# TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION ................................................................................................................................. 5

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .................................................................................................................. 6

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .............................................................................................................. 7

1. INTRODUCTION .......................................................................................................................... 9
   1.1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND ............................................................................................... 11
       1.1.1. Civil society and Political Theory-Jean L. Cohen and Andrew Arato .................. 11
       1.1.2. Civil Society and Public Sphere- Jürgen Habermas ......................................................... 12

2. Chapter I. The Rise of Civil Society in Ecuador for Democracy .............................................. 14
   2.1 Constitutional Framework for Civil Society Organizations .................................................. 15
       2.1.1 National Laws and Regulations ......................................................................................... 17
       2.1.2 Types of Civil Society Organizations ................................................................................ 18
       2.1.3 Free Tax Regulations ...................................................................................................... 19
       2.1.4 Legal Status of Civil Society Organizations ...................................................................... 19
       2.1.5 Causes of Dissolution ....................................................................................................... 20
   2.2 Ecuadorian Attitudes and Social Relations ............................................................................ 20
   2.3 Faith-based Organizations ...................................................................................................... 24
       2.3.1 Catholic Affiliation ............................................................................................................ 25
       2.3.2 Religious Organizations in Ecuador .................................................................................. 27
   2.4 Indigenous Movements a Traditionally Marginalized Group .............................................. 28
       2.4.1 Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) in the 1990s .......... 30
       2.4.2 Pachakutik Plurinational Unity Movement-New Country ............................................. 31
   2.5 Women’s Organizations Demanding Rights .......................................................................... 33
       2.5.1 Ecuadorian Women and Political Life .............................................................................. 34
       2.5.2 The Position of Indigenous Women .................................................................................... 37

3. Chapter II. Governance and Democracy in Ecuador ............................................................... 39
   3.1 The Political Institutions and Party Systems .......................................................................... 40
   3.2 Political Parties in Ecuador .................................................................................................... 41
   3.3 Origins of Populism in Ecuador ............................................................................................. 43
4. Chapter III Civil Society Participation and Non-Governmental Organizations ..... 46

4.1 Ecuadorian Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in a Process of Change 48

5. CONCLUSION .......................................................................................................................... 50

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY .................................................................................................................. 54

7. APPENDICES ......................................................................................................................... 57
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. ........................................................................................................................................... 21
Figure 2. ........................................................................................................................................... 22
Figure 3. ........................................................................................................................................... 22
Figure 4. ........................................................................................................................................... 23
Figure 5. ........................................................................................................................................... 24
Figure 6. ........................................................................................................................................... 25
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. ................................................................................................................................. 26
Table 2. ................................................................................................................................. 27
Table 3. ................................................................................................................................. 37
DEDICATION

Tuus totus ego sum,
Et omnia mea tua sunt,
Accipio Te in mea omnia,
Praebe mihi cor tuum.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like first to thank God for giving me wisdom and hope in the moments of difficulty, to all my family, my parents, brother and sister that always encouraged me to believe and pursue my academic dreams. The distance was not a barrier to feel their love, support and prayers during this two years away from them.

Also, my gratitude to all the professors of the MA Program of International Relations at the University of Pecs for sharing their invaluable knowledge with me. Especial thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Zoltán Vörös, PhD, who is an excellent lecturer from whom I have acquired great knowledge in the field of international relations and motivation to continue learning, and for his time, advice and prompt guidance during the elaboration of this research.

Finally, to all of my friends in Pécs that became my family, support and happiness during this amazing experience in Hungary. You will be in my heart forever!
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CEDOC  Ecuadorian Center of Class-Based Organizations (*Central Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones Clasistas*)

CEOSC  Ecuadorian Confederation Civil Society Organizations (*Confederación Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones de la Sociedad Civil*)

CEPAL  Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (*Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe*)

CONAIE  Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities in Ecuador (*Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de Ecuador*)

CONAMU  National Council of Women (*Consejo Nacional de Mujeres*)

CONFENIAE  Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon (*Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Amazonía Ecuatoriana*)

CONACNIE  Coordinating Council of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (*Consejo de Coordinación de las Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador*)

COSC  Confederation of Organizations and Civil Society (*Confederación Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones de la Sociedad Civil*)

CPCCS  Council of Citizen Participation and Social Control (*Consejo de Participación Ciudadana y Control Social*)

CPME  Policy Coordinator of Ecuadorian women (*Coordinadora Política de Mujeres Ecuatorianas*)

CSO  Civil Society Organization

ECUARUNARI  Ecuador Runacunapac Riccharimui

FEI  Ecuadorian Federation of Indians (*Federación Ecuatoriana de Indios*)

FEINE  Council of Evangelical Indigenous Peoples and Organizations of Ecuador (*Consejo de Pueblos y Organizaciones Indígenas Evangélicas*)

FENOC  National Federation of Peasant’s Organizations (*Federación Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas*)

FENOCIN  National Federation of Indigenous Peasant and Afro Organizations (*Federación Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas y Negras*)

INEC  National Institute of Statistics and Censuses of Ecuador (*Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos*)

MJDHC  Ministry of Justice, Human Rights and Cults of Ecuador (*Ministerio de Justicia, Derechos Humanos y Cultos*)
NGO  Non-Governmental Organization
RUOS  Single Registration of Social Organizations (*Registro Único de Organizaciones Sociales*)
SETECI  Technical Secretariat for International Cooperation (*Secretaría Técnica de Cooperación Internacional*)
SNGP  National Secretary of Policy Management (*Secretaría Nacional de Gestión de la Política*)
SPMSPC  Secretary of People, Social Movements and Citizen Participation (*Secretaría de Pueblos, Movimientos Sociales y Participación Ciudadana*)
SUIOS  Unified Information System of Social Organizations (*Sistema Unificado de Información de Organizaciones Sociales*)
UNME  Women National Union of Ecuador (*Unión Nacional de Mujeres el Ecuador*)
URME  Ecuadorian Women's Revolutionary Union (*Unión Revolucionaria de Mujeres Ecuatorianas*)
1. INTRODUCTION

The present thesis is the result of an investigation oriented to analyze the background, elements and actors involved within the civil society in Ecuador. As well as the study of these components connection during social, political and economic crisis, and before and after democracy was established in the country.

In addition, throughout the development of the research proposed three investigation questions: 1) Are the origins of civil society organizations in Ecuador the result of social and economic changes and the struggle for achieving protection of rights to every excluded group?; 2) Does the citizens local participation allow them to solve problems and create trust between the community members with the aim of being heard by the national authorities?; 3) Do the trends of globalization open different channels by which the citizens can be aware of its rights and obligations? These questions will be answer along each of the chapters elaborated.

On the other hand, the research has the following hypothesis: The evolution of civil society in Ecuador to achieve democracy and governance, could be linked to the historical, political and economic events, and that would be the backbone of the growing commitment of citizens in the creation of civil society organizations. At the end, the hypothesis proposed will establish whether the facts found in the investigation support this assumption.

Additionally, the general objective is to provide a better understanding of how civil society organizations engage in demanding more governance and democracy within the government. The specific objectives are: 1) Analyze how civil society actors engage in the political life for demanding and enhancing rights; and 2) Analyze the factors that constrain or facilitate effective civil society engagement.

Chapter 1. The Rise of Civil Society in Ecuador for Democracy contains the evolution of civil society, legal regulations for social organizations and movements established by the 2008 Constitution, the behavior towards social relations that Ecuadorians have regarding family, religion and leisure time. And the work of a variety of civil society organizations such as, women groups, faith-based organizations, and indigenous men and women movements.
Chapter 2. Governance and Democracy in Ecuador analyzes basic concepts of governance, institutionalization, and the importance for the political system for maintaining democracy. Then it presents the development of political institutions, party system and political parties in Ecuador, and finally analyze the populism phenomenon in the country.

Chapter 3. Civil Society Participation and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) explains the involvement and role of these organizations for elaborating agendas that can be exposed to the government demanding rights, people inclusion and development for collective good. As well as the citizen participation and benefits of NGOs for supporting technical advice and creation of projects to achieve community objectives.

Finally, we will end with a conclusion regarding the research and based on the investigation and analysis made in the development of each chapter.
1.1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1.1.1. Civil society and Political Theory-Jean L. Cohen and Andrew Arato

This section will analyze briefly the concept that Jean L. Cohen and Andrew Arato discuss in the book “Civil Society and Political Theory” of 1992 in which they want to contribute to the democratic theory by including the civil society as pillar of it.

The authors describe a civil society with autonomy and originality, far from the interests of elites and political parties. A creation of new collective identities that in these terms can build more democratic and free societies. The approach to a modern civil society with normative learning and fundamental rights in stabilizing modern society. Also, they identified three actors: State-Market-Civil Society.

In addition, Cohen and Arato use the concept of democracy to define civil society. First, they mention that elitist democracy gives the norms of public life for exclusively those elected representatives, then civil society is placed in a more personal and private level, and the economic actors are in charge of the market. As result it takes out an important element for democracy: people. In this way the direct channels of interaction between government and citizenry are vanished. Second, the authors refer to a participative democracy in which citizens contribute frequently in public decisions, though it is an attractive model in reality it is not practiced. Although they disagree with a passive role that elitist democracy propose and are more in favor of the positive liberty, but do not consider that the solution is an extreme participative democracy because the division of functions between sectors will disappear.

For that reason, Cohen and Arato (1992) define the civil society as a “sphere of social interaction between the economy and the State; composed by the private sphere (family), the association’s sphere (voluntary associations), the social movements and forms of public communication”. On the other hand, exists a distinction of civil society between the “society of political parties and political organizations” because these actors do not belong to civil society since they interact directly with the power of state and economy to which they endeavor to control. Also, political parties cannot be part of civil society though its origins come from it, these are tied to the state or government by direct interests, and its function is to mediate between civil society and state. While in reference, for instance, to the labor unions though the associativity is part of civil
society, the objective of these organizations is to strengthen the working man in the economic sphere; for that reason the authors do not take this mediation beneficial for the civil society but for an economic relation.

According to the scholars the confrontation of civil society to the State is produce when mediator actors fail to represent the interests of society and isolate it from the decision making process. The concept puts limits regarding other sectors and that some institutions should be excluded if its primary purpose is the interactions with other sectors and not civil society.

Finally, for the authors the private sphere: family, is the strongest component of civil society because it is the set of voluntary association -family, social movements- and public opinion.

1.1.2. Civil Society and Public Sphere- Jürgen Habermas¹

The civil society and the public sphere proposed by Jürgen Habermas² arises debates regarding that civil society must be strong for democracy to prevail, the economy to grow and social problems to be resolved in a post-industrial global society (Hall et al., 1999). However, the analysis of civil society initiated with Gramsci proposed three components to understand civil society. The first is an emphasis on cultural and symbolic dimension that is not only about to spread beliefs but transmit contestation in a form of collective identity, ethnical values and alliances. The second as a contribution of analysts in the twentieth-century is the dynamic and creative side of civil society by showing their participation through informal networks, social movements, voluntary associations, etc. Because social movements are capable of generating values and collective identities and while struggling for democratization they not only pursues to reform the government but also the institutions of civil society itself. The third and final component develop by Habermas is the conception of public sphere where civil society relies on, and it is the heart of any democracy where civil society can discuss and dialogue as companions in an atmosphere free of coercion or

² Jürgen Habermas, was born 18 June 1929, is a German sociologist and philosopher in the tradition of critical theory and pragmatism. He is perhaps best known for his theories on communicative rationality and the public sphere.
inequalities. This means that the statement believes in the autonomy of individuals without the domination of State or economy.

“Civil society is also seen as the space, which promotes full participation, by citizens ensuring that we strive towards a participatory democracy” (Cunningham, 1992). Nevertheless, this positive space of participation within civil society organizations can lead to the emergence of hegemonies used by the State and dominant classes.

On the other hand, authors such as Cohen and Arato follow Habermas in considering that the major changes and contributions to democracy take place within social movements (political parties, to citizens’ initiatives, new social movements, to voluntary associations, to consciousness raising groups) because are not intervene by the external imperatives of markets. Civil society is separate from the pressure of the state and economic dynamics (Fleming, 2000).

In addition, Habermas refers to a lifeworld as the storage of traditions, backgrounds connected to the language and culture in the daily life of individuals. For other side, we have the lifeworld colonization referring to the functional imperatives of the state and economy and the problem comes when system invades our practical domain. Lifeworld has three elements: the culture (ideas and certitudes) taken for granted; the society composed by norms, loyalties, institutions that secure cohesion; and the personality understood as the aptitudes that individuals have incorporated.

As suggestion, Habermas gives examples of public spheres at the local level where civil society can perform overtly by building a self-organized public sphere such as grassroots movements, self-organized groups that can elaborate participatory research in system setting (education, community development). As well as the establishment of democratic debate functioning as a tool for resolving disagreements but with commitment to a set of rules.
2. Chapter I. The Rise of Civil Society in Ecuador for Democracy

In the twentieth century the emergence of the civil society in Ecuador could be explained as a philanthropic response of organizations belonging to the Catholic Church and economic elite (Chirboga, 2014). With the time, the promulgation of labor laws in the 1930s permitted the creation of labor unions. And later in 1938 was created the first national federation of workers, the Ecuadorian Center for Class-Based Organizations (CEDOC).3

The main characteristics of these organizations were to provide technical assistance in rural areas for its development as well as to support people with disabilities, family planning and education. This evolution took shape according to the needs and current reality of the country regarding political events, changes and reforms. For instance, the agrarian reform of 1964 brought the establishment of peasant organizations which demanded land rights (Chirboga, 2014). Also, the expansion of public services (education, health, water, and irrigation) enforced the union of citizens for creating associations of different types such as parents, teachers, and students associations; housing, water, and irrigation associations; as well as neighborhood associations.

By 1979, the return of democracy to Ecuador brought a new Constitution guaranteeing basic liberties to people. In the following ten years, a wave of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) reached a total number of 199 organizations. In this period, the civil society through the NGOs supported development projects. As a result, movements were formed to focus on civil, political, and cultural rights, or indigenous peoples, gender equity, and environment.

Therefore, the empowerment of social groups in the 1990s strengthened the relationship between the State and civil society. The proactively participation of social groups started to appear in the governance arena. For instance, in 1996 the indigenous uprising took place as the result of frustrated talks with the government over bilingual education, agrarian reform, and demands to recognize the pluri-national nature of the country. Importantly, this uprising was conducted by the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) created in 1986 as the first national indigenous organization. The event is considered as the emergence of indigenous peoples as new

3 Nowadays with the name of Ecuadorian Central of Class Organizations (Central Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones Clasistas)
political actors and could be seen as the struggle of many years that evolved throughout the circumstances in that moment.

Additionally, the 1990s was a difficult term for Ecuador. The deterioration of social and economic conditions, government corruption, president impeachment, were some reasons that provoked social mobilizations, people on the streets wanted a renovation. As result, a National Constituent Assembly was held to draft the 1998 Constitution, which included indigenous, women’s, children’s and youth rights. This was the first time that civil society played a key role in shaping a constitutional base.

Currently, Ecuador has the 2008 Constitution, proclaimed to enhance the rights and demands of people with a model based on traditions, respect of nature and good living. Organizations and social movements took part by displaying demands and ideas for the elaboration of this new constitutional framework.

To conclude, Ecuador has an active and diverse civil society comprised of corporations, foundations, private and public sector unions, professional and business organizations, women organizations and numerous informal organizations such as church groups, sports clubs, and youth groups.

2.1 Constitutional Framework for Civil Society Organizations

The present section explains the current situation of the civil society organizations in reference to its legal operation as well as regulations that the executive has proposed for a proper operation.

In January 2007, the economist Rafael Correa began his public career as constitutional president of the Republic of Ecuador. On February of the same year, the government creates the Secretary of People, Social Movements and Citizen Participation (SPMSCPC), which is in charge of preparing guidelines regarding the relationship with people, nationalities and communities, and executes these guidelines through training programs such as the School Leadership Training, among other programs. Also, the institution maintains communication with Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), encourages citizen participation with matters related to them, and its corresponding registration in the official system.
In the 2008 Constitution, Heading IV Participation and Organization of Power, Chapter I Participation in democracy, describes: all organizations in society are recognized to be an expression of popular sovereignty, and may therefore carry out processes of self-determination, and influence decisions, public policy and exercise social control of public bodies at all levels of government. These organizations may be structured in different levels to enforce the popular power and its expression. They must guarantee internal democratic practices and ensure the accountability of the organization (Article 96)\(^4\).

Furthermore, the Article 207 of the Constitution creates the “Council of Citizen Participation and Social Control” (CPCCS) as a fourth branch of the State in charge of encouraging participation and social control, designate important state authorities such as the General Attorney, General Prosecutor, members of the Judicial Administrative Council, among others. It is the constitutional body responsible for promoting transparency and fighting corruption. Additionally, the CPCCS is responsible of the Technical Secretariat of Transparency and Fight of Corruption which works for promoting and foster transparent management of public affairs, ethics in the use of goods, resources and the exercise of public function. This promotion is implemented through projects such as networks form by citizens, organizations, groups that are organized under their own dynamics and interests to tackle corruption and promote transparency.\(^5\) Furthermore, since 2010 the council executes inter-institutional agreements with foundations, think tanks, rural parish boards, ministries, professional associations, universities, decentralized governments, municipalities, and international entities.

The 2008 Constitution contains a considerable number of articles relating to the protection of human rights that includes\(^6\):

- **Article 66.6:** Freedom of expression - The State recognizes and guarantees the right to free development of personality, with no more limitations than the rights

---


of others, and the right to think and express one's thoughts freely and in all its forms and manifestations.

- **Article 66.11**: The right to maintain the privacy about one's convictions. No one can be compelled to testify about them. No one can require or use, without authorization of the holder of his legitimate representative, the personal information on religious beliefs, affiliation or political thinking, or data concerning his health and sex life, except for medical needs.
- **Article 66.13**: Freedom of association - The State recognizes and guarantees people the right to associate, meet and speak freely and voluntarily.
- **Article 66.19**: The right to personal data protection, which includes access and decision about the information and data related, and its correspondent protection. Data gathering, filing, processing, distribution, and spreading shall require the owner's authorization or a legal mandate.

The Constitution guarantees the full exercise of these rights by stating the following:

- **Article 10**: The recognition of the rights and guarantees set out in the Constitution and international instruments on human rights shall not preclude other rights arising from the dignity of individuals, communities, peoples and nationalities, necessary for their full development.
- **Article 11.1**: Rights should be exercised, promoted and claimed either individually or collectively before the competent authorities, these authorities shall ensure compliance.
- **Article 11.3**: The rights set out in the Constitution and international human rights instruments are self-executing by and before any public servant or server, administrative or judicial, ex officio or at the request of a party.

2.1.1 National Laws and Regulations

Ecuador has not a law that can cover all the aspects regarding CSOs, and the legal basis of the sector lies on the Civil Code, effective since 1861. The Civil Code provides the President of the Republic the authority under the: Regulation for Approval of the Statutes, Reforms and Codifications, Liquidation and Dissolution, and Registration of Members and Directives, of the Organizations under the Civil Code and Special Laws

---

7 Ibidem.
to establish and dissolve CSOs (Icnl.org, 2016). Thus, CSOs are governed by Executive Decrees, which have been promulgated to address issues of operations, organization, and oversight.  

On June 2013, President Correa through Executive Decree No. 16 established new requirements, controls, and causes for the dissolution of CSOs. And began a process of socialization regarding the Unified Information System of Social Organizations (SUIOS) with the participation of the Confederation of Organizations and Civil Society (COSC) of Ecuador to expose their proposals for strength and improve the Decree No. 16 delivered by the Executive. This decree establishes procedures for transparency such as recognition, certification, and support by the State to all types of social organization, regardless of their legal status. And after analyzing the document, the COSC considered the SUIOS as an effort to coordinate the actions of the State and the civil society organizations, and to optimize the management of social and civic organizations.

In addition, Horazio Belletini, President of the COSC, mentioned that ‘it was a totally positive meeting because we have formed collaborative spaces to work in conjunction with the National Secretary of Policy Management (SNGP) and the COSC in the design and implementation of training programs, technical assistance, and all the technical elements within the document’. However, COSC was concerned in reference to Article 7 numeral 10 because it infringes the principles of independence and autonomy of CSOs. And the process for dialogue regarding the decree was not deep enough to analyze deeply the details of the regulations.

2.1.2 Types of Civil Society Organizations

The mentioned Decree No. 16 divides the civil society organizations in four types and they should have a minimum number of five members to be created:

- Corporations;
- Foundations;
- National or foreign social organizations; and

---

9Art. 7 numeral 10: Respect the right of its members or those to reside in a particular jurisdiction or possess a particular employment, institutional, union, occupational or professional specific situation, directly related to the object or the nature and/or organizational purposes, have the legitimate interest to participate in it. The organizations, rather than having territorial character or being unique in their territory, they cannot deny entry to persons who were legitimate interest to participate.
• Management or social Organizations, which are founded by institutions or the state and may apply for inclusion within the Registry (RUOS).

Furthermore, within the Article 13, Decree No. 16, corporations will be graded in first, second and third degree status (Icnl.org, 2016):

• Corporations of the first degree: all those that bring together individuals with an end delimited, such as: associations, clubs, committees, professional associations and centers;

• Corporations of second-degree: those that are grouped to the first degree or juridical persons, such as federations, chambers or unions; and,

• Corporations of third-degree: those that are grouped to second degree burns, as confederations, national unions and similar organizations.

2.1.3 Free Tax Regulations

The CSOs dedicated to public benefit, religious activities, women, children and family development, culture, arts, education, research, health, sports, professional, unions, indigenous people, cooperatives, federations, confederations and other associations of peasants are exempt from paying the annual income tax. To receive this exemption the CSOs must satisfy the following requirements:

• Income from donations must be less than 15% of total income;

• The organization must be a nonprofit organization;

• All income must be dedicated to the object of the organization;

• Any excess income should be re-invested in the organization. There is no special tax treatment for income from foreign sources.

2.1.4 Legal Status of Civil Society Organizations

For obtaining legal entity status CSOs must comply with three main requirements (Icnl.org, 2016):

• CSOs must prove they possess assets in kind or cash as follows: first degree corporations must prove assets in kind or cash of USD 400; second and third degree corporations, and foundations must prove assets in kind or cash of USD 4000. However, a social organization is exempt from this asset requirement if its objectives are in the "defense of rights."
• All statutes must respect the conditions established by the Decree in order for the organization to be approved by the authorities.
• The organization must submit to the registry the nationality, general data and identity cards of all its members.

2.1.5 Causes of Dissolution

In case of dissolution, the decree contains some casual factors that according to international organizations are not clear and could threaten the normal activities of the organizations. It provides that authorities may dissolve any organization if they consider that: “violate repeatedly any regulation coming from the authorities that grants legal existence;” “lose the objectives and aims for which they were created;” or if the groups are involved in activities that “compromise public peace” or “interfere with public policies that undermine national or external security of the state” (Article 26).

2.2 Ecuadorian Attitudes and Social Relations

The interaction of individuals in social relations are closely related to the evaluation of political attitudes. As consequence, the study of them in a separate way will help to understand the engagement towards social and interpersonal environment (Cfr. Almond & Verba, 1963).

In this case, we consider relevant to know the preferences of the Ecuadorian population regarding their social interaction in the extent of what they consider important in their life. This information will allow to comprehend if the person prefers to stay in a comfort zone where interaction with others is unavoidable –family, work- or choose group activities. Furthermore, the analysis includes the use of time for knowing how Ecuadorians manage it and which activities are more imperative within the population.

In 2012, the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INEC) of Ecuador conducted a survey in five main cities with a population sample of 13,211, they were asked three specific questions: 1) What is important in your life? ; 2) What is your
current religion? ; 3) How often do you attend religious services (cults, Masses, meetings, etc.)? Following we will analyze the results obtained.

**Figure 1.**
What is important in your life?

![Bar chart showing the importance of various aspects in life]

*Other: Knowledge/information, friends and social relationships, politics, entertainment

Source: Integrated household survey system- INEC

Elaboration: Emilia Porras

The data published showed that 41% of Ecuadorians consider in first place family as important, followed by job with 36.69%. While religion contained a low 2.84%. But, what is more interesting is the scarce 0.73% regarding other interest which included activities such as knowledge, information, friends and social relationships, politics, and entertainment. The tendency may describes that the ordinary individual value highly the family and why not say linked it its welfare as only goal to pursue, and according to Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba (1963) the ordinary man conceives his role in the political system in familistic terms, placing him as parochial and not also citizen. And if we relate this analysis to the political activities -included in that “other” option- for Ecuadorians, these activities are not included as important on the list.

I reference to the current religion of Ecuadorians, the following Figure 2 shows that 80.44% of Ecuadorians claimed to be Catholics, while 11.30% responded to be Evangelical. However, in general terms and by combining these results, Ecuador has a high 91.74% of Christians.
Figure 2.
What is your current religion?

![Religion Chart]

*Other: Islamic, Hindu, Indigenous religions, African religions, Pentecostals and others not considered.

Source: Integrated household survey system - INEC

Elaboration: Emilia Porras

The data in Figure 3 regarding the attendance to religious services showed that 31.30% of respondents said to attend once a week (cults, Masses, meetings, etc.), 21.60% assist once a month and a 15.90% only in especial occasions. Although a high number of Ecuadorians (80%) claimed to be Catholics, less than the half attend to activities related to it.

Figure 3.
How often do you attend religious services?
In reference to the distribution of time and according to data published by INEC in the survey, the way how Ecuadorians handle time is linked to their age. Also, the survey used a sample of 22,968 households including members of more than 12 years old.

For this survey, it is pertinent to add that the 2008 Constitution specifies in its Article 383 that guarantees the right of individuals and groups to free time, expanding the physical, social and environmental conditions for enjoyment and the promotion of activities for leisure, rest and personality development.

After having made this clarification, we analyze Figure 4 which points out the total time per week used. First, women spend 46% of time to work (paid and unpaid) and 54% of time to personal activities. Men, however, intended 40% to work (paid and unpaid) and 60% to personal activities.

Figure 4.
Total Time Distribution by sex: employed population 12 years and over

![Figure 4](image)

In reference to the unpaid activities, the survey included domestic duties, care of people, and activities for other household and community. In one day task, Ecuadorian women spent on average 24 hours per week doing household activities, while this activity is reduced to six hours in men (Figure 5).
After analyzing the above indicators, it is of interest that the percentages of respondents expressing their use of time is focus on activities connected to the household and personal time. Certainly, the interests of participating or interacting in group activities are not contemplated in free time.

To conclude, Ecuadorians are very committed to the activities regarding family and house work, also, give important attention to the job, while leisure time and other activities are on the last things of the list.

2.3 Faith-based Organizations

As it was mention in the beginning of this chapter, civil society organizations started in Ecuador as charitable and philanthropic projects, mainly supported by the Catholic Church. Moreover, it is relevant to start mention some important facts regarding religion affiliation in Latin American and Ecuador.

Traditionally, Latin America is a catholic region with more than 425 million of Catholics which is almost 40% of the global catholic population (Pew Research Center, 2014). Historical data presented by the Pew Research Center 2014, suggested that from
1900 to 1960 the 90% of people considered themselves as Catholics. However, in the same year the number decreased to the 69% of adults belonging to the church. In reference to Ecuador, a survey conducted on April 2015 by WIN/Gallup International\textsuperscript{10} regarding the least and most religious countries, Ecuador obtained the 68%. And according to the INEC, 8 out of 10 Ecuadorians that said having a religious affiliation are Catholics.

\textit{Figure 6. Most Religious Countries in Latin America}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure6.png}
\caption{Most Religious Countries in Latin America}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{10} WIN: World Wide Independent Network of Market Research

2.3.1 \textit{Catholic Affiliation}

The Catholic Church has supported strongly the vulnerable groups with values based on faith and believes, it holds the help to the poor within society. The results of more than 30,000 face to face surveys in 18 countries conducted by the Pew Research Center in 2014 showed that inside the region 50% of Catholics considered that the main practice of their beliefs is based on charity activities for poor while a 19% think that persuade the government to protect the poor. In contrast, 47% of Protestants considered that the main objective is to evangelize poor people by approaching them to Christ and a 37% felt identified with the charity activities.

In reference to the Catholic affiliation in Latin America, the indicators in Table 1 show a historical calculation between the period 1910 to 1970, Chile experienced a loss of Catholic identity of 20 percentage points followed by Puerto Rico which had a
decline of 13 percentage points. While in Colombia people who identified as Catholics increased in 15 percentage points. In the case of Ecuador, it reached a positive increase in 7 percentage points, but for the period 1970 to 2014 significantly decreased in 16 percentage points.

**Table 1.**

**Catholic affiliation in Latin America 1910-2014**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brasil</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>-20</td>
<td>-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>+15</td>
<td>+16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>-31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>República Dominicana</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>-37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>+7</td>
<td>-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>-43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>-8</td>
<td>-41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>México</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panamá</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perú</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>-13</td>
<td>-31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>+21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Furthermore, regarding the religious membership of the Ecuadorian population, the INEC conducted a survey with a sample of 3,960 households that had more than 16 years old. The data collection concluded that 91.95% claims to have a religion, 7.94% are atheists and 0.11% are agnostics.

Additionally, the 2008 Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador in Chapter VI Rights of Freedom, recognizes and guarantees citizens the right to practice, keep, change, profess in public or in private, their religion or their beliefs, and individually or collectively disseminate, with the restrictions imposed by respect for the rights (Article 66 numeral 8).
2.3.2 Religious Organizations in Ecuador

According to the General Registry of Religious Organizations of the Ministry of Justice, Human Rights and Cults (MJDHC) in coordination with the Technical Secretariat for International Cooperation - SETECI (from 1937 to 2012) there was a total of 2,848 Religious Organizations in Ecuador, of which 769 were Catholic.

Also, through SETECI’s official list and the Ecuadorian Episcopal Conference there exists different Catholic Organizations implementing activities through basic agreements to operate in the country. This organizations currently operating in the country are detailed in Table 2.

Table 2. Catholic-based Organizations in Ecuador

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Organization</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Foundation in Ecuador</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Catholic Relief Services (CRS)</strong></td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Assist poor people with financial difficulties abroad, promote the sanctity of human life and dignity in accordance with the spirit of the Catholic Social Doctrine.</td>
<td>1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manos Unidas</strong></td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Fighting hunger, poor nutrition, poverty, disease, underdevelopment and lack of education.</td>
<td>N/D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Caritas</strong></td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Share the mission of the Catholic Church in its service to the poor and promote charity and social justice in the world.</td>
<td>N/D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Caritas Internationalis</strong></td>
<td>Spain Germany</td>
<td>Work in humanitarian emergencies and international development, without regard to race or religion.</td>
<td>1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Christian Life Community</strong></td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>Works for the consolidation of a culture of volunteering.</td>
<td>N/D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jesuit Refugee Service</strong></td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>Works for the migrant population.</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Catholic Organization of Latin American and Caribbean Communication</strong></td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>Promote supportive communication based on human and Christian values.</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Access: 05/10/2016.
Elaboration: Emilia Porras

The above mentioned organizations have specific objectives for fighting inequalities, raising social awareness to work in a volunteering way and support projects
that can improve people’s life. Additionally, these organizations promote Christian values in accordance to the Social Doctrine of the Church\(^\text{11}\).

### 2.4 Indigenous Movements a Traditionally Marginalized Group

The emergence of the indigenous movements in Ecuador is the result of a struggle for defending the land rights becoming a social subject of the hacienda system\(^\text{12}\) disintegration. During this process, the rural organizations strengthened its association taking a deep content for respecting its ethnic identity. Also, organizations such as the Church and left wing parties supported the movement. State and non-governmental development organizations (NGOs) supported the demands of the group without thinking its impact in the coming years (Larrea, 2004).

Furthermore, in the 1940s the indigenous movement leadership model became important through small local community-based organizations which perform the first demonstrations in effort to visualize the conditions of poverty in which they were. As result, these organizations joint bodies at regional and national level which had different motivations but that were always in favor of the indigenous people (INEC, 2006). In 1960, around 15,000 peasants marched around the main streets of the capital, Quito. This protest was organized by the Ecuadorian Federation of Indians (FEI) and it is considered as breaking point of one of the most important indigenous movements in Latin America.

With the time, the organizations and movements started to take shape with new representations in a larger scale and in a chronological order\(^\text{13}\):

- 1944: the Ecuadorian Federation of Indians (FEI), is the pioneer of the current indigenous movement emerged in pro-defense of land belonging to indigenous communities in Chimborazo and Pichincha -Cayambe.

\(^{11}\) The Social Doctrine of the Church refers generally to the guidance given in the Holy Scripture, the teachings of the Fathers of the Church and the Pontifical Documents on social issues throughout history, these guidelines are given the encounter between the Gospel to social life.

\(^{12}\) Hacienda system is a typical form of economic organization of the Spanish colonial system, which remained in Latin America until the agrarian reforms of the second half of the twentieth century. The term is used to describe a large estate of mixed agricultural and livestock production. As a model of agricultural and social organization, comes from the Andalusian hacienda, whose model was used in America from the mid-seventeenth century.

\(^{13}\) The information on the chronological order of the emergence of national indigenous organizations was taken from the publication ‘The indigenous population of Ecuador’ by INEC in 2006.
• 1963: the National Federation of Peasant’s Organizations (FENOC), with a trade union speech, taking a peasant orientation with a majority of indigenous presence.

• 1972: the National Federation of Indigenous Peasant and Afro Organizations (FENOCIN), includes in its representation the indigenous and afro population.

• 1972: Ecuador Runacunapac Riccharimui (ECUARUNARI), its presence is strong in the provinces of the Ecuadorian Highlands.

• 1980: the Council of Evangelical Indigenous Peoples and Organizations of Ecuador (FEINE), in response to the persecution suffered by indigenous early converts to evangelism.

• 1980: the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon (CONFENIAE), and in the early eighties the Coordinating Council of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONACNIE) is formed (Larrea, 2004).

• 1986: the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), it takes its turn to struggle towards social, civil and political claims of the indigenous population.

In these four decades, the representativeness of these groups pursued to integrate all the indigenous nationalities14 with the aim of creating a legal and official recognition of its ethnic and cultural identity.

Although the beginning of the indigenous movements were established in a base for defending their ethnicity, this cannot be considered as a parochial role but as an active participation in the political input process. These movements took their role of citizens, committed not only to have results but being part of the process for obtaining them. For that moment, these groups were not considered as a threat for the elites. Nevertheless, this scenario was going to change the political and democratic situation of the country.

14 According to the Development Council of Nationalities and Peoples of Ecuador (CODENPE), it is meant by nationality the people or set of the above ancient peoples constitute by the Ecuadorian State, who define themselves as such, have a common historical identity, language, culture, living in a given territory, through its institutions and traditional forms of social organization, economic, legal, political and exercise their own authority.
Certainly, the indigenous movements did not expect either to be capable of achieving high control over governmental leaders.

Also, it was a clever move to activate the participation of indigenous people from the local community level which is a good place to begin with effective participation when the government is perceived distant from people. And as Bryce (1921) said: “An essential ingredient of a satisfactory democracy is that a considerable proportion should have experience of active participation in the work of small self-governing groups, whether in connection with local government, trade unions, cooperatives or other forms of activity”.

2.4.1 Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) in the 1990s

The Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) is considered as one of the most important indigenous movements in Latin America in the last 25 years (Arias, 2006). It has an important cohesive role which has brought together various nationalities and peoples. Its main objectives are to consolidate the indigenous people and nationalities of the country; fight for the defense of land, indigenous territories and natural resources; strengthen their identity and forms of social organization; build an intercultural society; among others.

For instance, the indigenous uprising in 1990 presented a concrete package of demands and proposals for establishing dialogue and negotiation with the State, but also for building a space for its leaders in the formal political scenario. This package was called “Mandate for the defense of life and the rights of indigenous nationalities” (See Annex 1). Although the mentioned set of requirements was not only a claim for the indigenous rights, but also a demand for the government's commitment to comply transparently with agreements, issues regarding safe water distribution for all the population, recognize Ecuador as a pluri-national State, and among others points beyond the indigenous affairs. On the other hand, the reaction of the middle class and elites saw this coalition as dangerous for the political hegemony that prevailed in that time. However, this action brought to light the existence of a forgotten and excluded
sector, a country where the democracy and development were built without the indigenous people.

In the next years, the CONAIE kept working and negotiating with the State, the demonstrations were the main tool when the dialogue lacked. Various events such as the opposition against the Agrarian Legislation of 1994 and protests towards neoliberal measures consolidated its influential participation in the political arena, the movement was mature and well-organized, and it was time to considerate the option of participating in the public sphere.

2.4.2 Pachakutik Plurinational Unity Movement-New Country

The Pachakutik Plurinational Unity Movement-New Country, founded in 1995, was the political result of the collective action of CONAIE (Lacuisse, 2007). It was formed with three tendencies: 1) Amazonian Organizations for creating an exclusive indigenous political movement; 2) Organizations from the Highlands to take actions of structuring a movement; and 3) Left-wing parties with a concept of a pluri-ethnic movement (Larrea, 2004). The base of the party was to take the historical events and indigenous cultural roots for a new type of democracy that was unknown until that moment, for that reason its electoral participation required an approach to the marginalized social groups. "The rescaling to the national stage was a new and unknown area of participation for the tools of political action until then known were inadequate and that the main leaders had no antecedents" (Guerrero & Ospina, 2003).

The success of the movement in the 1996 elections, followed by the removal of the President Abdalá Bucaram, certainly opened a new paradigm for civil society (Lacuisse, M. 2006). After the overthrow of Bucaram in 1997, the movement achieved to include in the agenda: the country re-foundation through a new constitution. Nevertheless, they did not reached the declaration of the State as Pluri-national, the 1998 Constitution recognized collective rights of indigenous peoples, their self-definition as "nationalities" and indigenous territorial constituencies, among other claims.

Pachakutik worked for the recognition as an official institution capable of elaborate mechanism for public policies in favor of the indigenous people. Also, the movement
established Indigenous Parliaments in different provinces that can perform against the power when the political situation merits. For instance, during the overthrow of President Jamil Mahuad in 2000, the movement participated in this event and disregarded the three branches of the government by converting these Indigenous Parliaments into a governing body parallel to the official one (Larrea, 2004).

For one side, the movement rejected the regime but wanted to participate in the political field, and on the other side its strategy searched for electoral participation (management of central and local government bodies) and social mobilization (Larrea, 2004). The relation between the indigenous movement and the State made changes on its leaders and its original structure and purposes and ended in the desire of using the indigenous organization as an effective way to obtain a public position, this brought internal conflicts weakening its bases and local organizations.

During the elections on 2000, the non-traditional and independent party Pachakutik acquired enough votes and won an exclusive representation in 21 municipalities and 5 prefectures. In contrast to 1996 when the party acquired only 11 seats and non-prefectures. Also, the indigenous movement was the first party considered as a Political Independent Movement (PIM) to have such representation (Lacuisse, 2007). Additionally, the growing participation of PIMs since 2000 shows that civil society is organized locally to control itself the management of its territory, in order to get away from the parties. This observation correlates with an increased anti-party sentiment that developed the Ecuadorian society (Lacuisse, 2007).

The coming months during 2000 and with a new government did not end with the mobilizations and claims by the indigenous groups. For that time three of the main indigenous organizations reached unity –CONAIE, FENOCIN, FEINE- and paralyzed the activities across all the Highlands and Amazon Regions which provoked to declare the state of emergency in all the territory. Once again the reaction of such groups was the result of a weak democracy and political system besides the several demands, dialogue and negotiation efforts in all those years of protests. This time, the President Gustavo Noboa –who was the vice-president during the period of Mahuad – did not take actions regarding a regular dialogue with the indigenous organizations and put them in
the background of the political context (Chiriboga, 2001). This antecedents strengthen the movement but the internal conflicts remained.

As result, in 2002 Pachakutik decided to join forces with the Patriotic Society Party (PSP) lead by the Colonel Lucio Gutierrez that two years earlier participated in the indigenous and low-ranking military rebellion that overthrew the constitutional president Jamil Mahuad. The alliance decided to participate in the elections of 2002 with Gutierrez as candidate for the Presidency of the Republic and that later would accomplished the victory. It could be said that this alliance was a successful strategy of Pachakutik for finally acquire open support from the government, but it was far from reality. “The new regime with clear authoritarian characteristics has become the best ally of the US government, faithful follower of the mandates of the International Monetary Fund” (Larrea, 2004). As a consequence of this sharply turn to the right wing which was considered as a treason by the indigenous, the alliance broke. By 2005, Gutierrez was overthrown from the power after the army withdrew their support to the government as consequence of demonstrations outside the Presidential Palace and the Congress relieved from office.

2.5 Women’s Organizations Demanding Rights

The country of the 1980s is characterized by the social, ethnic and territorial heterogeneity of Ecuadorian women, while its demography is composed of young women with a balance concentration in urban and rural areas. Regarding the health sector the State did not perform efficient conditions for improving the indicators of maternal mortality, mal nutrition, etc. And the political participation reflects a low quote of women inside the Congress.

For the 1990s, the political, social and economic instability is the framework for taking a retrospective regarding the situation of the Ecuadorian women, their opportunities in the political life and establish an agenda for gender and social equality. Nevertheless, the political instability and the lack of governance and accountability is the scenario that open spaces of representation to women. During this decade, the
presence of women in positions of political representation has doubled and the indigenous women participation emerged (Canete, 2005).

The development of actions in reference to the women participation in the political and public space remarked the need to enlarge the electoral quota that will open channels of direct communication to the authorities for promoting their rights and proposals. As well as to be part of the input process of decisions by being part of electoral processes and party system, and with a form of political participation of more than a simple consultation.

In Ecuador women among other groups have been excluded from government decisions. For that reason, they have appealed to classic channels of public participation such as 1) Institution channels (state powers, political parties and movements); 2) Informal mechanisms (indigenous communities, associations, pressure groups) and 3) Mobilizations (demonstrations, protests, strikes) (Canete, 2005). Nevertheless, the informal mechanisms have more social legitimacy and is where the interests and claims can find alternative structures to influence the political decisions of key institutions holding the power. “There are organizations of women who, despite not having achieved greater public visibility, have consistently claimed a discourse and practice directed to the private sphere of women, conceiving it as part of the public-political” (Rodas Morales, 2002).

2.5.1 Ecuadorian Women and Political Life

The actions of women organizations is based on the demands of rights, especially the political rights where democracy takes sense when the 1) Participation; 2) Vote; and 3) Eligibility are possible. Furthermore, this possibility was open with the 1929 Constitution when the women’s right to vote was established as facultative. Even though it was not the result of a struggle of women, instead it was promoted as a political strategy by the Liberal Revolution supported by the Conservatives both seeking votes. In 1967 the women’s right to vote was recognized as obligatory.

During the 1960s we can distinguish the emergence of women organizations with feminist ideologies such as the Women National Union of Ecuador (UNME) based in
Quito, the Ecuadorian Women's Revolutionary Union (URME) also in Quito and the Women Union of Guayas in Guayaquil (Telegrafo, 2014). Besides the mentioned organizations could not have a highly participation, it was an important trace for the future activists. Although women participation in the ecuadorian political life has been significant, it is in 1990s when their role is enhance by the civil society women organizations (Canete, 2005). In contrast to the other decades, women organizations based its actions on gender inequalities of daily life and work with women in popular sectors, which again reflects an approach to alternatives spaces to identify political tasks within informal groups parallel to a State and political parties that were perceived as corrupt. For instance, the civil society became a space where the street, neighborhood, community, work place were enough for validating social movements with the aim of shaping a new political style, escenarios and more important without the antidemocratic institutions.

The goal was to influence the State by taking a gender perspective and having civil organization support. The approach to the State was not only negotiate or arrange agreements, but be part of its apparatus through elections as a democratic path and contribute to the input process. But, why the political escenario was the field for this purpose? Precisely because it was the most clear example of exclusion for women. For that reason, in the 4th Politic Agenda of the Ecuadorian Women was created the Policy Coordinator of Ecuadorian Women (CPME) in 1995 as a formal entity for enhance the demands in the agenda which basically focus on political representation and participation. As well as activation of campaigns for promoting public policies, even though it did not acquire much results, the organism obtained two important results with the creation of two organisms: 1) Commissioner for women15 and 2) National Council of Women (CONAMU)16.

The efforts of the organized women pressured the State to respond the demands and formulate laws that protect women in case of vulnerability. As result the State issued the following laws and legal changes (Canete, 2005):

15 The aim of these units is to have a place where consultations are met, support is provided to victims of domestic violence cases.
16 The creation of this entity responds to the priority and commitment by the Ecuadorian State at the Fourth International Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995. The mission of CONAMU is build public policies for the full enjoyment of human rights of women and gender equality.
• Law on Violence against Women and the Family, enacted in 1995 and designed to address the problem of domestic violence in Ecuadorian society.
• Law on Free Maternity and Child Care (promulgated in 1994 and amended in 1998), oriented towards the decentralized management of public funds for health, particularly of women and children up to five years.
• Employment Protection Act of Women (1997), which stipulates the inclusion of minimum percentages of women in the public and private sector, candidates on the lists of pluri candidates and women in the Superior Courts, including as judges, ministers. The State "recognizes women 20% of participation on the lists of multi-person elections" (seventeenth transitory provision), which amounted to establish, at the constitutional level, an electoral quota for women.
• Approval of Amendments to the Election Law, with the consequent introduction of the electoral quota for women (2000).

According to Canete (2005), the electoral quota approved inside the Labor Law is the main accomplishment regarding the activist campaign of women for have a position inside the institutional political scenario. As a result, in 2000 the National Congress approved four important reforms in the System of Elections Law:

• Raising to 30% the minimum percentage of female representation in the multimember lists.
• Increased by 5% of the percentage mentioned for each new electoral process, to achieve parity between men and women.
• The obligation to apply the principles of alternation and sequence between men and women in elaborating the lists.
• The provision that the Electoral Supreme Court and the Provincial Electoral Tribunals refuse its own initiative or at the request of party lists of candidates that do not meet the mark.
Table 3.
Evolution of Women Candidates and Women Elected
1997-2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Valid Quota</th>
<th>Total Candidates (men and women)</th>
<th>Women Candidates %</th>
<th>Total Elected (men and women)</th>
<th>Women Elected %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>7349</td>
<td>1226</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>19826</td>
<td>7577</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
<td>5093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>4491</td>
<td>3670</td>
<td>38.7%</td>
<td>853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>27444</td>
<td>11690</td>
<td>42.6%</td>
<td>5185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>60018</td>
<td>24354</td>
<td>40.6%</td>
<td>12037</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes all the principal seats in each electoral process
Source: Electoral Supreme Tribunal (TSE) of Ecuador
Elaboration: Maria Fernanda Canete

In conclusion, organized women proposed and elaborated an agenda for the State regarding their concrete demands and rights, especially those regarding the political recognition of participation. Their proactive work to find alliances as close as possible to the government generated the expected results of representation and implementation of laws in order to interact directly and legally with the State.

2.5.2 The Position of Indigenous Women

As it was mentioned in other sections, the indigenous movements accomplished the recognition of its rights as nationalities with ethnic roots that took a process of negotiation with the State for propose intercultural public policies. On the other hand, women movements also achieved the application of sounded policies for political participation. But, what was the situation of indigenous women between these social movements? The indigenous women have a different view with defined roles within family and social relations. This movement though is oriented to gender equality, it does not propose a strict agenda only for women, and it wants to search for new spaces to talk also about ethnic and racial conflicts.
Within the indigenous life, their notions regarding the roles of women and men use a framework of complementarity, interdependence between them as equal. In reference to the philosophical principles of Andean organizations duality and complementarity are needed for a collective purpose. As a consequence, women, men, children, the elderly and young lose -in a manner to say- personal or individual value because they believe that collective interests prevail above them. The indigenous world view is based on the community, traditions and practices. And equality is understood as the exchange of complements between two groups (Prieto, Cuminao, Flores, Maldonado, & Pequeno, 2005). For that reason, we can determine that indigenous women thought unlike Western women seek a different independence from men, they want to empower her role as a keeper of traditions and transmit ancestral knowledge to their families.

In reference to the indigenous women within the community, their functions are established towards the preservation of the cultural space by granting them a social role for the community welfare. As allusion, during the Declaration of the First Summit of Indigenous Women of America (2002) in Oaxaca, Mexico it was noted: “We reaffirm that the ancestral wealth of indigenous peoples has its origins in the transmission of cultural values through family and community education, where women have played an important role as midwives, counselors and spiritual guides, encouraging the permanence of our values and knowledge” (First Summit of Indigenous Women of America, 2002).

Additionally, the agenda and demands of indigenous women found an open door when the 1979 Constitution granted political rights to the illiterate population which in its majority were indigenous and women. Also, they were included for the first time in the electorate lists for voting, the CONAIE - through the Women's leadership area- was key for having representation and execute meetings. They emphasized the important role performed within the family when men migrates to urban areas and they have to work the land and preserve the culture, hierarchies and traditions. As well as the recognition of rights as Nation and against ethnic and racial discrimination. For all these purposes, indigenous women prepared themselves with the aim of acquire higher positions inside the local organizations.
As leaders, they recognize their limitations which is a good strategy for gaining more participation in communitarian and political decisions. They are aware and clear about their strengths and weaknesses. For indigenous women the most important is not wasting time with men about domestic issues but real situations within the communitarian life where they can have voice as group. "The contemporary leadership of indigenous women is linked to education, projects and community representation, participation in women's organizations and to political representation practices" (Prieto, Cuminao, Flores, Maldonado, & Pequeno, 2005).

3. Chapter II. Governance and Democracy in Ecuador

This section will analyze the participation of civil society for achieving governance which is essential for democracies through transparent processes of the public sector.

The concept of governance has been argued in different wide forms. For instance, the word "governance" was used as "governability" for the first time in the report published by the Trilateral Commission\(^{17}\) in 1975, *The Crisis of Democracy*. In this publication the term is understood as the distance between social demands and the ability of public institutions to satisfy those demands. In the same publication, Huntington (1975) within the section: The Viability and Governability of American Democracy, mentioned a trend during the 1960s in America to establish political, social and economic institutions, it was a reaction against the concentration of power that generated public interest and increased participation and control over those institutions. "The impulse of democracy is to make government less powerful and more active, to increase its functions, and decreased its authority" (Crozier, Huntington, & Watanuki, 1975).

On the other hand, the international organizations refer to governance as a system of values considered as "good" and "democratic" when the institutions have a degree of transparency (UNDP, 2016). However, according to UNESCO (2016) governance is formed of structures and processes designed to ensure accountability, transparency, responsiveness, rule of law, stability, equity and inclusiveness, empowerment, and

\(^{17}\) The Trilateral Commission was formed in 1973 by private citizens of Japan, Europe (European Union countries), and North America (United States and Canada) to foster closer cooperation among these core industrialized areas of the world with shared leadership responsibilities in the wider international system.
broad-based participation. For that reason, it is important to analyze what are the rules, norms and values in which public affairs are managed. Governance is about the culture and institutional environment in which citizens and stakeholders interact among themselves and participate in public affairs. It is more than the organs of the government (UNESCO).

Among the mentioned concepts regarding governance we can draw common elements, such as transparency of public institutions, participation, rules, norms, functions. In summary, governance is the capacity of the political system to establish institutions and norms that provide inclusion and participation of the different social actors.

In the case of Ecuador, from 1978 the democracy was an important space that helped the rise of different movements and excluded sectors, and these results or benefits if we call them like that for Andres Páez (2005) are often ignored under the justification of governance discussion, those virtues had not been appreciated, without realizing that democracy and governance are connected and cannot be separated.

### 3.1 The Political Institutions and Party Systems

Democracy is not only implemented through regular elections, it depends also on the correct development of institutions. For that reason, the governance will make effective the institutionalization of the political system in order to establish rules and norms for an effective political development. The institutionalization is "the process by which a practice or organization becomes not only well established and widely known, but universally accepted. Actors develop expectations, orientations and behaviors based on the premise that this practice or organization will exist in the future long-range" (Mainwaring & Scully, 1995). The institutions make the rules and standards of play, they can therefore influence the political behavior of actors.

In Latin America, the electoral politics retuned in the 1980s and this process was the main channel to access a political position. In the case of Ecuador, the electoral capacity developed opportunities for creating democratic institutions and during the 1990s the country had an incipient party system. In addition, the institutionalization of party
systems is essential for the maintenance of stable democracy, even if the parties are weak or strong, they are still important political actors. At the same time, the rules and norms of the system need stability otherwise it could happen that a party could arise and disappear easily without results and wasting public resources from the State. On the other hand, the stability of a party is built in time when the electorate manifest adherence to them, which means legitimacy, and this will demand its institutionalization because of the expectations in the future long-rage. Also, the ideologies that the parties follow should be maintained, for instance, if a left party makes a smooth move into the right wing just to have a higher electorate number, then it shows the weak ties between the party and the society (Mainwaring & Scully, 1995). The institutionalization of party system is the main route for achieving the power and authority at the government level.

When the institutionalization is achieved within the party system, they are independent and are not subordinated by ambitious interests. In other words, it does not matter how the party was consolidated (movements, organizations) because it has to search for a consolidation beyond the limits that it was established and expand its scope. However, the institutionalization of a party system does not ensure that all of these fulfill the function of establishing democracy. The same competition makes some parties form coalitions while others inhibit it. Institutionalization not guaranteed to be the perfect formula but a low level of it can be a problem (Mainwaring & Scully, 1995).

3.2 Political Parties in Ecuador

“The parties are key players in the structuring of the electoral process and in determining who govern, and party organizations are not merely expressions of political desires of charismatic leaders”. (Mainwaring & Scully, 1995)

The political parties in Ecuador have been the backbone of the political order through the 1979 Constitution when the democracy returned and supported the creation of political parties as channel to collect the interests of citizens and have the privilege of execute political action as the only groups that could present candidates for elections (Freidenberg & Alcántara, 2001). In this period the incipient political party system could have created a space for populism but the action mentioned above wanted to avoid the continuity of populism leaders by the institutionalization of the party system. However, in 1994 a constitutional reform, by plebiscite, allowed the electoral
participation of non-affiliated and organizations of the different parties. While in 1997, again a plebiscite established a vote system by open lists which invalidated the control of parties regarding the lists’ elaboration.

On the other hand, the Ecuadorian political system had to manage the economic crisis of the 1990s affecting the activities of the political parties that were considered a type of corporation that population had for getting resources. For that reason, the parties found themselves in a difficult situation of choose between obtaining results in short term (via elections) or risk the ideological objectives of larger scope. And the majority decided to follow the first option in order to maintain the support (Freidenberg & Alcántara, 2001).

Freidenberg & Alcántara (2001) proposed two levels for analyzing political parties: 1) the external level regarding the public image to the society and 2) the internal level which contains the structure and organization. The analysts refers to the first level as a lost of the horizon to create a national project and prefere to attain its perspectives around a leader and take actions only when time of elections arrived. While in the second level is still vertical regarding the decisions and this cannot be possible if the main objective is the common good.

Nevertheless, Andrés Páez (2005) expressed that a national project towards the colective good is not established among the political parties, they need to follow an ideology as the framework for developing this project and it has to be adapted to the social needs by subordinating the party interests to the national interests. He mentioned that a clear ideological definition is not a characteristic of the political parties in Ecuador, however, cited as examples four parties that more or less followed a doctrine orientation: Democratic Left (ID)\textsuperscript{18}, Christian Social Party (PSC)\textsuperscript{19}, Christian Democratic Party (DM)\textsuperscript{20}, and Popular Democratic Movement (MPD)\textsuperscript{21}. On the contrary, there was political parties lacking of ideology that can be refered as populist as its sole purpose was to gain power and not to build a national project. Parties such as

\textsuperscript{18} Political party of social democratic inspiration.
\textsuperscript{19} Political party of neo-liberal tendency.
\textsuperscript{20} It was located in the center-right and right of the ideological spectrum. The party was dissolved in 2013.
\textsuperscript{21} Political party with a marxist-maoist ideology. The party was dissolved in 2014.
PRE, PRIAN, Patriotic Society (PSP), and PUR are considered in this group\textsuperscript{22}, without orientation, that used patronage mechanisms for political action to gain private benefits. These parties are called electoral enterprises because they managed activities in a business manner and not in a common welfare, took advantage of excluded sectors to sell attractive proposals and covered as much as electorates they could, while the consolidated parties where working in transmit its ideology (Páez, 2005).

For that reason, it is relevant to engage a political party to social movements, while the first functions as a channel to bring the civil society demands to the public sphere, the second control the actions taken. In other words, the political parties are the connection between state and citizenry. Also the State must perform an open role where interactions with civil society and political parties operates in an environment of cooperation. The role of the political parties cannot be rejected because that is an unhealthy democratic alternative (Páez, 2005). These three actors: state, civil society and political parties cannot be replaced with each other. As noted by Freidenberg & Alcántara (2001) “… so far it has not been proposed other forms of democracy that can operate without the support of the parties”.

To conclude, Andrés Páez (2005) suggests that cooperation between political parties and social movements must be based in four points:

- Recognition of differences.
- Mutual respect.
- Identify partnership targets.
- Openness to changes resulting from cooperation.

### 3.3 Origins of Populism in Ecuador

The term populism has been used by media, political analysts and among citizens. However, we consider important to analyze the populism wave as a tool implemented by leaders of political parties. Also, in the previous sections the term was mentioned briefly by Andrés Páez (2005) when he mentioned that populism was employed by

\textsuperscript{22} PRE is the Ecuadorian Roldosista Party led by Abdala Bucaram; PRIAN is the Institutional Renewal Party of National Action under the designs of the billionaire Alvaro Noboa; the Patriotic Society January 21 is the party led by Lucio Gutierrez; and the PUR is the Republican Party Unit which was created to bring Sixto Duran Ballen as constitutional president in 1992.
political parties founded without ideologies and were the result of the instability of the party system in which citizens did not believe anymore.

According to the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language\textsuperscript{23}, populism is literally defined as the political trend that aims to attract the popular classes. On the other hand, in reference to the Latin American context, Felipe Burbano y Carlos de la Torre (1989) explained it as result of two events: the crisis of the agro-export model and the oligarchic state. Additionally, the authors quoted the works of O'Donnell (1972), Malloy (1977), and Collier (1979), who situated populism within three stages regarding the Latin American development until the 1970s: oligarchic, populist and bureaucratic-authoritarian (Burbano & De la torre, 1989).

The oligarchic stage is characterized by a paternalistic dominance and for that reason the social relations are dependent between patron and workers. Elites control the State by managing the extractive activities. However, the 1930s due to the capitalist crises, this stage ended and the industrialized period started with the emergence of modern social classes. As consequence, a wave of social movements arrived and with this the formation of populism as the interaction of industrial elites and popular sector (Burbano & De la torre, 1989). Nevertheless, the populist stage finished after the necessity of giving stability to big multinationals that were important to fight the crisis of imports sustitution and the bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes appeared excluding the popular sector. As we can see, the populism formation is a process where the dependent classes (workers) started to appear in the political scene by leaving behind a traditional society and walking towards the modern era.

The Ecuadorian case went through these abrupt changes that arouse the masses to the political life as extra institutional mechanisms without ideology, and as it was mentioned in previous sections, this lack of doctrine cannot pursue a concrete project and as result emerged the populism in the shape of informal movements also called by

Juan J. Paz y Mino (2010) as “local areas of direct power” that were unified under a charismatic leader\(^\text{24}\), a leader who believes himself identified with people.

Furthermore, for understanding the significance of this charismatic leader, George Blanksten\(^\text{25}\) (1950) introduced the concept of “caudillo” or “caudillismo” -which in English translation means leader- in reference to a “monarch dressed as republican retaining the monarchical tradition”. Also, he proposed two ideas about it: the first, refereeing to the disputes among the dominant class, and the relations with “whites”: and the second, that dispute of power prohibit the institutionalization of a stable political system (Burbano & De la torre, 1989). But, taking the definition of the Royal Academy of Spanish Language\(^\text{26}\), “caudillo” is defined in three manners:

- Absolute ruler of an army.
- Man who heads a group, community or body.
- Political dictator.

The above distinctions regarding the term “caudillo” are necessary for compare the first definition referring to an “absolute ruler of an army” when Blanksten explains on his work a close collaborative relation with the militarism and Felipe Burbano & Carlos de la Torre (1989) highlight the army as an instrument of power in that relationship.

After having reviewed about the origins of populism and definitions of “caudillo”, it is pertinent to mention the name of José María Velasco Ibarra, an emblematic leader and one of the most recognized Ecuadorian presidents who until nowadays analysts study his professional career as clearest example of the populism era during the 1930s. One of his popular phrases was “give me a balcony and I will be president”, and certainly he was right, he became president of the Republic of Ecuador in five occasions.

The debut of Velasco Ibarra in the political scenario was in 1932 as Congress politician. Additionally, as Agustín Cueva (1970) explains, the Velasquismo\(^\text{27}\) started as

\(^\text{24}\) According to Marx Weber, the leader is someone who feels an internal call. While charisma emerges of specific contexts, such as crisis.


\(^\text{27}\) Term used for referring to the era of Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra as president.
result of the 1930s crisis when over ten years (1922-1932) three dominant models representing different classes collapsed. The first, the bourgeoisie formed by the elite of the coast region; the second, a military reform seen as the “little bourgeoisie”; and the third, conservatives with the landowners. In addition, other analysts explained that the oligarchies -bourgeoisie agro-export sector- feared for their stability, interests, and maintaining its power over the country. As result, Velasco Ibarra used temporal solutions for that moments and this determined his political practice and “caudillismo” (Burbano & De la torre, 1989).

4. Chapter III Civil Society Participation and Non-Governmental Organizations

As we have analyzed, the civil society can have different manifestations within the social sphere, separated from government activities. However, this does not mean that there is no interaction between those actors, conversely, Michael Bratton (1994) explains that it is manifested in norms of community cooperation, structures of voluntary association, and networks of public communication. Additionally, the performance of civil society may result in the development of ideas, actions, and demands on governments. As well as addressing issues on different areas in need of public attention such as environment, poverty, education among others. Therefore, civil society participation becomes important for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that are based on the support of this sector.

The spread of non-governmental organizations can be refer back to 1948 when the United Nations announced the participation of forty-one groups in consultative process. Additionally, UN has an openly will to work and “…recognize the need to collaborate with the non-governmental sector […] as partners in the implementation of certain programs, particularly in the areas of emergency response, human rights, and election monitoring” (Gemmill & Bamidele-Izu, 2002). Also, the authors relate the rise of NGOs due to the development of information technology, the greater awareness of global interdependence and spread of democracy. But, what to expect about NGOs

---

28 Consultative process is where strategies and plans are presented searching for solutions to different issues that affects the global population.
intervention within the implementation field? The answer is to have significant committed stakeholders performing in various areas:\(^\text{29}\):

- **Expert advice and analysis.** NGOs open spaces for politicians to share ideas by avoiding common bureaucratic channels.

- **Intellectual competition to governments.** NGOs have qualified personnel (analytical and technical skills) to respond promptly to government officials.

- **Mobilization of public opinion.** NGOs easily influence audience through campaigns with deep impact.

- **Representation of the voiceless.** NGOs are the voices of those who cannot be heard by policy making officials.

- **Service Provision.** NGOs is prepared to deliver technical experts for specific areas demanded by government officials.

- **Monitoring and assessment.** NGOs monitor the compliance of (international and national) agreements between parts.

- **Legitimization of global-scale decision making mechanisms.** NGOs can help international organizations to enlarge its information for decision making by improving the quality, authoritativeness, and legitimacy of the policy choices.

The performance of NGOs is well planned for covering those areas that can present problems at the moment of policy implementation, when citizens cannot access directly to the public officials to expose their demands or have not skilled tools for negotiating the policy making.

Opposite to the positive influence that NGOs can employ for negotiating agreements and protecting people’s rights regarding a variety of areas, authors such as P.J. Simmons (1998) criticizes that these organizations can hold agendas benefiting old-fashioned interest group politics that produces obstacles to the global development. For instance, in 1994 U.S. was about to ratify the Convention on Biodiversity supported by environmentalists, agro-business groups, and the biotechnology sector. Almost all the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee were ready to support the treaty,
but a group of agricultural and trade non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that were involved in the debates, announced that this ratification will destroy the U.S. agriculture. The campaign held by these groups claimed that the treaty promoters were enemies of farming, logging, and fishing, as reported by the Chicago Tribune (Simmons, 1998). However, this is only an example of the power that NGOs have for setting agendas within national governments.

In any case, the influence of NGOs can be well used if the civil society know how to effectively interact, proposed and participate for the common good of a group or community.

4.1 Ecuadorian Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in a Process of Change

In Ecuador the performance of NGOs has been inquired by the State regarding its unclear participation and interference in national affairs. Nevertheless, these organizations enhanced the protection of human and nature rights that called the public attention and were included in the current 2008 Constitution of the Republic (Chirboga, 2014).

The formality of non-governmental organizations in Ecuador is back in the last 1970s to the beginning of the 1980s when democracy returned to the country as a result of different mobilizations of indigenous, peasants, intellectuals demanding and defending its rights against the dictatorship of Guillermo Duran Arcentales. In addition, the restructure of democracy in that period was delegated exclusively to the political parties as sufficient condition for the democratization of the political system and society. Nevertheless, the restructure felt when politicians could not respond to the demands of the citizenry and this allowed the political intervention of NGOs to propose programs and actions to a State in crisis as result of international pressure of the reforms made by the Washington Consensus and the traditional elites safeguarding personal interests.

---

30 Programs with a multiplicity of visions grouped under broad areas of interest such as the environment, women's rights, multiculturalism, poverty reduction and social inclusion, etc.
The NGOs conformation\textsuperscript{31} in Ecuador had a boom during the 80s and 90s, as result of several factors, for instance, the poor action of State in providing technical assessment for development activities and letting the population helpless; while in the international context these decades were characterized by a liberalization of the markets reducing the State role. Although, the NGOs developed programs for creating better life conditions and respect for rights, the funding managed were not enough to expand its capacity, for example, in 1990, almost the half of the organizations had annual budgets of US$25,000 while only 7% had more than US$500,000 every year.

Though the economic crisis and situation of the country affected the activities of the NGOs, this was not an obstacle to enhance the agenda and elaboration of proposals in favor of the poorest sectors. Its labor support indigenous and peasant organizations in rural areas by strengthening their capacity to manage projects; open political dialogue with the institutions in charge of ethnic and women groups; public awareness regarding the women vulnerable situation (domestic violence, sexual and reproductive health); natural resources management and environment; children rights; and elaboration of studies and analysis regarding the current situation of the country in a variety of aspects (Chirboga, 2014).

The NGOs emergence brought a new form of covering the demands of the population, the State was not anymore the main actor for deciding what is necessary for the citizenry, the dynamic change and the new way of building opportunities and respect of rights came from down, promoted by the non-profit organizations. Certainly, the activities carried out by the NGOs in Ecuador was an impulse for the different social movements that found openly support for defending its rights, a politicization phase for the members of informal organizations struggling for better life conditions in general.

\textsuperscript{31} According to the analysis of Carlos Arcos and Edison Palomeque (1997) the 80% of NGOs were formed in Ecuador during the last century corresponding the 34% to the 80s decade and 46% to the 90s decade.
5. CONCLUSION

The evolution of civil society in Ecuador is the result of a joint of social, political and economic changes that impulse the society to react in favor of its rights by being more visible to the authorities. Although the beginnings of civil society organizations (CSOs) were informal and had a charitable objective, these gave a trace for future activities for helping those marginalized groups. For that reason, nowadays the national government established specific legal regulations under the constitutional law for the correct function and control of these organizations.

On the other hand, Ecuadorian society gave a lot of importance to the family welfare which is indeed a good symptom if we refer to Cohen and Arato (1992) when they make emphasis on the private sphere as the strong characteristic where the voluntary action begins. We can say that even this could be a parochial concept, it will produce an impact within the society for searching collective interaction. In reference to the attitude of citizens to their beliefs and religion, Ecuadorians accept their Christianism, but as we investigated, it does not have a weight for boosting projects where they can feel committed. Even though the Catholic Church promotes voluntary programs for helping poor and vulnerable people, its performance does not interfere in the political field, but it does not mean that its effort and work do not contribute.

In reference to the indigenous movements these are a very good example of local participation, if we take the suggestions of J. Habermas regarding examples of public sphere, this group constructed self-organized groups and community development for a participatory dialogue between its members. They were always thinking in a collective way, they had a national project demanding recognition, rights, inclusion that in the end benefited all the Ecuadorian population through the Constitution of 1998. Certainly, this was a tireless struggle that had the expected results and it is still in force. The indigenous people are a model of organization and structure, and know their role in the society, and also could find a direct channel of communication with the State because in a moment these protests have to be discuss in a formal manner and that is why different associations, confederations and even a political party emerged.

In the case of Ecuadorian women organizations, these were more ambitious and wanted to build a direct channel to participate in the political life by presenting
proposals, law projects for demanding an electoral quota within the political participation, and also started to talk about gender equality. Women worked hard during political instability, they believed in the informal groups where they can be heard, and any place was good for starting and finding solutions to the problems of daily life. The results of their work is showed in the several laws included in the constitution which are the biggest achievement. On the other hand, the indigenous women and their worldview leave us a profound endowment of cooperation, a model that tell us that women can occupy high positions, and also preserve the traditions without losing their culture. And all of them let a true legacy for Ecuadorian women nowadays.

On the other hand, governance in Ecuador has been formed on the stage of democracy since the 1980s, and we cannot ignore the fact that all movements and organizations that emerged did so within this framework, otherwise it would not have been possible. This also happened with the political parties that appeared in that period and had to be institutionalized with the aim of maintaining the democracy. On the other hand, the first political parties tried to follow an ideology, but never developed a national plan that could capture the needs of society, and as result this caused the rejection of the population that did not find direct support on behalf of them. Apparently, political parties forgot that their origin was in the civil society – the people- and, as a result, the populist phenomenon appeared to influence this disappointed population/masses that felt identified with a charismatic leader who embodied in his speeches what they wanted to hear.

In respect to non-governmental organizations these played a role of supporters for making effective the demands of the population to the State in a correct way. Because of their capacity and influence they could set agendas, and the participation of citizens within this organizations made it possible. Otherwise, NGOs might not have a clear picture of the reality that was facing the Ecuadorian society.

Additionally, it is important to make a difference between the roles of the civil society organizations, the State and political parties. Each one have to be within the same project for the common good, their communication channels are achieved regarding the influences and the weight of demands. While it is true that civil society organizations pursue a direct interaction with the government we cannot forget that the origins are in a private sphere –family, community, work- that should be maintained.
And the benefits of these organizations are far away from the economic power, this is its main characteristic.

The dynamic and creative side of the Ecuadorian movements reflected its capacity for defending rights and establishing identity between their members. In other words, to make each individual comfortable to express ideas because in this form they can influence the higher levels, by believing that they deserve what they are demanding.

Regarding the investigation questions proposed in the beginning of this research we have the following answers:

- **Question 1:** Are the origins of civil society organizations in Ecuador the result of social and economic changes and the struggle for achieving protection of rights to every excluded group?
  
The research respond positively to the first question regarding the origins of civil society organizations which in fact are the result of different social, political and economic tensions during many decades that provoked the reaction of civil society to develop new mechanisms for demanding rights.

- **Question 2:** Does the citizens’ local participation allow them to solve problems and create trust between the community members with the aim of being heard by the national authorities?
  
The work also supports the second question regarding the local participation as a form to trust within the community and propose changes in different areas that the authorities should attend.

- **Question 3:** Do the trends of globalization opened different channels by which the citizens can be aware of its rights and obligations?
  
In reference to the third question it is true that the world openness with lower intervention of the State allowed other organizations such as the NGOs to support citizens and vulnerable groups for an effectively participation with the State and policy makers.

Finally, the hypothesis of this research has been fully implemented since all the historical events of the country aroused the interest of civil society to organize and
change the political and social situation directly affecting their activities, family, work and community.
6. BIBLIOGRAPHY


Paz y Mino, Juan J. Caudillos and populism in Ecuador (Caudillos y populismos en el Ecuador). *Polemika*, pp. 72-81 (2010)


7. APPENDICES

Appendix 1.
*Mandate for the defense of life and the rights of indigenous nationalities*

1. Reform of the first article of the Constitution of the Republic, by which our country is declared a pluri-national state.
2. Solution to the problems of water, considered as a social problem, under three aspects: water for irrigation, consumption and policies for no pollution through a guideline for control environment.
3. Suppress the agricultural property payment.
4. Comply and enforce the Sarayacu Agreement\(^{32}\).
5. Creation of budget allocations for provincial and national offices. Permanently delivery of resources to the agreement MEC-CONAIE.
6. Remission of debts by the FODERUMA, IERAC, FEPP, Development Bank, in accordance with the requirements of the CONAIE.
7. Delivery, solution and free legalization for the land/territory of indigenous nationalities.
8. Require the immediate delivery of budgetary funds for indigenous nationalities through a project presented by CONAIE, discussed and approved by National Congress.
9. Freeze prices of first need industrial products for at least two years and fixed prices for peasant products through the market autonomy.
10. Compliance, completion and implementation of priority projects regarding basic infrastructure of indigenous communities.
11. Free import and export for traders and craftsmen of CONAIE.
12. Adoption of nationwide ordinances for the control, protection and development of archaeological places by the CONAIE and its affiliated organizations.

\(^{32}\) It refers to the Agreement signed in 1989 between the Ecuadorian Government and the indigenous people of Sarayacu to guarantee the protection of its rights regarding the oil exploitation in that territory. (Viteri. F.)
14. Demand respect for the children rights, and reject the government's proposal to hold elections to the child population, without having worked for it to have an awareness of the situation in which we live.

15. Demand the State the elaboration of a decree regarding the legitimacy and fund of the indigenous medicine practice.

16. Demand the immediate repeal of the decrees which have created parallel institutions to provincial and municipal councils as CONOFORT, institutions run by a single political party which creates electoral companies that play with our indigenous community.

(Arias C. 2006)
Appendix 2.
Evolution of Civil Society in Ecuador

Evolution of Civil Society in Ecuador

- First labor unions and federation of workers
- Peasant organizations • First NGOs
- First women's NGOs • Associations
- Emergence of populist parties and social movements

1930s
1950s
1960s
1970s
1980s

Source: Civil Society's Role in the Governance Agenda in Ecuador: Assessing Opportunities and Constraints 2007
Elaborated by: Emilia Porras