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COMMUNICATION LINGUISTICS AND LITERATURE FACULTY  
MULTILINGUAL SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS AND  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**COMPARING THE EFFECTS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC NEOLIBERAL POLICIES ON  
FEMINIST MOVEMENTS OF ETHNIC MINORITIES: THE CASES OF INDIGENOUS  
WOMEN IN ECUADOR AND AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE UNITED  
STATES FROM 1999 TO 2005**

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## **DEDICATION**

*To my parents, Kartika Jibaja and Khalil Alawamri  
To my family  
To activists who continue fighting for change in their communities.*

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## **I. TOPIC**

Comparing The Effects Of Socio-Economic Neoliberal Policies On Feminist Movements Of Ethnic Minorities: The Cases Of Indigenous Women In Ecuador And African American Women In The United States From 1999 To 2005

## **II. ABSTRACT**

The following dissertation discusses the problems that ethnic minority women, such as Indigenous women in Ecuador and African American women in the United States, face due to the neoliberal policies implemented in both governments. Neoliberal policies apply universal solutions irrelevant to the issues that ethnic minorities experience every day. Ethnic minority women are more vulnerable to the negative effects of neoliberal policies because they experience simultaneous discrimination related to class, ethnicity, and gender. The chosen theory is the postcolonial feminism with Chandra. T. Mohanty as the main author of reference. The methodology used is qualitative and quantitative with a descriptive approach. The main conclusion is that women were further discriminated since a universal female experience does not exist; thus, related issues cannot be solved with heterogeneous policies.

**Keywords:** postcolonial feminism, Indigenous women, Black women, ethnic minorities, neoliberalism

### **III. RESUMEN**

La siguiente disertación discute los problemas que enfrentan las mujeres de minorías étnicas, como las mujeres indígenas en Ecuador y las mujeres afroamericanas en los Estados Unidos, debido a las políticas neoliberales implementadas en ambos gobiernos. Las políticas neoliberales aplican soluciones universales no están relacionados con los problemas que las minorías étnicas experimentan a diario. Las mujeres de minorías étnicas son más vulnerables a los efectos negativos de las políticas neoliberales porque sufren discriminación simultánea relacionada con la clase, el origen étnico y el género. La teoría elegida es el feminismo poscolonial con Chandra. T. Mohanty como autor principal de referencia. La metodología utilizada será cualitativa y cuantitativa con un enfoque descriptivo. La conclusión principal es que las mujeres fueron más discriminadas ya que no existe una experiencia femenina universal; por lo tanto, los problemas relacionados no pueden resolverse con políticas heterogéneas.

**Palabras clave:** feminismo poscolonial, mujeres indígenas, mujeres negras, minorías étnicas, neoliberalismo.

#### **IV. RIASSUNTO**

La seguente tesi di laurea discute dei problemi affrontati dalle donne delle minoranze etniche, come le donne indigene in Ecuador e le donne afro-americane negli Stati Uniti a causa delle politiche neoliberiste attuate in entrambi i governi. Le politiche neoliberali applicano irrilevanti soluzioni universali ai problemi che le minoranze etniche affrontano quotidianamente. Le donne delle minoranze etniche sono più vulnerabili agli effetti negativi delle politiche neoliberiste perché subiscono discriminazioni simultanee in relazione a classe, etnia e genere. La teoria scelta è il femminismo postcoloniale con Chandra. T. Mohanty come principale autore di riferimento. La metodologia utilizzata sarà qualitativa e quantitativa con un approccio descrittivo. La conclusione principale è che le donne sono state più discriminate poiché non esiste un'esperienza femminile universale; pertanto, i problemi correlati non possono essere risolti con politiche eterogenee.

**Parole chiave:** femminismo postcoloniale, donne indigene, donne di colore, minoranze etniche, neoliberismo.

## V. INTRODUCTION

Drawing parallels between the effects of neoliberal policies on the social movements of Indigenous women in Ecuador and the African American feminist movement from 1999 to 2005 made more apparent the under inclusiveness of the first and second wave of liberal feminism. Postcolonial feminist theory is a response to western hegemonic influence on the liberal feminist theory which universalizes the oppression of women ignoring the historical, social and political contexts. By demonstrating the socio-economic realities of two of the most marginalized groups in history, the feminist agenda would necessarily become more inclusive. Colonialism made ethnic minorities more vulnerable to the abuse of human labor, social degradation, and political under-representation within the neoliberal system. Comparing the Indigenous movement led by women in Ecuador and the Black feminist movement in the USA will also bring to light the social, political and economic issues left unsolved by liberal feminism in countries with neoliberal policies.

In the following chapters, the effects of neoliberal socio-economic policies on women of ethnic minorities are analyzed using the case Indigenous women in Ecuador and the case of African American women in the United States. The reason for this selection is because neoliberalism focuses on the individual economic growth, failing to include collective rights which in turn compromises human well-being (Walby, 2009). Women of ethnic minorities in capitalist countries are more vulnerable because they experience oppression from their inner circle (community) and their outer circle (society) and their defense mechanism is found in social movements. However, in the case of feminism for women of ethnic minorities, the social movement of feminism contained a discursive shift that benefitted the private sector and

economically privileged communities. In other words, white, middle class or upper-class women who did not understand the experiences women of color lived daily.

The collective experience of systematically oppressed and exploited groups of people are not validated because neoliberal heterogeneity does not address latent specific issues unique to the history of a group of people. Neoliberal discourse of colorblindness ignores the historical relations of power and privilege making followers successfully believe that everyone has the same opportunity in the market with no preference. In the case of Black women in the United States, although they were part of women's suffrage in 1920, their right to vote became effective in 1965 and they still didn't have the same opportunities as the rest of the American population. Similarly, in Ecuador, twenty years after the Ecuadorian mestiza women could vote, Indigenous women who knew how to read and write were able to vote in 1979. The lack of inclusion within the feminist movement of the 1900s and the social movements of ethnic minorities led to the creation of Indigenous and Black women movements respectively that would give voice to their specific struggles. Liberal feminists focused on a market driven agenda advocating for political and economic well-being with civil and labor rights, regardless of the social, economic and political situation that women of ethnic minorities were experiencing.

In the case of Indigenous women in Ecuador between 1999 and 2005, the International Financial Crisis of 1999 affected Ecuador's economy which led to the country's dollarization and adoption of more radical neoliberal policies than previous governments have adopted. This led to a restructuring of the financial sector in Ecuador. Indigenous people protested the dollarization and argued that the State should change the way it functioned (Jaramillo & Zamora, 2015). Neoliberal policies in Ecuador let international companies invade Indigenous settlements for petroleum and mines which affected the health and livelihood of nearby Indigenous

communities. The Indigenous movement aimed to protect their lands and Indigenous women pursuit the protection of their culture through education, health reforms and gender violence visibility (Prieto, Cuminao, Flores, Maldonado, & Andrea Pequeño, 2010). A report about the quality of life in Ecuador, revealed that the most vulnerable people with the lowest quality of life are usually Indigenous women Latin America. In Ecuador, their circumstances are worse than other ethnic minorities in the country like Afro Ecuadorians (Salazar, 2013).

In much of the same ways, Black women deal with poverty, racism, and misogyny in the United States. Hence, they acknowledge that the upper class White American women, who led the liberal feminist movement, may never understand the struggle of fighting sexism, classism, and racism in American society. The struggle of ethnic minority women to overcome neoliberal economic and social oppression must not go unacknowledged. Therefore, the social movements of Indigenous women in Ecuador and Black women in the United States will be presented through a comparative analysis of the impact that these oppressive policies have had on their communities.

Neoliberalism promotes a social denial of prejudice with a discourse of color blindness, where gender and racial differences are mere market glitches that are not based on social value or power hierarchies (Mohanty, 2013). The end goal is increasing capital and having citizens that can produce in the market. The laissez-faire market prefers less State intervention because the market will self-regulate. These market discrepancies are social developments reflected from communities with complex postcolonial histories. These faults are issues that the State and collective movements must resolve to alleviate problems in marginalized communities. Social movements such as the Indigenous movement in Ecuador and the African American movement in the USA sought to protest the critical situation in their communities and urged for political and

social change. Moreover, the triple discrimination characterized by postcolonial feminist thought was product of the patriarchal structure that defines the basis of the neoliberal system.

Neoliberalism was defined by men that promoted policies driven by the market and had the sole purpose of economic prosperity. Economic prosperity did not reach low socioeconomic populations, in which ethnic minorities are found.

Women in the Indigenous movement in Ecuador and the African American movement of the USA had problems. Carmen Lozano (2017), an Indigenous advocate for women, explained the double burden women experience in their internal and external sphere. Firstly, they were not recognized within their own patriarchal communities subjecting to gendered roles. Secondly, society, including women, held prejudice attitudes towards women's ethnicity and economic resources leaving women of ethnic minorities alienated from their communities and society. As a result, they could not join the mainstream or white liberal feminist movement because their objectives and experiences were not the same. Angela Davis (1997) also noted the gender discrimination within the African American movement. In both cases, the women part of the Indigenous and African American movements had to struggle with the patriarchy, ethnic and class discrimination.

Women's responses towards these issues vary according to their country; yet, women of less privilege and similar backgrounds share parallel perspectives on the toll neoliberal policies take on their lives, their protests and surviving skills are also very alike (Lind, 2002). In the case of Ecuadorian indigenous women, the word "feminism" did not define their experiences as ethnic minority women; however, their programs of women empowerment and gender equality align with the agenda of Indigenous feminism that advocates for decolonizing processes and Indigenous sovereignty. Women in Indigenous confederations in Ecuador fought to have

leadership positions within their community to express their opinions and receive recognition in organizational decisions. Additionally, for Black women in the United States, Angela Davis (1997) established that since racism is institutionalized in the patriarchal neoliberal system, Black feminist social movements had to also push for intersectional rights in social, economic and political reforms.

The postcolonial feminist theory establishes that women of formerly colonized territories still experience at least two forms of oppression: colonialism and patriarchy (Tyagi, 2014). Indigenous feminism and Black feminism grew from postcolonial feminist theory to account for the way in which gender, class and ethnic discrimination affect formerly colonized women. For postcolonial feminists the term “equality” implies much more than gender equality, they strive to fight against values imposed on them from colonialist and imperialist periods (Mohanty, 2003). Because neoliberalism was established on a postcolonial patriarchal structure that depended on the division of class and discriminatory practices, the people most affected by these practices were Indigenous women and Black women. The postcolonial theory will help understand the historical specificity feminism requires to understand the tripartite oppression that ethnic minority women experience, without using Eurocentric assumptions to solve these issues. Chandra Mohanty analyzes postcolonial theory and criticizes neoliberal policies in the marginalization of minorities. An interview with Carmen Lozano will be used to understand Indigenous women and their plight in the Indigenous movement. The work of Angela Davis will help illustrate the struggles of Black women in America within the Black movement. Both cases will shed light on the relationship that currently exists with neoliberal policies and women that have historical roots of exploitation in a capitalist patriarchal system.

Therefore, the following dissertation compares the effects of socioeconomic neoliberal policies on feminist movements of ethnic minorities evincing the cases of Indigenous women in Ecuador and African American women in the United States from 1999 to 2005. I look to answer the following question: how neoliberal socio-economic policies affected ethnic minority women, such as Indigenous women in Ecuador and African American women in the United States between 1999 and 2005? I hypothesize that neoliberal socio-economic policies implemented in the USA and the ones which were implemented in Ecuador, marginalized ethnic minority groups further caused the reaction of feminist Indigenous women in Ecuador and Black women in the United States experiencing tripartite discrimination. The general objective for this dissertation is to analyze the connection of socio-economic neoliberal policies and the impact that they had on women of ethnic minorities from 1999 to 2005. The following specific objectives are observed in three chapters: 1) to define the impact of socio-economic neoliberal policies applied in Ecuador and the USA, 2) to compare the different realities of the Indigenous social movement in Ecuador and the African American social movement in the USA and 3) to analyze the response of feminist movements of ethnic minorities within Ecuador and the USA between 1999 -2005.

This dissertation uses a mixed methodology, incorporating qualitative and quantitative information alike. Quantitative data and information that will help describe socio-economic policies and qualitative measures will help analyze social movements and the feminist perspective. Understanding the perspective of social movements and their development is based mainly on qualitative variables. To further the investigation, using postcolonial feminist theory, quantitative information based on gender will also be used. Qualitative information used in this paper will be based on interviews, content analysis of primary and secondary sources.

Qualitative variables will help to analyze and compare statistics during the period of this

investigation. This study analyzes three units under the scope of one theory. The first unit of analysis will be Indigenous women in Ecuador. The second unit of analysis will be Black women in the USA. The comparison of the first two units will be measured under the third unit which will be neoliberal socio-economic policies. A comparison analysis will lead to the creation of new data and figures that will help to test the hypothesis.

The results of the following research may help the Ecuadorian society and government aim for progress and development keeping in mind unresolved minority problems. Social norms influence the Ecuadorian decision-making process. Therefore, decision-makers would benefit from understanding the tripartite discrimination women experience centered on their historical, social and political context. Ergo, it is important to: understand their plight and incentivize the implementation of policies and laws that would level the playing field with equal opportunities for all minorities. The Multilingual Bachelor in Business and International Relations is an inclusive major that requires understanding different cultures and how these play a role in politics and international affairs. Understanding postcolonial feminism would help to understand the different realities that a homogenous neoliberal capitalist system fails to acknowledge. This would help create more inclusive domestic and foreign policies that would protect the most vulnerable in our society. Inputs of ethnic minorities should be a priority because they are part of the factors that determine social and political stability.

## **CHAPTER 1: The Impact Of Neoliberal Socioeconomic Policies In Ecuador And The United States Between 1999 And 2005**

### **1.1 Neoliberalism**

The following chapter analyzes the impact of neoliberal socioeconomic policies in Ecuador and the United States. Neoliberalism became prominent in the United States during Ronald Reagan's administration and in Ecuador during the country's "modernization" period. The effect these neoliberal policies had on the Ecuadorian and African American populations respectively is broken down into economic and social impacts. In the following paragraphs neoliberalism will be defined and its destructive expansion through Latin American will be explained.

#### **1.1.1 History**

The term "neoliberalism" was first coined in a post-World War II conference about the revival of liberalism. In the development of a "new" liberalism, private property, markets and individualism were kept while the role of the State would vary according to the country's neoliberal approach (Henry, 2010). Neoliberalist market neutrality does not have a preference with race, gender or social status because everything is based on merit (Carosio, 2014). Miyares (2007) describes neoliberalism to be a theory with economic and political policies that promote human well-being through the non-restriction of the free market development and entrepreneurial freedoms. For this reason, by 1990, leaders united to create the Washington Consensus which would solve rising global economic problems, especially in the global south (Karki, 2016).

Neoliberalism has a greater market driven governmentality which differentiates it from liberalism. Neoliberalism points out that self-actualization is an individual right in which the State should not intervene because in the market everyone has the same opportunities (Miyares,

2017). The United States' 40<sup>th</sup> president, Ronald Reagan, delivered a neoliberal agenda that fused a “politically palatable” social and cultural conservatism (Jones, 2012) introducing the United States and the world to a neoliberal era. In a neoliberal government, the State must guarantee the quality of money and set up military, defense, police, political, and legal structures to guarantee the proper function of markets. Furthermore, in places where markets do not exist, the State must push for their existence, but they are not allowed enough information to second guess the market thus, leaving the responsibility of self-regulation to powerful interest groups (Harvey, 2005).

The elite American and European academia that declared neoliberalism a solution to surging economic problems were also part of the creation of currently running international financial institutions (IFI) such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (Jones, 2012). The IMF and World Bank were created in 1945 under the 1944 Bretton Woods Agreement (The Bretton Woods Agreements Act, 1962). The IMF was created to monitor exchange rates and lend reserve currency to countries in need of settling their debt or support their currencies. Initially known as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the World Bank was established to assist countries that had been physically and financially devastated post WWII. (Chen 2019). In the interest of a global neoliberal agenda, the IFI and the United States reached a consensus about the requirements needed to receive a loan (Hurt, 2015); thus, the Washington Consensus was a set of economic policies enforced by the IFI through Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) or *Programas de Ajuste Estructural* (PAE) in Latin America.

### **1.1.2 Policies**

Neoliberal policies follow a model that will transfer the control of economic factors from the public sector to the private sector with very minimal state intervention (Kenton, 2019). The IFI forced countries to adopt policies on tax reform, trade liberalization, deregulation, privatization, and strong property rights (Jones, 2012). The IMF suggested the following economic policies:

1. Fiscal discipline –cut State budgets and not rely on tax inflation
2. Public expenditure –to spend wisely and invest in resources that would have a greater economic return
3. Tax reform – lower marginal tax rates and broaden tax base
4. Financial liberalization – Enable competition in financial markets
5. Exchange rates – Have a competitive exchange rate to introduce nontraditional exports
6. Trade liberalization – reduce tariffs and eliminate trade barriers
7. Foreign direct investment (FDI) –barriers that did not permit FDI needed to be abolished
8. Privatization – make state owned companies private
9. Deregulation – eliminate regulations that impeded the growth and entering of industries
10. Property rights – enforce clear, secure and defined property rights

(Williamson, 2005)

### **1.1.3 Effects and Critiques**

Naomi Klein refers to neoliberalism as a “shock doctrine” of “disaster capitalism” which unveils relationships of power between business, capital and politics (Jones, 2012). Policies suggested by IFI as part of the Washington Consensus furthered the American neoliberal agenda as more countries became dependent on loans given from IFI and the United States Treasury

Department. Klein argues that developing countries, like Chile and others, have adopted neoliberal free market policies from the Washington Consensus due to a “shock therapy” strategy. When citizens are emotionally and physically invested in a national crisis to build a resistance movement, policy makers take this vulnerability to force policies that wouldn’t have been taken otherwise (Bello, 2008). Joseph Stiglitz (1943) defines the moment in shock therapy as the dramatic transition of a society into a market economy through overnight neoliberal policy changes that would either be contrary to the country or push them before they felt ready to adapt a new agenda. Stiglitz (1943) also argues that the forced agenda in developing countries caused asset stripping and the undermining of the basic social fabric of society.

Additionally, the capillary power of neoliberal governmentalities constructs a market rational discourse that redefines democracy (Mohanty, 2013) and saturates non- economic spheres with market rationalities that equate freedom with free markets (Silk, 2012). The universality approach neoliberal policies promote in the discourse of color blindness ignores the structural presence of racial and gender prejudice in the United States political landscape. The flattening discourse of equal opportunity for everyone and color blindness has an ambivalent effect of cognitive dissonance (Luft, 2009). For example, in a neoliberal democracy modeled by the United States, people are indoctrinated to believe the system neoliberal governmentalities share is fair to everyone and they easily adopt the beliefs fed to them which prohibits the critical evaluation of social institutions and increases problems in society (Douglass, 2011). As a result, income and wealth inequality has increased with environmental deterioration, wages and salaries have decreased due to outsourcing of jobs to foreign countries, police forces have been militarized, and power and wealth has concentrated in the hands of small elite groups (Giroux, 2005). Precisely for these reasons disadvantaged groups, such as minorities, in contrast to

privileged groups are more likely to blame social problems to systemic factors than to individual factors (Douglass, 2011).

The United States' model of neoliberalism, later intended to be replicated throughout Latin America (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2007), innately discriminates ethnic minorities because they are disadvantaged populations that view problems in society as innate to the system they live in (Douglass, 2011). Neoliberalism drives a homogenized modern capitalist culture that does not validate the collective experiences of systematically oppressed and exploited groups of people which deepens class, race and gender divisions. Therefore, ethnic minorities are negatively affected by neoliberal policies. Two cases analyzed in the following points are the effects of socioeconomic neoliberal policies applied in Ecuador and the United States between 1999 and 2005. Thus, anti-neoliberal sentiment in Ecuador and the United States developed into social movements that highlighted the inequality between the haves and have-nots of their countries

## **1.2 Neoliberal policies applied in Ecuador between 1999 and 2005**

Neoliberal policies enforced before and after the Ecuadorian financial crises of 1999 harmed the Ecuadorian population. The President of Ecuador, Jamil Mahuad, implemented laws designed to “modernize” with policies suggested by the IMF. To recover from the Ecuadorian economic crises of 1999, this president promoted economic growth by justifying political, economic and social oppression through neoliberal regulations and policies. The year 2001 marked the United States' expansion of neoliberal policies leading to laws that aimed to stabilize the country during its economic recession. However, the economy improved for some but had a debilitating social, political and economic effects on already marginalized peoples like Indigenous people and Afro Ecuadorians. This resulted in social movements with an anti-liberal sentiment, for example, the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE),

the Confederation of Kichwa People of Ecuador (ECUARUNARI), and the Plurinational Unity Movement or MUPP-NP (PACHAKUTIK). The following points will address a summary of events before the Ecuadorian financial crisis and the latter points will describe its economic and social effects leading to the formation of social movements.

### **1.2.1 Historical Context**

Through the Washington Consensus, the United States forced a development program based on economic growth in Latin America and other developing countries (Rangel, 2012). In Ecuador, for example, banana was the main exported raw product which created a monocultural dependence on trade with the United States (Drake, 1979). As a result, Ecuador's economy declined, and people were forced to follow a loan pattern that increased Ecuador's financial dependence on Washington because they would finance budgets and finance payment deficits. Ecuador's external debt had reached \$241 million from 1820 to 1970 forcing Ecuador to rely on multilateral lending institutions and the United States, which also facilitated the misuse of the money received by presidents like Camilo Ponce between 1956 and 1960, favored the country's oligarchy. The increase of foreign oil companies in Ecuador and political instability of the country caused social unrest. In response to the anticipated social, political and financial instability, President José Velasco of Ecuador in 1961 was forced to comply with IMF requirements. Velasco devalued the country's currency, promoted tight credits and reduced government spending (Kofas, 2001). By 1990, the Ecuadorian economic and financial structure required restructuring. President Sixto- Durán Ballén furthered the neoliberal agenda in Ecuador through a set of norms put in place to "modernize the State" by promoting the privatization of public companies (Mosquera, 2017).

According to Stiglitz (1943), these forced IMF policies that promoted financial market liberalization and unsteady influx of capital also caused the East Asian Crisis in 1997 and more crises later that century. The 1997 market crash in Asia had a ripple effect throughout the world leading to an International Financial crisis in 1998. The Russian and Brazilian financial crisis followed the Asian financial crises affecting Latin American economies, including Ecuador. In Asia, capital outflows and sharp depreciation caused a poor GDP growth of 1.4% per year between 1998 and 2003 (Aguilera, 2015). By mid-1998 the Russian ruble depreciated, the government was in debt and Russian banks could not afford to pay foreign creditors (Scott, 2014). In Latin America, crude oil cheapened to less than \$10 a barrel. In Ecuador, financial instability increased as inflation reached 15%, GDP growth was at an all-time low of 1%, and market speculation increased (Aguilera, 2015). The IMF helped countries like Russia ease their crises with a \$22.6 billion loan (Engdahl, 1998). With the amounting external debt and Ecuador's economic deteriorating conditions, the Ecuadorian economy could not withstand external shocks. The Ecuadorian crisis took place between 1998 – 1999 and increased the country's poverty rate by 13 percent (Sirimanne, 2009) leading to an eighth loan request to the IMF in 2000.

### **1.2.2 Policies Applied**

The implementation of prior IMF policy recommendations or Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) for economic growth at any cost, had set the scene for the Ecuadorian financial crisis. The IMF and World Bank were given the responsibility of inducing neoliberal policy reforms and were responsible for public planning in Latin America.

Table 1

*Ecuadorian Public Policies*

Year	Policies	Effect
1982	Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP)	The primary objectives were economic stability and restructuring the means of production by the gradual liberalization of economic variables through free markets and the elimination of subsidies. However, the national budget decreased, the government could not manage the balance between public spending and money supply, and productivity decreased as the national currency, the <i>sucre</i> devalued.
1992	The Law on the Monetary System and the State	Made the Central Bank of Ecuador independent from other banks, which allowed for banks to freely determine interest rates and had greater access to the free market.
1993	The Law on Modernization	Private sector benefitted from the exploitation of sectors previously owned by the state such as, hydrocarbons, electricity, telecommunications, and water.
1993	The Investment Promotion Law	Part of the treaty between the Republic of Ecuador and the United States of America on promotion and protection of investments to eliminate control over the flow of capital.
1994	The General Law of Financial System Institutions	Carried out the immediate liberalization of banking activities within offshore offices, it also increased the Central Bank loans to private banks and reduced the Central Bank's capacities and banking supervision.
1998	Law of Reorganization in Economic Matters in the Tax- Financial Area	Aimed to reduce risky bank practices with the creation of the Guarantee of Deposits Agency. However, the Agency did not fully function because people's and participating companies' savings were not returned after the country adopted the U.S dollar as their new currency.

Source: National Congress, (1993)(1994)(2008)

Elaborated by Kartika Fuentes

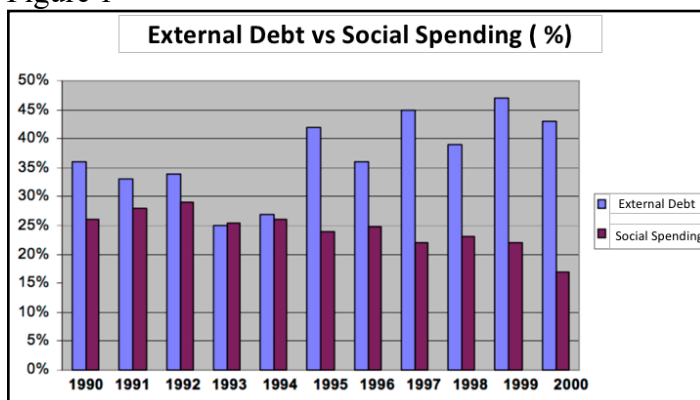
External shocks plus new domestic Ecuadorian policies created chaos for the nation prompting for the president at the time, Gustavo Noboa, to write an eighth Letter of Intent to the IMF in 2000.

### 1.2.3 Effects

Martinez (2005) proves that the main causes of the Ecuadorian financial crises in 1999 were the lax regulations and financial liberalization that laws such as: The Law on the Monetary System and the State, The Law on Modernization, The Investment Promotion Law, The General Law of Financial System Institutions, and Law of Reorganization in Economic Matters in the Tax- Financial Area promoted. Because these were laws that pushed a neoliberal agenda they were also part of the Structural Adjustment Programs that violated Ecuadorian economic, social and cultural rights (CADTM, 2007). The following point will cover the economic, health and social unrest these reforms caused in the Ecuadorian population.

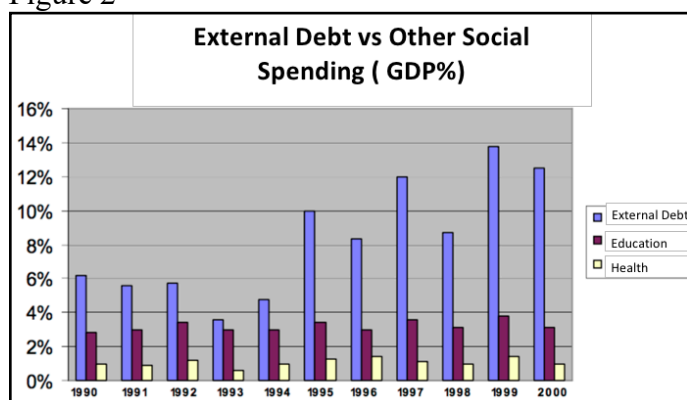
In 1999 Ecuador's external debt composed 82% of the country's GDP. By 2000 external debt reduced to 70% of the country's GDP (see Table 1) however, laws were designed to prioritize paying off the external debt before considering satisfying citizens' basic needs. The annual government budget of Ecuador in 1999 destined about double the number of national funds towards the payment of the external debt than to educational, health and social programs see Figure 1 and Figure 2 (Espinoza, 2003).

Figure 1



Source: Central Bank of Ecuador  
Elaborated by Alberto Espinoza (2003)

Figure 2



Source: Central Bank of Ecuador  
 Elaborated by Alberto Espinoza (2003)

Considering that by 1999 the number people that could not satisfy their basic needs doubled to six out of ten Ecuadorians and two of the six were prone to be destitute (SIISE, 1999), the government was not complying with the Constitution of Ecuador established in 1999. Article 46 and 47 of the Ecuadorian constitution declared that fiscal allocation for public health would increase annually in proportion to the growth of total government revenue; furthermore, no less than thirty percent of government revenue would be used for education and eradication of illiteracy<sup>1</sup>. Figure 2 demonstrates that in 2000 the central government invested only 4% of national funds in education and health.

Table 2  
*The Ecuadorian External Debt (1998 – 2005)*

Year	USD
1998	16,221,377
1999	13,372,430
2000	10,987,163
2001	11,337,753
2002	11,336,858
2003	11,482,671
2004	11,058,938
2005	10,850,534

Source: Central Bank of Ecuador  
 Elaborated by Kartika Fuentes

<sup>1</sup> For more information on the Ecuadorian Constitution of 1998 see <https://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/es.pdf>

Poverty was the greatest obstacle to access education and public health services in Ecuador. Low-income households, which tended to be Indigenous and Afro Ecuadorian, had 81% of their children attend elementary school. In contrast, middle and high-income households had 91% of their children attending elementary school. Between 1990 and 2001 the number of children, ages 6 to 14, who went to elementary school remained nearly the same, from 84.8% to 89.6%. In 2001, 61.3% of the Ecuadorian population did not have access to education, public health services or adequate nutrition (SIISE, 2001). Social spending in 2001 represented 20.4% of total government revenue, equivalent to 5.1% of the country's GDP. Additionally, between 2001 and 2003 Ecuadorian GDP grew a total of 6.1% and public health service program budgets were still being reduced. The low level of public spending on health and education demonstrated the government's incompetence to satisfy basic needs, which in return fostered low social mobility for the Ecuadorian society.

Austerity measures that prevented State intervention in market affairs encouraged financial liberalization and the exploitation of natural resources. This also led to low credit standards, Ponzi schemes, price wars, and bankers high-stake gambling. In 1998, however, Ecuador created the Guarantee of Deposits Agency or *Agencia de Garantias de Depositos* (AGD) through the Law of Reorganization in Economic Matters in the Tax- Financial Area to help reduce risky practices (National Congress, 1983). After Ecuador's eighth Letter of Intent, Structural Adjustment Programs were further implemented in 2000 which expanded the neoliberal market by adding the financial dollarization and increasing exportation.

The foreign currency demand accelerated the currency crisis and worsened the solvency of banks. First, the bank holiday that took place in 1999 froze peoples' deposits to avoid the excessive amount of withdrawals. In March of that year, speculation increased due to laws that

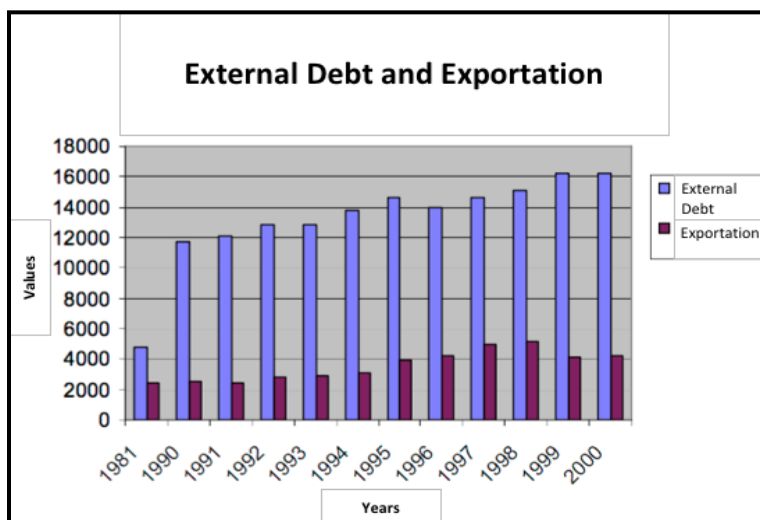
charged 1% on all bank transactions and important banks seeming to shut down suddenly. Secondly, the only day deposits were supposed to be frozen, extended to a year. People with savings accounts that had more than two million *suces* or checking accounts with more than five million *suces* could not withdraw any money for a year. Consequently, Ecuadorians panicked, and their reaction worsened when one of the most important and popular banks of Ecuador closed. By that time, in 2000, Mahuad led the financial dollarization, inflation was at an all-time high of 97% and \$1 USD was equivalent to 25,000 Ecuadorian *suces* (Rojas, 2014).

The traumatic experience lived by Ecuadorians during the dollarization period created looming instability. The Guarantee of Deposits Agency resulted ineffective because they delayed years in returning people the money they lost, and some never received compensation for money lost in banks that closed. Furthermore, after applying regulations that the IMF had suggested, a 2012 report by the IMF declared the reason for Ecuador's financial crises in 1999 was due to the country's weak financial institutions that could not manage or regulate banks (Jacome, 2004). Nonetheless, Ecuador deregulated banks and let them create their own interest rates following the requirements the IMF had predetermined for the country in order to receive a loan. The country's dollarization continued to bring unrest to Ecuadorians as prices also increased making the cost of living difficult for middle and low-income households.

Ecuador depended on the exportation of primary products and exploitation of natural resources, the income of this was used to pay off external debt and counteract rising unemployment. In 2000, 164% of the petroleum exports would be destined to pay off the external debt. Petroleum exports were 75% of Ecuadorian exportation. Additionally, the price of diesel and gas increased by 40% and 12% but the government wanted to prevent working-class families from being affected by this, the minimum wage was increased by 12%. This led to a rise

in unemployment from 9% to 11% which was intended to be fixed with a Government Bond or *Bono Solidario* that would make up for the rise in price and high living costs (Espinoza, 2003). Between 2002 and 2004 the exploitation of mines and refineries increased and on average made up 26.6% of the country's GDP growth. Still, unemployment increased from 7.7% in 2002 to 11% in 2004. The rise in unemployment could once again be explained as the minimum wage increased by 5% (BCE, 2004). The government became more occupied in paying off the external debt (see Figure 3); thus, in return, Ecuadorian peoples' economy was further negatively affected.

Figure 3



Source: Central Bank of Ecuador  
 Elaborated by Alberto Espinoza (2003)

Within neoliberal thought, the State serves the needs of multinational corporations.

Article 86 and 89 of the 1999 Ecuadorian Constitution guaranteed citizens a safe environment that will preserve biodiversity and will make sure that companies of the public and private sector use clean technology with alternative energy (Ecuadorian Constitution, 1999). The aforementioned legal environmental regulation also applied to oil extractive processes in protected areas or outside of them. Oil exploitation in Ecuador since 2000 became the most

exploited natural resource and the most problem causing. Between 2000 and 2005 oil exploitation policies aimed to double production and privatize oil companies (Mateo & Garcia, 2014). The operations of all these companies affected six protected areas and nine Amazonian indigenous peoples: Siona, Secoya, Cofán, Huaorani, Kichwa, Shuar, Achuar, Shiwiar and disappeared people as the case of the Tetetes and Sansahuari. These ethnic groups lost their ancestral territories and remained concentrated in small reserves surrounded by oil infrastructure. These ethnic minorities were colonized as they begged the state to help them against these big companies. Furthermore, from 1994 to June 2002, 779 oil spills occurred at an average of almost 92 annually and eight spills monthly. As a result, the minority groups affected by the oil spills became ill. In 2000, out of 500 surveys, 82.4% of the population has become ill on occasion due to contamination: 96% with skin problems, 75% with respiratory problems, 64% with digestive problems and 42% with eye problems (Vogliano, 2009). The state did not intervene until private companies became public. Communities that suffered this dehumanizing treatment pushed to build a case against multinational oil companies and presented it to the Interamerican Court of Human Rights in 2004.

Table 3

*The Effects of Neoliberal Policies in Ecuador (1999 – 2005)*

<b>Quality of life indicators</b>	<b>Ecuador</b>	
<b>Life expectancy at birth</b>	1999	72.62
	2005	74.14
<b>Access to education (enrollment)</b>	In 1999, the enrollment rate in primary school was 91%.	
<b>Years of schooling</b>	2001	6.61
	2006	9.8
<b>Access to health services</b>	1999	17.2%
	2006*	18.3%
<b>Poverty rate</b>	1999	44.8%
	2005	38.3%
<b>Income</b>	1999	\$421 /month

<b>Unemployment rates</b>	2001	13%
	2005	11.1%

*Note:* Asterisk sign (\*) means data for the year 2005 was unavailable. Dash sign (-) means data was unavailable.  
Sources: Countryeconomy (1999), PREAL (2006), Masala & Monni (2017), INEC (2016)(2008) and Maldonado, Torres, López, Rueda (2007).  
Elaborated by Kartika Fuentes

Programs of Structural Adjustment were aimed to increase the opportunities of economic prosperity for Ecuador as they applied for loans from the IMF. Table 3 depicts the effects neoliberal policies between 1999 and 2005 in Ecuador had on the population. As a result, life expectancy rates at birth increase, the access to Education was at an all-time high and years of schooling increased in 2006 to almost 10 years. Poverty rates declined and income was \$421 per month, even after the economic recession. Although, the country’s economy seemed to ameliorate in the span of five years after the devaluating the country’s currency, social problems were still latent in the society.

Carlos Maldonado (2006) conducted a thorough analysis of these results and exposed the underlying social issues stemming from radical economic changes and inequality. After the economic crises, 15% of the Ecuadorian working force immigrated out of the country leaving the country with less human capital and greater amounts of low skilled workers. This also resulted in the participation of the informal sector growing and lowering the quality of employment. This explains the reduction of unemployment in Ecuador. Furthermore, Maldonado (2006) argues that the labor market is discriminatory to minorities such as Indigenous people. During this time period, Maldonado demonstrates empiric evidence of the increased social inequality with Indigenous people being at the worst end.

For example, Maldonado (2006) describes the situation of rural workers and Indigenous families’ experiences during Ecuador’s economic crises. In 2000, child malnutrition was seen in 47% of Indigenous children and in 21% of Mestizo children (Stone, 2017). Furthermore, Maldonado (2006) establishes that the bad quality of health services the country inherited after

using public funds to pay the external debt did not help ameliorate the conditions of people, like Indigenous, rural workers or Afro Ecuadoreans, who already lived in impoverished conditions. Additionally, according to SIISE (2003) the participation of the poorest quintile dropped from 4.6% in 1990 to 1.7% in 2004 while the richest quintile rose from 52% to 62.3% in the same period. Finally, in 2004, even after the implementation SAP and having positive economic reports but unfavorable social reports, Ecuador was still considered the least competitive countries in Latin America (Maldonado, 2006).

In the period of financial dollarization, resistance movements were the result of various years of social unrest for disadvantaged groups like Indigenous people. By the end of 1999 protests were constant, everyone affected by the crises mobilized, this included: Indigenous people, transporters, students and account holders amongst others. In 2000, CONAIE pushed for Mahuad's impeachment. An alliance was created between the leader of the CONAIE, the Ecuadorian Army and former president of the Supreme Court of Justice to impeach Jamil Mahuad and put Gustavo Noboa into the presidency. Indigenous people led the impeachment in representation of the masses against the neoliberal reforms, organizations such as, ECUARUNARI, the National Confederation of Rural Indigenous, and Black Organizations, Ecuadorian Federation of Indigenous Evangelicals, and The National Federation of Free Agroindustry, Rural and Indigenous Workers in Ecuador participated and supported CONAIE's role in protesting and impeaching the Mahuad's administration.

### **1.3 Neoliberal policies applied in the United States between 1999 and 2005**

Ronald Reagan's presidency in the United States pushed a neoliberal agenda that aimed to revitalize the economy. Reagan's neoliberal political reforms proposed that human well-being was characterized by liberating the economy, stronger property rights, free markets and free

trade (Harvey, 2005). Similar to Reagan, George W. Bush between 2001 and 2005 pushed for deregulation political reforms, tax cuts and budget cuts (Meris, 2010; Harvey, 2005; Egan, Kurtz, Yellin & Houp, 2019). The economic and political historical context of the United States will be briefly described from Reagan's presidency to Bush's administration in 2001. A description and the effects of the neoliberal policies applied during Bush's administration will be outlined in the following points. Finally, the importance of these points is to signal the institutional discrimination that ethnic minorities experience, a case in point are African Americans in the United States.

### **1.3.1 Historical Context**

Between 1981 and 1989, Reagan's administration implemented neoliberal economic policies known as "Reaganomics" to expand economic prosperity and influenced George W. Bush's public policy agenda in 2001 (Walsh, 2004). Reaganomics was based on four pillars: reducing marginal tax rates, market deregulation, tightening money supply to reduce inflation, and reduce government spending (Kenton, 2019). The promise of economic prosperity helped productivity per hour increase (Harvey, 2005) and unemployment decreased from 7.62% in 1981 to 5.49% in 1989 (Amadeo, 2019).

However, market deregulation granted corporation more power to exploit workers and violate union rights. David Jacobs and Lindsey Myers (2014) analyzed how Reagan's anti-union stance minimized the strength of work unions by reducing their influence in public policy and firms through protests; as a result, this approach accelerated inequality in the United States. For example, Robert Plotnick's (1993) revealed that in 1988 the poverty rate for African Americans was 31.3%, meanwhile among the White population the poverty rate was only 10.1%. Furthermore, Reagan gave the most alarming tax breaks. Tax rates were reduced from 75% to

28% with the idea of fostering competition and innovation; nevertheless, this incentivized corporations to invest their financial capital abroad where the returns would be higher (Harvey, 2005). Altogether the public policies implemented in the United States from 1981 to 1989 generated an increase in poverty rates and promoted income inequality.

Kenneth Walsh (2004) analyzes the similarities between George W. Bush's presidency and Reagan's administration. Both administrations held the same neoliberal values and fought against a greater threat, in the case of Reagan it was communism and for Bush it was terrorism (Walsh, 2004). In this case, during Bush's presidency national protection or anti-terrorist and economic growth policies were established. Laws that permitted the State to counteract a future or potential terrorist attack incited fear throughout the world, especially for American citizens and businesses. However, Bush's economic policy also aimed to reduce speculation and fear in Wall St. thus, the public law of economic growth promoted the four pillars of Reaganomics.

### **1.3.2 Policies Applied**

Neoliberal policies have benefitted groups of interest that look to accumulate wealth on the backs of working-class families. In the case of the United States in 2001 Public Law 107-16 was legislated and enforced by the Bush administration. The Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 responded to the country's recession in 2001. Bush tax cuts injected capital into the economy favoring rich people, so they would have money to spend; meanwhile, the government cheated those affected by the net impact of the recession. At the time, oblivious to the growing economic inequality, Americans voted for Bush tax cuts hoping it would benefit the working class.

Table 4

*United States' Public Policies*

Year	Policy	Effect
2001	Public Law 107-16 - Economic Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act	Adopted by Congress to hasten tax cuts. By cutting taxes and reducing the cost of stocks, huge corporations would have fewer costs, which in turn would result in the hiring of more workers. Unemployment increased. Triggered an increase in America's external debt, fueled income inequality and ultimately benefitted the wealthy. Reduced government revenues and increased the inability to pay off external debt.
2001	Public Law 107 - 56 - Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT ACT)	Deterred and punished terrorist acts in the United States and around the world, to enhance law enforcement investigatory tools, and for other purposes. However, the law instituted for national security purposes also allowed for racial profiling to target Muslim Americans and people of low socioeconomic status. It gave immigration policies the power to regulate the nationalities admitted into the United States using a technique called "blacklisting" (Pitt, 2011).
2002	Public Law 107 - 297 - Terrorism Risk Insurance Act of 2002	Ensured the continued financial capacity of insurers to provide coverage for risks from terrorism. Established a temporary Federal program that provided a transparent system of shared public and private compensation for insured losses that resulted from acts of terrorism. The law guaranteed consumer protection and allowed affected private markets and businesses to stabilize.
2003	Jobs And Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act (JGTRRA)	The JGTRRA was placed to drive the U.S economy forward after 9/11 and the 2001 recession. Investors paid less tax on dividends and capital gains while public companies had to pay dividends to continue cash flow and stimulate the economy.
2004	Public Law 108 - 373 – Economic Development Administration Reauthorization Act	Aimed to raise the standard of living for all citizens and increase the wealth and overall rate of growth of the economy by encouraging communities to develop a more competitive and diversified economic base. The law permitted the federal government to award loans to states and local governments, colleges and universities, Economic

	Development Districts, multi-jurisdictional planning organizations established by the states, and nonprofit organizations. Nevertheless, the program resulted inefficient. Grants were not used efficiently and went unsupervised, grantees did not always comply with requirements, an ineffective tracking and oversight system was in place, and audit reports did not help improve the loaning system (Boyd, 2012).
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Source: U.S Government Publishing Office (2019)  
 Elaborated by Kartika Fuentes

### 1.3.3 Effects

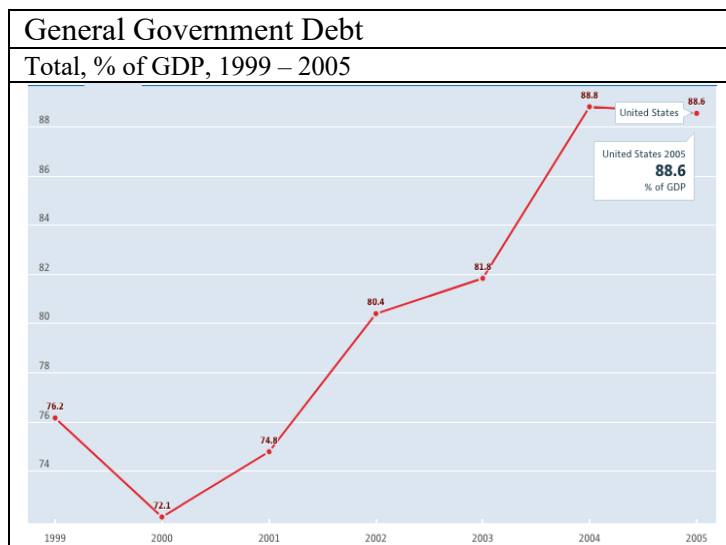
The 2001 recession in the United States was an accumulation of various factors that were intended to be resolved with biased legislation. After strong growth in 1999 and avoiding contagion from the International Financial Crises of 1998, by mid-2000 profits decreased. Between March and November 2001, the end of the dot- com bubble led to a decline in stock prices. The dot-com bubble was a period of increased speculation due to the release of the internet and new technology. The terrorist attacks of September 11 in 2001 became the American excuse to invade Iraq in March 2003. Furthermore, corporate scandals erupted in 2002 clouding the economic situation for America (Bernanke, 2010).

The solution proposed by President George Bush for the turbulent economic climate were public policies that aimed to promote economic growth, increase national security, reduce market speculation and increase consumer protection. The Economic Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act gave corporations and business tax breaks to ensure they reinvest in the economy. After the attack in September 11, 2001 Bush authorized the Patriot Act which allowed authorities to be suspicious of possible terrorists of possible hint of future terrorist attacks; therefore, targeting specific people who looked or seemed “suspicious” to authorities, this method was also understood as racial profiling. The Terrorism Risk Insurance Act of 2002 tried to reduce the economic instability American consumers were experiencing by guaranteeing consumer

protection and insuring business or private markets affected by the 9/11 attack. After the looming economic instability and the departure of American companies to other countries, Bush ratified the Economic Development Administration Reauthorization Act of 2004 to try and provide jobs for Americans left unemployed. Bush’s economic relief plan and post 9/11 public policies aimed to expand the American economy without considering families of low socioeconomic status that were continuously struggling, which amplified social and economic inequality.

The Economic Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act reduced taxes in 2001 and 2003. This triggered an increase in America’s external debt, fueled income inequality and ultimately benefitted the wealthy. Bush tax cuts reduced government revenues and increased the inability to pay off external debt (see Figure 4) and created a budget deficit.

Figure 4



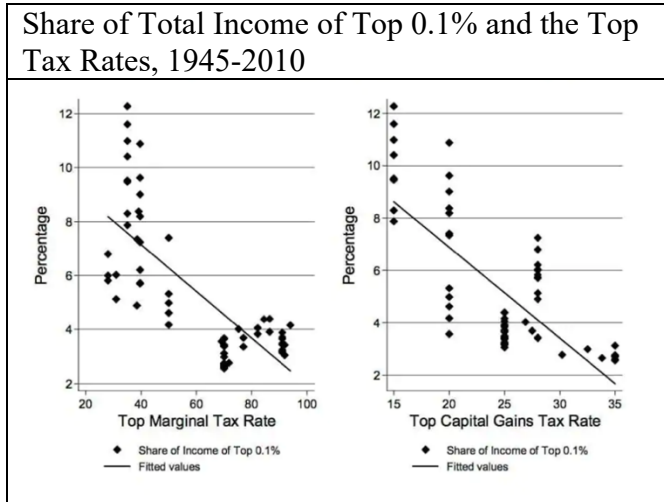
Source: OECD National Accounts Statistics (2005)

Elaborated by Kartika Fuentes

Although, people received tax refunds to spend in the economy, the wealthy of the country used their tax rebates to reinvest in their companies and saved their own money. In the 2000s the economic gap between rich and poor widened as top tax rates were lowered and the

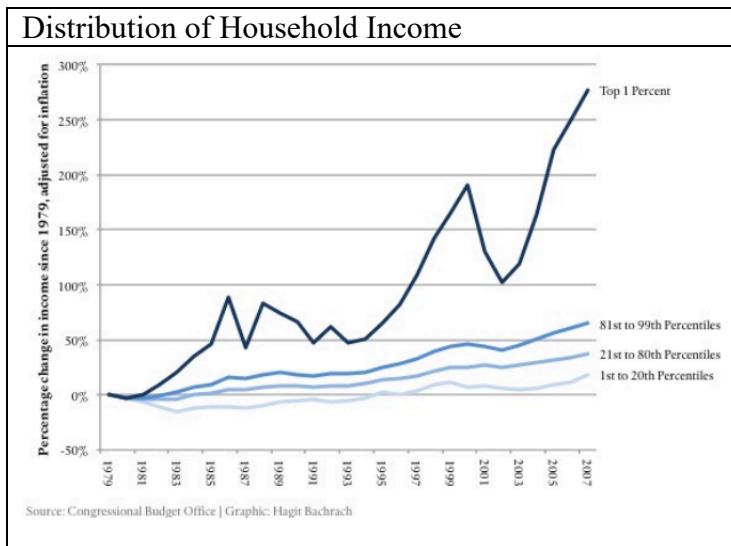
share of income accrued to the top. Figure 5 shows the capital gains of the top 1% as their tax rates are reduced causing income disparities (Hungerford, 2012).

Figure 5



Source: CRS Analysis of Picketty and Saez data  
Elaborated by Hungerford (2012)

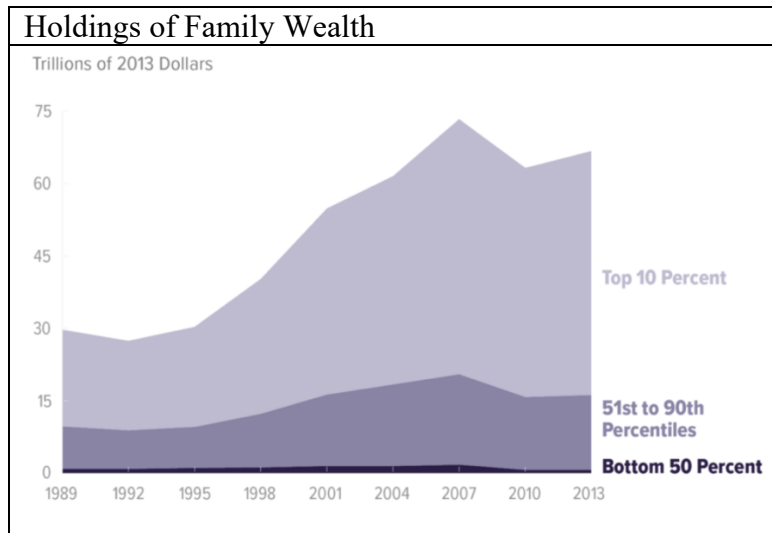
Figure 6



Source: Council on Foreign Relations  
Elaborated by Markovich (2014)

Between 2001 and 2005 income disparity (see Figure 6) grows immensely and the gap between rich and poor widens as the top 10% in America accumulate a disproportionate amount of wealth (see Figure 7).

Figure 7



Source: Congressional Budget Office  
Elaborated by Keith (2016)

The Bush tax cuts implemented in 2001 and 2003 did not attack the recession and another law was legislated. Between 2001 and 2005 the American economy had recovered enough to stop Bush tax cuts but did not help families affected by the recession and the increasing economic gap, both family heads had to work. By 2001 the bottom 40% of the income distribution reduced from 17.4% to 13.9%; meanwhile, the share going to families in the top five percent increase from 15.5% to 21% (Bartels, 2005).

The Jobs Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2003 was adopted by Congress to hasten tax cuts. Post 9/11, uncertainty already loomed over Americans' social and economic security, including women. Moreover, jobs were scarce during Bush's presidency because jobs were sent overseas disregarding American workers' interests (AFL- CIO, 2004). After the legislation of JGTRRA, unemployment increased in the years that followed to 5.1% deepening the economic instability. Annual growth of GDP decreased from 4.6% in 1999 to 1% in 2001, but in 2002 it picked up to 1.7%. Unemployment rose from nearly 4% in 2001 to 6% in 2003, equivalent to more than 11 million Americans unemployed (World Bank, 2018). By cutting taxes

and reducing the cost of stocks, huge corporations would have fewer costs, which in turn would result in the hiring of more workers. Women are more vulnerable to economic downturns because they were considered as “flexible” in the workforce, so they were easily dismissed in the workplace during an economic downturn (Rubery & Rafferty, 2013). Women composed 66% of the low wage workforce although their educational attainment was higher than men (National Women’s Law Center, 2013). By 2003, the ratio of female to male labor force participation rate was of 80% (World Bank, 2018).

The Terrorism Risk Insurance Act and Patriot Act forced billions of dollars from federal funds to be spent on the war in Iraq and Afghanistan limiting funding in other areas, they would move money away from areas considered less effective (CNN, 2002). Spending in education and community or regional development was no less than 4% of the federal budget in 2001, even though, community rebuilding and education would have helped ease the insecurity they felt in the United States at the time (Government Publishing Office, 2002).

The repercussions of the Patriot Act incited fear amongst ethnic minorities in the United States. For example, in the state of New York, the practice of Stop-and-Frisk increased after 9/11 and the Patriot Act authorized an officer with reasonable suspicion that a crime was or is going to be committed to stop a person in the street (LII, 2019). This practice was also categorized as racial profiling, which was ruled as unconstitutional (The Editorial Board, 2013), but was enforced in big cities all throughout the United States. In New York City, where the 9/11 attacks occurred, officers stopped and frisked every citizen aggressively, particularly people of color. The amount of reported stop and frisks between 2002 and 2005 increased from 97,295 to 398,191. The stop and frisk reports stated innocent, between 2002 and 2005, increased from 82% to 89% (NYCLU, 2019).

Table 5

*Effects of Neoliberal Policies Applied in the United States (1999 – 2005)*

Quality of life indicators	The United States	
Life expectancy at birth	1999	76.58
	2005	77.48
Access to education (enrollment)	In 1999, the enrollment rate in primary school was 95.61%	
Years of schooling	2000	12
	2005	13.2
Access to health services	1999	-
	2006*	71.1%
Poverty rate	2000	8.7%
	2005	9%
Income	1999	Median household income was \$3500/ month
Unemployment rates	2001	4.7%
	2005	5.1%

*Note.* Asterisk sign (\*) means data for the year 2005 was unavailable. Dash sign (-) means data was unavailable. Sources: from National Center for Health Statistics (2010), World Bank (2017), U.S. Census (1999) (2005), Nation Master (1999), Human Development Reports (2019), Morgan State University of Community Health and Policy (2011), Pew Research Center (2016), and Bureau of Labor Statistics (2019).  
Elaborated by Kartika Fuentes

The effects Bush's domestic policies had on the quality life of Americans is illustrated in Table 5. Life expectancy increased almost a year, school enrollment had decreased 2% from 1998 but the years of schooling increased by over a year. The national poverty rate and employment rate increased by 1% while the median household income had increased from \$3500 to over \$4000 by 2004. George W. Bush's initiative to help better alleviate economic disparities in the United States resulted in a widening income and social gap. Economic disparities coincided with the terrorist attacks and policies that further perpetuated low income families. The country accumulated debt by entering war in Iraq and Afghanistan which led to budget cuts in programs for social development. Between 2001 and 2006 the amount of families that did not have access to food on daily basis increased by 20% (Koch, 2007). Additionally, 1.2 million kids

were found to live in poverty by 2000 (Bernstein, Gould & Mishel, 2007) and by 2004 infant mortality rates in the South rose sharply from 9.7% to 11.5% and mainly amongst Black communities (Eckholm, 2007). In conclusion, the economic policy agenda Bush established proved to worsen the social and economic situation for Americans.

Movements against these neoliberal policies were created in response to the harm caused on people's lives. The lack of access to basic rights such as healthcare and education demonstrates the grave situation communities found themselves living during Bush's presidency. Black organizations that began in 1970's sought to protect their communities against police brutality, yet by 2000 the only powerful organization that advocated for African American rights was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). By 1999, segregation in the United States was still present in southern states and discriminatory practices were still applied which led to class action lawsuits in which the NAACP represented the Black community against the State (Local Government, 2019). Other minorities such as the community of disabled people and LGBTQ community, which were invisible in the market, advocated for their representation in society. The Disability Rights Movement was created to push for innate rights people with disabilities deserve, regardless of their capacities. By 2000s the LGBTQ movements pressed to be acknowledged because they were absent in the neoliberal employment market and statistics (GCDD, 2016). Minority groups do not exercise the same power as the majority, unless they unite. In this case, the African American movement held a greater recognition because of the strong organizations that prevailed after years of government meddling, constant protests, and centuries of struggling for social justice, ultimately advocating for a just and equitable society.

Socioeconomic neoliberal policies established in the United States set a precedent for SAP in Latin America required by the IMF and the World Bank. SAP in Ecuador was product of the Washington consensus Reagan had helped promote. The impact of socioeconomic policies in Ecuador and in the United States has proved that the results this dissertation's first specific objective to be a social disaster as income and social inequality increased in both countries negatively affecting mainly populations of low socioeconomic status.

## **CHAPTER II: Social movements of Indigenous people in Ecuador and African Americans in the United States between 1999 and 2005**

Neoliberal discourse constructs a public sphere on platforms that strip away power and the histories of oppression to rethink democracy based on market rationalities. Social justice within the market-driven perspective is undermined by the capital exchange. Neoliberalism promotes a social denial of prejudice with a discourse of color blindness ignoring race and power hierarchal structures (Mohanty, 2013). Politics of public consideration only aim to include privatization and consumerism. Private troubles concerning the language of race and class cannot be translated into public policy within a neoliberal system (Giroux, 2003).

In the late 1990s social movements and uprising that took the form of political parties set the stage for the Indigenous movement in Ecuador and the African American movement in the United States. Anti-neoliberal sentiment grew among ethnic minorities as political reforms did not acknowledge covert racism, social inequality gaps, and colonial hierarchal relations. The different forms of political and social exploitation that benefitted from the relations of subordination, embedded in the neoliberal system, affected the security of Indigenous people and Black people which fed the anxiety for change during the 2000s in Ecuador and the United States.

### **2.1 Ethnic minorities and social movements**

Ethnic minorities are groups of people that usually compose less than one third of a population. Therefore, they are often overlooked, and their needs are not taken into account in public policy. Public policy based on an agenda that universalizes all experiences is disadvantageous for ethnic minorities because their experiences are unlike the rest of the national population. Ethnic minorities are negatively affected by neoliberal policies. In this chapter, two

cases are analyzed to prove how socioeconomic neoliberal policies applied in Ecuador and the United States between 1999 and 2005 have an adverse impact on ethnic minorities. Thus, anti-neoliberal sentiment in Ecuador and the United States developed into social movements that highlighted the inequality between the haves and have-nots of their countries.

### **2.1.1 Ethnic minorities**

Ethnic minorities are groups of people with a common cultural history different from most of the population, and whose population count influences the amount of federal funds their region may receive (Okazaki & Sue, 1995). They are marginalized groups in society that because of historical backgrounds do not have the same opportunities. Mohanty (2013) differentiates them, from the social majority and the social minority, as the colonizer and the colonized respectively. In 2001, 77.4% of the Ecuadorian population was Mestizo and 6.8% was Indigenous (INEC, 2010). Another ethnic minority in Ecuador were Afro Ecuadorians composing 7% of the population (Inec, 2002), however they are not considered in this dissertation because of the censored and lack of information there is about them in Ecuador. Additionally, African Americans in 2000 composed 12.3% of the American population, the highest ethnic minority in the country. The other ethnic minorities that formed 4% of the national population were Native Americans, Pacific Islanders and Asians. The reason for choosing African Americans in the United States was due to the abundant data that exists about this ethnic minority in the United States.

### **2.1.2 Social movements**

Social movements are tools to build solidarities across borders that opt for issue-based policy changes, they are not privatized or social contracts (Mohanty, 2013). Social movements create spaces of knowledge construction, community creation and identity building (Mohanty,

2003). In this dissertation the Ecuadorian Indigenous movement is a social movement that united all Indigenous peoples of Ecuador to protect their cultural, social, economic and political rights. The African American movement is about the Civil Rights movement that helped the Black community suffrage and organizations that resisted to American imperialism.

## **2.2 Indigenous people in Ecuador**

Colonialism made ethnic minorities more vulnerable to the abuse of human labor, social degradation and political under- representation within the neoliberal system. During colonial times, Indigenous people were motivated to work out of fear of being hit or punished savagely (Wasserstrom & Bustamente, 2015). In Ecuador, the Indigenous person was depicted in society as a peasant that just became free and were boxed into labels such as, drunk, poor and ignorant (Gonzales, 2012). The underlying reasons for the degrading conditions Indigenous people live in are covert racism and classism. The life expectancy of and Indigenous person is 10 to 20 years below that of the rest of the national population (Cevallos, 2010). The National Assembly of Ecuador had less than 2% of Indigenous ministers (Observatorio Legislativo, 2018); thereof, systematically excluding Indigenous people from political participation and preventing them from improving their social and economic situation. Social hierarchies are reproduced through interactions which reinforce inequalities between the individuals or institutions of the dominant group and the minority group (Harris-Lacewell, 2003). Within the framework of political representation and social justice it is important to keep in mind the historical social and structural inequality post-colonized ethnic minorities have experienced to better understand needs unique to their collective identity.

### **2.2.1 History of ethnic minorities in Ecuador**

The pressure for political reforms in favor of ethnic minorities have been made through social movements and organizations. Collective rights have helped Indigenous people in a case against transnational companies and have helped African Americans fight for their civil rights. Collective rights emerged because individual human rights did not guarantee the right protection for Indigenous peoples (Sanders, 1991); therefore, their recognition and protection depended on collectivity groups that maintained their collective identity. Collective rights guarantee the development and preservation of ethnic minorities' cultural identities and forms of organizations. A few existing legal instruments recognize these rights, including Article 169 of the International Labor Organization and the political constitutions of several nations including Colombia, Bolivia and Ecuador.

Constant pressure from social organizations have forced institutions to vote in favor of their collective movements. Most importantly, education plays a huge role in movements. The more educated movements are about the system they are against, dismantling colonial hierarchal social structures (covertly propagated by neoliberalism) will be less difficult. Mohanty (2003) asserts the importance of colonized peoples knowing themselves and the colonizer to make the workings of power relations visible. Organizations that fully represent these ethnic minorities made visible the power relations in the neoliberal system and look to dismantle them.

Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities in Ecuador (CONAIE) and the Confederation of Kichwa People of Ecuador (ECUARUNARI) represent most of the 13 Indigenous ethnic groups in Ecuador. The creation of ECUARUNARI in 1972, marked a milestone in Ecuadorian Indigenous history because Indigenous and peasant farmers from federations and organizations of the Ecuadorian highlands united. Consequently, the Ecuadorian Amazonian Indigenous people united to establish the CONAIE. Both organizations had nationalized their movement and

Indigenous peoples became a new actor in the socio-political scenario of the country (Parga, 2010). The Indigenous movement pushed for the revindication of a plurinational state that would lead to the protection of Indigenous territory and culture. However, speeches and ideology of the CONAIE became exhausted as interests changed. ECUARUNARI purposed to reflect the Indigenous double oppression in the developing political party. The movement had officially taken the form of a party fighting against classism and racism.

By 1989, the International Labor Organization recognized the collective rights of Indigenous people with the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (ILO, 2019). They established that the work of Indigenous people should be recognized for their labor and their lands and culture should be respected. CONAIE protested to protect their cultural, social and economic rights. The biggest manifestation the organization led was the impeachment of ex-president Noboa in 2000. Furthermore, in 2003 president Gutierrez had signed another Letter of Intent to the IMF and was considering implementing more measures of austerity to try and better the economy. CONAIE gave the president 30 days to rectify the economic measures adopted and change the economic scene. If the resolutions the indigenous movement proposed were not accepted, a national mobilization would have been called to demand the necessary changes (Roquillo & Pincay, 2003). After the president's betrayal and change in interests the organization asked the MUPP-NP to cut all ties with the president's party (CONAIE, 2003).

### **2.2.2 Social, economic and political reality of Indigenous people**

Social discrimination took place in government institutions led to widespread insecurity within the Indigenous community in Ecuador. Indigenous communities, in this case, the have-nots, shared characteristics of low economic development, poor health conditions, and low levels of educational attainment (APA, 2019) which is depicted in Table 6, show the limited

opportunities this community had. The Ecuadorian Indigenous community protested these power relations that have been institutionalized and plagued their communities.

The net impact of the Ecuadorian economic crisis was worse for Ecuadorian Indigenous people. Underprivileged ethnic minorities like Indigenous and Afro Ecuadorian people were prone to work low skilled wage jobs (Patrinos & Skoufias, 2007) and participate in the informal sector; thus, their buffers were less effective and unlikely to help them recover from a financial crisis (Hall & Patrinos, 2005). People of low socioeconomic backgrounds with these limited opportunities did not have access to bank deposits or owning land, the luxury of having credit was expensive and limited. In the course of eight years until 2003, the poverty rate in the Indigenous community had been kept at an average of 80% (Hall & Patrinos, 2005) and the probability of being a poor Indigenous person in Ecuador increased to 16%. Deepening the economic and social division, the ethnic wage- gap between Indigenous and non- Indigenous people increased from 33% to 45% in 2004. In 2003 Indigenous people made an average of \$.80 an hour compared to the non-minorities that made an average of \$1.10 (Gallardo & Ñopo, 2009).

Furthermore, the environmental damage that the exploitation of natural resources caused did not get the country anywhere near to paying off the external debt; in fact, it increased the already precarious living conditions of Indigenous people and wildlife near exploitation sites. The case of the Indigenous Kichwa Sarayaku tribe is a perfect example to depict precarious living conditions which most of this population is subject to. In 1996, Ecuador permitted companies to explore and exploit Sarayaku land. Between 2002 and 2003, these companies and Ecuadorian armed forces conducting oil exploration and exploitation without consulting the people who had inhabited and lived off that land first. This forced entry led to the destruction of sacred sights, confrontations and violence with Sarayaku leaders and community members.

Moreover, the tribe had to endure malnutrition, sicknesses, cancel schools, and create vigilance groups because seismic movements, product of company exploitations, contaminated the land and drove the Sarayaku tribe into a “state of emergency” where many died (CIDH, 2009). The court declared this a violation of the right to prior consultation, prior consent, community indigenous land, cultural identity, life, and personal integrity (Inter-American Court of Human Rights, 2012)

The slow economic and social recovery of Indigenous people was mainly due to the implementation of policies that aimed to reduce poverty but ultimately did not benefit the ethnic minority (see Table 6). Indigenous life expectancy at birth was 10–20 years below the general population (Cevallos, 2010). Additionally, Indigenous communities lacked resources to teach and hire teachers that were well equipped. Therefore, Indigenous people were schooled an average amount of 4.3 years, leaving a gap of 2.6 years, the gap increased at higher education levels (Patrinos, 2004). For example, the rate of high school assistance in Indigenous communities in 2006 was only 24.2% (Ramirez, 2016). Ecuador did not have a clear policy stimulating and contributing to the educational environment while keeping in mind the social and cultural factors such as language and cognitive competencies (Guitierrez, 2015). Moreover, the Ecuadorian healthcare system was inefficient which is why less than half of the Ecuadorian population used it and a little over 10% of the Indigenous population used it. Dangerously enough, only 8.6% of the Indigenous population used preventive care which increased the likelihood of illnesses in these communities.

Table 6

*Indigenous Ecuadorian Population vs General Ecuadorian Population (1999 – 2005)*

Quality of life indicators	Ecuador			
	Indigenous		National	
Life expectancy at birth	1999	52 - 62	1999	72.62
	2005	54- 64	2005	74.14
Access to education (enrollment)	In 1999, the enrollment rate in primary school was about 10% less for indigenous groups, compared to the national average		In 1999, the enrollment rate in primary school was 91%.	
Years of schooling	2001	3.8	2001	6.61
	2006	7	2006	9.8
Access to health services	2006*	13.55%	1999	17.2%
			2006*	18.3%
Poverty rate	1999	80%	1999	44.8%
	2005	67.8%	2005	38.3%
Income	1999	An Indigenous professional earned \$212 /month	1999	Non-Indigenous professional earned \$421 /month
Wage gap	2003	44.3 %	2003	-
	2005	49.1%	2005	-
Unemployment rates	2001	-	2001	13%
	2005	6%	2005	11.1%

Note: Asterisk sign (\*) means data for the year 2005 was unavailable. Dash sign (-) means data was unavailable. Sources: Countryeconomy (1999), PREAL (2006), Masala & Monni (2017), INEC (2016)(2008) and Maldonado, Torres, López, Rueda (2007).  
Elaborated by Kartika Fuentes

Economic and social insecurity led Indigenous peoples to migrate to the major cities in Ecuador and other countries (Lozano, 2019). 91. 3% of the migrating population in Ecuador left as a result of the Ecuadorian economic crisis in 1999. In 2000, 19.5% of Ecuadorians that migrated out of the country went to the United States and 61.5% migrated to Spain. Additionally, 72.3% of rural workers in Ecuador migrated to Quito, Cuenca and other cities in Ecuador abandoning the rural areas. Consequently, Indigenous people from rural areas also began to migrate making up for 15% of the migrating population (Herrera, Carillo & Torres, 2005).

Migration affected Indigenous families. Families were split, men and women died on their journey to another country, communities were divided as leaders left and unprotected land was lost, and resistance movements were weakened (Lozano, 2019; Herrera, Carillo & Torres, 2005)

Social unrest increased as the vindication of Indigenous peoples territories people fought invasions. During Mahuad's and later Noboa's presidency Indigenous people were dealing with transnational companies and public companies taking oil from nearby lands to support the dollarization process. The Indigenous movement wanted to hold these companies accountable for ecological damages these oil extracts were causing (Llacta, 2000). Protests impeaching president Mahuad for violating human rights and leading a racist administration in 2000 led to the warrant for arrests of the leader of the CONAIE at the time, Antonio Vargas and three more leaders. Mahuad declared the country in a state of emergency where 30000 police officers arrested 152 people and 83 were minors (OEA, 2000). Indigenous activists protested without weapons and the police began responding with tear gas bombs. They found refuge on a university nearby where the government sieged them for a week. Indigenous families were staying in a university campus with children and the government cut all water and food supply that they could possibly come in contact with (Cevallos, 2001).

During the presidency of Lucio Gutierrez, criminalization for protesting increased and threatened the lives of Indigenous leaders. The Ecuadorian State used the Law of National Security to justify its actions between 1998 and 2002 (Andinos, 2012). Humberto Cholango, an Indigenous leader, was imprisoned for pointing out the president's betrayal to the social movements. Moreover, the CONAIE leader, Leonidas Iza, had been stopped and threatened with firearms before entering the CONAIE headquarters. His son was wounded from a stray bullet. The abuse of power against Indigenous communities in Gutierrez's presidency was witnessed by

Indigenous communities near transnational companies exploiting mines. To guarantee the exploitation of natural resources, militarization and harassment processes were implemented in communities that resisted these activities. These processes were coordinated with national military forces and security agencies of the transnational companies (FIDH, 2006)

The political party PACHAKUTIK or MUPP- NP had a weak national presence and had a total of 7% parliamentary representation elected for the periods of 1996 – 1998, 1998 – 2002 and 2002- 2006 (Pacari, 2005). After impeaching Mahuad, the political party MUPP- NP allied with the Popular Democratic Movement or MPD. With the help of this alliance, in the 2000 election for governors and prefecture, for the first time the MUPP - NP won four of 22 prefectures and 17 of 215 mayors in office (Lopez, 2002). However, in the elections of that year, more than half of the Ecuadorian population was not registered, mainly Indigenous people and Afro Ecuadorians made up the missing half. Only 39.1% of the Ecuadorian population voted (Lopez, 2015). In 2004, 8,643,974 Ecuadorians voted, yet Ecuador does not have a census specifying by ethnicity the population that voted that year or years before (Baquerizo, 2005)

Although MUPP- NP represented the Indigenous movement, Indigenous people were still underrepresented. Elections between 1996 and 2004 had scarce information regarding the candidates elected for parties. However, according to José Parga (2010), elected Indigenous representatives did not belong to the party and elected Plurinational Unity Movement Party (PACHAKUTIK) candidates were non- Indigenous. For example, of the four candidates elected for prefecture on behalf of the MUPP- NP, only one person was Indigenous and of the 17 candidates for mayors, only six were Indigenous people (Diario Hoy, 2000). Furthermore, in 2000 the Ecuadorian National Parliament had 12 national deputies and 70 from provinces. The MUPP- NP had 8 deputies in office, of which only five were Indigenous (Pacari, 2005). In 2004

MUPP- NP won three prefectures of which two were Indigenous and 20 of 219 mayors in office, of which 14 were Indigenous (Trujillo, 2004).

### **2.2.3 The Indigenous movement, accomplishments and challenges**

The Indigenous organization of ECUARUNARI was a pillar in the creation of CONAIE. Three organizations in CONAIE represent the coastal, Amazonian, and highland regions where Indigenous people live in Ecuador. The coastal region is represented by Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Coast (CONAICE), the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon (CONFENIAE) represents the Amazon region, and ECUARUNARI corresponds to the Indigenous people in the highlands. With the insertion of ECUARUNARI in the CONAIE organization the Indigenous movement became complete representing almost in full the diverse Indigenous nationalities (Ecuachaski, 2017).

The Indigenous movement in Ecuador crystallized the resistance to neoliberalism. In fact, the Indigenous movement became a “hegemon” of collective action in Ecuador (Ospina, 2008). There is little information on the other ethnic minority movements. Afro Ecuadorians, another ethnic minority, were included in the National Confederation of Rural, Indigenous and Black Organizations, but scarce information can be found in them as they also supported CONAIE and became part of the Organization of rural and Indigenous Workers (Lacta, 2006). Additionally, the political party MUPP- NP or PACHAKUTIK was created to resist and oppose the neoliberal model in 1995 as part of the Indigenous movements’ political agenda which aimed to be a voice for those underrepresented, including non- indigenous rural workers (Becker, 2015). Groups such as, the CONAIE and PACHAKUTIK unveiled the interest neoliberal development discourse had for Ecuador, which was to attend to the demands and aspirations of society, especially of the lower – middle classes.

The agenda of the Indigenous movement had two fundamental elements. First, demand rights specific to indigenous peoples and nationalities, which would allow the strengthening of their organizational process. Second, proposing a constitutional amendment recognizing the country as a “Plurinational State”. This would entail questioning and interrupting the developing model the State had in favor of those who were in power. It would force the State to include Indigenous people in decisions that involved their territory and practicing their culture (Pacari, 2005). The movement decided that the Indigenous movement had to have political representation with a political party and Indigenous organizations would take over the social aspect (Parga, 2013). Their agenda had been completed; however, challenges were faced amongst their achievements.

President Jamil Mahuad would not have been impeached in 2000 if it had not been for the strategic alliance the Indigenous movement made with the national army. The agenda the Indigenous movement had created seemed easier to pursue if alliances and affiliations with other organizations and movements were made. In 2000, three major Indigenous organizations that resisted colonial power hierarchy structure and had formerly pushed for the agrarian reforms in Ecuador united: CONAIE, the National Federation of Peasant and Indigenous and Black Organizations of Ecuador (FENOCIN) and the Ecuadorian Indigenous Evangelical Federation (Davalos, 2001).

Another achievement of the Indigenous movement was when CONAIE successfully fought for the recognition of a plurinational State that would simultaneously look to create interculturality for a better quality of life. Catherine Walsh (Becker, 2015) acknowledges that interculturality will help confront the structures that exclude the reality of a plurinational State. Confronting this exclusionary structure includes a deep transformation in the State’s core. In

Ecuador, this can translate to overcoming the class and racial standpoint Mestizos have when confronting Indigenous issues.

Challenges arose not long after the creation in 1995 the political party MUPP- NP or Plurinational Unity Movement PACHAKUTIK to resist and oppose the neoliberal model. the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities in Ecuador or CONAIE helped the political party PACHAKUTIK rise in politics (Becker, 2015) because they would both represented the majority of the 13 Indigenous nationalities in Ecuador (INEC, 2010). The social movement CONAIE the Indigenous movement's agenda and Ecuador's constitution was updated in 1998 recognizing that the country is pluricultural and plurinational (Andolina, Radcliffe & Laurie, 2005).

However, multiple divisions in the movement stemmed from MUPP- NP getting involved in political clientelism (Parga, 2010). The political representation and participation of Indigenous people are in great part limited by the State's autonomy and its political agents. During the alliance that Cornell Lucio Gutierrez made with the MUPP-NP and Indigenous movement, he won the presidency of 2002. The Indigenous people were later betrayed by Gutierrez. After a trip to the United States, the Ecuadorian president signed a ninth Letter of Intent to the IMF, ignoring all the promises that he had made to the Ecuadorian social movements that had put him in that position in the first place (Coello, 2003). Gutierrez political clientelism in Ecuadorian politics permitted various members of the PACHAKUTIK party to assume roles in government departments in return for favors, which led to the Indigenous organizations criticizing the political party and created division in the MUPP-NP (Parga, 2010).

The Indigenous movement became politicized as a need for the vindication of their rights and recognition. The politicization of the PACHAKUTIK party had to adjust to the country's clientelism practices and political relations crossed by clientelist relations (Parga, 2010). In the

minimal political representation Indigenous people were acquiring, of which the majority were Mestizos, the quality of life Indigenous people were experiencing had not gotten better and remained the same after Gutierrez. Indigenous organizations such as CONAIE and ECUARUNARI would push to try and build a better quality of life in their communities through education.

For instance, ECUARUNARI had taken advantage of their national platform to educate and make people aware of issues in their communities, CONAIE followed in these steps. To further extend their platform they also created a space for Indigenous women. ECUARUNARI had their newspaper called *Rikcharishun*, fulfilled educational functions, promoted the Kichwa language, spread important information and rebuked social injustices (Ecuadorunari, n.d). In 2005, CONAIE's new president encouraged The National Strategic Plan for Intercultural Bilingual Education (Conaie, 2005). The organization began focusing on policymaking and increasing their audience. They aimed to educate people on pluriculturality, indigenism, and multiculturalism plus increase awareness on the meaning the environment has for Indigenous people. Meanwhile, in the same year, ECUARUNARI held a meeting with Indigenous organizations from other Andean countries. They aimed to hold conferences, events, and fairs where the Indigenous brotherhood of the continent would meet for what is known as the *Abya Yala* of Indigenous people (Ecuadorunari, 2005).

The Indigenous social and political movement questioned and criticized the political, economic, legal and social structure imposed through neoliberal reforms suggested by the United States to maintain a classist status quo. How is it possible for a privileged group of uncolonized western people to offer viable solutions to formerly colonized and exploited groups of people? Gustav Esteva points out that development implies going from the inferior to the superior; in

which case, Said would recognize this exercise of political power as a system of knowledge used to subjugate, sustain and legitimize asymmetrical power relations (Omar, 2012).

### **2.3 African Americans in the United States**

In the US, African Americans were stereotyped as drug dealers and poor. Widespread acceptance of these stereotypes led to these communities being socially insecure, they became targets of oppression and had to constantly battle for their lives. The organization that represented African Americans between 1999 and 2005 in the United States was The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and aimed to eradicate the image white media used to portray the Black community. Leaders of the organization and African American movement included, Bruce S. Gordon, Benjamin Todd Jealous, Dennis Courtland Hayes, and Cornell William Brooks. Presently, Derrick Johnson serves as President and CEO, and Leon W. Russell serves as chairman of the National Board of Directors. The organization has made great strides for Black people in the United States. The organization began with the Niagara Movement led by W.E Du Bois in 1905 fighting for civil rights (History, 2009). It developed the main goal of securing the political, educational, social, and economic equality of rights to eliminate race-based discrimination and ensure the health and well-being of all persons (NAACP, 2018). Case in point of the influence the organization has in the Black community is when in 2000 the organization called for all Black voters to go to the polls, subsequently, more than one million African Americans went to vote in the 2000 presidential election.

#### **2.3.1 History of ethnic minorities in the United States**

Ethnic minorities in the United States were never taken into account for the creation of public policies, unless they were considered a threat, like the Black Panther Party from the African American movement. The African American movement in the United States during the

sixties and seventies led to the creation of political parties that failed to participate in Congress due to government meddling. Most Black parties were left winged and opposed the neoliberal model. A popular example is the Black Panther Party. The party stood for the revindication of black masculinity and maintaining the traditional gender roles; thus, explaining its origins as an all- male organization but was later challenged by Female Panthers (Lumsden, 2010).

History teaches us that minorities must represent themselves and unite for similar causes that would benefit their cause. Black organizations sought to protect their communities against police brutality, but they were government targets and wrongly classified as terrorists by Edgar Hoover. In the case of the Black Panthers, they carried guns openly policing the police. The governor of California pushed for a bill that would prohibit the carrying of a loaded weapon in public (Legislative Information, 2011) and the Panthers protested this. Moreover, the FBI director, Edgar Hoover, categorized the party as a hate organization and created COINTELPRO to destroy the party. The newly created organization started arresting party leaders for framed crimes (Shakur, 1987) and the media labeled them as a dangerous group (Wing, 2016) thereof dismantling the party completely. Ironically, reports years later revealed that an FBI informant infiltrated in the party provided weapons for the party (Rosenfield, 2012). Fortunately, an organization with mass membership who also believed in Black mobilization for civil rights yet opposed some of the anti- white rhetoric and some points the party held, remained untouched, also known as The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

The Black Panther Party agenda was based on a ten- point program. The ten-point program was divided into two parts that stated what Black people needed and what were the rights that African Americans should have but were denied, similar to a Bill of Rights and a Declaration of Independence (Anderson, 2011). The party led community social programs such

as free breakfasts for children in black neighborhoods, drug and alcohol abuse awareness courses, community health and consumer classes along with other programs that focused on bettering the communities' quality of life (Wing, 2016). Furthermore, the programs they created unified the Black community. Much of the Black empowerment promoted by the Black Party was seen in organizations (Weise, 2016) such as the NAACP.

### **2.3.2 Social, economic and political reality of Black people**

In the United States, African Americans that protested for civil rights were criminalized. Organizations such as the Black Panther Party were targets for brutal oppression and criminalization. Mass media portrayed similar movements led by Black people as lawless and violent which in turn led to the massive incarceration of African American men and women (Sadbury, 2005). Criminalization became a State weapon to deal with social problems caused by capitalism and the protests it provoked. This also stimulated a racist language perpetuated by White prejudice commentators in the media that stereotyped and shaped Black people with negative characteristics such as drug dealers, thugs, and violent people.

Different from Indigenous people in Ecuador, African Americans were criminalized for more than protests. Laws enforced by police officers in the name of national security have led to criminalization based on racial profiling. For example, Stop-and-Frisk was a police practice that authorized an officer to stop a person in the street if the officer has reasonable suspicion that a crime was or is going to be committed (LII, 2019). This practice was enforced all throughout the US and mostly conducted in big cities. After the 9/11 terrorist attacks, New York City officers stopped and frisked every citizen aggressively, particularly people of color. The amount of reported stop and frisks between 2002 and 2005 increased from 97,295 to 398, 191. The stop and frisk reports stated innocent, between 2002 and 2005, increased from 82% to 89%. However,

from 2003 to 2005, 54% of the interrogations police conducted during stop and frisk were conducted on Black people (NYCLU, 2019). Between 2003 and 2005 Black people were only one-fourth of the city's population, White people were one-third of the city's population (US Census Bureau, 2004) and statistically, they should have been frisked more often than Black people.

Black people in the United States also feared for their lives, like Indigenous people in Ecuador. Nonetheless, the Ecuadorian incarceration system is not fully tied to race like it is in the USA for African Americans. Deep socioeconomic inequalities and racial discrimination were intertwined with the mass incarceration of Black people. 60% of Americans agree that fatal encounters Black people have with the police are due to signs of a broader problem (Morin & Stepler, 2016). Until 1999, the annual arrest rate for Black people was 41.7%, in contrast to Whites which was at 6% (Oliver, 2008). As of 2000, Black people were the smallest ethnic minority group, but as of 2003 composed 43.91% of state and federal prisons (HRW, 2003). Between 1999 and 2005 the crime rate decreased from 523 crimes reported per 100,000 of the population to 469 cases, a reduction of 0.05% (Statista, 2017). In the same period, the Nation's prison population grew an average of 2.6% (US Department of Justice, 2007). The flaw in the justice system, which makes Black people seven times more likely to be incarcerated (Oliver, 2008), is part of a bigger flaw found in the State's core dating back to colonial times.

Racial profiling policies during Bush's presidency touched the surface of a latent problem in American society that aims to maintain a status quo of African Americans in a low socioeconomic status. An example is the deep socioeconomic inequalities and racial discrimination that was intertwined with the mass incarceration of Black people. 60% of Americans agrees that fatal encounters Black people had with the police were due to signs of a

broader problem (Morin & Stepler, 2016). Another example is the quality of life African Americans experienced in comparison to the rest of the population detailed in Table 7.

Table 7

*African American Population vs General American Population (1999 – 2005)*

Quality of life indicators	The United States			
	African American		National	
Life expectancy at birth	1999	71.4	1999	76.58
	2005	73.2	2005	77.48
Access to education (enrollment)	In 1999 the enrollment rate in primary school was 15%		In 1999, the enrollment rate in primary school was 95.61%	
Years of schooling	2000	-	2000	12
	2005	-	2005	13.2
Access to health services	2006*	58.9%	1999	-
			2006*	71.1%
Poverty rate	2000	19.3%	2000	8.7%
	2005	21%	2005	9%
Income	1999	Median household income was \$2451/ month	1999	Median household income was \$3500/ month
Wage gap	2000	24%	2000	-
	2005	28%	2005	-
Unemployment rates	2001	8.7%	2001	4.7%
	2005	10%	2005	5.1%

*Note.* Asterisk sign (\*) means data for the year 2005 was unavailable. Dash sign (-) means data was unavailable Sources: from National Center for Health Statistics (2010), World Bank (2017), U.S. Census (1999) (2005), Nation Master (1999), Human Development Reports (2019), Morgan State University of Community Health and Policy (2011), Pew Research Center (2016), and Bureau of Labor Statistics (2019).

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The degrading conditions African Americans lived through 1999 until 2005 in comparison to the rest of the American population demonstrates the effects neoliberal policies have had on their livelihood. Poverty rates among the Black community was higher and they had lowest life expectancy at birth in the United States (Nation Master, 1999). Additionally, in 2003, Black graduation rate in highschool was 59.4% out of the country's 77% of highschool

graduation rate and in 2005, the Black highschool graduation rate slightly decreased to 58% (US Department of Education, 2019). Bush's Economic Development Administration Reauthorization Act established to encourage revitalization of small community left torn after companies moved their business out of the country, proves to not have had a positive effect in the Black community. This can be further supported when analyzing how the United States funded schools. The Department of Education allowed schools with high concentrations of low-income students to have fewer funds than schools attended by richer students (Heuer, 2011), and socio-economically low neighborhoods tended to be of Latino or African-American populations (Reardon, Fox & Townsend, 2013). In the case of Black people, their educational attainment is limited to their zip code; thus, explaining why their income rates are lower and unemployment rates are higher in comparison to the rest of the United States' population.

Political representation and participation in the House of Congress and Senate of African American politicians in the United States aimed to reduce the racial gap that existed in political attitudes. In American politics, success is intertwined with preserving White dominance and African American subordination (Harris-Lacewell, 2003). Although, from 1999 to 2005 Black representation in Congress had increased from 37 to 40 Black delegates or commissioners out of 435 members in the House (History, Art & Archives, 2008). Until 2005, there were only two Black governors: Pickney Pinchback who was elected for governor of Louisiana in the 1870s and in 1990 Douglas Wilder who became governor of Virginia (Brown, 2019). Additionally, the representation of the Black population in the president's cabinet had decreased from 20% to 13% (The White House, 2018). Between 1999 and 2005, 82% to 83% of the registered voters in the Black population identified and voted for the Democratic Party of the USA, in contrast to the

Republican Party which was mainly composed of a White population (Pew Research Center, 2018).

As a result, the majority of Black men involved in American politics ran as Democrats representing party interests and goals that do not always benefit the African American population. More than three quarters of the African American population also voted in favor of the Democratic Party since 1976 through 2005 (Bump, 2018). Yet, the Democratic political party had not improved their Black people's living conditions because the party was mostly led by White men. For example, Bill Clinton was a Democrat and used an anti-black discourse that would be reflected in laws, in order to appeal to white voters (Fields, 2018). Furthermore, the major parties recognize that in a close election Black votes can help a campaign substantially. To sway votes, discourse is adjusted according to the ethnic population it is directed towards. In the case of African Americans, their main goal is to improve their quality of life in their community.

Prejudice- reduction is a result of unoppressed individuals from majority groups speaking as representatives for minority groups (Mohanty, 1990). Another example of this is the case of Al Gore-Bush in 2000 when he had partaken in racist actions, but it was not given the importance it deserved and was dismissed by voters. Only 56.8% of the African American population voted and they composed 11.6% of all Americans that voted, the Democratic Party acknowledged Black votes as important and never taken for granted (Jordan, 2004). The main issues at hand that Democrats and Republicans used to sway votes were jobs, economic well-being, welfare reform, criminal justice, health care and at the time the war in Iraq. 90% of Black votes in 2000 went to Al Gore because he promised to invest in distressed communities (mainly Black and Latino). He promised to give tax credits and increasing community funds (Al Gore, 2000), yet Al Gore had partaken in racist Blackface parties during medical school ultimately

demonstrating deep racist thoughts (Yilek, 2019). His Republican counterpart, George Bush, promised tax cuts and a better economy. George Bush lost the popular vote to Vice President Al Gore but Bush won the electoral vote (Denney, 2015). Moreover, political leaders having shaky discourses, the American political system will favor the White man's club. A case in point - the Electoral College. It is composed of 538 electors which were usually white party leaders because 65% of elected offices have White men in power and yet they comprise 31% of the population (Henderson, 2014).

Political solidarity is important for the solution to social ills (Mohanty, 2013). The two-party system in the USA had only created greater division in the American community and had not improved the quality of life African Americans have. According to Fields (2018), the best option for the black community is political independence to gain political mobility and break from party control. For example, the Indigenous people in Ecuador separated from the Unitary Front of Workers (*Frente Unitario de Trabajadores*) political party because they failed to include the demands of Indigenous rural workers (ALAI, 2019) and once the PACHAKUTIK political party was created by CONAIE they were able to at least have a seat with an agenda in motion in the National Assembly. In the United States, American attitudes in politics are misinterpreted and generalized to only White American opinions. African American attitudes or opinions are drowned among the voices and opinions of the overwhelming majority of White men in office. The two major political parties were created during the colonial slave period. Thus, the system these two parties take place in fail to recognize the implicit racism inherent in the construction of American politics (Harris-Lacewell, 2003) and parties.

### **2.3.3 The African American movement, accomplishments and challenges**

The NAACP is an organization filled with people of higher education studies. Both organizations acknowledged that education is essential for the movements' progress. For example, in the case of Indigenous people, higher education opportunities are offered to their community through affirmative action and the same is true for African Americans through sports scholarships mostly offered to Black men graduating highschool. The NAACP in the United States has used its platform to not only eradicate racist thought socially but also economically and politically.

The change in civil rights was due to the collective action and nature of the Black power movement. The Brown V Board of Education case won by the organization and Thurgood Marshall led to global recognition. Robert Carter, an NAACP lawyer, used professionals to describe how segregation took a psychological toll of African American children and led economic boycotts on companies that supported segregation in schools (NAACP, 2019). NAACP attorneys were well educated black men or women that picked-up cases of covert discrimination in corporate policies, college students, voting disenfranchisement during the national presidential elections or filing suits on states sponsoring white supremacy.

Additionally, the NAACP ended segregation in American schools through legal action and economic boycotts (The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Project, n.d). The organization's game changer would be targeting economic sustainability, education, health, public safety and criminal justice, voting rights, and political representation, and expanding youth and young adult engagement. Another case in education that became an NAACP win was in 2005 when charter schools posed a threat to the educational system. After desegregating schools, studies in the south had pushed for charter school as a form of segregating children again. The charter school

system did not turn out to be as efficient as governments and scholars said they would. Charter schools have been used to slow down desegregation and make sure black and white children don't go to the same place. Charter schools have only been disempowering to children of color because it creates a competitive environment mostly found between races (Esqueda, 2017).

A rising challenge is the increased racial and class division that usually lead to the politization of movements like the Indigenous movement, but the African American movement has proven to be different. The African American movement refuses to adjust to the American political system because the problem stems from the heterogeneous system with a racist fabric embedded in its social, political and economic development. This is why eventually Black communities relied on organizations that would help accomplish the purpose of their movements.

Chandra Mohanty (2013) points out the fourth world that exists within first world countries illustrates the reality of a social majority and social minority based on the quality of life; hence, depicting the haves and have-nots within nations and communities. She reinforces that the powers that situate social majorities and social minorities in these positions can be traced back to a history of colonization that needs to be drawn attention to. Neoliberal economies have based their wealth accumulation from the exploitation of slaves or peasants, such is the case of African Americans and Indigenous Ecuadorians respectively. Therefore, hierarchal power and social relations are embedded in the economy as the gap of income inequality increases in favor of those who have accumulated wealth in the past. Frantz Fanon describes the political and cultural relationship between the colonizer and the colonized as the Self and the Other (Al-Saidi, 2014), which birthed postcolonial voices that rebuked these power hierarchies.

In summary, the specific objective this chapter completes is the comparison of the Indigenous peoples' reality with that of the African American reality resulted in the understanding of their simultaneous oppression which became an engine for the development of their respective social movements. Since socioeconomic status is closely tied to ethnicity and ethnic minority groups are more likely to experience multidimensional poverty (APA, 2019), activists protested the abuse of power and the degradation of their communities. However, they were criminalized. The experiences of Indigenous activists and African American activists were different and shaped their social movements. The Indigenous social movement became a political movement, whereas, the African American movement remained social movement that has persecuted the State and set various precedents in favor of the Black community.

### **CHAPTER III: Analyzing feminist movements of ethnic minorities in Ecuador and the USA in response to the neoliberal system**

Mohanty (2003) declared that the dependency relationship between race, class, and gender is propagated through social, economic and educational institutions. Therefore, it is important to consider that both movements are not only characterized by their struggle with class and race. Mohanty adds gender oppression, as postcolonial feminist scholarship demonstrates for the cases of Indigenous and African American women against tripartite discrimination.

Educational attainment in movements of ethnic minorities is of paramount importance. The reason for this is because scholarship produced in narratives of ethnic minorities would not only question the paradigms embedded in postcolonial society but also help outsiders absent of these oppressions understand slightly more the realities of ethnic minorities.

Neoliberalism addresses that gender and racial differences are mere market glitches that are not based on social value or power hierarchies (Mohanty, 2013). Cultural homogenization opaque the needs and cultures of people stemming from diverse historical backgrounds which perpetuate unjust power relationships. Colonial history depicted the dichotomy of the colonized and colonizer where the society created from stolen land would inherit the colonizer's value system (Breuning, 2007). Postcolonial feminism criticizes the homogenizing efforts of Western feminism which opens space for women of colonized descent to invalidate unjust power relations rooted and specific to their colonial legacy (Mishra, 2013). The prevailing quandary of formerly colonized women is mainly based on their class, race, and gender (Mohanty, 1984). Therefore, the variables of politics, gender and history influence the experience of Indigenous women in Ecuador and Black women in the United States.

Patriarchal politics overcast women participation in protests and political decisions. In Ecuador, Indigenous women helped lead the Indigenous movement and in the United States, Black women were also at the forefront of the African American movement. Indigenous women in Ecuador have always been on the vanguard to defend their rights and their land, yet their participation was never recognized or acknowledged (Lozano, 2019). Similarly, Angela Davis pointed out that sexist tendencies in the Black movement resulted in men receiving praise while women worked behind the curtains (Bhavnani & Davis, 1989). Women in both movements encouraged their circle of women to make their plight known. Indigenous women and African American women made contributions to elevate people's consciousness about the impact of their tripartite oppression and empower other women within their communities.

Gender roles within Indigenous communities and Black communities were traditionally viewed as the women being helpers and men being leaders. Women were trained to be submissive, assigned to cook, clean, attend to their children's need and help organize but not execute decisions (Lozano, 2019). On the other hand, Black women were accused of being too assertive. Davis describes that the gender role socialization in the Black community for women was different from traditional submissiveness because they were taught from very young to be independent and during slavery, gender-based division of labor did not exist (Bhavnani & Davis, 1989). In both cases, Indigenous women and Black women struggle with ego hurt men in their communities, from postcolonial trauma, and a patriarchal society that expects their subordination to be implicit in their behavior.

History teaches us that formerly colonized women were forced to assume the new identity the colonizer created for them and with time women began questioning these distressing demeanors. The terms "deterritorialization" and "reterritorialization" are mingled with tradition

for the former and progression of culture for the latter (Georgiana, 2012). Deterritorialization is a term used to delineate the displacement of identities, people, and meanings (Kaplan, 1987). The term reterritorialization is the process of cultural exchange as a result of deterritorialization (Georgiana, 2012) and where hybridization creates new systems (Deleuz & Guattari, 1983). Indigenous women of Ecuador and Black women of the United States were colonized and imposed a European then local hegemonic culture foreign to their belief systems and customs. The process of questioning long-held beliefs that obtruded their native identity pushed women of these formerly colonized societies to enlighten others on their plight and colonization's long-lasting effects.

### **3.1 The social movement led by Indigenous women in Ecuador between 1999 and 2005**

In the '70s, Ecuador had become an actor in the modernization process of South America and women were questioning their subordinated positions (Santillan & Aguinga, 2012). The Indigenous movement exposed the effects of international companies invading their sacred lands. Indigenous women were part of protests and activism against new neoliberal policies, they have always been at the forefront of the Indigenous social movement (Lozano, 2019). Although feminism had reached Ecuador in the same period, Indigenous women had a different perspective of gender and had endured different burdens in contrast to a middle-class mestiza woman. Indigenous women have a multi-faceted identity which holds a special relationship with their territory (IACH, 2017). The political and cultural relationship Indigenous women held internally (with their community) and externally (the Ecuadorian society) was more complex (Lozano, 2019) and unique to their postcolonial experience.

### **3.1.1 Political representation and participation of Indigenous women in Ecuador**

Political representation and participation have always been at the center of the Indigenous movement; however, women have not been recognized for their participation in political activism that helped achieve these goals. Political representation of Indigenous people was limited to men's opinions, women created a space to defend their ideas and are able to participate in community decisions (Lozano, 2019). By February 2010, The Electoral System in Ecuador had implemented a policy that would assure that 30% of the candidates for political parties and political movements had to be women (Lopez, 2002). The political participation of women in elections increased from 65.8% in 2002 to 71.4% in 2004 and 2002, 3% of the elected candidates for Congress were women (CNE, 2015). However, none of the elected candidates were Indigenous women. In the list of main legislators between 1998 and 2002, there was hardly a Kichwa indigenous woman of the Pachakutik Movement and the substitute of a political candidate in the Democratic Left political party was in twelfth position and never got to act in the Congress (Pacari, 2002). The political activism and representation Indigenous women have pushed for in political agendas have encouraged women to participate more in politics and create leadership programs for women empowerment in their communities.

Participating in politics, for Indigenous women, requires overcoming disadvantages innate to their economic and socio-cultural context. For example, within the province of Chimborazo in Ecuador, women live in precarious conditions that limit their participation in politics. Indigenous women experience the most poverty and exclusion. Chimborazo has a 60% Indigenous population, within this region, places like Guamote have the most concentrated Indigenous population of 95%, and as of 2001, in this same region, the poverty rate exceeds 90%. The level of human development in Chimborazo was generally extremely low; additionally, 50% of

economically active women held non-remunerated jobs, perpetuating their already precarious conditions. Men were already paid seven times more than women and had three times the opportunity of owning land. Because Indigenous women held a special relationship with the land, they also added more value to it and were not remunerated. As if that was not enough, Indigenous women had to also worry about their health because infant mortality rates were high amongst Indigenous communities (Picq, 2009). This was due mainly to the fact that Indigenous women did not feel comfortable in hospitals (Lozano, 2019). In 2001, only 33% of Indigenous women in Chimborazo had professional help during birth and 36% were assisted by doctors during birth (Picq, 2009). It is important to emphasize that Indigenous children and women have the last access to basic health services in Ecuador (Hall & Patrinos, 2005). Indigenous women must worry about fulfilling their own and children's basic needs, which many times is difficult considering that resources are scarce in both cases.

This kind of violence towards Indigenous women is part of the systematic political exclusion (Picq, 2009). Carmen Lozano (2019) is the leader for women of the Indigenous organization ECUARUNARI, a base of a national Indigenous organization called CONAIE. Lozano (2019) explained that in politics women are included as an obligation to fulfill policy requirements; therefore, their voices or opinions are not heard or encouraged to be expressed. Indigenous women have been essential to the Indigenous movement. They had success with the creation of an intercultural bilingual education program and the popular uprisings of the 1990s. However, female activism that participated in a decade of uprisings did not raise the voices of indigenous women, who are still marginalized from formal politics and spheres of political leadership (Pacari, 2002). Therefore, Lozano (2019) explains that Indigenous women have to learn more about how to deal with non- Indigenous people, with the community and to confront the criticism

of people who believe they are enlightened scholars. Organizations such as ECUARUNARI maintains leadership programs for women since 1996 to educate their female comrades on women's rights, leadership, solving domestic violence issues and the defense of territory and nature as it is connecting to the identity of an Indigenous woman (Lozano, 2019).

Furthermore, Nina Pacari (2002) highlights six lessons that were learned from the struggle of Indigenous women pushing for a space in Congress.

1. Not many Indigenous women signed up to be candidates in political parties or movements.
2. Illiteracy in Indigenous communities holds a high of 80%, in its majority women between 45 and 50 years old.
3. Training and education of women is required to become quality leaders that can improve strategies of interventions or management in the legal and technical organization
4. The lack of experience of the Indigenous movement in politics caused dispersion and the agenda of women was not a priority
5. The weak force that the Indigenous movement has in elections. The successful organization of the Indigenous movement in social matters has been subject to social pressure because it is not reflected in the electoral results of the Pachakutik movement. Women participation is, therefore, affected because their social weight is not the same as their political weight.
6. The lack of a culture of political consensus. This delays decision making processes and is not efficient.

### **3.1.2 Gender roles associated with Indigenous women and their perspectives**

There has always been a conflicting relationship between men and women leaders in the Indigenous community because when women are submissive men take advantage, so they have to obligate their male comrades to see them as equal (Lozano, 2019). However, in the cosmovision of Indigenous belief is that essential relationships have dualities; for example, people and nature or spirituality and community values. People are one with the earth because without nature humans would not survive and without humans nature could not be enjoyed. Community values are equal to the spiritual beliefs member of the community hold, both must be aligned in order to work as a duality. Thus, women and men are dualities that complement each other (Torres, 2009). In Indigenous communities the terms “gender” and “feminism” are not accepted because it is foreign to their language; they prefer to use the term women organizations rather than feminist organizations. Although women in the Indigenous organizations recognize that the complementarity of this duality is peaceful they also question the discriminatory practices they live within their organizations and call for leaders to do the same (Torres, 2009). Women in organizations like CONAIE and ECUARUNARI began questioning the reason behind the community choosing men as their leader, Carmen Lozano (2019) explained that women began to question the stereotypes such as, “women should be at home” or “this is a man’s job” men used to tell them to block them from leadership positions. As a result, women started acquiring leadership positions and began women empowerment programs that would put an end to past stereotypes.

Established gender roles propagated the devaluing of women which can be traced to the colonial imposition of beliefs. Vicenta Chuma (2004) expresses that authority has been given to beliefs that are contrary to Indigenous peoples’ belief system. Expressions such as, “women

should be home”, “men at work”, “girls are less worthy than boys”, “the man is head of the family and responsible for his home and property” have been repeated and internalized. This has provoked the loss of the original vision of Indigenous peoples where men and women were a single being, not opposed but equal and supportive. Chuma (2004) describes this relationship as the sun is the father and the Earth the mother, where neither is superior nor inferior, they are both essential.

Indigenous women organizations, like the Women’s Council of Ecuarrunari (Lozano, 2019), consider problems of inequality, family violence, and machismo. These problems were brought by the “cultural invasion” of colonial times, as cited by Torres (2009) from the Indigenous Summit in 2002. Power hierarchies are maintained through internal spheres and external spheres. For example, Maria Sierra writes about Indigenous women’s confrontation with men in the movement and convincing them of two things: 1) that their demands as women do not conflict with the interests of the movement and 2) that their demands are specific to their identity as Indigenous women and they question subordination practices that do not empower them (Santos & Jiménez, 2012). Firstly, Indigenous women demand land sovereignty and decolonizing process that can help them preserve their culture and heritage. Secondly, as women in Indigenous culture their role with the land is more intimate and consider themselves to be guardians of nature; ergo, their fight for land should not intimidate male comrades in the Indigenous movement.

However, women learned to take control of the power that was solely reserved for men in their communities. The ECUARUNARI leader is a Blanca Chancoso, a woman who was also part of the Indigenous uprisings in the ‘90s, represents the Indigenous communities of the highlands in Ecuador. A woman representing many communities has been great progress for

their agenda because decolonizing processes imply questioning the patriarchy which is what Indigenous Ecuadorian women have done. They have taken initiative in projects such as *Mujeres Ecuarrunari* to encourage women to continue their studies, commerce, live off the land and protect it. Also, they have always been in front of every Indigenous protest and they have forced community members to change their outlook on Indigenous women as they continue to be elected as community leaders (Lozano, 2019).

### **3.1.3 The deterritorialization and reterritorialization of Indigenous women**

Ecuadorians' patriarchal society began with the colonization period because the colonizers who set up the social, political and economic structure in Latin America were men. Ecuadorian Indigenous women experienced the imposition of a new Catholic identity known as *Marianismo* and later questioned the submissive role this implied. Colonization for Indigenous women also meant the loss of land, learning a foreign language, being part of a political and administrative system that did not care for nature and finally, believing in the Christian faith, where being a woman was a synonym for sin. Indigenous women have now adapted to the submissive daughter role imposed from colonial times; although they maintain their relationship with nature, their culture has assimilated the repression of sexuality and conforming to motherly roles, if not the man may become violent (Sanchez, 2011). The period of deterritorialization in which the colonizer imposed his value system led to a restructuring of this subaltern group, reterritorialization of Indigenous women burdened women to accept violence and self-sacrifice for the community but also questioned this reality.

When colonizers arrived in Ecuador the cult of *marianismo* promoted the Virgin Mary as the ideal woman. All woman who wanted to be esteemed by society had to be good wives and self-sacrifice for the family (Poor, 2013). The process of "natural conditioning" of Indigenous

women was constantly resisted until finally they were broken down. The gender- based division of labor forced women to do domestic work but now as an inferior being. Before, Indigenous women also did domestic work but were considered indispensable in their communities. When conquistadors labeled them as inferiors, they were able to sexually abuse them, perpetuating their subordinating status in society. Indigenous women passively rebelled by not having kids and aborted. Progressively, the identity of Indigenous women became passive and conformed with the role of reproducing to satisfy the husband. She could not have property because she did not work and belonged to her husband. Being an Indigenous woman became a synonym for wife, mother, and marriage (Sanchez, 2011)

The process of reterritorialization for Indigenous people included the assimilation of being in a new territory, being the product of a new cultural mix and the revindication of rights (Rosa, 2018). For example, Indigenous women have reclaimed their position as equal to men and forced Ecuador to recognize its pluricultural diversity. Indigenous women now stand for their rights and the rights of nature or *Pachamama* (Ecuadorian Constitution, 2011). Furthermore, revindication of rights could also be illustrated with the successful win of the Sarayaku Indigenous tribe case against the State of Ecuador. The State permitted public and private companies to exploit territory near the tribe and this affected their way of life. Lozano (2019) recalls how companies had complete disregard for the way of life of Indigenous people. The Inter-American Court of Human Rights found Ecuador guilty for not following established protocol and endangering the culture and lives of the Sarayaku, consequently, the State was sentenced to pay reparations (Amnesty International, 2012).

Neoliberalism continues to subject women to live the results of patriarchal, imperialist European norms that place women in the same category, however, Indigenous women have not

given up on correcting the hierarchal power structures and misconceived narratives white women have shared about non- western women. Postcolonial feminism, on the other hand, holds the imperialist and colonizing forces accountable for the continuous oppression. Postcolonialists assimilated that their struggle as formerly colonized women requires a lot of work to correct the unjust system prevailing in language, behaviors and implicit in politics. Therefore, postcolonial feminists have found empowerment in sharing their experiences, not as victims, but as strong women who have endured the simultaneous pressures from their inner and outer circles. This is why Lozano (2010) explains that Indigenous women open their space now to all disadvantaged women and they can also be included in the movement.

### **3.2 The social movement led by Black women in the United States between 1999 and 2005**

The African American Civil Rights movement ended in 1968 but Black women were still not enjoying the rights they had also helped fight for during political activism campaigns. By 1978, Black women in the Combahee River Collective released a Statement declaring their beginnings, their goals and problems in their community (Eisenstein, 1978). The Combahee River Collective first met in the National Black Feminist Organization's where they encouraged an intersectional feminist movement that would push the Black feminist agenda, however not everyone in the conference agreed on including the importance of black lesbianism. Their goal then became to make it part of the Black feminist movement because sexuality was an important issue. They established that they were not against their Black men. Black women and men struggled together with race and class, but they also held their men accountable for sexism (Combahee River Collective, 2019). The Black movement did not cover the specific needs of an African American woman concerning the simultaneous class, ethnic and gender oppression. Davis (1983) called to challenge colonizing elitist, racist and sexist forces. The Combahee

Statement exposed white feminist privilege and Davis revealed the sexist tendencies within the Black movement. Black women took an intersectional stance against liberal feminism by exposing their experience in a racist, classist and sexist society

### **3.2.1 Political representation and participation of Black women in the USA**

In American politics white men have eight times more political power than women of color (Henderson, 2014); ergo, the participation of women is limited to the access the white man will grant. Nevertheless, Black women have made great strides in politics. For example, in 2002 the first Black woman to be elected mayor was Lottie Shackelford (CAWP, 2017). In 2005, Rosa Parks was merited with badges of honor for her persistence as a dedicated militant activist (Greene, 2016). Participation of more women of color is necessary, however, to create policies that can help ameliorate the situation of Black women in the United States.

Although Black women representation and participation in American politics has increased by 2% from 2002 to 2005, their situation has not gotten better. In 1998, over 60 women were in Congress and less than ten were Black women. In 2002, Congress was composed of nearly 80 women where a little over ten were Black women. Furthermore, Black women participated to become Candidates for Statewide Elected Executive Office. In 2000, three women ran for office and in 2005 one woman ran for office, no one won. However, in 2002, seven Black women were candidates and two won. In 1998, Black women were 2.3% of state legislators and 10.3% of all women legislators (CAWP, 2017).

The lack of representation of Black women in politics reflected on the worsening situation of Black women and their families. The Black family poverty rate increased to 24% from 2000 to 2010 and Black families with a single mother increased from 34% to 38% (U.S Bureau of the Census, 2014). Additionally, socioeconomic status, low educational attainment,

unemployment, violent atmospheres, instability, and dangerous environmental exposures (as seen in the last chapter) are factors that influence the health (Feagin & Bennefield, 2013), of which Black women receive the worst end considering that they are 71% more likely to be diagnosed breast cancer and 241% more likely to die during pregnancy or immediately after childbirth (Hosetter & Klein, 2018). A Black woman and her family affected by these situations were also likely to have less access to healthy food, low access to preventive healthcare and have a greater possibility of being in violent partnership (Stockman & Hayashi & Campbell, 2015). Also, they may have been prone to not trust the justice or police system (Milner & George & Allison, 2016), this would have caused toxic behaviors like substance abuse (Gilbert & Zemore, 2016) or increased in stress (Powell & Adams & Cole-Lewis, et al., 2016) which was equally as unhealthy.

### **3.2.2 Gender roles associated with Black women and their perspectives**

Angel Davis (1983) describes the role of Black woman in society the way she was depicted in colonial times. She was a slave to her owner and perhaps by accident a wife, mother or homemaker. Her femininity was elusive because she had the same agricultural work as Black men in the Deep South. However, Black women were assigned their female roles when they could be exploited in only barbaric ways suited for women. Thus, for work exploitation Black women were genderless and to be abused, punished and repressed they became women (Davis, 1983).

The African American movement practiced gender roles where men received the praise as women worked behind the scenes (Bhavnani & Davis, 1989). However, W.E. B Dubois advocated for Black women to have an active role in the movement and make their accomplishments known (Davis, 1983). Because African American women were raised in

conflicting environments, mothers taught their daughters to become independent and assertive (Bhavnani & Davis, 1989). Furthermore, in light of, women not being paid equally as men and the situation was worse for women of color; Black women were obligated to work twice as much and prioritize their careers over marriage (Harley, 2019). Therefore, in the African American community the idea of a “women’s place” does not exist as it has been deconstructed with years of slavery (Jardine & Dallalfar, 2012).

### **3.2.3 The deterritorialization and reterritorialization of Black women**

The process of deterritorialization and reterritorialization of Black women is depicted through the African diaspora. The deterritorialization process for Black women began when they were kidnapped or sold from colonizers in Africa and African tribes that betrayed their people. Hybridization of African American culture began the reterritorialization as Black women began to acquire new spaces to voice their opinion and adopt theories that would put in place a new system for their plight. Black feminism is a product of the reterritorialization process. African American women created an intersectional space as they published the Combahee River Collective Statement.

Colonialism enforced slavery brutally and minimized the Black identity leading to the construction of a forged common culture (Kaplan, 1987). The African diaspora was a travelling culture with a sentiment of exile. However, African Americans have created their culture and own set of identity, that according to Kaplan (1987) will remain unfinished as identities evolve according to the situations in which they are placed. The hybridization of the the cultural displacement African American people experienced, created a rebellious identity. In the case of Black feminism, women wanted to own the means of production, depict their intersectional oppression and empower Black women in their community through reversing effects of

acceptance. Because Black women were colonized to believe that beauty standards were European characteristics, most women grew hating their natural characteristics. Black feminism embraces their natural characteristics in the hopes of having reversed the effects of self-hate, white men and women have perpetuated.

Indigenous women in Ecuador and Black women in the United States have overcome the neoliberal tendency of heterogeneity and universalizing experiences. Although, neoliberal policies have done more harm than good to ethnic minority, Indigenous and Black women have developed decolonizing processes that include women empowerment and acceptance to counteract colonial legacies. Amongst the colonial legacies, neoliberalism inherits all the oppressive traits including gender, class and racial discrimination. Ignoring people's color does not make their history disappear. In conclusion, the third objective of this dissertation was to exemplify how neoliberal policies affect ethnic minorities and further affect women at a physical, mental and for Indigenous women, on a spiritual level.

## VI. ANALYSIS

Analyzing the parallel experiences of Indigenous Ecuadorian women and African American women through postcolonial feminist theory while criticizing neoliberal socio-economic policies illustrated the general objective and exemplified the specific objectives through chapters. The general objective of this dissertation, with the use of supporting qualitative and quantitative data, was to establish the connection of socio-economic neoliberal policies and the impact that they had on women of ethnic minorities from 1999 to 2005. The economic, political and social oppression these women experienced were compared and now will be analyzed according to the insights given from previous chapters.

In attunement with the general objective, the first chapter uses quantitative data to show the negative effects neoliberal policies implemented between 1999 and 2005 had on ethnic minorities. The standard of living of groups of population such as, Indigenous people in Ecuador and African Americans in the United States were compared next to the national population. Table 8 details the economic, political and social damage laws established by a neoliberal agenda caused. It illustrates the effects of postcolonial history and how it prevented previously exploited group of people from acquiring social mobility. In the political platform, the Indigenous movement became a political movement that also became inclusive of other minority groups in Ecuador. However, the African American movement in the United States failed to enter Congress because of government meddling. The lack of economic funds prevents African Americans and Ecuadorian Indigenous groups from attaining social mobility which is essential to guaranteeing a better future to new generations- Therefore, the negative economic, political, and social effects are evident between 1999 and 2005. Supporting theory from postcolonial feminist, Chandra Mohanty (2013) establishes that social values and power hierarchies perpetuate

prejudice in a neoliberal system; therefore, maintaining a status quo established in colonial times to benefit the colonizer’s interests. Thereof, Angela Davis (Bhavani & Davis, 1988) concludes that neoliberalism’s role in the economic, political, and social oppression of a marginal population should lead to questioning the fabric of this society. The comparison in Table 8 of income, the growing wage gap, poverty rate, political representation, and access to health services for each ethnic group in their respective country aims to evince the fabric of neoliberal society also known as the systematic exclusion of ethnic minorities when considering neoliberal socio-economic policies.

Table 8

*Effects of neoliberal socio-economic policies (1999 – 2005)*

	<b>Ecuadorian Indigenous population</b>	<b>African American population in the United States</b>	<b>Analysis</b>
Economic	In 1999, an Indigenous professional earned \$212 per month meanwhile a non-Indigenous professional earned \$421 per month. The wage gap in this community also increased between 2003 and 2005 from 44% to 49%.	In 1999, the median income was \$2451 per month for an African American household, while for the rest of America the median household income was \$3500 per month. The wage gap in this community also increased between 2000 and 2005 from 24% to 28%.	Economically, both communities were on the worst side of the income inequality gap. Economic stagnation for both communities also affected their social mobility and opportunities.  In comparison to a Black worker in the United States that earned \$0.70 for every dollar another American earned, Indigenous people earned \$0.20 less than that next to the rest of the Ecuadorian population. Considering that by 2005, in both cases, the wage gap increased their contribution to their respective national economies decreased. This implied being unable

to invest in education, quality healthcare and being forced to tolerate higher levels of exploitation in order to make ends meet.

Additionally, Indigenous people were more vulnerable to manipulation and exploitation. Their native language was Kichwa therefore, working in the city was impossible because everyone spoke Spanish and they had to resort to low skilled jobs. Additionally, they had to learn about the new currency and its conversion from *suces*. For years, generations of Indigenous people used the old currency, the *sucre*, and young people in their communities had to teach elders this process. Because it was an overnight radical change they were easily taken advantage of in the city from people who already had experience with the United States dollar.

Finally, the economic oppression in the United States for the Black community rooted in the increasing wealth gap even after slavery was banned and African Americans suffrage. Unlike Indigenous people, African Americans were familiar to neoliberal policies where resource exploitation did not affect them. Indigenous communities based their economy on agriculture and valued their lands while Black communities based their economy on employment status. The accumulating wealth of America's elite middle class affected Black communities' employment

			status because when corporations received tax cuts the first to be laid off were ethnic minorities.
Political	<p>The politicization of the Pachakutik party had to adjust to the country's clientelism practices and political relations crossed by clientelist relations. The political party Pachakutik had a weak national presence and had a total of 7% parliamentary representation elected for the periods of 1996 – 1998, 1998 – 2002 and 2002- 2006.</p>	<p>The African American movement in the United States during the sixties and seventies led to the creation of political parties that failed to participate in Congress due to government meddling. American attitudes in politics are misinterpreted and generalized to only White American opinions. African American attitudes or opinions are drowned among the voices and opinions of the overwhelming majority of White men in office. 65% of elected offices have White men in power and yet they</p>	<p>In political representation, Indigenous people were successful in creating their party to represent their interests in the Ecuadorean parliament. African Americans were not able to take part in American politics to represent their movement's interests. The State had declared the only party that successfully brought the Black community together as a terrorist group.</p> <p>However, by 2005, Indigenous peoples' rights were still violated, and their political party became an instrument for clientelism. The Pachakutik party that represented the Indigenous confederations also welcomed other ethnic minorities but gave priority to Indigenous communities. If African Americans had been successful in creating their own party at least they would have people from their communities representing their true interests.</p> <p>In both cases, political representation was not enough to change their communities' quality of living. Because the Indigenous party was</p>

		comprise 31% of the population.	<p>outvoted in congress it was difficult to push legislation through in favor of Indigenous communities. The majority of members in congress were non-Indigenous in Ecuador and non-Black in the United States. This meant that people, unaware of the experiences ethnic minorities lived through, were ignorantly making laws to help reduce poverty in these communities. They saturated policy making rooms with their feelings of superiority and enlightenment that they could offer to communities that were not given a chance because of being a minority in the room.</p>
Social	<p>From 1999 to 2005 the poverty rate increased in Indigenous communities by 12.2% but still 29.5% more than the national poverty rate. In 2006, access to health services for Indigenous people was 13.55% in comparison to 18.3% of the rest of the nation. This in part is also due to the lack of an ineffective and complex public health service</p>	<p>From 2000 to 2005 the poverty rate in the African American population increased from 19.3% to 21% in comparison to the national average of 9%. In 2006, 58.9% of the African American population had access to health services, while a greater portion of 71% of the nation had access to the same services.</p>	<p>Poverty rates increased in the Black and Indigenous community in the United States and Ecuador respectively. Income is intertwined with health because both are socioeconomic factors that determine the resources that are available to them. The lack of resources, due to the domino effect of economic stagnation, can lead to stress related illnesses. Laws enforced only had the objective of economic prosperity which simply favored company owners and an upper middle class. These laws did not include guaranteeing the most essential rights humans should have which is education and healthcare.</p> <p>In Ecuador, the increase of external debt reduced public spending and a very small amount went to healthcare</p>

Ecuador was running at the time, making it even worse for people who did not speak the colonizer's language, Spanish.

services while in the United States underfunded hospitals are systematically placed in Black communities which increases the chances of Black people being mistreated or misdiagnosed due to the lack of equipment and personnel in these hospitals.

The majority of hospitals in Ecuador were also underfunded; thus, ineffective and hazardous. They did not take into consideration the importance of Indigenous communities' holistic and non-western methods of treating illness and parturition, even though this local knowledge had helped Indigenous communities survive for centuries. As a result, the attention Indigenous people received in public hospitals was new and traumatizing for them. Doctors and nurses did not understand their Kichwa speaking patients' culture and most Indigenous people opted to never return to public hospitals again. Meanwhile, the quality of American healthcare system varied by state and African Americans did not have access to it. An attributable cause is the lack of economic funds that reduces their ability to have insurance because in the United States, health insurance is tied to employment

In conclusion, both groups are more likely to be uninsured and have a lower life expectancy because they experience lower quality of care,

			poorer health outcomes and have worse access to care.
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Sources: : Countryeconomy (1999), PREAL (2006), Masala & Monni (2017), INEC (2016)(2008) and Maldonado, Torres, López, Rueda (2007).  
 Elaborated by Kartika Fuentes

Frantz Fanon describes the political and cultural relationship between the colonizer and the colonized as the Self and the Other (Al-Saidi, 2014), which birthed postcolonial voices that rebuked these power hierarchies. Qualitative and quantitative information presented in chapter two detailed the response the Indigenous social movement in Ecuador and the African American movement in the United States had towards the adherence to neoliberal policies. They resisted because their communities were deteriorating to the point of being considered second class citizens. Fanon (1963) addressed this condition as part of postcolonial repercussions of discrimination found in social relations and embedded in the politics of societies that were formerly colonized. The pressure for political reforms in favor of ethnic minorities can be made through social movements and organization.

Table 9 shows the effects of neoliberal socio-economic policies on the different social movements that encouraged social justice and political reform according to the different realities that each ethnic group experienced. In the case of the Ecuadorian Indigenous population, their

movement became united under the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities in Ecuador (CONAIE), with the organization the Confederation of Peoples of Kichwa Nationality (ECUARUNARI) at the center. ECUARUNARI represented the Indigenous people of the highlands and CONAIE included the rest. Within the African American population in the USA, the most recognized and politicized party was the Black Panther Party. Other organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People stemmed from ideologies the Black Panther Party leaders promoted.

In terms of social justice and political reform, both movements had their rights constantly violated. Their rights to protest were violated because they were constantly criminalized. For the Indigenous population, their rights to land and culture were violated by transnational companies' brutal land takeovers supported by the State. In the case of Black people in the United States, racial profiling permitted law enforcement to target Black men openly and increase their chances of going to jail. 60% of Americans agreed that mass incarceration was a growing issue amongst the Black community. Table 9 illustrates the different realities experienced by the Indigenous movement in Ecuador and the African American movement in the United States analyzed from the perspective of social movements that resisted neoliberal reforms and advocated for political reforms ensuring social justice.

Table 9

*Comparing the realities of the Ecuadorian Indigenous movement and the African American movement*

	<b>Ecuadorian Indigenous population</b>	<b>African American population in the United States</b>	<b>Analysis</b>
Social movements	<p>CONAIE and ECUARUNARI represent most of the 13 Indigenous ethnic groups in Ecuador. ECUARUNARI had taken advantage of their national platform to educate and make people aware of issues in their communities, CONAIE followed in these steps. Both organizations had nationalized their movement and Indigenous people became new actors in the socio-political scenario of the country.</p>	<p>Most Black parties were left- winged and opposed the neoliberal model. The Black Panther Party stood for the revindication of black masculinity and maintaining the traditional gender roles; thus, explaining its origins as an all- male organization but was later challenged by Female Panthers</p> <p>The Black Panther Party led community social programs such as free breakfasts for children in black neighborhoods, drug and alcohol abuse awareness courses, and community health and consumer classes along with other programs that focused on bettering</p>	<p>The Indigenous movement and African American movement were based on similar plights stemming from different historical backgrounds. The plight of Indigenous people was based on protecting the land and their culture. In contrast to African Americans, Indigenous people have deep cultural, spiritual, economic, and social connections with their lands and resources, which are innate to their identity. African Americans were robbed of their culture and history as a result of slavery. Their Civil Rights movement was based on enjoying the same constitutional rights that free men were guaranteed for being Americans. Similarly, the Indigenous movement looked to gain equal rights and eradicate discrimination. Equal rights for African Americans meant fighting to have the same opportunities in the market as other Americans. Indigenous people fought for land ownership and the recognition of a plurinational state.</p>

		<p>the communities' quality of life.</p> <p>Another organization that represented African Americans in the USA was The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Their main goals were to secure the political, educational, social, and economic equality of rights and eliminate race-based discrimination and ensure the health and well-being of all persons.</p>	<p>Adjusting to a market driven economy, after centuries of enslavement, required quality education, political representation and social mobility as part of reparations for the African American population. The Black community had organizations such as the Black Panthers and the NAACP that were collective groups aiming to better their communities through local programs and informational trainings. The Black Panthers aimed to protect, empower, and teach their communities about African history and their natural beauty. Through programs that helped feed and teach their communities they also pushed people to analyze and question if the liberty of Americans had the cost of the captivity of others. The United States feared their rapid growth and political doctrines being adopted by Black communities in various states from East to West. Herbert Hoover, president at the time, went to the extent of creating a special covert organization to infiltrate Black organizations and dissolve the national security threat FBI and CIA leaders claimed they posed. The NAACP was formed by lawyers and high skilled workers that assured the rights of colored people were respected. Their part in the Civil Rights movement was</p>
<p>Social justice and political reform</p>	<p>During the presidency of Lucio Gutierrez, criminalization for protesting increased and threatened the lives of Indigenous leaders. The Ecuadorean State used the Law of National Security to justify its actions between 1998 and 2002.</p>	<p>African Americans that protested for civil rights were criminalized. Organizations such as the Black Panther Party were targets for brutal oppression and criminalization. Mass media portrayed similar movements led by Black people as lawless and violent which in turn led to</p>	<p>United States feared their rapid growth and political doctrines being adopted by Black communities in various states from East to West. Herbert Hoover, president at the time, went to the extent of creating a special covert organization to infiltrate Black organizations and dissolve the national security threat FBI and CIA leaders claimed they posed. The NAACP was formed by lawyers and high skilled workers that assured the rights of colored people were respected. Their part in the Civil Rights movement was</p>

		<p>the massive incarceration of African American men and women.</p>	<p>less violent and was not considered a threat to the United States because their position was more diplomatic. For example, the Griggs v Duke Power case led by NAACP lawyers set the precedent of making it illegal to under-pay people due to race. Instead of retaliating physically they supported court cases and lobbied for congressmen to ensure political, educational, social, and economic equality of rights.</p>
	<p>The exploitation of natural resources, militarization, and harassment processes were implemented in Indigenous communities. They resisted complying with activities of evacuation and eviction from transnational companies. These processes of evacuation and eviction were coordinated with national military forces and security agencies of the transnational companies.</p>	<p>Laws enforced by police officers in the name of national security have led to criminalization based on racial profiling. Stop and frisk, the new law, from 2003 to 2005 led 54% of the interrogations police conducted during stop and frisk to be conducted on Black people. Between 2003 and 2005 Black people were only one-fourth of the city's population, White people were one-third of the city's population, and therefore, they should have been frisked more often than Black people.</p>	<p>Indigenous people, on the other hand, were fighting for Indigenous rights that were unique to their identity and culture. Therefore, the confederations that formed the organizational structure of the movement focused on the discourse of land preservation and the recognition of various Indigenous peoples free to practice their culture. Their problems arose from the violence attributed to the exploitation the State permitted transnational companies to perform. Indigenous communities were not given prior notice or consulted on the land transnational companies assailed. The State knew communities inhabited these lands for centuries and permitted their deaths, attacks, deterioration and disintegration. The case of the</p>

	<p>The Ecuadorean incarceration system is not fully tied to race</p>	<p>Deep socio-economic inequalities and racial discrimination are intertwined with the mass incarceration of Black people. 60% of Americans agree that fatal encounters Black people have with the police are due to signs of a broader problem</p>	<p>Indigenous Kichwa Sarayaku people exemplified the State's incompetence in protecting the Indigenous population from private companies. Indigenous protests put women and children first to prevent police from massacring the men in the protests. CONAIE and ECUARUNARI leaders were both threatened by the State even after they successfully pushed for the impeachment of a president.</p> <p>The protests of both ethnic minorities were criminalized and the States intended to shut them down. In Ecuador, mass incarceration was not a problem because Ecuador also had inept authorities that did not have a valid case against Indigenous people or were easily bribed. In the United States, however, protests led to mass incarceration of Black people. Although, authorities did not have solid cases against these people, the majority still went to jail as a form of the State inciting fear amongst the Black communities that wanted to take part in organizations that questioned the State.</p> <p>Ultimately, both groups were subject to different subordinations that had grave consequences for their future generations. The social movements found leverage in empowering their communities through the analysis of history,</p>
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			<p>power and privilege as a form of undoing racism that has plagued them since colonial times. The Indigenous organizations have been able to stay active while the Black Panther Party was disintegrated. However, many organizations adopted the Black Panther's cultural and identity empowerment role in society, including the NAACP. Both movements had great victories that should not go unnoticed. For example, both pushed for constitutional amendments, created unity in their communities and questioned American imperialism by uplifting their own respective cultures and identity.</p>
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Sources: Becker, M. (2015), APA. (2019), and Stallings (2018)  
 Elaborated by Kartika Fuentes

Postcolonial feminism criticizes the homogenizing efforts of Western feminism which denies women of colonized descent to invalidate unjust power relations rooted and specific to their colonial legacy (Mishra, 2013). The experience of Indigenous women in Ecuador and African American women in the United States summed into an intersectional experience that contained three prevailing quandaries based on class, race, and gender (Mohanty, 1984). Power hierarchies were maintained and perpetuated through the internal spheres and external spheres of Indigenous and Black women. Their respective social movements were not enough to depict the daily experience of their lives as ethnic minority women. Therefore, the variables of politics, gender and history further influences the experience of Indigenous women in Ecuador and Black women in the United States.

The effects of socio-economic policies on women in politics, gender roles, and history for Ecuadorian Indigenous and Black women in the USA has promoted a resurgence of a hybrid identity that through feminist movements finds a voice. The lack of political participation of Indigenous and Black women is attributed to a systematic political exclusion because it requires overcoming disadvantages, like poverty, poor health amongst others, innate to their economic and socio-cultural context. Gender roles were savagely retaught during colonial times and assigned differently to Ecuadorian Indigenous women and Black American women in relation to their subordinate positions as peasants and slaves respectively. For example, the division of labor during colonial times for Indigenous women obligated them to work domestic jobs. For Black women in America the colonizer considered her genderless for work exploitation and to be abused, punished and repressed they were considered women. In the historical case of Indigenous women, the period of deterritorialization in which the colonizer imposed his value system led to a restructuring of this subaltern group, reterritorialization of Indigenous women burdened women to accept violence and self-sacrifice for the community but also subtly led to questioning this reality. The process of deterritorialization and reterritorialization of Black women is depicted through the African diaspora and Black feminism is a product of the reterritorialization process.

It is important to acknowledge the factors that contribute to the postcolonial experience. Women are still subject to live the results of patriarchal European norms, however, Indigenous and Black women have not given up on correcting the hierarchical power structures. Table 10 portrays women's initiative to take part in politics, women empowerment and undoing intersectional discrimination through the analysis of history to understand their hybrid identity.

Table 10

*The political, social and historical experience of Indigenous Ecuadorian and African American women*

	<b>Ecuadorian Indigenous population</b>	<b>African American population in the United States</b>	<b>Analysis</b>
Women in politics	<p>Political representation of Indigenous people was limited to men's opinions, women found themselves forced to create a space within their community to defend their ideas and be able to participate in community decisions. They also decided to push for representation in the public sphere. In 2004 and 2002, 3% of the elected candidates for Congress were women. However, none of the elected candidates were Indigenous women.</p>	<p>Black women in America had greater rates of post-secondary education than Black men. Yet, in 1998, Black women were only 2.3% of state legislators out of the 10.3% of all women legislators. In 2000, three women ran for office in the Senate and in 2005 one woman ran for the same office, no one won. However, progress was seen in 2002, when seven Black women were candidates and one won.</p>	<p>The patriarchal structure prevented ethnic minority women that had active roles in their respective social movements from voicing their opinions and receiving credit for their organizational work. For example, in the Indigenous movement and African American movement, women were not acknowledged for being the backbone of these movements. They both supported and were part of the organizational structure the movements had.</p> <p>Furthermore, representation of ethnic minority women in politics was only achieved by Senator Carol Braun, an African American woman. In Ecuador, congress did not admit women and with much difficulty would admit an Indigenous woman. African American women were graduating in their post-secondary education rapidly, while Indigenous women were not. Chapter 2 details the reason as their low socioeconomic</p>

<p>Gender roles</p>	<p>Indigenous women organizations, like the Women’s Council of ECUARUNARI, helped women that experienced problems of inequality, family violence, and <i>machismo</i>. Indigenous women considered that these problems were brought by the “cultural invasion” of colonial times.</p>	<p>The African American movement practiced gender roles where men received the praise as women worked behind the scenes. Black mothers taught their daughters to become independent and assertive. Black women were obligated to work twice as much their counterpart and prioritize their careers over marriage. In the African American community, the idea of a “women’s place” does not exist as it has been deconstructed with years of slavery.</p>	<p>status and social pressures part of the factors that prevented Indigenous women from trying to participate more. Men in the Indigenous movement did not consider that women could receive an education and sometimes men did not allow them to continue onto higher education. However, by 2000 Indigenous confederations had women empowerment programs that encouraged them to pursue higher education. Women in Black communities were predominantly from single parent households that encouraged their higher education to have a better future.</p> <p>Ethnic minority women have endured dissemination from their inner and outer spheres. Men in their communities have excluded them and people in society have labelled them by class and ethnicity. Their gender oppression, located in both spheres, is not separate from their ethnic and class oppression, it is intersectional.</p>
<p>History</p>	<p>Colonization for Indigenous women meant the loss of land, learning a completely senseless foreign language, being part of a political and administrative system that did not care for nature and</p>	<p>Colonialism enforced slavery brutally and minimized the Black identity leading to the construction of a forged common culture. The African diaspora forced African Americans to have created their</p>	<p>Ethnic minority women do not choose between which oppressions to feel because they are all simultaneous.</p> <p>Gender roles assigned to ethnic minority women are tied to their history and culture. Unlike African American women, Indigenous women were given kinship roles that Black women did not have.</p>

	<p>finally, believing in the Christian faith, where being a woman was a synonym for sin. The gender- based division of labor forced women to do domestic work but now as an inferior being. Before, Indigenous women also did domestic work but were considered indispensable in their communities. When conquistadors labeled them as inferiors, they were able to also sexually abuse them, perpetuating their subordinate status in society.</p>	<p>culture and own set of identity. Hybridization of African American culture began the reterritorialization as Black women began to acquire new spaces to voice their opinion and adopt theories that would put in place a new system for their plight.</p>	<p>Black women were equal to Black men in the enslaved workforce. Their sexualization and subordination, similar to Indigenous women, appeared when the master or colonizer decided to abuse her the only way women could be abused. Culturally, Indigenous women have connection with nature like their ancestors did. Therefore, their gender norms are illustrated figuratively through nature. They believe women and men are like the sun and the moon, they are both complementary and indispensable, one is no greater than the other.</p> <p>The culture of women in the Black community is part of the development of a hybridized identity, which can also be traced in the Indigenous community. African American women’s culture originated from women whose identities were stolen and forced to learn a new culture that taught them self-hate. The hybridization process of reterritorialization or self-love and acceptance during the Civil Rights movement encouraged Black communities to embrace the characteristics the White man taught them to hate. Indigenous women have a hybridized identity relating to submissiveness because they were brutally forced to obey their masters. The colonizer savagely converted the Indigenous population to Christianity which</p>
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			also held traditional gender norms that Indigenous families had to obey.
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Sources: Stallings (2018)  
 Elaborated by Kartika Fuentes

Indigenous feminism and Black feminism hold intersectional values unique to these women's experiences. Indigenous women in Ecuador fought for land sovereignty and have focused on decolonization processes including using an alternative economy, empowering women to educate themselves, using alternative medicine, embracing their heritage, and taking over the narrative that non-Indigenous women have wrongly portrayed. Decolonization processes are social processes that help hold colonizers accountable for past trauma but are also a source of empowerment for the colonized. Black feminism embraced the trauma and declared in the Combahee River Collective Statement that held the oppressor accountable for their intersectional oppression. Black women from the Black Panther Party went on to be international activists like Angela Davis, who expose their tripartite oppression not as victims but as survivors that fight for better days. Black feminism encourages women to embrace their natural physical characteristics to undo the racist past that forced them to digest and imitate European beauty standards. By undoing the legacies of colonialism and imperialism inherited by neoliberal policies and liberal feminists, postcolonial feminism supports the activism of ethnic minority women against the patriarchal and capitalist structure.

## VII. CONCLUSION

The hypothesis of this dissertation, which was that neoliberal socioeconomic policies implemented in the USA and the ones which were implemented in Ecuador, marginalized ethnic minorities which further caused the reaction of feminist Indigenous women in Ecuador and Black women in the United States experiencing tripartite discrimination between 1999 – 2005, is completely verified. Grounds for this are that women were further discriminated since a universal female experience does not exist and related issues cannot be solved with heterogeneous policies.

Following, the conclusions of this dissertation that supports the aforementioned statement:

- Ecuadorian Indigenous people in the 2001 census preferred to identify as Mestizo because of classist and racist prejudice; therefore, minimizing their actual presence amongst the Ecuadorian population. With a low number of registered Indigenous people, the State did not feel the need to focus on the needs of this ethnic group
- Black Americans and Indigenous people are treated as second class citizens because the violation of their political, economic and social rights have been legalized through laws that ultimately benefit the group of privileged people that have been historically in power.
- Ethnic minorities are unacknowledged during neoliberal policy- making decisions because they are considered collateral damage in the transition of economic liberalization in developing countries and individual rights guarantee a society's welfare. Ergo, the State should not intervene because everyone has the same opportunities
- Within neoliberal democracies, Ecuadorian Indigenous peoples and Black Americans do not have the same opportunities as their respective countries stipulate because

policymakers are part of privileged communities and have a different vision of social justice which is more likely to favor exclusionary policies.

- The Indigenous movement in Ecuador pushed for a constitutional amendment and created a political party to participate in Congress that would recognize their pluricultural existence and interests of the movement; however, social stigmas did not change because their communities still maintained low living standards and were not attended well in hospitals, educational or public institutions.
- The African American movement in the United States created social consciousness about racial inequality and were able to acquire civil rights. However, social unrest continues because the living standards of the Black community have not gotten better and racism is embedded in the fabric of American society. Mass incarceration, higher birth mortality rates and lower life expectancy are some examples to illustrate the systematic oppression Black communities encounter.
- African Americans have not achieved political representation as a political party representing the interests of their movement. The United States has prevented this from being an option with the violent criminalization of protests people executed with the only viable and popular group amongst the Black community, the Black Panther Party. Furthermore, the State went to the extent of creating a department, COINTELPRO that would halt all possibilities of African Americans gaining social or political power.
- Reinforces the common misconception that racism is simply a personal problem that should be resolved by shaming, punishing or re-educating the individual offender. Often leads to long, inconclusive debates about what's in a person's "heart," and whether or not

they intended to be hurtful or discriminatory. Perpetuates false notions of individual agency in our national consciousness.

- In both movements, Indigenous people of Ecuador and Black American people in the United States were able to make a constitutional amendment but social unrest continues in both cases because neoliberal actors shift their discourse to individual agencies. For example, Indigenous and Black people that experience racism or ethnic dissemination receive the response of neoliberal actors that establish these perceptions as personal problems that could be solved through shaming, punishing or reeducation. This perpetuates a false notion of individual agency where the person offended should only correct racial transgressions instead of blaming the system. These are forms of undermining political solidarity that deal with marginalized and underprivileged groups who look for social justice.
- The intent of Indigenous women to have political representation failed because, although there was not a rule specifying Indigenous women could not be part of congress, the people who voted carried personal prejudice identified as ethnic discrimination. Neoliberals would claim this failure due to the lack of meritocracy. Nevertheless, other factors such as income inequality, systematic political exclusion, and power hierarchies that are disadvantageous for Indigenous communities are to blame for the lack of political representation.
- Women in the Indigenous movement in Ecuador can't relate to "feminism" because that word is foreign to their native language, yet they have similar beliefs of questioning the patriarchal structure. Case in point, Indigenous women fought to be included in organizational decisions of CONAIE and ECUARUNARI until finally they were

appointed leadership positions and developed empowerment programs for women in their community.

- Women in the Indigenous movement in Ecuador and the Black movement in the United States were pushed to create their own spaces because they had to experience two struggles that the movement alone would not adhere to; they dealt with patriarchy in their internal communal sphere as well as class and ethnic discrimination in their external societal sphere.
- Indigenous women in Ecuador encourage their women and children that western education and being culturally savvy and proud is the key to work against the abuse of hegemonic powers because they must first know their colonizer and then know themselves to succeed in making the ladder of privilege visible.
- The percentage of Black women in America that have graduated from a post-secondary education is 5% -10% greater in comparison to Black men; however, Black women have greater unemployment rates. This leads to the conclusion that meritocracy does not exist in American society because more Black women would occupy more jobs than Black men.
- Indigenous women in Ecuador have taken similar initiatives of women empowerment in their communities because Indigenous organizations opened spaces for women to talk about problems presented in their private sphere and train them to prepare for jobs or business opportunities that may present themselves in the public sphere.
- Indigenous and Black identity for women is important in their respective feminist movements because the power relations culture and social norms that are held over them diminishes as they continuously question it and embrace the hybridity of their post-

colonized identity. For example, decolonization processes that require cultural empowerment has helped people that did not understand Indigenous cultures, now understand the importance of the environment and its importance in human survival. African American women were one of the first intersectional movements that considered oppression for sexual orientation and validated these experiences to question American society and heterogeneous policies that did not help alleviate their economic, social or political situations.

## VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

Once the dissertation is completed, it is considered noteworthy to investigate other aspects related to prior conclusions established and the following is recommended:

- Ecuador and the United States should set in motion programs of inclusion, culture, and well-being because it is important to learn about the diversity of cultures and their history in order to understand their plight and create collective solutions. Organizations of cultural awareness and appreciation of ancestral knowledge in Ecuador could fund this initiative along with other governmental funds in order to appreciate the inherited culture and not be ashamed of being considered descendants of them. Community building programs that incentivize a diverse leadership helps people also understand different cultures and identify as future leaders that can be agents of change.
- That States should reevaluate policies and the constitution with the representation of historically marginalized ethnic minorities in the country and take into consideration their demands and protests. This could be completed through the inclusion of published scholarship in academia from Indigenous and Black women. Their narratives could be helpful insight to understand the local knowledge that is the fabric of their communities.
- People with privilege should recognize their place in society, not as something negative but positive, because they can yield the floor to people who have not had the same opportunities instead of being their voice they should let them be their direct representatives. For example, they should not write about experiences they have not encountered unless they have the green light from people who have encountered it, to tell their story. Racist transgressions should not be dismissed, in other words, if people make racist remarks or jokes because their privilege blinds to the severity of their actions, it is

the duty of a socially conscious and erudite student to make them aware of their statements.

- Academia in Ecuador should publish more scholarship about Afro Ecuadoreans because they are also an ethnic minority that due to the lack of information or research, have not been further analyzed. For this, Ecuador should provide public access to old documents that can provide insights on colonial history. Furthermore, the Ecuadorian Black population needs greater access to education in order to also provide their narratives on their experience as Afro Ecuadorians.
- That the PACHAKUTIK political movement stops creating alliances with local parties and begin a grassroots campaign to educate their communities on politics and incentivize their participation. Widespread support from a network of organizations that advocate for environmental and Indigenous peoples rights would be good sources to create awareness of Indigenous peoples' domestic agenda in Ecuador. Indigenous organizations should work towards focusing on creating a domestic policies agenda next to their social agenda. This way, their organizational structure will be difficult to tear down and ideas would be more coherent.
- To consider that political solidarity is important for the solution of social ills, therefore, Indigenous people of Ecuador and Black Americans should look to protest, write letters, make calls and take action against tyrannical oppression in mass numbers by uniting their respective communities throughout their respective countries. This also includes attempting once again at creating their own political party reflecting the interests of their community to gain political mobility and independence.

- To invest in microcredit programs that also offer budgeting advice and further education programs for Indigenous women. This helps take into consideration local knowledge helping women develop leadership skills in their community and future generations could have greater access to higher education. The space Indigenous women in Ecuador have created to in their confederations should also be a space of gathering ideas to innovate new forms of income for women in their community to further their agenda in politics.
- Black women should create a professional network that could help them unite and link in order to encourage other women in the job market. Women in the job market are already competitive, this would help encourage a more friendly approach to the cold hiring processes. Women would be able to acquire more jobs if they work together and help each other climb the ladder in corporate America.

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## **X. LIST OF ANNEXES**

Annex 1

### **Interview with Carmen Lozano on The Reality of Indigenous Women in Ecuador**

June 2019, Quito

**¿Puede ayudarme con su nombre por favor?**

Mi nombre es Carmen Lozano soy del pueblo quechua Saraguro de la provinciade Loja.

**¿Cuál es su función dentro de las oficinas de Ecuarunari?**

Soy dirigente de la mujer de Ecuarunari. Trabajamos con el tema de mujeres

**¿Qué temas?**

Por ejemplo en las actividades que tenemos hablamos sobre todo del derecho de las mujeres, sobre el tema de liderazgo, sobre la violencia. También hay que hablar sobre la defensa del territorio y como las mujeres estamos vinculados en el campo con la tierra y con todo lo que es la naturaleza.

Entonces por eso es importante que las mujeres siempre hablemos sobre temas de liderazgo no es solamente para para estar en un espacio, también es un derecho que las mujeres hemos logrado mediante la lucha. Ahora tenemos la participación en varios espacios. Por ejemplo que se yo en la organización la comuna, en el pueblo, en la provincia, igualmente aquí a nivel regional y nacional. Esto es sido parte de un proceso de luchas que la mujer ha ido organizando para la participación dentro de las organizaciones.

Por ejemplo, en las comunidades compañeras que están como cabildos, como presidente de la comuna y son compañeras mujeres también. Y esto no se dado sólo porque si si no es por que han habido mujeres que se han preocupado por prepararse más que todo en los espacios sociales y en las organizaciones. Por eso hemos ido poco a poco visibilizando la participación de las mujeres en varios espacios a nivel local, provincial, regional y nacional. También a nivel político porque el proceso de lucha nace del tema de ser líder.

La lucha se lleva acabo desde la visión del líder pero ser dirigente es otra cosa. Cuando son dirigentes ya tienen su responsabilidad específica por ejemplo de tiempo de tres años o de cuatro. Durante ese tiempo tiene que ser autoridad en un espacio como la Ecuarunari o la Conaie u otras organizaciones provinciales. Los dirigentes son autoridades en estos espacios, las mujeres tanto hombres también.

Entonces en eso se ha venido participando desde los grandes levantamientos del año 90 y 96. En el primer levantamiento éramos las mujeres igual participábamos igual en la lucha. Por ejemplo quien iba adelante de la mujer cargada de sus hijos, quizá esté embarazada O cargada otro hijo. Entonces, las mujeres siempre hemos sido activas, aunque sí en ese tiempo decían que las mujeres no teníamos propuesta. Pero sí teníamos por qué por eso éramos quienes estábamos al

frente de los levantamientos. Por ejemplo para defender a nuestros compañeros nos poníamos las mujeres al frente porque los policías no podían maltratar mucho a mujeres con niños, esa era la estrategia del movimiento indígena, por qué siempre las mujeres hemos estado al frente de todo conflicto.

Por ejemplo en toma de tierras, aquí al norte en la época de los 60 y 70 ahí quien estaban al frente también eran las mujeres. Y claro los compañeros también pero hay muchas compañeras mujeres que han caído en ese proceso de lucha por la tierra. Ahí, quienes estaban al frente también eran las mujeres. Y claro los compañeros también. Por eso, hay muchas compañeras mujeres que se han caído. Mujeres como Dolores Cacuango, Transito Amaguana, Lorenza Abimañay, Manuela León y otras más mujeres. Ellas son quienes se han destacado por que se han puesto al frente de la organización de su comunidad de su pueblo para defender el territorio en ese tiempo. Dolores Cacuango sobretodo luchó por la educación, por el territorio, por los derechos de los pueblos indígenas. Ésos son procesos que nos ha ayudado hoy en día las mujeres, toda mujer sean indígenas sean afros sea mestizas de cualquier cultura entonces ahora tienen derecho a estudiar. Porque antes no había derecho a estudiar para las mujeres. Por ejemplo, como decían que sólomente la mujer podía solamente escribir poner su nombre y su firma nada más, el hombre tenía que estudiar. Pero ahora ya no es así. Se ha llegado a éste punto mediante lucha.

Esto no se dio porque sí. Los gobiernos de turno no nos dieron esto por buenitos sino más bien por una lucha insistente, por una lucha que tanto estábamos exigiendo siempre así como se viene insistiendo los derechos indígenas que no se cumplen y en ese sentido también se venían exigiendo los derechos de su territorio, cuando hay maltratos cuando hay persecución, cuando hay saqueo, cuando no hay respeto a las mujeres o a los pueblos indígenas o los pueblos campesinos, siempre ha estado ahí en la lucha siempre hemos estado exigiendo derechos. De la mujer sobre todo para que sea respetada.

Pero todavía existe por ejemplo digamos esa persecución, esa discriminación, racismo, maltrato, violencia no se ha terminado todavía permanece en las comunidades, en los pueblos, todavía existen centros educativos, existe en varios espacios. Siempre está la mujer como le dicen que puede ocupar estos espacios pero no puede ser parte de la toma de decisiones. Entonces todavía hay que seguir luchando como para decir que estamos y estamos aquí para apoyar, estamos aquí para dar propuestas. Y no solamente en el caso de elecciones de autoridades. Ahí por ejemplo, alguna gente ha dicho que las mujeres tienen que tener este espacio con propuestas y alternativas pero también hay otros que están ahí para justificar que quieren 50/50. Pero no analizan que una mujer puede realmente sostener, puede defenderse, puede dar propuestas y puede estar ahí para defender la lucha, solamente buscan que esté ahí para que alza la mano y eso no está bien. Nosotros no debemos caer en ese juego, que a mí no me pueden utilizar, y también que yo puedo hacer valer mi palabra y debo decir lo que yo siento y pienso. Y mi propuesta tiene que ser en base a las necesidades de los pueblos, en base a los que a mí me toca hacer con la gente y no para mi propio bien estar porque hay mucha gente que se está ocupando de estos espacios que quizá piensan de eso para su beneficio personal. Y eso está mal. Entonces por eso es importante que las mujeres se preparen.

Aquí por ejemplo en Ecuarunari se tiene una escuela de formación para mujeres líderes. Esto viene de varios tiempos.

### **¿Desde cuando?**

Desde el año 96 creo que ya se estuvo preparando a las mujeres en las escuelas de formación. En el 2013 se cerró la escuela porque, como digo, Si las mujeres quieren en realidad tenemos la capacidad para llevar adelante cualquier programa o actividades. Pero cuando las mujeres somos sumisas, quizá otros varones o dirigentes influyen y como que se dejan absorber Por todo lo que dice el hombre. Y no yo sostengo que debo sostenerme a lo que yo tengo que defender. Por ejemplo en este caso de la escuela ocurrió que en el tiempo que estaba la compañera no se pudo sostener y permitió que los dirigentes absorban el proyecto y se cerró. Y con tanta lucha de nuevo en este periodo, hemos vuelto a retomar la escuela y hoy estamos capacitando a nuestras compañeras que son como 40 y comenzamos con 20, después ya se fueron uniendo más.

### **¿En la época de Mahuad, cómo afectó la dolarización a la comunidad Indígena?**

Nos afectó mucho porque primero nosotros no conocemos la moneda del dólar y es norteamericano y no es nuestra propia moneda. Por mucho tiempo, nuestros padres, ellos vivieron con la moneda nacional que era el Sucre. Que el Sucre por un lado es la identidad propia del Ecuador.

La política de él, según estaba pensado, que con dólares íbamos a crecer economía y eso no fue crecer la economía. Nosotros primero perdimos nuestra soberanía del país y en segundo lugar perdemos nuestra forma de vida y cómo manejar la moneda. Primeramente porque era una moneda extraña que no se sabía y se confundía, que hasta la actualidad nuestros mayores se confunden por qué su mente estaba grabado en sucres. Entonces todavía esa confusión se mantiene pero la forma en que nos impusieron la dolarización era únicamente diciéndonos que el país iba a crecer. No creció si no fue perjudicado. Muchos fuimos perjudicados porque mucha gente se confundía se perdía y claro para los que manejaban dólares era fácil. Pero también para nosotros como el cambio del Sucre vino a ser de un centavo. Y eso es bajar muchísimo para nosotros y eso es una pérdida. Entonces ahí eso nos afectó en la economía, en la producción y en la forma de como vivíamos en ese tiempo. Ahora para decir que ya estamos dolarizados y al día, ni para decir porque ni aún así podemos recuperar la moneda nuestra porque la economía no está de acorde a nuestra realidad. Por eso muchos pueblos y familias se desayuna con 2 dólares y de ahí con lo que queda se está todo el día. No alcanza el trabajo, no alcanza la moneda, todo está muy elevado, para nosotros esto no es crecer la economía si no, es la pérdida de la economía. Eso nos afectó bastante para nosotros. Sobretudo para los que producimos en pequeñas agriculturas, ganadería, microempresas que sea artesanía así pequeños productores. Pequeños artesanos o consumidores. Pero para las grandes empresas era mejor porque ellos crecieron grande cantidad. Ellos acapararon muchas cosas, eso si para las grandes empresas les favoreció la moneda pero para las empresas nacionales, pequeños agricultores, ganaderos, los campesinos, artesanos, pequeños pesqueros eso nos perjudicó.

**¿En esa época hubo una fuerte migración de la personas del aérea rural a la ciudad. Siente que el cambio de moneda permitió la fácil explotación de estas personas que no entendían la moneda y en su mayoría en Indígena?**

Claro pues porque en el campo, nuestros hijos fueron educados con el sucre. Cómo bajó la producción y ya no podíamos vender en los mercados, nuestra gente empezó a inmigrar tanto internacional como nacional.

Entonces eso nos afectó porque primero la inmigración aumentó de lo rural a la ciudad y a otros países. Muchos pueblos y comunidades se dividieron porque se fueron a lugares como EEUU, España y Francia y otros países. Se fueron. Y muchos pueblos han perdido sus familias porque que se yo, en el camino se han muerto, se ha destruido su hogar, sus hijos están dispersos, ya no está formada su familia como antes. Entonces todo eso nos ha complicado. Como también en la economía, lo social y lo cultural también Entonces en eso nos afectó. En ese tiempo en la época de gobierno de Mahuad. Por ejemplo ahí se perdió muchas cosas, como nuestros compañeros, la economía, la forma de vida y la educación.

### **¿En la forma de vida, a qué se refiere?**

Por ejemplo como nos afectó fue que desintegró a la familia. No hay una familia unida, ya no se puede tener una consolidación de familia, hijos, padres, nietos, y todos ellos. Ya no se puede tener esa con formación integral de la familia. En ese sentido nosotros entendemos que desintegró a la comunidad porqué de la familia se conforma la comunidad. Y de la comunidad también hubo grandes líderes que se fueron fuera del país entonces eso es pérdida tanto a nivel social organizativo y político también. Entonces en ese sentido hay sido grave el problema en esta época de ese gobierno. Que se perdió la fuerza organizativa en la organización. Segundo, la desintegración de la familia, la pérdida de identidad, de la cultura, del idioma, todo lo demás se perdió ahí. Entonces igualmente la economía, antes era la economía consolidada en que se sentía la comunidad y se sentía la familia. Hoy se siente qué es la economía en torno a mí el yo, pasamos a ser individualistas, separados, ya no se piensa en común, a no se piensa en familia, ya no se piensa en comunidad. Si no tengo que pensar para mí, yo, yo tengo y sólo sirve para mí. Si yo trabajo es para mí. Entonces, antes no era así. Antes había la minga, la fiesta, había todo pero había en conjunto para todos. Una familia hacía una casa, todos en la comunidad se levantaban, pero hoy no, hoy solamente la plata. Me pagan o yo trabajo entonces es sólo para mí y eso es muy individualista. A eso se llegó con este gobierno. Por eso se ha quedado esa influencia hasta la actualidad.

### **Dentro de esta época también existía la representación de los Pachakutik. Recién habían entrado a la asamblea nacional. Según usted, dentro del partido Pachakutik, ¿hubo una representación completa de la comunidad indígena o parcial de la comunidad indígena?**

En el tema político, el movimiento indígena, nosotros habíamos creado el movimiento Pachakutik. Es un espacio más de lo que el movimiento indígena tiene, pero pensando que el movimiento Pachacútec tiene que ser parte de un proyecto político. Todo funciona como un proyecto político dentro del movimiento indígena. Por ejemplo el movimiento indígena tiene su proyecto político y el movimiento pachakutik tiene su propio proyecto político. Dentro de ese proyecto político es que tiene que ser representante de la representación local, provincial, nacional, asambleístas, lo que sea en los espacios públicos. Tiene que ser un representante diferente para los pueblos. Qué sé yo, un junta parroquial tiene que hacer el gobierno local pero

diferente al sistema grande. Sin embargo, el objetivo no se está alcanzando. Por ejemplo, el representante de la Asamblea Nacional, antes eran diputados ahora son asambleístas. Pero el objetivo que queremos alcanzar no se puede alcanzar porque no tenemos la mayoría. Hoy tenemos cinco representantes. Antes teníamos creo que nueve. Desde ahí no hemos pasado mucho porque tenemos muy poca representación y con esa poca representación no se puede hacer nada ni mucha cosa porque la mayoría decida. La mayoría de la gente de los partidos políticos, que sé yo, de la derecha, del social cristiano, de todos ellos que son unidos donde solamente el nombre cambia. Son los mismos. Entonces hacen la mayoría, y solamente quedamos con los que estamos. Entonces en ese sentido no podemos decir que ha habido un logro. Pero también no podemos decir que no se ha hecho nada. Aunque sea uno o dos que están ahí, han peleado para decir esto es el pueblo indígena, esto es lo que necesitamos y esto queremos que se haga. Por lo menos se ha dejado diciendo aunque no lo hemos alcanzado. Ese es el espacio que se ha venido haciendo en varias instancias. Ha dejado por lo menos presencia para decir el movimiento indígena sí piensa en otra cosa no sólo alinearnos con lo que ellos piensan.

Por ejemplo, todos los grandes oligarcas que están ahí en la asamblea ellos no piensan en los pequeños productores, no piensan en los campesinos, claro de nombre dicen, pero en la realidad no hacen lo que tienen que hacer. Pero por ejemplo la justicia mismo a quien favorece? A las grandes empresas, a los que tienen plata, a los que están de cuello blanco, a ellos favorece pero a un indígena, a un campesino, a un afro que venga del campo, a ellos no les atienden como debe ser así como se atienden entre ellos. Entonces en esa forma todavía vivimos esas discriminación, esa desigualdad y para decir que ya hemos cambiado, no, pero estamos en proceso. Hemos logrado algunas cosas, por lo menos que reconozcan que existimos pueblos indígenas, campesinos y afro descendientes. Porque antes nos calificaban que los pueblos indígenas somos minoría, los campesinos son minoría y peor los pueblos afros.

**En el 2001, hicieron un censo, y dentro del censo salió que 6.7% de la población era indígena. Según usted, ¿ese censo está correcto o no?**

No pues es que, para que salga verdaderamente el censo real deberían calificar desde la forma de las preguntas, deberían de formular las preguntas. Porque las preguntas también estaban de manera como para minimizar, para decir que no hay indígenas en grandes cantidades. Entonces también depende como se hizo las preguntas. Por qué si yo hago una pregunta real, como debe ser, la gente me va a decir que es la verdad. Por ejemplo soy indígena.

**¿Cómo debería haber estado formulada la pregunta?**

Por ejemplo debería de decir, si quiere averiguar qué es indígena tenemos que investigar cuál es su raíz, de donde viene, quienes eran sus padres, donde vivían, como vivían, como era la forma de vida de ellos. Entonces ahí sí se puede tal vez identificarlo, el rostro mismo lo dice de la persona que es indígena o mestiza o negra. También eso tenemos que ver, no porque yo hablo castellano digo que soy mestizo. Porque yo puedo hablar castellano o inglés pero mi sangre es indígena, y yo tengo que decir que soy indígena. Yo soy de un pueblo originario. No puedo decir que yo soy mestizo o gringa. Porque mi sangre es lo que dice. Entonces eso ha faltado. Por ejemplo en la forma de preguntar, del 2008, en la encuesta decía ¿usted cómo se identifica? Mestiza, indígena, blanco, afro o montubio. Pero claro para los jóvenes es más fácil decir que

son mestizos entonces no estamos pensando que estoy cayendo en una trampa. Porque eso pasó mucho.

### **¿A que trampa nos referimos?**

Por ejemplo es la trampa que dice usted cómo piensa. Sos indígena? Mestiza? Montubio? Y yo para decir, normalmente en los jóvenes piensan que ser indígena es menos valorado, mejor pongo mestiza. Claro entonces eso es una trampa. Porque no está preguntando realmente. Se podría decir usted cómo se identifica? Y yo puede decir que soy indígena. Después pero porque me identifico como indígena? Por qué soy del campo, mi familia y comunidad es parte de mi identidad.

Por que un indígena no puede perder esa conexión que nosotros tenemos un territorio, el territorio nos hace la identidad, nos hace de dónde venimos

### **En la época de Mahuad ¿como fueron los levantamientos indígenas desde 1999 hasta 2005?**

Como digo yo siempre las mujeres hemos estado juntas pero no visibilizadas. En las luchas en levantamientos, por ejemplo cuando se hace el primer levantamiento del año 90 quienes estaban al frente eran las mujeres y las esposas de líderes estaban juntos en la lucha. En alguna comisión preocupadas de cómo están los dirigente y los enfrentamientos cuando aparecen los policías. Estaban activas en ese tiempo pero no estaban reconocidas, los mismos compañeros, será porque no querían reconocerlas o porque era sólo mujer. Eran procesos de lucha y resistencia, no era solo hacia los gobiernos o afuera si no también adentro, desde la familia, desde la comunidad y pueblos para que las mujeres seamos visibilizadas, no es simple, nos cuesta. Por ejemplo, si el marido no apoya para que la mujer salga a la las reuniones, a las capacitaciones es porque la mujer todavía depende de alguien. Y por eso es una lucha interna y externa para nosotros. Es doble carga para nosotros las mujeres y si no podemos deshacernos de esto va ser difícil.

### **¿Cómo era la opresión de la mujer indígena en la época de Mahuad?**

La persecución era del mismo sistema de gobierno. Cuando hubo levantamiento, quien nos perseguían? Los policías y las autoridades, las partes del gobierno. Yo me acuerdo cuando yo era presidenta de mi pueblo por el 2005, hubo levantamiento para el agua. Ahí yo era la presidenta y vinieron los policías a llevar a nuestros compañeros, nuestros hijos y nuestros esposos presos. Estábamos en la calle protestando. ¿Que más me tocó hacer? Yo organicé con la mujeres de la comunidad para sacarlos de ahí. Es que también los mayores somos guías pero las liberés fuimos las que levantamos. Cogimos a esos policías y militares, y los llevamos a la montaña y no los soltamos hasta que entregaron nuestros compañeros, hijos y familias. Los dirigentes y las autoridades me deciden que los entregue pero no lo hice hasta que hicimos un trueque. Sus hombres por mi comunidad y familia. Entonces después sabíamos que había persecución porque hicimos cambio con los policías y no me siguieron juicio después porque habíamos firmado un documento donde yo recibía mi familia y ellos sus personas.

Asimismo nosotros hemos estado en confrontaciones y luchas por nuestra gente. Es importante que nosotros no estemos con miedo porque toca coger valentía en estas cosas. Por qué los hombres saben tener miedo en esto y nosotros debemos asumir este riesgo. Por ejemplo en la

época de Correa durante las protestas de agua nosotros las mujeres estuvimos al frente y pasaron los caballos sobre mujeres también a nuestros hombres les maltrataban.

### **¿Cual es la realidad de la mujer indígena en el contexto de ser discriminada por étnia, clase y género?**

Bueno las mujeres indígenas o las mujeres campesinas o afros en los pueblos, sí somos discriminadas con maltratos físicos, psicológicos, y entre la familia mismo. Además dentro del hogar y de la comunidad. Desde hace cuando mismo y mucho peor en la época colonial. El mismo patrón que era el jefe violaba a las mujeres. Esperaban que las niñas sean grandes y cuando ya eran jovencitas las maltrataban después. Cuando les violaban les decían que no avisen porque su familia iba a sufrir y entonces así nos criaban, con miedo por nuestras familias. Entonces por eso hay esa sumisión que no viene de herencia como un trauma.

Entonces yo pienso que hoy en día, es peor porque ya es visible en las grandes ciudades quizá hasta en los establecimientos educativos tanto en la primaria, secundaria y superior hay maltrato. Que se yo por ser indígena o afro o mestiza no consideran ser de iguales condiciones. Pero el problema no es que no se puede igualar, porque todos somos iguales pero quieren dejar entender que nosotros somos menos. Y no es así, todo ser humano es igual y nacen con los mismos derechos, tanto hombre como mujer.

Es malo pero cuando la mujer no tiene decisión ni dirección porque no se siente igual. O aveces ella son así porque sienten que tienen menos inteligencia. Pero no es así, todos somos iguales. Por ejemplo en los pueblos Indígenas sabemos decir que la mujer, somos más inteligentes que el hombre. El hombre sabe estar recién pensando algo pero nosotras ya estamos planeando cómo hacerlo. Aveces la mujer dice como debe ser las cosas pero el hombre dice “parece que debería ser así”, “parece”, la mujer tiene más decisión. Entonces en ese sentido los pueblos indígenas ahora tenemos la percepción de nuestros padres que la mujer es más inteligente porque somos más estratégicas.

Ahora también podemos ver qué hay mujeres negras en autoridad y aveces la gente cuestiona si sabe o no sabe. Y la e te dice que porque es negra o es indígena no ha de saber, entonces todavía existe eso en los lugares públicos y entre las autoridades.

Por ejemplo cuando fui lideresa en Mi pueblo también cuestionaban mis capacidades y me decían que como no tenía educación yo no podía. Entonces esa forma de entender y pensar que solo los académicos saben, está mal. Aveces los que no han ido ni a la escuela, ni a la universidad, son los que saben más. La academia cubre las cosas y se entiende por encimita no más, el conocimiento local es lo profundo, el conocer más a fondo. Es como decir armar un aparato tengo que ver que este armado bien por dentro y por fuera. No digo que la academia no es importante. Sí es importante pero también es importante el conocimiento local y de nuestros abuelos.

### **¿Usted cree que todavía sigue existiendo la categorización de clases?**

Sí porque la gente sigue siendo excluyente. Por ejemplo cuando alguien siente que sabe más porque es estudiado excluye a los otro y los hace de menos. Como los ministros o autoridades que se sienten de una clase alta. También es una forma de racismo.

Por ejemplo también la palabra racismo es mala porque raza es solo usado por animales. A mi me duele usar la palabra raza. En eso hemos logrado decir que nos sonó razas si no pueblos o de pueblos originarios o de esta etnia. Porque nosotros también somos nuestros ancestros. Entonces en Ecuador no podemos decir que no hay clarísimo ni racismo porque sí hay todos los día.

**¿Ultima pregunta para aclara el punto del movimiento Pachakutik, a quien es dirigido el movimiento?**

En realidad el movimiento Pachakutik no es solo para los pueblos indígenas también pueden formar parte los grupos pequeños como campesinos y pequeños agricultores porque representamos esa parte que no es parte de las grandes industrias. El Pachakutik es como para crear un cambio social es para nosotros grupos de pueblos que no tienen las capacidades solas para hacer un cambio entonces unimos fuerzas. Entonces por eso el movimiento Pachakutik puede vincular a campesinos, obreros, artesanos porque representamos es la pequeña parte. Aunque aveces personas entran al movimiento por intereses personales, solo entran en el movimiento para entrar en la política y de ahí se cambian a otros partidos, entonces eso es usar al movimiento Pachakutik por beneficio propio y no porque en realidad quiere ayudar al pueblo y tiene los intereses colectivos en mente. La prioridad también se da a nuestras comunidades porque también queremos que participen nuestros jóvenes. Entonces sí eso es.