THE ECUADOR READER

HISTORY, CULTURE, POLITICS

CARLOS DE LA TORRE AND STEVE STRIFFLER, EDITORS
Contents

Acknowledgments ix
Introduction 1

I Conquest and Colonial Rule
Tamara Bray. Ecuador’s Pre-Columbian Cañari “Inca-ism” 27
Frank Salomon. Ancestors, Grave Builders and Inca Kinship 42
Susan V. Webster. Building a Life: Architect and Entrepreneur Sherwin K. Bryant 68
Blanca Muratorio. The State, Miscegenation and Upper Amazon, 1767-1896 99

II A New Nation 103
Andrés Guerrero. The Construction Discourse and the “Miserable Century” 103
Friedrich Hassauer. Four Years in a Juan Montalvo. Selection from A. Kim Clark. Railway and Nation 133
Ronn Pineo. Guayaquil and Coast Rob Rachowiecki. Mountaineering Perspective 148

III The Rise of the Popular 155
Albert B. Franklin. Portrait of a People José María Velasco Ibarra. You Are
Contents

Acknowledgments ix
Introduction 1

I Conquest and Colonial Rule 9
Tamara Bray. Ecuador’s Pre-Columbian Past 15
Frank Salomon. Ancestors, Grave Robbers, and the Possible Antecedents of Cañari “Inca-ism” 27
Susan V. Webster. Building a Life in Colonial Quito: José Jaime Ortiz, Architect and Entrepreneur 40
Sherwin K. Bryant. Finding Freedom: Slavery in Colonial Ecuador 52
Karen Vieira Powers. A Battle of Wills: Inventing Chiefly Legitimacy in the Colonial North Andes 68
Sarah C. Chambers. Manuela Sáenz: Americana or Quiteña? 79
• Blanca Muratorio. The State, Missionaries, and Native Consciousness in the Upper Amazon, 1767–1896 86

II A New Nation 99
Andrés Guerrero. The Construction of a Ventriloquist’s Image: Liberal Discourse and the “Miserable Indian Race” in the Late Nineteenth Century 103
Friedrich Hassaurek. Four Years among the Ecuadorians 117
Juan Montalvo. Selection from Juan Montalvo (1832–1889) 121
A. Kim Clark. Railway and Nation in Liberal Ecuador 126
Ronn Píneo. Guayaquil and Coastal Ecuador during the Cacao Era 136
Rob Rachowiecki. Mountaineering on the Equator: A Historical Perspective 148

III The Rise of the Popular 155
Albert B. Franklin. Portrait of a People 159
José María Velasco Ibarra. You Are Not My President 163
Raphael V. Lasso. The Wonderland 167
Jorge Icaza. Patrón and Peon on an Andean Hacienda 169
Pablo Palacio. The Man Who Was Kicked to Death 175
Henri Michaux. The Indian’s Cabin 182
José María Velasco Ibarra. “Heroic Pueblo of Guayaquil” 185

IV Global Currents 189
Galo Plaza Lasso. Two Experiments in Education for Democracy 193
Adrián Bonilla. The Origins of the Ecuadorian Left 200
Carmen Martínez Nova. The Progressive Catholic Church and the
Indigenous Movement in Ecuador 203
Salomon Isacovici and Juan Manuel Rodríguez. Man of Ashes 209
Pablo Curi. Men of the Rails and of the Sea 218
Jean Muteba Rahier. Creolization and African Diaspora Cultures:
The Case of the Afro-Esmerealdian Décimas 226
Hernán Ibarra. Julio Jaramillo and Music as Identity 237
Steve Striffler. The United Fruit Company’s Legacy in Ecuador 239
Tom Miller. The Panama Hat Trail 250
Diane C. Bates. Deforestation in Ecuador 257
Carlos de la Torre. Civilization and Barbarism 267
Felipe Barbano de Lara. Deinstitutionalized Democracy 271

V Domination and Struggle 277
Carlos de la Torre. Nina Pacari, an Interview 279
Sarah A. Radcliffe. Women’s Movements in Twentieth-Century Ecuador 284
Pablo Ospina. The Galápagos: Environmental Pressures and Social Opportunities 297
Norman E. Whitten Jr. Emerald Freedom: “With Pride in the Face of the Sun” 302
Suzana Sawyer. Suing ChevronTexaco 321
Dorothea Scott Whitten. Arts of Amazonian and Andean Women 329

VI Cultures and Identities Redefined 337
Karin B. Jokisch and David Kyle. Ecuadorian International Migration 350
Mary J. Weismantel. Cities of Women 359

Suggestions for Further Reading
Acknowledgment of Copyrights
Index 427

Neomi Espinosa. Traditional Foods
Rudi Col preferred. Globalization among Otavalo’s Merchant A
X. Andrade. Pancho Jaime 385
Javier Vásquez. Big Angel, My Love
María Fernanda Espinosa. Nature
Javier Lyons, with Angel Aranda an
Iván Oñate. The Writings of Iván

Adrián Bonilla. The Origins of the Ecuadorian Left 200
Carmen Martínez Nova. The Progressive Catholic Church and the
Indigenous Movement in Ecuador 203
Salomon Isacovici and Juan Manuel Rodríguez. Man of Ashes 209
Pablo Curi. Men of the Rails and of the Sea 218
Jean Muteba Rahier. Creolization and African Diaspora Cultures:
The Case of the Afro-Esmerealdian Décimas 226
Hernán Ibarra. Julio Jaramillo and Music as Identity 237
Steve Striffler. The United Fruit Company’s Legacy in Ecuador 239
Tom Miller. The Panama Hat Trail 250
Diane C. Bates. Deforestation in Ecuador 257
Carlos de la Torre. Civilization and Barbarism 267
Felipe Barbano de Lara. Deinstitutionalized Democracy 271

V Domination and Struggle 277
Carlos de la Torre. Nina Pacari, an Interview 279
Sarah A. Radcliffe. Women’s Movements in Twentieth-Century Ecuador 284
Pablo Ospina. The Galápagos: Environmental Pressures and Social Opportunities 297
Norman E. Whitten Jr. Emerald Freedom: “With Pride in the Face of the Sun” 302
Suzana Sawyer. Suing ChevronTexaco 321
Dorothea Scott Whitten. Arts of Amazonian and Andean Women 329

VI Cultures and Identities Redefined 337
Karin B. Jokisch and David Kyle. Ecuadorian International Migration 350
Mary J. Weismantel. Cities of Women 359

Suggestions for Further Reading
Acknowledgment of Copyrights
Index 427
Civilization and Barbarism

Carlos de la Torre

Ecuador's return to civilian rule and representative government in 1979 signified a real turn toward democracy. Political parties flourished, popular movements were reinvigorated, and the military has not taken formal, sustained control of the government since the 1970s. Yet, as the sociologist Carlos de la Torre shows, it is a fragile, incomplete, and contradictory form of democracy that remains clientelistic, prone to populist impulses, highly unstable, and ultimately corrupt.

Ecuador's "transition to democracy" (1976-79) was envisioned not simply as a return to elected civilian governments, but rather as the political complement of the economic and social modernization achieved by Ecuador during the military regimes of the 1970s. Ecuador was transformed from a banana- and cacao-exporting country into an oil-producing nation. This predominantly rural society, where hacendados controlled rural cultivators, saw the weakening of the hacienda system, high levels of urbanization, the growth of the state, and the expansion of the urban informal sector as well as the working-class and middle-class sectors. Until approximately the 1960s, traditional haciendas were the dominant institutions structuring life for Ecuadorians. The first agrarian census showed that in the 1950s, when most of the highland population (73.8 percent) was rural, large haciendas monopolized more than three-quarters of the total area. The hacienda was also a system of political and ideological domination that allowed landowners, directly or via the mediation of mestizo priests and village authorities, to monopolize power at local levels. The agrarian reform laws of the 1960s and 1970s eroded the social and political power of the traditional haciendas. By 1985, 36.2 percent of the land belonged to large farms, 30.3 percent to medium-sized units, and 33.5 percent to small units. Unfortunately, these agrarian transformations did not put an end to the latifundio-minifundio system, and the peasants' third of agricultural land is still insufficient to sustain the majority of the rural population. Nevertheless, such changes did create a power vacuum in the countryside that allowed for the eruption of autonomous Indian organizations and the increasing presence of modern political parties.
Ecuador is currently an urban country. In 1988 urban voters accounted for 75 percent of registered voters. As in other Latin American nations, capitalist development has not resulted in full proletarianization. Moreover, the crises of the 1980s have diminished the number of workers employed in manufacturing by 10 percent: from 113,000 in 1980 to 102,000 in 1986. Industrial workers rely on various strategies to make up for the lack of adequate family wages. Neoliberal adjustment policies have resulted in a drastic decline of real wages, which decreased by almost 30 percent between 1980 and 1985 and at an annual rate of 8 percent between 1986 and 1990. Most workers survive through a wide range of informal activities, such as street vending, domestic service, and self-employment in microenterprises. Official estimates place the informal sector between 40 and 50 percent of the economically active population.

Urbanization and the transformation of the traditional hacienda system were seen as the preconditions for political "progress." With the hope of designing new political institutions and creating a "modern" political system based on party competition, the military government of the 1970s appointed three commissions composed of representatives of political parties, employers' associations, labor unions, and other organized groups. Their goal was to rationalize the party system to avoid the cycle of populism and military coup that had characterized the country's history since the emergence of Velasquismo. The franchise was expanded from 2 million to more than 4 million voters between 1979 and 1988 due to population growth, voter registration drives, and the elimination of literacy requirements.

The plan to create a political system based on regular elections has been somewhat successful. Ecuador is experiencing its longest phase of elected civilian regimes to date. From 1979 to the present, presidents of different ideological persuasions have succeeded one another in office. Even so, political parties continue to be weak and numerous. Personalism, clientelism, and populism still characterize political struggles. Political parties, politicians, and politics in general appear discredited in public opinion surveys. The semilegal demises of President Abdalá Bucaram in February 1997, President Jamil Mahuad in January 2000, and President Lucio Gutiérrez in April 2005 revealed that democracy, even in its more restricted definition, has not been institutionalized.

Political elites still view the state as an entity to be either captured, in whole or in part, to be defended against, or both. The Ecuadorian state is booty. Elites are more interested in capturing state resources to build and maintain clientelist networks and increase the pool of patronage resources than in respecting democratic procedures. Civilian regimes, ruling in an economic crisis, have applied neoliberal policies, which have further increased social inequalities and political resistance. However, the military has been determined that the intervention would present to international conjuncture. They rule but maintain a series of policies to characterize the political system as a "protected democracy."

The sobering reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populist followers are told in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic sober reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populist followers are told in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populist followers are told in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populist followers are told in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populist followers are told in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populist followers are told in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populist followers are told in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populist followers are told in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A quixotic reality of Ecuador and political elites typically do not seek the modernizing intellectuals and institutions. Instead of reflecting a conception of democracy, these images of the antimodern populists have been constructed as an ideology. Populists are told to keep their promises in response to demagogues, they shall be the solitude of their homes. A
In 1988 urban voters accounted for 50 percent of the economically active population of Latin American nations, capitalist industrial proletarianization. Moreover, the number of workers employed in manufacturing dropped from 90,000 in 1980 to 102,000 in 1986. Industrial unrest for the lack of adequate family compensation has resulted in a drastic decline in the number of workers employed in manufacturing from 50 percent between 1980 and 1985 to 30 percent between 1986 and 1990. Most workers survived in informal activities, such as street vending, doing odd jobs, working in microenterprises. Official estimates put the percentage of the economically active population of the traditional hacienda system at 50 percent of the economically active population of the traditional hacienda system of "progress." With the hope of creating a "modern" political system, the government of the 1970s appointed representatives of political parties, employment-organized groups. Their goal was to stamp out populism and military coups since the emergence of Velasquismo in the 1970s. Voter registration requirements based on regular elections have been ignored. There is no phase of elected citizenship, presidents of different ideological orientation in office. Even so, political parties, populism, clientelism, and populism have become dominant in society. The semilegal demises of President Jamil Mahuad in January-April 2005 revealed that democracy has not been institutionalized in an entity to be either captured, in office. The Ecuadorian state is using state resources to build and the pool of patronage resources Civilian regimes, ruling in an economic, which have further increased social inequalities and political instability. Thus far, the military has abstained from carrying out a coup d'état. Its respect for civilian regimes, however, cannot be explained by a general commitment to democracy. More likely, the military has been deterred by economic crisis, by the dangers intervention would present to professional unity, and especially by a new international conjuncture. The military is not fully subordinated to civilian rule but maintains a series of privileges and veto powers, which, in the characterization of the political scientist, Brian Loveman, make Ecuador at best a "protected democracy."

The sobering reality of Ecuador’s political system is that common citizens and political elites typically do not behave according to the expectations of the modernizing intellectuals and politicians who designed the new political institutions. Instead of reflecting on the failure to fully realize this (restricted) conception of democracy, these intellectuals and politicians have constructed images of the antimodern populist "other." Populist leaders and their followers have been constructed as outsiders to the rule of reason and democracy. Populist followers are told that instead of shouting in public plazas in response to demagogues, they should "rationally" consider how to vote in the solitude of their homes. A quixotic task indeed, but one that nonetheless allows so-called modernizing elites to prescribe how politics should be conducted and reinforces their self-designation as the moral guides of what they term as modern Ecuador. Reflecting global changes in political discourse, neoliberalism has become the new dogma and panacea since the 1992 elections, replacing the modernizing social democratic plan of 1980.

Today, as in the past, populist politics continues to challenge the restricted character of Ecuadorian democracy. Contrary to the interpretations of many politicians and academics, populism is a specifically modern phenomenon. It is a form of political incorporation of rhetoric that has been present in Ecuador since the eruption of mass politics sparked by Velasquismo in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Given the ways in which existing conceptions of democracy and citizenship silence and exclude the popular sectors, populist followers continue to seek empowerment by staging mass dramas and occupying public spaces in the name of their leader. The continuing relevance of the rhetoric and mobilization style that appeals to "lo popular" has not been matched by a strengthening of citizenship rights. Civil rights are not respected, and neoliberal economic policies have further reduced limited entitlements to social rights. Plans for democratization, which appeal to supposedly universalistic conceptions of rationality, tend to silence and exclude large segments of the population. Despite elite wishes that the excluded "other" adapt and conform
to proper notions of modern and rational politics, these subjects have not accepted such impositions even if defiance has been articulated through the delegation of power to authoritarian leaders. Populist politics presents an important example of how the marginal other does not conform to elitist so-called democratic politics.

Deinstitutionalized
Felipe Burbano de Lara
Translated by Mayté Chi

During the past three decades, Ecuador of Latin America. The return to democracy following a period of military rule resulted in an economic crisis. The sociologist and political scientist Felipe Burbano de Lara examines the roots of this "unstable transition" in terms of the civilian-military relationship, the need for normalization, and the role of the armed forces.

In August 1979, Ecuador initiated the process of normalization. Ironically, the year also marked the beginning of a period of instability within Ecuador. Most of the candidates for the presidential term, including those who had received more than 40 percent of the popular vote, were removed from the process. In August 1981, Abdalá Bucaram, of the People's Revolutionary Party (PRRA), a populist party, was elected president. He held office for a year and a half. The following year, his successor, Rodrigo Borja Cevallos, who held office for a year and a half, was removed from power. In each case, the downfall of the president was characterized by a military intervention, and crisis took hold.

In April 2005, Ecuador had seven presidential terms in eleven years. Ecuadorian politics are currently marked by four characteristics: (1) The civilian-military relationship, its instability, and its definition are subject to international pressure. (2) Political instability, a strike, or a coup tends to be justified not by the use of political liberties but by the need to resolve itself through democracy in an environment of constant change. The removal of Bucaram in 1997, Ma