

LUIS ALBERTO CASTRO TUAZA
THE CONTRAST OF INDIAN POLICY

Abstract - The indigenous people of the Andean countries have been linked for more than three hundred years to the hacienda regime, distinguished by ethnic dominance. Since the second half of the twentieth century the dissolution of this system took place followed by the unified indigenous participation in the political scene. However, in recent years there is a dispersion of indigenous political movements. The essay analyzes the indigenous political crisis, from approaching the historical process of indigenous communities located in that time at Totorillas and Llinllín haciendas at the Chimborazo Province, Ecuador. It is claimed that after the dissolution of the estate emerged new forms of indigenous leadership, however, points to the complex survival of ancient forms of governance which prevents the unity of communities and the establishment of a long-term single political project.

Keywords: estate, community, organization and policy.

Introduction - Interest in understanding the dynamics of indigenous politics in Latin America, gained prominence from the nineties of the last century (Yashar, 2005). Most studies emphasized the processes of emergence of ethnic participation in political scenarios, reserved in the past for white mestizo population (Sánchez, 2004; Davalos, 2005; Mayorga, 2007; Van Cott, 2007) they analyzed the commitment to participative democracy introduced by indigenous authorities elected to work at public positions, in contrast to an exclusionary political system (Bebbington and Perreult, 2001; Korovkin, 2002; Ospina et al 2006). In the case of Ecuador it was considered that it was "the only place where all virtual identities or indigenous ethnicities have managed to form a common organization, subject to maintaining own particularities" (Quijano, 2006: 1). It was further noted that the indigenous movement "has incorporated new themes, has possessed the need for democracy to recognize the difference and need, from identity, to

build social participation" (Davalos, 2005: 20), beyond doubt, "transform from a exclusionary, authoritarian, violent state, in a pluralistic, tolerant, participatory State and democratic in its procedures and institutions "(Davalos, 2005: 29). This process was seen as "a sign of the advent of a Latin American postcolonial time "(Gutiérrez, 2006). However, from the second half of the first decade of XXI century scuffs crossing the indigenous organization are indicated; (Sánchez-Parga 2012, 2007) caused by the rupture of the alliance between the indigenous movement with then president Lucio Gutiérrez (2005)¹, imposition of foreign development agendas in the indigenous world by non-governmental development organizations (Breton , 2012; Tuaza , 2011a), the separation of the leadership of the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) Community foundations (Tuaza , 2011b) and the assimilation of the *modus operandi* of traditional politics by indigenous political movements. But it has not been emphasized in the decline of the organization and dispersal of indigenous political movements, related to the permanence of the system of hacienda. In this perspective I take as a point of reference to Michel Foucault who asserts "that we must refer to more remote processes if we want to understand how we have been trapped in our own history" (Foucault, 1988: 4).

This essay aims to analyze the current political situation of the indigenous people of Ecuador, from an ethnographic and historical approach to indigenous communities positioned in what a day were called Totorillas and Llinllín haciendas at Chimborazo Province. It is shown that despite the social and political transformations experienced by the indigenous population, the emergence of new forms of leadership, survive old forms of governance that preclude unity of communities and the establishment of a long-term single indigenous political project.

Current Indigenous Politics

The indigenous movement, in contrast to the nineties of the last century appears as the only political and organizational strength around the CONAIE and Pachakutik Plurinational Unity Movement – Pachakutik, nowadays, goes through crisis by

¹In the presidential elections of 2003, Gutierrez established the alliance with the Indigenous Movement and the Pachakutik Party, strategy that ensured the arrival to the government.

weakening the organizations and dispersion in political participation. In 1996 Pachakutik was the only indigenous political movement. Two years later, evangelicals indigenous, subsidiaries to the National Federation of Evangelical Indigenous Movement created Amauta Jatari, later known as Amauta Yuyay. For the 2009 elections, some members of this political group joined Alianza País movement, led by the current president of Ecuador, Rafael Correa. The other group joined Sociedad Patriótica, a political organization of Lucio Gutiérrez a former President. In recent years, two fractions Amauta Yuyay joined Suma Movement and Avanza. Pachakutik, has also experienced disruption and fractionation: on one side are the militants supporting the CONAIE who establish alliances with parties that belong to the leftist - Movimiento Popular Democrático, Socialista, and on the other hand, there are members who have been separated from the CONAIE and made an agreement with Alianza País. If in the past, indigenous authorities elected from Pachakutik and Amauta Yuyay Movement ranks, especially in municipal areas, bet for making a difference with traditional politicians to establish the practice of participatory democracy and collaborative budgeting, which sought to include most of the population in the deliberations of government and in the design of the budget to be spent on public policies, it has been neglected these two procedures. In the case of Guamote, Indigenous People's Parliament and popular is no longer a space for discussion of community representatives and advisory services to the mayor. Public policies that run municipal governments headed by Indigenous are conceived in terms of Christian charity and according to those who support the mayor. It is not uncommon to find in Guamote and Colta communities stating that, "the mayor helped with the construction of the training center, helped with the bridge and the road." Analyzing the discourse of the authorities can be found with these phrases, "we are helping you, then you also have to help us in voting" (Curicama , 2012).

The hacienda system

The dispersion of indigenous political movements confronting each other and the concept of political management in terms of charity comes from the world of finance. Until the second half of the past century, each farm² was a space of self-government, which was dominated by absolute power of the landlord. This:

Administered justice, applied sanctions, resolved family disputes, settled disputes with neighbors, controlled private morality, preserving religious observance, determined working hours , defined standards of conduct, fixed procedures, sold basic goods, paid home health care, granted credits and offsets and represented his subordinates before political and religious authorities (Hurtado, 2007: 109).

In this sense, according to Kaltmeier the hacienda was a "system of power (...) high degree of autonomy with respect to the laws and institutions of the State, subject to the sovereign will of the landowner and managed by tenants who often exercised despotic authority " (2007: 73). In the context of the hacienda, it did not fit "the idea of the modern state that controls its territory and population through a bureaucracy and monopoly of legitimate power "(...) "Instead for governing, the Ecuadorian State must held negotiations with local authorities such as leaders, bosses or montoneras " (2007: 74). But the farm was also considered as a survival space and the landowner was seen as "coated character with parental attributes" (Breton, 2012: 47), able to sympathize with the miserable conditions of their subordinates. In times of illness, debt, on indigenous parties came to request the help of the master who granted the loan or financial aid or gave the called help with grains. In recognition to the aid received they had to save the master gratitude for lifelong and in many cases were unplayable debts. However, subject to the power of the landowning indigenous population was impossible to imagine a society without estates for life in finance, as Lyons (2006) was seen as "part of the natural order of things."

Among the large landholdings of the Chimborazo Province there were Llinllín and Totorillas haciendas. Llinllín was located in the Western mountains of the Columbe Parish of Colta Canton, at an altitude ranging from 3000 to 4200 over sea level. Limited to the South by the Columbe Grande Farm, on the North by Sasapug property, to the East anejo San Guisel and Mancheno farm, and to the West Pangor River.

According to the study provided by Tohaza (1984), Llinllín included " an area of 4500.2 hectares of which only 5,89 percent is (was) considered agricultural land, 13.18 percent, livestock land " (Tohaza, 1984 : 20) . The geographical conditions of this estate were irregular: two small valleys that follow the course of Sasapug Llinllín and

² For a detailed understanding of the hacienda world as production units see the contributions of Breton (2012).

rivers, hills and slopes and tiana bahuel kinri³ lime tiana⁴, Llullucha⁵ moors of Ray hill, and Pollongo Sasapug. In the small valley between the canals of Sasapug and Llinllín rivers were located the farmhouse, stowage and dairy. The valleys were covered with grass, where dairy cattle and horses were raised. On the slopes potatoes and barley were grown. In the moor raised Spanish fighting cattle. In 1977 Llinllín Agricultural Company Limited was formed and began to implement property improvements with the introduction of tractors, mechanized milking livestock and Brown Swiss cattle. It was owned by brothers Juan Bernardo and Cornelio Dávalos Donoso. During the first half of the twentieth century was part of the hacienda Columbe Grande⁶, owned by General Bernardo Dávalos, character known in Ecuador and in Chimborazo Province for their involvement in political and military actions, he served as Minister of Hacienda in the Geronimo Carrión Presidency (1867) and was a senator; politically he remained at conservative positions close to President Gabriel García Moreno (Ortiz, 2008: 103-105) Juan Bernardo and Cornelius Dávalos are remembered by the community of San Bernardo and Llinllín as "good lords". The suffering and abuse that would put up with the Indigenous are attributed to administrators and stewards. Although oral testimonies, especially elderly women who lived on the farm, show that Juan Bernardo abused them. The apparent benevolence of the old masters made explicit in close proximity to his subjects spoke the Quechua language, gave aid and supplemented in 1955 sold the adjacent slopes to Sasapug river to 86 indigenous from San Guisel and anejos of the Yaruquies⁷ Parish, near Riobamba city and five mestizo families from Alausi. In 1965, a year later the first Agrarian Reform Law was issuance (1964) an area of 256, 0750 hectares of plots to 129 workers on the slopes of the property was given.

³ The slope del baúl.

⁴ Site.

⁵ Beautiful valley.

⁶ In 1949 the distribution of the Columbe Grande Hacienda, according to the deed that rests in the file ex IERAC Chimborazo, current Secretary of Lands, Colta case (1949) was given.

⁷ Land Registry of Colta (1955). The tracts of land acquired by indigenous ranging from a solar to three blocks.

Although, the former employees said, the property given was stony land, located on the slopes and in the rocks. In the second half of the seventies authorized the creation of a school and in 1977 donated to the fledgling municipality Llinllín, a hectare of land, where the civic center was built.

The Totorillas hacienda, meanwhile, was located in the center of Guamate cantonal territory, at an altitude of 2700-4400 over sea level. In the early twentieth century, limited to the South with Atapo moors of Davalos family and Guasan valleys, Leon Gallegos lineage property, on the North by Chismaute, Gualipite, Ayacón anejos and Tiocajas moors; to the East Barley river, and on the West by Pull mountains, until the subtropics of the current Pallatanga Canton. Totorillas was composed of five adjoining farms in the same area: Pasñac, Pull, San Antonio, and Yacupampa Laime, covering approximately 24,000 hectares.

Totorillas geographic conditions were irregular, formed by the mountain range in the eastern part, Totorillas and Laime plains, and Pull hillsides and slopes area. The high, wet mountains of the eastern and western cordillera covered with straw were used for the grazing of sheep. Each farm had its house in the lower part, where the mestizos administrators and stewards lived. However, Totorillas house was the most important, because it served as the residence of the employer, the place of administration of all the estate and the proximity to the railroad. The farm had its own railway station, called Vélez, to transport agricultural production towards the coast. Potatoes, beans and barley were cultivated on the slopes of Pull, Yacupampa and Laime. Pasñac Mountains provided natural pasture for flock of sheep. The plains surrounding the farmhouse were used for the breeding of dairy cattle. In the mid- sixties, landowners introduced mechanized milking, the use of tractors, encouraged Brown Swiss and Hereford cattle breeding, established economic relationships with mestizos workers, but the Indigenous continued to work for free, in exchange of having grazing privileges and the plot of land, called huasipungo.

⁸ Ecuadorian Institute of Agrarian Reform and Colonization (1965), Proceedings records of transfer huasipungos in Llinllín, 550RA.

⁹ Colta's Land Registry (1941). Act 774 of October 21.

Totorillas and affixed haciendas constituted the large ownership of Nicolás Vélez Guerrero. In 1941, after the death of his wife Pastoriza Merino, divided the land among his children: Pull area was given to his son Nicholas Velez Merino, Pasñac , San Antonio and Yacupampa to his daughter Maria Raquel Velez Merino, wife of Paul Thur Koos of Austro-Hungarian origin, while Totorillas and Laime remained in his hands. Three years later, in 1943 he sold these two properties to his son-in law Thur de Koos¹⁰. From 1943 to 1980, Paul Thur de Koos was the owner of Totorillas and its annexes. During the forties and fifties he did not faced with the workers, but the next two decades were conflictive: Indigenous claimed the plots as a way to compensate for unpaid wages and unused vacation for many years. In 1965, forced by the Ecuadorian Institute of Agrarian Reform (IERAC), he had to give 165.07 hectares to Chausan¹¹ indigenous and 156.80 hectares to workers of Guantug and Gramapampa¹² areas.

The Thur de Koos relations with indigenous were characterized by permanent conflicts. A year after the parcels were released, he continued to require former workers to fertilize with their flocks the cropland¹³; he used to hunt hogs with a rifle. In 1969, when the indigenous had taken Chausan shed water adjoining their plots, he shot one of them; the bullet went through his jaw without causing death. In Yacupampa and Chismaute remembered him as a uncommon person, because he ate raw potatoes on crops, burned the piles of barley for a mere annoyance, but also as a person who was humiliated when, in 1975 signed the document authorizing the award of its goods to IERAC, pressured by the community of Chismaute .

Llinllín and Totorillas were the last two domains to be dissolved in the late seventies in Columbe and Guamote zones. If the neighboring of Columbe Grande, el Molino, Pull and Galte Farms since forties and fifties there were strong mobilization demanding payment of wages, access to grazing, to the slopes of water and firewood, parcels handing over, Totorillas and Llinllín there were no evidence of claims, neither the

¹⁰ Land Registry of Colt (1943), 193 minutes.

¹¹ IERAC (1965), 500RA record.

¹² Property Record Guamote (1977), Acta 68.

¹³ In 1966, Native Yacupampa, Chismaute and Santa Teresa wrote to the Head of the office intervened IERAC Lands, exposing abuses committed Thur de Koos, forcing them to pay the estate lands with their flocks (IERAC, 1966, file 590RA).

creation of the organizational platform to energize collective action, not ideas affect the ownership of the owners. In Llinllín, workers remained loyal to the employer, because it gave away clothes, food and money. In Totorillas no evidence of internal siege in the early sixties, but at that time there was no communication between the indigenous of the hacienda and anejos by the distance of village settlements and because Thur de Koos prevented contact among them, for fear of a possible lifting promoted by the Ecuadorian Indigenous Federation (EIF), which by then, had permitted the grant of plots of land in Galte and Molino Haciendas, intervened in the fight in Columbe Grande and had managed to be in contact secretly with the leaders of Chausan and Yacupampa. The news of the bond between leaders Ambrosio Lasso, an indigenous leader and EIF organization, were a motive for persecution and expulsion of the hacienda. Moreover, Thur de Koos in an effort to prevent the cohesion of different indigenous groups caused the confrontation between those given them uneven pastoral areas. The inspection done by inter-agency commission integrated by officials from the Ministry of Agriculture and IERAC (1975) determined that the total area of 4,780 hectares of natural pasture, 1000 acres were occupied by Chismaute and Gualipite communities with two hundred families, Guantug Commune occupied 1,100 hectares with twenty families, while Gramapampa with sixty families owned 600 hectares¹⁴.

The general operation of the two estates, work performance, population control, high agricultural production depended on the hierarchical status firmly established to wield power of command. At the top was the landlord, followed by administrators and foremen. The latter were responsible for implementing the immediate orders of the employer and committed abuses against workers. On the lower level of the chain of command were the jipus¹⁵.

The jipus were indigenous men with leadership qualities, respected by the community, chosen by their lords, they were directly responsible of managing the indigenous population, handed tasks, ensured compliance with working hours, family conflicts resolving, tried to maintain the order within the group and carry out the punishment, advocated in favor with the landowner and asked for an early payment, the delivery of aid and authorization to access the pastures that required people.

¹⁴ Property Record Guamote (1977), Acta 68, p. 201.

¹⁵ Jipa etymologically comes from the Quechua, meaning "below".

They went to communities near the property to draw back the hat, poncho or other belongings in order to force them free labor on the farm. Periodically, the butler informed about the development of each employee. In addition, they sought to watch the young men of spreading of communist revolutionary ideas from neighboring farms Pull, Molino and Columbe. Reported to the landowners who had intentions to rebel or had been visited by an indigenous leader of the EIF to force them to leave the property. In the exercise of authority as Jipu, he had a duty to maintain absolute fidelity to the landlord. So, defending the interests of the employer not interested in the fate of their fellow indigenous. In exchange for his loyalty and work, he received special treatment. In Llinllín they could have one or two cattle of his own grazing with the owner's cattle, he had two or three acres of fertile land, free access to water, firewood and harvesting. In Totorillas, received a horse, he had wages, had no restriction for having cows and sheep on the moor. In both plots, the jipus had special clothing that distinguished those from other employees: they wore red and white striped ponchos, trilby hat and shoes, rode horses and wore on their backs chonta barnacles lined with silver. The position as Jipu was a lifelong responsibility that concluded with death, but in some cases it was inherited by the children or close relatives. Therefore loyalty and close relationship with the lord was guaranteed.

Declining power of finance

When in the decades of the forty to sixty of the last century, indigenous fought for land possession and regime liberation of hacienda (Becker, 2008), appeared the intention to break with traditional forms of domination of the landlord, the sheriff and priest (Casagrande and Piper, 1969) and to construct new forms to exercise of power headed by the council. Dissolved the hacienda, formed communes, elected council members, created the umbrella organizations (GSO) to which several communities joined. Consequently Llinllín community with its four sectors (Santa Fe, Pucara, Civic Center and Las Juntas) was part of the OSG Union of Farmers Columbe (UNASAC) later Union Communities and Indigenous Organizations of Columbe. Communes of Totorillas (Gualipite, Chismaute, Chismaute Telan, Yurac Rumi, Gramapampa, Guantug, Yacupampa and Theresa) joined Guamote's¹⁶ Jatun Ayllu, while others (Chausan Totorillas, Laime and Cochaloma) were part of the Union of Organizations

Guamote and Indigenous Communities (UOCIG). Later Gualipite, Chismaute, Yurac Rumi, Quantug, Gramapampa and Guasan formed Jatun Pampa Organization (Torres, 1999). Later these OSG formed the Confederation of the Indigenous Movement of Chimborazo, of ECUARUNARI _Organization of indigenous serranía_ and CONAIE . The authority of the landowner, Butlers and jipus was moved by the communal council. Community government members were elected for one year. With this indigenous sought to put limits on the extension of the same person in front of the council and allow the participation of all.

In 1996 created the Plurinational Unity Movement Pachakutik - New Country, political organization that included most of the indigenous population and for the first time in the history of Ecuador, nodded the participation of indigenous peoples in the political scene and be elected to positions public representation. In Guamote for the first time in 55 years of cantonal existence, they elected Mariano Curicama, an indigenous leader as president of the cantonal council. This process allowed "scenario creation of a new local power, with features of direct representation and discourse itself has profound implications for the Ecuadorian indigenous movement "(Torres, 1999: 87). Allowed natives to be actors in history, actors in " municipal innovation in the country " (Torres , 1999: 88). Indigenous authorities proposed as a mechanism of decision making and conflict resolutions participation and inclusion of all stakeholders, thus declining relative power pyramid and creating horizontal proportion in the political management (Bebbington and Perreult , 2001). The need to create alternative spaces democratization led to public build local consensus as the Indian Parliament and the Local Development Committee (Bebbington, 2005).

The Indigenous Parliament was made up of all the presidents of council communities, OSG, neighborhoods and associations that met annually to expose the needs of their constituents, prioritizing works required and establish lines of action to be followed by the mayor and councilors. The Local Development Committee was established as a technical agency that advises and monitors the execution of the sectional government

¹⁶ This organization is known these days with the name of Federation of Indigenous Peasant Organizations Khatun Ayllu Guamote Cabildo (FOIJAG)

recommended by the Indian Parliament shares. These two instances of consultation and decision-making in 1999 articulated a comprehensive plan of development (Torres, 1999). However, to rely on the resources of the municipality, the confrontations between the speaker of parliament and the mayor later say of Bebbington (2005), "ended up being spaces of confrontation and generation of patronage practices that eventually no resolved poverty suffered by the county. "

Conclusions

The Indigenous, once dissolved the hacienda system gave way to horizontal relations to give authority to the community, creating organizations, selecting annually to councils, constituting own political movement, establishing spaces for public consultation in the exercise of governmental power in municipalities, however, eventually reappeared hacendatario old forms of power.

The authority of the community was displaced by the figure of the leader associated with the old Jipu. Furthermore, analyzing the historical trajectory of the current leaders can establish that many of them are descendants of the ancient jipus. At the time of the disintegration of hacendatario power, jipus were excluded from community leadership, but in some cases, found new positions of power. They found in religion, for example, a new strategy to influence the community. This is the case of the commune San Bernardo, where the children of Pablo Añilema, leader of the place and the last Jipu of Llinllín hacienda, his sons Augustin, Juan and Aurelio became the pastors of the Evangelical Church of the place. Later also in Chausan, Totorillas the pastor will be the son of former Jipu. With the advent of development projects, the children and grandchildren of these became organic stakeholders between cooperation agencies and communities. Also, they will be the first trained technicians to promote development programs. As time passed by and the arrival era of political participation, the children and grandchildren of jipus, were part of Pachakutik, Amautay Yuyay, they were candidates for public representative positions, they were elected mayors and councilors. In Totorillas and Llinllín communities the council is elected annually, but the real power is in the hands of leaders associated with the old Jipu power. These control community life, maintain contact with GSO and establish partnerships with government officials, decision makers and the other council members, provide support for political regimes in power, entering negotiations with the political parties, groups religious ... by

the influence and control of these under that act of friendship and gratitude to an organization or person, more of the community building experiences oriented, credit unions, development projects, innovative experiences pastoral work, group training agricultural technicians are frustrated. Knowing the capacity of influence that still keeps the Jipu lineage, cooperation agencies, candidates for public office, church pastors, leaders of the OSG, technicians municipal governments, officials of agencies government, healers and other stakeholders involved in the community in contact with them without establishing links with the legally elected directors. Moreover, some of the descendants of the jipus become part of the council are elected by the community, but once completed rendering time, influence the community to be reelected for another term. According to the minutes of the election of councils of the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, Aquaculture and Fisheries from 1975 to 2005, and in Chausan Cochalomá were elected as members of the same family in different positions in the council. There are leaders who have been part of the council for more than ten or fifteen years: one year as president, another trustee, treasurer and secretary in the following years.

In Llinllín and Totorillas communities belonging to an OSG remains relevant. However, the establishment of the OSG is related to the memory of the old hacienda and pattern. "Our organization is formed with the children and grandchildren of former workers of the hacienda and the other companions of the communities around us who were owner Pablo, has nothing to do with Pull it were another hacienda, they have their own organization," said Chausan dwellers. Also Llinllín dwellers believe they are "own people of the Davalos Donoso, the San Guisel and Columbe are other lords, they have their own organization. We each have our organization. "Thus, the OSG designed and built on the memory of the hacienda and the sense of belonging to the employer, does not transcend to other organizations.

There is no denying the existence of the OSG, organizational capacity that exist in communities, the indigenous presence in municipal government, creating space public consultation as the Indian Parliament and the Local Development Committee, but there have been few democratization efforts, because it has not fully succeeded in breaking the inheritance scheme of finance and political control of the communities that still somehow in the hands of jipus and their descendants. In exercising no leadership gives way to the new generation of leaders boxes. In addition, the generational conflict

between leaders from the old regime with new, many of them with vocational training is observed. The first think that these young people are unable to understand the community members and the other, the latter argue that the previous leadership has no effective response to the new challenges that communities face right now. To this we must add that many of the descendants of the ancient jipus live in communes, are in Riobamba or cantonal Guamote center , but make decisions and make commitments on behalf of the communities. Indigenous political movements are influenced by the hacienda. Shades of short term hacienda precludes generating a serious process of social transformation and democratization in the management of power. The challenge facing the communities, indigenous political movements is to go for the dissolution of the system of ranch, which in my opinion begins by strengthening community organization, this interconnection with others, beyond the territorial limits of the historical memory of the hacienda. On the other hand , it is necessary consolidation and continuity of new forms of leadership that communities experienced , once the power of the master was dismantled , the butlers and jipus .

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File of Riobamba’s Ministry of Lands.

Colta’s Property Registry.

Property Record Guamote.

Luis Alberto Castro Tuaza *

Faculty of Education Sciences , National University of Chimborazo, Riobamba,
060150. Ecuador.

lalberto6@hotmail.com