to any established party who articulates frustration with the current political system and its ineffective or corrupt institutions. Part of the disenchantment with parties stemmed from a larger frustration with successive governments perceived as unable or unwilling to resolve Peru's persistent structural problems, such as inequality, poverty and unemployment, in an (as yet) politically decisive way. In this sense, because parties form governments and legislatures, they have limited credibility as actors capable of addressing the population's needs.”

Ethnopolit parties are rising to power because they are addressing the needs of citizens. They are promises that reject ineffective and corrupt institutions and offer a new way of life to people that have been put into shadows for decades. Madrid portrays (2012, 109), “Over the last several decades, a large number of indigenous-based electoral movements have been formed at the local level in Peru. The number of political groups with indigenous or peasant names competing in provincial elections rose from three in 1995 to seven in 1998 and fifteen in 2002. The idea that most Peruvians do not identify with a group strongly is diminishing. The rise of ethnic appeals is slowly increasing and producing changes in the country. These parties are enjoying significant success and progressing to translate their achievements to a national level. Efforts are being made to unify the indigenous movements around the country and create a national level indigenous organization. Along with the countries leaders are trying to strengthen their activist networks and material resources to sustain a nationally competitive indigenous party.

Politicians are also influencing the rise of ethnopopulism in the ways they can. They are running their campaigns with an inclusive way of thinking that embrace all citizens so no one feels left out. As Alejandro Toledo said in a 1994 campaign speech, “I am a symbol of every one of you... we are not going to lose this opportunity for the cholos. Our turn has arrived, that is not anti-anybody, but rather pro-us.” These ethnopopulist tactics and appeals have been induced into the Peruvian community with politicians Alberto Fujimori, Alejandro Toledo, and Ollanta Humala through significant appeals to capture the support of the majority of the indigenous voters during the presidential campaigns. They have used inclusive tactics through ethnic appeals to win support among diverse sectors of the electorate. In the present Humala continues to establish enduring ties to indigenous voters.

The indigenous vote has become increasingly important, which is why politicians focus on including them and capturing their attention. According to Madrid (2012, 118), “Fujimori, Toledo and Humala employed a variety of ethnic appeals. Some of these appeals were symbolic. For example, all three leaders recruited numerous indigenous and cholo candidates to their campaigns, and they contrasted their own ethnic backgrounds with those of their competitors. They also donned indigenous clothing, used indigenous sayings and languages, and invoked indigenous cultural symbols.” The goal is to maintain an ethnically diverse leadership while at the same time developing broad and inclusive platforms. This is key for the ethnopopulist party to come to power and slowly increment the rise of ethnopopulism and begin to develop strong party attachments among indigenous people, not only at a local level but bring it on to a national level.

A key reason which shows why Peru has not proceeded to the degree its neighboring countries have in the rise of ethnopopulism and indigenous party movements could be due to what Madrid states as follows (2012, 121), “The use of ethnic appeals in national electoral campaigns in Peru is a relatively recent phenomenon. Until the 1980s, most of the indigenous population could not vote because of the literacy requirements imposed in 1896 after the War of the Pacific. As a result, presidential candidates initially had little reason to make ethnic appeals. It was only after the 1978 constitution granted suffrage to illiterates that the indigenous population became an important part of the electorate.” As the indigenous population became part of the electoral process they began to be taken more into consideration and seen as an important element for politicians.

For example, Ollanta Humala has governed through ethnopopulist tactics. As depicted by the Peruvian Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion (MIDIS), “On the 20th of October 2011, the President of Peru, Ollanta Humala, promulgated law N° 29792, which created the Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion. This is the start of a new framework for public policies aimed at closing the poverty gap and lack of access to services. MIDIS’ aim is for all Peruvians, wherever they live or wherever they were born, regardless of the language and culture of the parents, or their social condition or level of education, to receive high-quality services and have the same opportunities to benefit from economic growth and to contribute to the welfare of their families, their communities and the country.” These programs have specifically been created to overcome poverty, reduce inequality, achieve social inclusion in a democracy, prevent malnutrition and provide the opportunity to all for a better and dignified life. It is a

complete, thorough and complex project that aims at all levels of society and ameliorates economic, social and cultural living conditions both for short and long term. As stated by MIDIS (2012, 13), “Short term- To provide temporary relief to households where extreme poverty jeopardises their security and ability to provide for their daily and future needs. Medium term- Expand economic opportunities for families in areas of acute poverty. Long term- Guarantee that the next generation will not inherit the poverty and exclusion affecting their parents.” Through the implementation of these programs Peru has clear goals it wants to reach by a certain time period. Their social policy role model is an essential example of how ethnopopulism has played a major role in influencing change and stability for all levels of society no matter their social, economic or cultural background. The main goal is to produce real changes in the lives of people.

Peru’s priorities include the improvement of health coverage, environmental sustainability and reduction of contamination, establishment of a strong government, a fight against corruption, education infrastructure and interculturality, elimination of violence, promoting advancement of women in political roles, promoting values and ethics, generating decent employment and ensuring equal remuneration, protection of infants and elders, reducing hunger, improving security, and reducing violence. Through these goals the government has developed key national strategies to appeal to all sectors of society.

The government has implemented essential strategies through ethnopopulism that have helped the country gain more credibility from its citizens and allow them to believe Peru is changing for the better to improve the lives of all citizens no matter their status. For example, MIDIS’ mission is (2012, 7), “to ensure that everybody takes advantage of

economic growth and exercises their rights as citizens to high-quality services through action to relieve extreme poverty and to promote development.” They aim for transparency and public participation in social policy. They guarantee effective and accessible channels for improvement and success. As a result of these changes in the government, ethnopopulism and plans implemented by the government several ameliorations are being made such as, the development of various social programs, improvement of remuneration system, better attention to procedures and services, greater transparency and access to information in the government, improvement of infrastructure, improvement of educational content, fulfilling learning indicators, teachers committed to teaching, addressing tax evasions, reducing smuggling and monitoring and controlling systems based on risk analysis. The above-mentioned are few improvements reached due the policies implemented and their effects. Through ethnopopulist ideals, and the programs that are being created help citizens begin to feel represented and that their needs are beginning to be fulfilled. There is a sense of more equality and transparency present where people feel more trust and an option in politics, which they can relate to.

The Peruvian case is an important example of successful ethnopopulist appeals, the rise in indigenous political party movements and how rural low class citizen participation has become increasingly popular. Although it is unique in the way it has approached the rise of ethnopopulism it portrays there are different ways to embrace ethnopopulism. Despite the fact that it has many similarities with its neighboring countries of Bolivia and Ecuador, Peru has not reached the same level of ethnopopulism and indigenous movements on a national level which they already have. This allows us to see that each country progresses differently and has different methods to employ

ethnopolitist appeals. No major indigenous parties have emerged in Peru, but are able to see clearly how various politicians have employed ethnic appeals to win support of the indigenous people. As Madrid expresses (2012, 144), “They have recruited indigenous candidates, employed indigenous symbols, and embraced indigenous demands, all of which has helped them rack up impressive victory margins in indigenous areas.”

Through the use of these methods and focusing their campaigns on these marginalized sectors they have gained followers, not only from the indigenous population but also with whites and mestizos enabling the success of ethnopolitism in Peru.

In sum, ethnopolitism has been an effective electoral strategy and should continue to rise based on the results it has produced. These inclusive strategies have brought equality to all indigenous, whites and mestizos who have felt marginalized and underrepresented for decades. This new phenomenon has united Peruvians and has acted as a bridge between the indigenous and other ethnic groups as well as with popular disappointment with traditional political parties, opening a door to new groups and new opportunities in a country thirsty for change and equality.

### **Conclusion**

Latin America’s future seems promising as military dictatorships are gone, hundreds of millions of people have escaped extreme poverty, economic inequality is in decline and leaders are working toward a more equal society where bureaucrats no longer hold power, but instead power is in the hands of common people. Considering all the factors we have discussed, one is able to conclude that in the past two decades, ethnic politics has risen in success and become increasingly popular throughout Latin America.

The success of new ethnically based parties in Latin America and the rise of ethnopolitism in Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru is unique to each country in the way they have welcomed this new wave and how they have implemented it to lead their countries. We found each country has different levels of ethnopolitist effects. Although all the countries possess similar characteristics to provoke ethnopolitism to be present the extent of these ethnopolitist tactics are powerful in some countries more than in others. The rise in indigenous political party movements and rural low class citizen participation has become increasingly popular, and also portrays to be active at different degrees in each country. This increment in participation of marginalized groups has become prosperous and in these particular countries and each country has evolved from past leaders with distinct tactics. Each of the countries examined have very different past politics, yet each has ended up having ethnopolitist parties and ethnopolitist inclusive tactics come to power.

It is clear ethnic parties are popularly rising throughout Latin America, it is important to consider and analyze the history that has brought them to rise and how each country assimilates to it and most importantly what unique factors leads ethnopolitism to emerge and thrive at different levels. In some instances, such as in Ecuador and Peru, ethnopolitism has rapidly grown and made a bigger impact. While on the other hand in Peru, although it still has various key elements for it to impact in the same way, it has been a slower change.

One of the fundamental lessons to take from this is the role that disenchantment with old parties has played in recruiting citizens is essential to ethnopolitist parties and that this has worked comparatively well because of the large indigenous populations in

each country. In the case of Ecuador, the indigenous of Ecuador have made tremendous strides since their first mobilizations in the 1970s and 1980s and created one of the strongest indigenous groups in the Americas, Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) in the 1990s. This has united minority voices and allowed increased number of citizens to feel represented and included. In the case of Bolivia, it has been one of the most important ethnopopulist movements to date with their political party Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS). MAS, has implemented inclusive strategies to capture the indigenous as well as whites and mestizo citizens. The parties' policies have allowed most social classes to sympathize with their ethnic demands as well as supporting parties' populist rhetoric and policies. Again, we see how these new policies offered to citizens have overcome the disenchantment of old parties and formed new hopes in Bolivia. Lastly Peru is a unique case because as citizens are disenchanted with old parties, there has not been much organization as in the prior two countries to impact with ethnopopulist parties on a national level. The numbers of political groups with indigenous names running for positions are slowly increasing and various politicians have employed ethnic appeals to win support of the indigenous people and other citizens with common goals. Ethnopopulism has been an effective electoral strategy and should continue to rise based on the results it has produced in all the countries analyzed.

In all three of the cases we see how leaders and politicians utilize inclusive ethnic and populist appeals to woo indigenous voters as well as whites and mestizos, which have been marginalized for decades. In all areas it was clear of the importance these people that were put into shadows for so long have now gained importance in the electoral process and are now a major part that politicians consider for their success. It is

essential to have a relatively large indigenous population, well-organized, inclusive tactics and an ethnically conscious community to work together for the success of this new wave. Another key element for the rise of ethnopopulism, which has been present in all three countries is the popular disenchantment with existing political elites and their policies that sadden people making them feel marginalized and not represented. Through the ethnopopulist tactics, successful indigenous campaigns have focused on the lower classes, denouncing the traditional parties and elites and run by their own leaders striving to gain recognition for the struggles and needs their communities face. People that have been left out are finding these new tactics appealing allowing them to feel connected, trust and represented through this growing ethnic consciousness and mobilization.

In the final analysis, the leaders Correa, Morales and Humala have all taken successful steps and created prosperous and engaging programs for their citizens that promise a better lifestyle and future. Each of them with their own revolutions towards prosperity, Ecuador with “buen vivir” (good living), Bolivia with “vivir bien ” (living well) and lastly Peru with their “Development and social inclusion: a new policy for the Peruvian State.”

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