

Widening the Appeal: The Pachakutik Political Movement

by

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Abstract

Since its inception, the Pachakutik Plurinational Unity Movement or the Pachakutik has been the primary indigenous political party in Ecuador. Many researchers have contended that indigenous political groups can be understood through the lens of populism, but there still exists gaps in the literature on how that can be applied. I have chosen Ecuador because it is one of the few countries that recognized the sovereignty and political manifestation of indigeous political groups -chiefly the Pachakutik. My research and interest in this study is how the Pachakutik party appeals to voters and the limits of their political agenda. I used a most-similar case study design methodology that uses cases focusing on specific elections over time. I hypothesized that indigenous political parties will broaden their appeal to non-indigenous voters when they achieve more electoral success. My results were that my general hypothesis was inconclusive, yet a somewhat surprising result was obtained. The Pachakutik political party appealed more to indigenous voters when they received less electoral success. This result confirms existing theories about party fragmentation and responses to addressing party friction.

Introduction

In the mid-1990s a rise in ethnic consciousness and multiculturalism transitioned into movements that fought for indigenous sovereignty and other native rights. These movements eventually developed into electorally viable political parties that mobilized various indigenous groups and identities to seek forms of democratic representation. Many of these movements are characterized by elements that researchers have identified in populist party movements. For example, one populist party characteristic is that the parties are organized around a candidate whose personality is so bold and unique that they earn the trust of voters to take on the political

establishment and elite. This was exemplified when the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador or CONAIE created the political wing of their movement - the Pachakutik political party. This party was founded for the purpose of selecting candidates and encouraging voters to fight for issues such as land rights, water rights, and basic principles of sovereignty within the small Latin American nation of Ecuador. Only a few nations in Latin America have a strong indigenous population like Ecuador. The nation is especially significant given its culturally and ethnically diverse indigenous communities. Ever since the Democratic revolution in Ecuador in the 1980s these indigenous communities have felt excluded from the mainstream political parties. The Pachakutik movement sought to provide political representation to these voters as well as maintain a strong party organization through different challenges. How parties like Pachakutik respond to such challenges can help shed light on not only the core values of the party and its leadership, but also illustrate how groups respond to conflict in the political arena. The appeals to voters that parties implement to reach different groups that represent various interests is also of interest to me in pursuance of this research.

Literature Review

In order to properly examine the political behavior of indigenous political parties, it is necessary to examine the existing literature of their manifestations in the political realm. Many of the most prominent native political parties in Latin America identify (perhaps unknowingly) with populist party organization and behavior (Madrid 2008). Research on the electoral success of populist parties has demonstrated that they perform the best when they are highly organized with a credible agenda that is not seen as too radical or extreme (Norris & Lovenduski 1993). While populist parties tend to appeal to 'ordinary people' and subsequently exclude and attack

individuals in power, they often struggle when they find themselves in positions of power. The ways in which they can combat this struggle is to implement policy actions that address issues that have been previously excluded or deliberately ignored from mainstream parties. Typically these parties form when established parties shift to more ideological extremes and leave a “vacuum” behind in the political arena. In other words, these upcoming parties must be willing to “supply” something that has oftentimes been disregarded by the supposed political establishment. Failure to do so typically results in electoral losses or complete party collapse as seen in the Netherlands, Poland, and the United Kingdom. Studies have also shown that supply-side explanations for party success have been conclusive to understanding populist party success which include time, money, and experience. Populist party organizational structure is especially unique because they typically rely on leaders who are central to the party’s existence. In Van Kessel’s article, *A Matter of Supply and Demand: The Electoral Performance of Populist Parties in Three European Countries* he demonstrated how demand-side factors are also critically important (Van Kessel 2013). Populist parties have typically achieved success in Europe and abroad due to the following conditions: (1) rise of anti-establishment or anti-immigration sentiment (2) neglect of ‘ordinary people’ and the issues facing their livelihoods and (3) the ideological convergence of mainstream established parties. Additionally, new technologies and the rise of the internet have allowed for Populist parties to reach new and younger voting audiences that allow their ideologies to spread more quickly (Norris 2003). This research has shown that the world wide web has not allowed mainstream parties to reach disaffected voters, but rather strengthen already existing media pluralism. While this is significant, I want to note that the methods that I employed in studying populist party behavior does not align with the emergence of the media and internet as a vital campaigning tool.

Previous research suggests that indigenous political parties have formed due to various circumstances that range from ethnic cleavages to the rise of multicultural constitutionalism (Rice & Van Cott 2006). One of the primary issues of indigenous political parties in power is critiques when they adopt new policies that are undemocratic. This should come as no surprise given that the traditional cultural values of their groups don't always include forms of democratic representation. This has drawn criticism from political opponents, scholars, and the larger global community - especially over their exclusion of women in the political process in countries like Mexico (Danielson et al. 2013). While some groups have excluded populations, others are working to include them. For instance, indigenous political groups have combined local customs with the democratic process to form more open municipal councils and meetings. Despite party factions and outside pressures from sources such as state institutions, political parties have achieved electoral successes but ultimately have been unable to govern effectively (Birnie & Van Cott 2007). While party unification across minority ethnic groups presents itself as a more obvious solution for electoral success, other factors remain.

While it is important to comprehend how these parties with populist elements form, it is also relevant to understanding how they adapt to different political climates. Indigenous political parties' adaptation to differing political climates is particularly interesting given that their party is not merely an instrument for voter communication, but rather a symbol in itself (Rohrschneider 2002). This is due to the clear nature of indigenous political parties in representing traditionally marginalized voters who do not see their identity represented in the mainstream political system. For these voters, they identify strongly with indigenous political movements because they share more relevant cultural elements such as language and even

artistic styles in campaign paraphernalia. Nonetheless, these parties still have to adapt every election cycle in order to receive enough votes to remain politically relevant.

Research suggests that established political parties with a large voting base are resistant to change and affected by “friction” (Walgrave & Nuytemans 2008). This same research found that electoral fragmentation, government participation, and electoral volatility are key factors in understanding the friction that occurs when parties resist or adapt to change. They deemed the resistibility to change a form of “stickiness” in which the party is hesitant to shift party platform. While their research was extensive in examining effects in 25 countries, there is still a gap in the literature regarding the “stickiness” of indigenous political party platforms. Many indigenous political parties emerged from ethnic movements in the 1990s which in turn has had a direct effect on Latin American politics and democratic outcomes (Van Cott 2000). Ecuador in particular, has experienced unique electoral success through its primary indigenous political party, the Pachakutik political movement.

Theory

The research by Walgrave and Nuytemans in examining 25 countries to understand their response to “friction” and party fragmentation was essential to understanding party behavior. However, it did not definitively study the behavior of smaller indigenous parties in reacting to the same external forces. That research also did not compare results among counties in Latin America. I believe that my research can provide a more extensive analysis of their findings since I am going to explore their ideas in a different geographical area with differing party systems. Overall, the development of these smaller populist parties and what is needed to maintain electoral success is different from that of larger parties. This is not to mention the fact that

indigenous political parties can have entirely different objectives and organizational structures compared to larger mainstream parties.

Furthermore, I wanted to specifically address the conditions under which indigenous groups would respond to party friction by shifting their platform to appeal to non-indigenous voters. While there are many factors that could lead them to overcoming “stickiness” to expand their policies, I believe that electoral success will be a contributing factor. Extending this logic, this leads me to predict my hypothesis that the Pachakutik political party’s appeal to non-indigenous voters will increase when they achieve greater electoral success. I predict this effect because I believe that as the party continues to grow, they will have to expand their platform to include more voters if they want to continue governing. Since parties like the Pachakutik movement began as relatively small, I believe that they have a greater likelihood of shifting their ideological stances since they are not as well known for their given ideology on the national political stage. Finally, I believe that their emergence on a larger political stage will force them to provide specific stances on policies that were previously not a part of their indigenous agenda. I believe that this expansion of the party platform will contribute to the resulting outcome that I hypothesize.

Research Design

I will be conducting a case study analysis using the most-similar case study methodology. The cases that I will include are presidential and legislative elections from 1996, 2002, and 2006. The benefits of this sort of case study are that I should be able to determine the conditions under which indigenous political parties broaden their appeal to non-indigenous political parties. In a most-similar case design I will look for cases that are similar in all respects except for my

variables of interest (Gerring 2008). Another benefit of most-similar analysis is that the results obtained can apply to other situations with similar circumstances in an efficient manner. While there are many benefits to this kind of study, there are also some negative consequences of selecting this case study methodology. One of the negative effects for using this kind of study is the “lack of variation on key causal factors of interest”. Researchers have also concluded that it is not possible to definitively eliminate rival hypotheses. Nevertheless, in my case study analysis I increased the number of cases as much as possible given the amount of time and available instances which is considered to be a method of combating the “many variables, small N” problem of comparative methods (Lijphart 1971). As stated previously, the cases that I will be using are the elections of 1996, 2002, and 2006.. In Ecuador the nation has seen widespread indigenous political movement, especially with the creation in 1995 of the Pachakutik Plurinational Unity Movement, which has achieved electoral success (Zamosc 2007). These cases and my methodology are appropriate because I am seeking to confirm existing theories of populist party’s electoral success. The advantages of this sort of case study design is that using election years as my cases allows me to control for the voting demographic, government structure, and electoral conditions, which have largely remained consistent from 1996 to 2006. I also only evaluated election years that included the presidential election because those elections generated a higher percentage of overall voters which led to more turnout. Through this research design I was able to better understand what a greater majority of the Ecuadorian electoral population sought from their political candidates and parties. Only including executive and legislative election years also allowed for the parties to manifest greater ideology and platform changes as they responded to the various demands of the voters. The conditions in each of the election cases are similar enough to recognize the manner in which the party responds to friction

and “stickiness”. That is, how they respond to increasing voter demands as they gain increasing electoral support.

My dependent variable is evidence that indigenous political parties are widening their appeal to non-indigenous voters. Previous literature suggests that this could be for multiple reasons including the following: (1) The “Black Widow” Effect which would occur when a mainstream party adopts some of the views of the minor party to split its coalition of supporters (2) The wedge issues that drove party support are becoming increasingly less important and urgent to the voting population (3) The party’s agenda is seen as too radical and extremist to garner popular support (Van Kessel 2013). Since my case selection does not allow me to eliminate alternative explanations, it is necessary that I eliminate possible alternatives. One alternative explanation could be that the relationship between populist parties and indigenous groups are not correlated enough in party identity to warrant this sort of research. For example, political scientists studying populist parties have remarked how populist parties tend to have a more “right-wing” outlook, whereas in South America these movements tend to have “left-leaning” attitudes towards policy preferences. I believe that this is irrelevant and will not interfere with my case study analysis because the researchers that concluded this pointed out that it seems to be a trend and not absolute. Furthermore, I believe that the conditions that I am testing would be testable and conclusive regardless of party identifications because political extremism can occur on both sides. Another issue with populism that may be evident but not so impactful that it interferes with my research is when parties that attain political power lose their populist elements. For example, if the Pachakutik party were to win two consecutive presidential elections then it would be rather illogical to maintain a party platform that fights against the political establishment (in this instance, themselves). While one of my cases does

involve a presidential bid following a presidential tenure by the same party, I do not believe that this had a large enough impact to negate my case study findings.

Another alternative explanation could be the behavior of the candidates seeking office. As I will mention later, some of the candidates that represent populist parties as well as the Pachakutik political party have been very outspoken leaders. These leaders tend to base the party around themselves and are oftentimes controversial. Scandal and corruption can definitely influence my results but I believe that it will not make such a difference as to deem my findings completely unusable for research purposes. Lastly, the Pachakutik political party is the political wing of an organization known as the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador or CONAIE (Paige et al. 2020). CONAIE has consistently supported the Pachakutik political movement across election cycles so I am also able to control their guaranteed support. While they may have funded some Pachakutik candidates differently, there is still necessary further research on the impact that CONAIE directly has on its political unit. Therefore, I will operate under the assumption that it is not an extremely influential alternative factor in my case study analysis.

Case #1: The 1996 Election

In the 1996 Ecuadorian presidential and legislative elections the Pachakutik Political Party and other populist political forces dominated the electoral scene. According to the International Organization of Parliaments data on the election, the Pachakutik political party gained seven seats and became one of the top four parties in the Ecuadorian legislature (IPU 2008). The Presidential candidate Freddy Ehlers, a former radio host, received 20% of the vote and placed third overall in the race. The Pachakutik political party, also known as the New

Country (NP) coalition, was a left-leaning party. This is especially relevant given that the presidential candidate for the Roldosista Party of Ecuador, a right-leaning party, adopted some of the populist elements of its rival. This is not only an example of the aforementioned “Black Widow Effect” but also an illustration of the popularity of the indigenous party platform. The new party’s rapid success was also a sign that voters were seeking representation for traditionally marginalized groups. Donna Lee Van Cott, a highly influential researcher in the field of indigenous politics, noted that these political victories are the result of the rise of multicultural constitutionalism which consists of five components. These components are: (a) rhetorical recognition of the multicultural nature of their societies and the existence of indigenous peoples as distinct substate social collectivities (b) recognition of customary law (c) recognition of collective property rights (d) recognition of indigenous languages (e) the provision of bilingual intercultural education (Van Cott 2000). The Pachakutik political party focused on key issues that appealed generally to indigenous voters. These issues include: agricultural development, water rights, land rights, and recognition of sovereignty rights. The 1996 Ecuadorian election was a classic example of a populist campaign because the presidential candidate Freddy Ehlers was very controversial and positioned himself as someone who was fighting the political establishment. His personality on the radio popularized his status to exert influence on the political issues facing Ecuador. As a Presidential candidate, Ehlers campaigned on the promise that the Ecuadorian government would recognize the sovereignty rights of the indigenous peoples of Ecuador. The party had sharp electoral success and its popular indigenous appeal allowed the candidates to maintain more broad policy preferences.

While the Pachakutik political party emerged as a strong political force in 1996, they did face challenges that typically affect new parties. The foremost challenge was fundraising

(Madrid 2014). Many of the indigenous communities in Ecuador are stricken with extreme poverty so funding for the Pachakutik movement had to rely on broad support from other areas. While they received enough funding to hire staffers and campaign advertisements, they did not have to compromise on their strictly indigenous populist support to receive the funds. On the contrary, the Pachakutik movement received overwhelming indigenous support because they were able to “develop strong links to indigenous leaders and organizations, employing indigenous symbols and languages, and embracing many of the demands of the indigenous movement, such as territorial autonomy and multicultural education” (Madrid 2014). They also attempted to appeal to non-indigenous voters by appealing to different organizations. However, the reason that indigenous political parties in other countries have less success is because they do not have as large of an indigenous population or political structure as in Ecuador and Bolivia. Raul Madrid, an expert in Ethnic Politics in Latin America, believes that ethnic consciousness is perhaps the main driver of indigenous political success. In neighboring countries, the indigenous population does not necessarily consider their indigenous heritage as being as much of a prominent part of their identity as in Ecuador and other areas. This ethnic awareness definitely had an effect on the electoral standings of the 1996 executive and legislative campaign races.

Another challenge to the Pachakutik political party platform and identity was its relationship with liberalism. As stated previously, the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador or CONAIE represented 14 different indigenous nationalities (Becker 2010). In the early years of the Pachakutik political party, neoliberal activists and academics sought to use the movement to advance their own interests. Ultimately, party leaders were unable to reconcile their policies and the indigenous ideas of collectivism with the neoliberal goals of globalization and emphasis on the individual. Much of the political philosophy for these indigenous political

groups in Ecuador and Bolivia were based heavily on communal lifestyles and collectivism. The relationship between leftist groups and indigenous political parties is still being researched by political scientists due to ongoing interest (Rice & Van Cott 2006). There is no doubt, however, that the decline of leftist parties in South America left a vacuum for these parties to emerge on the political playing field and leftist intellectuals have used indigenous groups to mobilize support for their own initiatives.

The 1996 election was the first representation of the Pachakutik in the political arena and their agenda was overall successful. This election cycle was particularly interesting because it provided the fundamental policy preferences of the party which greatly represented a platform that appealed solely to indigenous voters. In 1996 the party had just formed a politically viable coalition in partnership with CONAIE. They were still attempting to mobilize and unify the indigenous vote. I appropriately used the party platform and ideology from this election cycle as the basis for their beliefs going forward in pursuit of my research.

Case Study #2: The 2002 Election

In the 2002 election both of the top candidates for president ran populist campaigns. One of the candidates for the presidency was Mr. Alvaro Noboa, a businessman with no political experience who ran with the Institutional National Action Party (PRIAN). The other candidate was Lucio Gutierrez who ran with the socialist Party of Patriotic Society (IPU 2008). Mr. Gutierrez was also the candidate for the Pachakutik political movement. In a runoff vote Gutierrez won fifty-four percent of the vote whereas Noboa won forty-five percent. While Gutierrez did run with support from two parties, this was considered a victory for the Pachakutik political movement. In the National Congress, the Pachakutik party picked up three more seats

with a total of 10 seats earned. There may have been more legislative gains if Gutierrez was not also running on the Party of Patriotic Society platform but research on that issue has thus far been inconclusive. The issues raised in that campaign cycle were largely the same as the last one. They include: poverty, corruption, unemployment, and the lack of social services.

There is no evidence that the Pachakutik political party changed their political agenda in a substantial way leading up to the 2002 presidential and legislative election. In Scott Beck's and Kenneth Mijeski's *The Indigenous Vote in Ecuador's 2002 Presidential Election*, they state that, "the leaders of CONAIE and Pachakutik claimed that the country's indigenous voters had been principally responsible for electing Gutierrez to the presidency, a claim that appeared to be corroborated by the analysis and commentary of many journalists and electoral pundits" (Beck & Mijeski 2006). After extensive analysis of the 2002 election results, they concluded evidence to the contrary. They found that the ex-colonel candidate Gutierrez would have most likely been elected even without the broad-based indigenous support. Gutierrez still maintained support among non-indigenous voters due to the high turnout in the Sierra and Oriente regions. While this may have been due in large part to his association with the Patriotic party, it is prevalent that the media as well as party leadership believed indigenous support had carried the vote. This meant that the Pachakutik party may not have felt the need to expand their party platform to non-indigenous voters given their success in the presidential race.

In regards to the legislative races, immediate evidence of indigenous support was a different story. Pachakutik-sponsored candidates seeking legislative office only received on average between 25-40% of the indigenous vote across the country. Researchers generally believe that this poor electoral performance is due to the fact that the party focused more attention on the presidential race. Nonetheless, it is still evident that the 2002 election cycle had a

greater voting population and more women took seats in the National Congress. The poor electoral performance among congressional candidates furthered the idea for indigenous voters that party leadership was becoming increasingly alienated from the base. Indigenous voters also believed that Pachakutik party officials had different goals and priorities than the “everyday” native voter the party claimed to represent.

Even if the Pachakutik political party’s success in the presidential election allowed party leadership to downplay their poor congressional performance, it could not last for long. Seven months after the partnership between Gutierrez and the Pachakutik party, their relationship severed. Leaders of the party and CONAIE began to criticize Gutierrez for not acting on campaign promises and his implementation of more conservative policies. Eventually Gutierrez actively distanced himself from the party and hundreds of indigenous activists lost their jobs and left high-ranking posts within his administration. He also worked against the CONAIE organization and sought to destroy their political reputation. This quickly escalated into a crisis but the Pachakutic party was able to weather his attacks due to his administration scandals.

Case Study #3: The 2006 Election

Ecuador was immersed in political turmoil leading up to the 2006 presidential and legislative elections. Since 2002 they have had two presidents and three formed governments (IPU 2008). The year preceding the election, 2005, Gutierrez formed two governments - one rights and the other leftists. The leftst government repeatedly attempted to impeach him for alleged misuse of government funds. The rightist government impeached all of the Supreme Court Justices which caused mass protests that ultimately led to the removal of Gutierrez and his Vice-President. This political instability inspired more candidates than usual to enter the race for

the presidency. All of the candidates had the shared platform of bringing stability and strong corruption-free governance back to Ecuador.

In the presidential election the Pachakutik candidate was Luis Macas, an experienced political candidate. It is not surprising that party leadership decided to throw their support behind an establishment candidate after a failed presidency from a political insider. Macas had previously served as the President of the CONAIE and was dismissed from his post as the Minister of Agriculture during the first year of President Gutierrez' presidency as he split from the party. In the presidential election Macas received less than 5% of the vote. Mr. Rafael Correa from the Country Alliance party ended up securing enough of the votes to become the President of Ecuador. While the presidential race was heavily followed in the media, the Pachakutik political party was unable to distance themselves from the corruption and attacks of the Gutierrez administration. Their political viability was not aided by the fact that former President Gutierrez' brother Gilmar Gutierrez ran a successful campaign for the presidency and regularly attacked CONAIE and its political component.

The Pachakutik political party continued to lose seats when it came to the legislative elections for seats within the National Congress. They received less than 4% of the available seats and lost the ability to pursue party objectives legislatively. The 2006 election represents a near total party collapse for the Pachakutik party. Internal organizational failures as well as the more obvious administrative corruption scandals turned away indigenous voters that were previously enthusiastic about the party. While the party did experience electoral success in regards to the presidency in 2002, they were ultimately unsuccessful in maintaining a strong governing presence. However, this failure may not be attributed directly to the party's appeal to voters, but to Gutierrez's governance and dismissal from the party.

There is still a significant shift in the Pachakutik party platform that warranted further exploration by researchers studying the 2006 cycle. After Gutierrez the party became much less inclusive towards their political candidates (Madrid 2008). Prior to 2006 the party allowed for mestizo candidates to run on their party platform but electoral failures forced the leadership to transition into more exclusionary policies. This ethnonationalist stance also contributed to the party's new stance on disentanglement from political alliances with other parties. While other populist parties began to dominate the campaign arena, many of the disadvantages of growing ethnonationalism within the Pachakutik political movement resulted in fewer candidates relying on their party platform. Prominent remaining Pachakutik political party leaders left the party over concerns that they would be barred from running on their platform because of their mestizo heritage. This also led to the decline in electoral success in the 2006 election for the Ecuadorian indigenous party. By this time, it had transitioned from ethnopluralism to ethnocentrism. This also meant that the party was challenged not with differing policy attitudes and preferences, but with debates over who the party should represent and what that representation should be.

Analysis

Overall, the Pachakutik political party was unable to achieve effective governance after winning the presidency. As stated previously, this was not due in large part to their failure as a party to appeal to indigenous and non-indigenous voters but rather through their failed administration of the 2002 election. The Pachakutik political party's attitude towards mestizo and white candidates during the 2006 election is significant for a few reasons that contribute to my hypothesis. I theorized that as the Pachakutik political party began to achieve electoral success, they would eventually need to broaden their appeal to non-indigenous voters. In reality, the same

concept occurred but only in a negative sense. For example, in 2006 after achieving little electoral success, the party narrowed their appeal to voters and candidates who were deemed as more “authentic” indigenous and native peoples. This does not prove my hypothesis but I think that it does illustrate an interesting aspect of party behavior given the previous research.

My case study research also corroborates the research by Walgrave and Nuytemans in their comprehensive study of party friction. They hypothesized that when faced with friction, parties would be hesitant to change their attitudes because of their “stickiness” to their basic principles and policy preferences. There is no doubt that in the decade between Pachakutik’s first presidential election in 1996 and the election in 2006, the party faced immense external and internal pressure. The party response to friction is in alignment with existing research on the way in which populist parties operate and behave in an increasingly politically complex environment. The Pachakutik political party turned inward and enacted more exclusionary policies when faced with total party fragmentation and collapse. While party leadership in coordination with CONAIE believed that this would allow the party to strengthen internally in order to sustain itself through turmoil, it had harmful effects. Nonetheless the Pachakutik party continues to play an important role in indigenous party politics in Ecuador.

Conclusion

The policy implications of this research is that while it is inconclusive under what conditions an indigenous political party may broaden their appeal to non-indigenous voters, it is evident what their behavior may be in the contrary. Hopefully this research will help play a role in examining indigenous political party behavior and determining their prospective outcomes. The lessons that I have learned from this research are the complexities of doing a most-similar

case study design because while my research focused on one country, I still had to control for many variables. Additionally, I had to account for the negative fallout effects of the 2002 presidential election which I believe hindered my results. There is no doubt that more extensive research is necessary to adequately determine the validity of my hypothesis. Further research involving more contemporary cases would be beneficial because the party would have the benefit of time to distance themselves from the corrupt Gutierrez administration. I also believe that if Latin America may become more ethically conscious then more research will need to be done to research the effects of their political manifestations. I also wish that I would have had more time to focus on supply and demand factors. Overall, I do not believe that the Pachakutik party platform fell apart because of demand issues but rather because they could not supply voters with a stable and corruption-free government. Quantitative analysis would also provide more definitive results compared to my qualitative research. I also believe that my hypothesis could be tested in other countries as well. Besides Ecuador, Bolivia has also had a somewhat successful indigenous political movement that has grown into a formidable political force.

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