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978-0-521-19559-1 - The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America  
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## The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America

*The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America* explores why indigenous movements have recently won elections for the first time in the history of the region. Raúl L. Madrid argues that indigenous parties have won by using a combination of inclusive ethnic and populist appeals to reach out to whites and mestizos as well as indigenous people. Indigenous parties have managed to win support across ethnic lines because the long history of racial mixing in Latin America blurred ethnic boundaries and reduced ethnic polarization. The ethnopopulist appeals of the indigenous parties have especially resonated in the Andean countries because of widespread disenchantment with the region's traditional parties and growing ethnic consciousness and mobilization. This book contains up-to-date qualitative and quantitative analyses of parties and elections in seven countries, including detailed case studies of Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru.

Raúl L. Madrid is an associate professor in the Department of Government at the University of Texas at Austin. He is the author of *Retiring the State: The Politics of Pension Privatization in Latin America and Beyond* (2003) and is a co-editor of *Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings* (Cambridge, 2010). His articles have appeared in *Comparative Politics*, *Electoral Studies*, the *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Latin American Research Review*, *Political Science Quarterly*, and *World Politics*.

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RAÚL L. MADRID

*The University of Texas at Austin*



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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,  
Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press  
32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA  
[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)  
Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521153256](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521153256)

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First published 2012

Printed in the United States of America

*A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data*  
Madrid, Raúl L.

The rise of ethnic politics in Latin America / Raúl L. Madrid,  
University of Texas, Austin.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-19559-1 (hardback) – ISBN 978-0-521-15325-6 (paperback)

1. Indians of Central America – Politics and government. 2. Indians of South America – Politics and government. 3. Political parties – Central America. 4. Political parties – South America. 5. Central America – Ethnic relations – Political aspects. 6. South America – Ethnic relations – Political aspects I. Title.

FI434.2.P76M34 2012

305.80098–dc23 2012000053

ISBN 978-0-521-19559-1 Hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-15325-6 Paperback

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*For my parents*

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## Acknowledgments

I have acquired numerous debts in the time that it took to complete this book, and many of them are owed to my home institution. The University of Texas at Austin awarded me a faculty research assignment that provided me with a semester off during the early stages of this project. The Teresa Lozano Long Institute for Latin American Studies at UT Austin provided me with various Mellon Faculty Fellowships that enabled me to carry out the field research for this book. A University of Texas at Austin Subvention Grant awarded by President William C. Powers, Jr., paid for the compilation of the index and the rights to the cover photo.

This study has benefited from the careful research assistance of various students at the University of Texas, especially Jin Seok Bae, Fred Cady, Danilo Contreras, Leonardo Correa, Eduardo Dargent, Scott Garrison, and Matt Johnson. The Department of Government and the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Texas at Austin provided the funding that made it possible to hire them.

I am fortunate to have a terrific group of faculty colleagues here at the University of Texas at Austin. Dan Brinks, Henry Dietz, Zach Elkins, Ken Greene, Juliet Hooker, Wendy Hunter, and Rob Moser provided insightful comments on one or more chapters. Kurt Weyland has gone way beyond the call of duty by reading and critiquing virtually the entire manuscript. A number of other people both inside and outside of the University of Texas also commented on one or more chapters, including Robert Barr, Luis Camacho, Carlos de la Torre, Eduardo Dargent, Christina Ewig, Austin Hart, Mala Htun, Fabrice Lehoucq, Steve Levitsky, Robin Madrid, Paula Muñoz, and Maritza Paredes. Of course, none of these people are responsible for the contents of this book.

I presented parts of this book at conferences or symposiums of the American Political Science Association, the Latin American Studies Association, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Cornell University, Harvard University, Texas A&M University, Trinity University, the University of North Texas, the University of Notre Dame, and the Woodrow Wilson Center. I have received

many helpful comments during these presentations. In particular, I thank Matthew Cleary, Merilee Grindle, María Inclán, Scott Mainwaring, Arturo Valenzuela, and the late Donna Van Cott, all of whom provided thoughtful criticisms and suggestions in their capacity as discussants.

Dozens of politicians, indigenous movement leaders, and academics in Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, and Guatemala agreed to be interviewed for this study, and their insights considerably enriched my understanding of their countries. I am particularly grateful to Salvador Romero Ballivián, Diego Tello, Eduardo Dargent, Aldo Panfichi, and Dinorah Azpuru for providing me with data, helping set up interviews, and facilitating my field research in numerous ways.

I am also very grateful to Eric Crahan, my editor at Cambridge University Press, for shepherding this book through the review process so efficiently. This book benefited a great deal from Cambridge's review process and particularly from the detailed and helpful comments provided by Jóhanna Birnir and an anonymous reader.

Chapters 1 and 2 draw on material from my article "The Rise of Ethnopolitism in Latin America," which was published in *World Politics* Vol. 60, No. 3, April 2008: 475–508. Chapter 4 includes material from another of my articles, titled "Ethnic Proximity and Ethnic Voting in Peru," which appeared in the *Journal of Latin American Studies* Vol. 43, No. 2, May 2011: 267–97. Chapter 6 draws on selected material from my article "Indigenous Parties and Democracy in Latin America," which was published in *Latin American Politics and Society* Vol. 47, No. 4, Winter 2005: 161–79. I am grateful to the publishers of those journals, the Johns Hopkins University Press, Cambridge University Press, and Wiley-Blackwell, for granting me permission to use those materials.

My greatest debts are to family. Various members of my family, including Carlos Madrid, Marisa Madrid, Concha Madrid, Mia Madrid, and Antonia Castañeda, provided support, encouragement, and diversions that made writing this book easier. I am also grateful to my sister, Marisa Madrid of Aquacarta, for producing the map of Bolivia included in Chapter 2.

My wife, Paloma Díaz, and children, Nico and Bela Madrid, have been with me from the beginning to the end of this book. They accompanied me on field research trips to Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, and Peru, and they tolerated the inevitable mood swings and weekend absences that come with writing a book. Most of all, they brought loads of joy and laughter (and no small amount of chaos) into my life, and for that I am very grateful.

My parents, Arturo Madrid and Robin Madrid, supported my strange interests from the beginning and were a never-ending source of intellectual stimulation. They encouraged me to travel the world, to obtain my Ph.D., and to enter academia. Most important, both in their own ways have served as role models for me. Their diverse interests and political commitments as well as their generosity and humor have inspired me as a scholar and as a human being. It is with great love and appreciation that I dedicate this book to them.

## Abbreviations

ADN	Acción Democrática Nacionalista (Nationalist Democratic Action)
AICO	Movimiento de Autoridades Indígenas de Colombia (Movement of Indigenous Authorities of Colombia)
AIDSESP	Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana (Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest)
AP	Acción Popular (Popular Action)
APHU	Alianza para la Alternativa de la Humanidad (Alliance for an Alternative for Humanity)
APRA	Partido Aprista Peruano (Peruvian Aprista Party)
ASI	Alianza Social Indígena (Indigenous Social Alliance)
ASP	Asamblea de la Soberanía de los Pueblos (Assembly for the Sovereignty of the Peoples)
CAOI	Coordinadora Andina de Organizaciones Indígenas (Andean Coordinator of Indigenous Organizations)
CCP	Confederación Campesina del Perú (Peasant Confederation of Peru)
CEPAL	Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean)
CFP	Concentración de Fuerzas Populares (Concentration of Popular Forces)
CIDOB	Confederación Indígena del Oriente Boliviano (Indigenous Confederation of Eastern Bolivia)
CMS	Coordinadora de Movimientos Sociales (Coordinator of Social Movements)
CNA	Confederación Nacional Agraria (National Agrarian Confederation)
CNE	Corte Nacional Electoral (National Electoral Court)
CNOC	Coordinadora Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas (National Coordinator of Peasant Organizations)

CONACAMI	Confederación Nacional de Comunidades del Perú Afectados por la Minería (National Confederation of Peruvian Communities Affected by Mining)
CONAIE	Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador)
CONALCAM	Coordinadora Nacional para el Cambio (National Coordinator for Change)
CONAP	Confederación de Nacionalidades Amazónicas del Perú (Confederation of Amazonian Nationalities of Peru)
CONAPA	Comisión Nacional de Pueblos Andinos, Amazónicos y Afroperuanos (National Commission of Andean, Amazonian, and Afro-Peruvian Peoples)
CONDEPA	Conciencia de Patria (Conscience of the Fatherland)
CONFENAIE	Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Amazonía Ecuatoriana (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon)
CONIVE	Consejo Nacional Indio de Venezuela (National Indian Council of Venezuela)
COPPIP	Conferencia Permanente de Pueblos Indígenas del Perú (Permanent Conference of Indigenous Peoples of Peru)
CSUTCB	Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (Unique Confederation of Peasant Workers of Bolivia)
DP	Democracia Popular (Popular Democracy)
ECUARUNARI	Ecuador Runacunapac Riccharimui (Awakening of Ecuadorian People)
EG	Encuentro por Guatemala (Gathering for Guatemala)
EGTK	Ejército Guerrillero Tupak Katari (Tupak Katari Guerrilla Army)
EJE	Eje Pachakuti (Axis of Pachakuti)
FEINE	Federación Ecuatoriana de Iglesias Evangélicas (Ecuadorian Federation of Evangelical Churches)
FENOC	Federación Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas (National Federation of Peasant Organizations)
FENOCIN	Federación Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas, Indígenas y Negras (National Federation of Peasant, Indigenous, and Black Organizations)
FIN	Frente Integración Nacional (National Integration Front)
FRENATRACA	Frente Nacional de Trabajadores y Campesinos (National Front of Workers and Peasants)
FULKA	Frente Único de Liberación Katarista (Unique Front of Katarista Liberation)
ID	Izquierda Democrática (Democratic Left)
IMF	International Monetary Fund

*Abbreviations*

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INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadística (National Institute of Statistics)
IPSP	Instrumento Político para la Soberanía de los Pueblos (Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples)
IU	Izquierda Unida (United Left)
LAPOP	Latin American Public Opinion Project
MAS	Movimiento al Socialismo (Movement Toward Socialism)
MBL	Movimiento Bolivia Libre (Movement Free Bolivia)
MCNP	Movimiento Ciudadano Nuevo País (Citizen's Movement for a New Country)
MIAJ	Movimiento Independiente Amauta Jatari (Amauta Jatari Independent Movement)
MIAP	Movimiento Indígena Amazónico del Perú (Amazonian Indigenous Movement of Peru)
MINCAP	Movimiento Independiente de Campesinos y Profesionales (Independent Movement of Peasants and Professionals)
MIP	Movimiento Indígena Pachakuti (Pachakuti Indigenous Movement)
MIR	Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Movement of the Revolutionary Left)
MITKA	Movimiento Indio Tupak Katari (Tupak Katari Indigenous Movement)
MKN	Movimiento Katarista Nacional (National Katarista Movement)
MNR	Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Nationalist Movement)
MRTK	Movimiento Revolucionario Tupak Katari (Tupak Katari Revolutionary Movement)
MRTKL	Movimiento Revolucionario Tupak Katari de Liberación (Tupak Katari Revolutionary Movement of Liberation)
MSM	Movimiento Sin Miedo (Movement Without Fear)
MUPI	Movimiento Unido de Pueblos Indígenas (United Movement of Indigenous Peoples)
MUPP-NP	Movimiento Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik – Nuevo País (Pachakutik Plurinational Unity Movement – New Country)
NFR	Nueva Fuerza Republicana (New Republican Force)
ONIC	Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia (National Indigenous Organization of Colombia)
ONPE	Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales (National Office of Electoral Processes)
PDC	Partido Demócrata Cristiano (Christian Democratic Party)
PLC	Partido Liberal Constitucionalista (Liberal Constitutionalist Party)
PNP	Partido Nacionalista Peruano (Peruvian Nationalist Party)

PODEMOS	Poder Democrático y Social (Social and Democratic Power)
PPB-CN	Plan Progreso para Bolivia – Concertación Nacional (Plan Progress for Bolivia – National Concertation)
PPC	Partido Popular Cristiano (Popular Christian Party)
PRE	Partido Roldosista Ecuatoriano (Ecuadorian Roldosist Party)
PRIAN	Partido Renovador Institucional Acción Nacional (Institutional Renewal Party of National Action)
PSC	Partido Social Cristiano (Social Christian Party)
PSP	Partido Sociedad Patriótica, 21 de Enero (Patriotic Society Party, 21st of January)
PS-FA	Partido Socialista – Frente Amplio (Socialist Party – Broad Front)
PUAMA	Pueblos Unidos Multiétnicos de Amazonas (United Multiethnic Peoples of Amazonas)
RAAN	Región Autónoma del Atlántico Norte (North Atlantic Autonomous Region)
RAAS	Región Autónoma del Atlántico Sur (South Atlantic Autonomous Region)
TSE	Tribunal Supremo Electoral (Supreme Electoral Tribunal)
UCS	Unidad Cívica Solidaridad (Civic Solidarity Union)
UDP	Unión Democrática y Popular (Democratic and Popular Union)
UN	Unidad Nacional (National Unity)
UNO	Unidad Nicaragüense Opositora (United Nicaraguan Opposition)
UPP	Unión por el Perú (Union for Peru)
URNG	Unidad Revolucionario Nacional Guatemalteca (Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity)
YATAMA	Yapti Tasba Masraka Nanih Asla Takanka (Organization of the Children of the Mother Earth)