

Indigenous people in transnational mobilizations against the Free Trade Area of the Americas

- a case study of the indigenous movement CONAIE

Abstract

The initiative to unite the economies of the Americas into a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) is increasingly threatening the survival of the indigenous people making them coalesce into transnational coalitions with people throughout the region. The aim of this thesis is to examine how the threats posed by the proposed FTAA and the opportunities of transnational activism opposing it has influenced the movement identity of an indigenous social movement. My object of study is the indigenous movement Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE). I have made a case study of CONAIE where I use a social movement approach to transnational activism in order to examine whether the participation in transnational anti-FTAA initiatives has affected the collective action repertoire and the activists of CONAIE. I find that it has partly changed the focus of the movement, but rather intensified and expanded its repertoire of contention through national and international alliances. The movement strategies and discourse have largely remained the same, while some change in the organizational structure is identified. A more noticeable shift is reflected in the character of the movement's activists which have developed new identities operating as 'rooted cosmopolitans' with 'multiple belongings' and 'flexible identities'.

Keywords: CONAIE, FTAA, indigenous people, social movement, transnational activism.

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List of Abbreviations

ACERCA	Action for Community and Ecology in the Regions of Central America
ALCA	Área de Libre Comercio de las Américas
CLOC	Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Organizaciones del Campo
CMI	Centro de Medios Independientes
CONAICE	Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Costa
CONAIE	Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador
CONFENAIE	Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Amazonía Ecuatoriana
CONFEUNASSC-CNC	Confederación Única Nacional de Afiliados al Seguro Social Campesino-Coordinadora Nacional Campesino
ECUARUNARI	Ecuador Runacunapac Riccharimui Confederación de los Pueblos de Nacionalidad Kichua del Ecuador
FEINE	Federación Ecuatoriana de Indígenas Evangélicos
FENOCIN	Confederación Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas, Indígenas y Negras
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas
HSA	Hemispheric Social Alliance
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NGO	Non governmental organization
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
TLC	Tratador de Libre Comercio
IMF	International Monetary Fund
WTO	World Trade Organization

1. Introduction

What is often referred to as ‘neoliberal globalization’ to elucidate an increasingly interconnected world economy, with advances in communication and intensified international trade, has not only integrated Latin American economies into the contemporary global market but also strongly affected the daily lives of the people throughout the region. Since the early 1980s, neoliberalism has provided the ideological justification for a series of so-called structural reforms carried out by most of the governments in the region through the implementation of a set of policies based on the ‘Washington consensus’ such as trade liberalization and privatization of state assets, without the input or consent of the populations (Harris 2002:136). The last two decades have thus seen an upsurge of Latin American social movements, challenging the neoliberal paradigm and the governments that impose it through a number of popular resistance mobilizations.

Indigenous people are often considered to be one of the societal groups worst disfranchised and least considered in the processes of economic globalization. Seeing adverse market-driven global processes as increasingly threatening their survival and autonomy by making them loosening their already fragile control over their land and natural resources, indigenous people have been among the most active opponents of these reforms (Bell-Houghton 2004:1). They constitute a sizable proportion of the population in many Latin American countries and together with peasants and rural workers they are mounting new forms of resistance and organizing against the neoliberal project. Moreover they are also engaged in international alliances, collaborating with a wide range of other civil society groups and communities across national borders. These forms of resistance coalitions thus not only shed light on the new politics in Latin America where social movements constitute central actors in the popular resistance to the advance of neoliberal globalization, but also of how the pressure to integrate into global markets threatens a heterogeneous group of social subjects throughout the world, thus highlighting the emergence of new forms of transnational contention developing around the globe.

A highly current subject for popular resistance to neoliberal globalization in Latin America today is the opposition to the establishment of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), an initiative launched by the United States to unite the economies of the Americas into a single free trade area. If implemented, it would impact the lives of 800 million people throughout the continent, thus seen by many as one of today’s most important issues for Latin America. However, the negotiations originally scheduled for completion by the beginning of 2005, have been stalled, partly due to popular mobilizations against the FTAA. The free trade agreement is strongly debated and criticized for leaving out civil society and

creating 'equal' conditions for unequal economies, thus forming both nation based and regional campaigns in opposition to the FTAA (James 2004:1).

In perspective of the indigenous people's experience of systematic exclusion and dispossession, trade negotiations such as the FTAA operating with inadequate consent or consultation of civil society, are by many indigenous people seen as a euphemism for a second colonization (Bell-Houghton 2004:2). While the struggle of the indigenous movements historically have been concentrated on the rights and autonomy for indigenous people within the country, the intensified threat of neoliberalism and free trade has developed a shared sense of solidarity among various marginalized civil society groups, making them to open up for issues concerning a wide array of people and thus joining in international protest campaigns and alliances in order to broaden their capacity to influence at both local and global level (Lund 2003:56). Studying social movements in the context of neoliberal globalization thus makes clear that globalization processes, not only pose new threats to civil society actors, but also offers new opportunities for organizing and mobilizing at both national and international level. In order to examine the political opportunities available for marginalized people to affect their local conditions, I find it important to examine the impact of transnational activism on a social movement, as various movements organized around different specific concerns and issues are linked together around a common cause.

1.1 Statement of Purpose and Question at issue

Since this thesis originates in my interest in the potential of civil society as an arena for political struggle in the context of globalization, and how emerging forms of transnational cooperation are providing new opportunities for civil society actors, I want to examine the contentious collective action of a social movement operating across borders.

Globalization and transnational activism are issue areas which, especially during the last decade, have produced a broad range of research literature within political science. While much of current research in the field of transnational activism has focused mainly on the northern part of the world and the emergence of campaigns and protest activities challenging globalization (see Meyer-Tarrow 1998, Khagram-Riker and Sikkink 2002, Smith-Johnston 2002, della Porta-Tarrow 2005, Bandy-Smith 2005) not many pay attention to contentious politics in the South or how global issues and transnational activism impact national activism. I consider this to be of great importance if we are to examine whether transnational protest activities are actually strengthening the struggles of social movements and the people they represent. I therefore want to shed light on what transnational activism has meant for an indigenous movement in Latin America. Hence, I contribute to an area which I find is relatively overlooked within the research on transnational contention and draw attention to a continent where the recent increase in uprisings of strong social movements challenging neoliberalism are forming new politics and thus new prospects for the future development of

Latin America (see Ergon 2003, Lund 2003, Linton 2005, Stahler-Sholk et.al 2005, Rubin, W. 2002).

As economic globalization processes shape and structure the international environment and contentious activism at international level, I want to examine in what way these changes influence the contentious activism of a social movement, its movement identity and the central themes that brought the movement together, when it transcends its specific locales and join in transnational alliances. My aim with this thesis is thus to examine the challenges that the proposed FTAA poses to an indigenous social movement and the available opportunities for resistance provided by the formation of transnational forms of cooperation, in order to see if it has influenced its movement identity. I will make a case study of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador – CONAIE), which has been instrumental in indigenous responses to the FTAA in both national initiatives and transnational coalitions. The question I pose is:

How has the proposed Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and the indigenous movement CONAIE's participation in transnational initiatives opposing it influenced the movement identity of CONAIE, as regards its collective action repertoire and activists ?

1.2 Theoretical Approach

In order to examine my case and answer my question at issue I will use a theoretical framework provided by the social movement scholars Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow. By emphasizing the need to link local and global conflicts, they focus on the way in which global issues are transforming local and national activism, as well as the interaction between local, national and supranational organizations (della Porta-Tarrow 2005:xiv). They address the changing character of movements as the result of transnational exposure and activism, by arguing that the new targets, new frames and new combinations of constituencies emerging as a response to contemporary neoliberal globalization have produced changes in contentious politics at the domestic level. According to the scholars, social movements have, from being institutionalized, moderate and narrowly issued, transformed to being more loosely structured, engaged in direct action and focused on more general issues (ibid:12).

Based on analyses of recent case-studies of transnational contention, mainly in Europe, della Porta and Tarrow have created a synthetic framework developed around the categories of 'complex internationalism', multilevel political opportunities' and the formation of a 'new activist stratum' to explain emerging forms and dynamics of transnational contention.

By using a refinement of these three variables they stress how the changing structure of the international system produces both threats and opportunities to a new generation of activists to form transnational coalitions and movements. Della Porta and Tarrow further bring to light the local-global linkages in transnational

activism and to the new movement identities, by emphasizing what they call ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’ – the capacity of today’s generation of activists to operate with equal ease on home ground and in the international arena (ibid:230, 242). This theoretical framework thus offers theoretical tools to explain the case of CONAIE, seen from its international context and considering the linkages between local and transnational contention.

However, since this theoretical model and social movement theory in general is primarily based on research on movements in the North, I will evaluate its explanatory power on a Latin American movement. According to scholars of new social movement theory in Latin America, such as Arturo Escobar and Judith Adler Hellman there is a need to broaden the scholarship on social movements based on European and North American models to include the new phenomena in developing countries (Escobar-Alvarez 1992:52, 62). Therefore, my ambition is also to briefly evaluate the theory in perspective of my case.

1.3 Method and Material

Since I want to examine a southern based social movement with particular focus on how transnational contentious activism affects the movement, I will make a qualitative case study of the indigenous movement CONAIE, which has been one of the most active opponents of the FTAA in both nation based and transnational initiatives.

In terms of the indigenous relationship to economic globalization Ecuador is a representative country, since it contains one of the largest and most diverse indigenous populations in the Americas,¹ which have been organized around economic issues for many years (Martin 2003:47). Within this context, CONAIE is an interesting movement to study because it is active as a broad-based national organization that employs both grassroots projects and larger-scale, often international, non- governmental campaigns in order to have its voice heard. CONAIE thus constitutes a case in which domestic and transnational factors may influence policy outcomes and strategies of the movement. With a broad organizational structure and many massive uprisings and protest activities against governmental and international policies CONAIE is by some seen as the most important social movement in the country (see Lucero 2003:32, Van Cott 1994:140, Brysk 2000:73).

Since I want to get an in-depth understanding of a social movement seen from its international context, the qualitative methodology is useful, being able to capture meaning, process and context (Devine 2002:199). Qualitative research is often dismissed for its limited generalisability, but since I have no aspiration to draw any general conclusions from this case but rather to make an in-depth

¹ Estimates of the indigenous population in Ecuador vary greatly. According to the last national census carried out in 2001, indigenous account for 6.8% of the total population (INEC 2001). Other studies claim estimates from 15 % to 40% (Gerlach 2003:7, Martin 2003:47). According to CONAIE, the indigenous population in 2000 constituted one third of the total population. Statistics from the CIA World fact book 2005 estimates that indigenous constitute 25% of Ecuador’s 13,4 million inhabitants (CIA 2005).

investigation of a social movement in Latin America, and see whether it corresponds with the theory based on research results mainly from countries in the north, the case study methodology will be useful (ibid:207).

In order to answer my question I will apply the theoretical framework of della Porta and Tarrow on the case of CONAIE to explain the international context in which it operates and the threats and opportunities it faces with regard to the FTAA and the transnational mobilizations against it, and thus see if transnational exposure and activism has affected the movement. By looking at the original identity of the movement and examine how CONAIE has responded to the proposed FTAA agreement through both national and transnational initiatives, I will examine whether it has produced any identifiable changes in the contentious collective action repertoire of the movement and in the way the indigenous activists operate and thus if it can fit into the description of the changed movement identity proposed by the theoretical reasoning of della Porta and Tarrow.

In particular, I will analyze the documentation of the work of the movement before the anti-FTAA initiatives were initiated focusing on; the organizational structure, the main issues of focus, the principal objectives and strategies used and compare it with the structure, issues, objectives and strategies in the recent national and international efforts to resist the FTAA.

The empirical material used in this study consists of both primary and secondary data. CONAIE itself has produced numerous publications and public statements documenting its activities and aspirations as well as its website containing basic information of the movement and updated press releases and information on their activities. The information on the FTAA is taken from the official website of the FTAA. I have also relied on secondary literature consisting mainly of books and articles published in journals and on-line documents, together with additional data on the FTAA and the anti-FTAA campaigns in public documents and declarations on the Internet. The theoretical material is entirely based on research literature.

1.4 Disposition and Delimitations

In this introductory chapter of the thesis I present the area of study and question at issue seen from its contextual background and related to recent theoretical reasoning, as well as in regard to my purpose and methodological considerations. The following chapter first presents a brief introduction to the research within the field of transnational activism and then outlines the theoretical framework which will provide the analytical tools to approach my case study. Chapter three provides a brief presentation of the FTAA project, its official meaning and the critical debate surrounding it, primarily seen from the indigenous stance. The next chapter first gives an account of CONAIE, a brief historical background, its organization and structure and its basic aims and strategies. This is developed further in the following analysis of the movement where I examine how the FTAA and CONAIE's role in national and transnational mobilizations against it

has affected the movement in perspective of the theoretical framework of della Porta and Tarrow. In the fifth chapter I will sum up the results of the previous sections in order to answer my question at issue, together with an evaluation of the theory in perspective of my case. The sixth and final chapter comprises my concluding remarks of the thesis.

Though my thesis aims to study how transnational activism have had an impact on the movement identity of CONAIE, due to given space constraints, I will not be able to provide a fully complex and comprehensive view of all events and actions taken place. I will focus on the anti-FTAA mobilizations within the period from 2000 to 2005, since this is the phase when protests against the FTAA have been most intense. Further, as the analysis centres on CONAIE, main focus will be with regard to how this impact the repertoire of action and activists of CONAIE and thus not so much in consideration of the actual activities. Neither have I any ambition to present a complete picture of CONAIE. I will provide a general insight to the movement and then focus on the aspects relevant for my study.

2. Theory

In this chapter I will first present a brief introduction to the research field on transnational activism in order to outline the tradition out of which the social movement approach has come and to put my study in a theoretical context. I will then give an account of the theoretical framework by della Porta and Tarrow which will provide the analytical tools to approach my case study.

2.1 Research on Transnational Activism

In addition to the formal ending of the Cold War, the debate on international changes due to intensified globalization processes, producing new threats and opportunities for social and political activists, in combination with cognitive and relational changes among activists, became an important source for the emergence of new forms of non-state action across nation borders, through transnational activism (della Porta–Tarrow 2005:7-10).

Today there exist a broad range of research literature on transnational activism approaching the subject from different perspectives and traditions drawing on for example; international relations, social movement theory, political theory, anthropology, international law and international political economy. In the main though, the literature can be divided into three perspectives; an international relations approach, a global civil society approach and a social movement approach (ibid:232f).

It took until mid 1990's for the social movement tradition to approach transnational activism. Much of the research initially centred around national movements in a 'globalizing world', with particular focus on the routine activism of formal non governmental organizations (NGOs) (see Smith-Pagnucco and Chatfield 1997, della Porta, Kriesi and Rucht 1999 and Guidry-Kennedy and Zald 2000). By drawing on traditional theorising on social movement analysis several scholars pointed to the continuing relevance of a set of conceptual tools from social movement theory such as; political opportunity structures, mobilization structures, collective framing processes, activist identities and repertoires. With the increase in transnational contention such as the WTO protests in the "Battle of Seattle" and the World Social Forums the focus within the tradition has changed to more contentious movements (see Meyer-Tarrow 1998, Khagram-Riker and Sikkink 2002, Smith-Johnston 2002, della Porta- Tarrow 2004, Bandy-Smith 2005). Current research on transnational activism is thus dominated by studies on issues of contentious politics and protest activities, challenging neoliberal globalization in favour of global social justice (see della Porta-Tarrow 2005, Smith-Johnston 2002, Bandy-Smith 2005, Khagram-Riker -Sikkink 2002).

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow are two renowned social movement scholars with their base in sociology, whose current research focus on contentious politics² within the field of transnational activism. Transnational activism is however a heterogeneous field of social contention why different concepts and definitions are being used by different scholars. della Porta and Tarrow's definition of the concept refer to transnational collective action as "the coordinated international campaigns on the part of activists against international actors, other states or international institutions" (della Porta-Tarrow 2005:7). By emphasizing that much of previous research conducted to explain the emerging forms and dynamics of transnational activism has been poorly specified where it is most needed: regarding the linkages between transnational and local contention, they provide a theoretical framework aimed at explaining the way in which global issues are transforming local and national activism as well as the interaction between local, national and supranational movement organizations (ibid: xiv,232). Without denying the existing traditions of 'international relations' and 'global civil society' drawing on macro-analytical theorising on structural change and micro-level technological change, della Porta and Tarrow's approach points to a middle-range interpretation based on the categories of complex internationalism, multilevel political opportunities and transnational activism.

2.2.1 Complex Internationalism

In order to explain the emergence of transnational activism, della Porta and Tarrow in particular give emphasis to the changing structure of the international system, which they define as the 'complex internationalism'. The term is a further development of the international relations theorists Robert O' Keohane and Joseph S. Nye's concept of 'complex interdependence' between states and international institutions, to also include the role of non-state actors. Complex internationalism is thus by della Porta and Tarrow defined as "*the expansion of international institutions, international regimes and the transfer of resources of local and national actors to the international stage, producing threats, opportunities and resources for international NGOs, transnational social movements, and indirectly, grassroots social movements*" (ibid:235). Further the varying levels of power and influence of the different actors within the system is stressed. While the states are the central most powerful actors, international institutions represent both state interests and their own bureaucratic claims. Whereas 'insider' non-governmental organizations (NGOs) can influence both states and institutions, social movements attempt to influence the policies from outside this structure. Considering non-state actors, della Porta and Tarrow thus point out that this complex internationalism is producing as well new threats and

² According to the definition of Tarrow contentious politics occurs "when ordinary people, often in league with more influential citizens, join forces in confrontations with elites, authorities, and opponents" (Tarrow 2003:2).

inequalities, as offering new opportunities and resources to activists to form transnational coalitions and movements (ibid 230).

2.2.2 Multilevel Opportunity Structure

The opportunities available for non-state actors to influence internationally and the linking of domestic and international conflicts within the international system are illustrated in the concept of ‘multilevel opportunity structure’. While describing how globalization and the increased interdependence initially tended to generate a pessimistic view of the prospects for classical social movements, della Porta and Tarrow point to how it, alongside the costs of globalization, also exist dynamic effects of the interdependence on collective action. The diminishing role of the state and the diffusion of power in the world economy are leading to a strengthening of transnational corporations and an internationalization of financial institutions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). According to della Porta and Tarrow, this development has spurred contention in new formations of alliances of various state and non-state actors opposing global capitalism. Through these forms of participation non-state actors not only become increasingly visible and interconnected with each other, but on occasion also increase their influential power (ibid:236).

Della Porta and Tarrow thus imply that if complex internationalism represents obstacles to political participation, it offers a ‘multilevel opportunity structure’, defined as “*resources and opportunities for non-state actors to challenge elites and—on occasion — to collaborate with insiders, just as domestic movements sometimes cooperate with political parties or interest groups*”. Supranational organizations thus provide new arenas for articulation of claims and in addition, the expansion of international institutions, regimes and practices provide multilevel targets for social movements— national, macroregional and international (ibid:236f).

2.2.3 The New Activist Stratum

From a review of case-studies della Porta and Tarrow suggest that the qualitatively new in contemporary globalization is rather than the intensified integration processes, the new character of non-state actors engaged in transnational activism. They see the growing importance of a new activist stratum where ‘rooted cosmopolitans’ with ‘multiple belongings’ and ‘flexible identities’ make up the evidence for that movement identities are undergoing changes as a result of transnational exposure and activism (ibid:237-241). In order to illustrate the interconnection between these terms they need to be further defined and empirically exemplified.

Rooted Cosmopolitans

According to della Porta and Tarrow transnational activists are very seldom working exclusively at the transnational level, but tend to be rooted at the local and national level, engaged in different levels of governments institutions, and at the same time create linkages and form coalitions among various types of actors operating on regional and international levels. Drawing on the philosopher Anthony Appiah's term 'rooted cosmopolitan' emphasizing the locally rooted cosmopolitan engaged in a broad variety of transnational activity, della Porta and Tarrow define the concept as "*people and groups who are rooted in specific national contexts, but who engage in regular activities that require their involvement in transnational networks of contacts and conflict*" (ibid:237f). More specifically della Porta and Tarrow's definition include: immigrant activists who are involved regularly in transnational political activities in their home countries or internationally; labour activists from the South who forge ties with northern unions and NGOs; members of transnational advocacy networks³ who link domestic activists to international institutions through international NGOs and the organizers and occasional participants in transnational protest campaigns (ibid:238). While some of these activists become permanently transnational, the vast majority are engaged at both domestic and international level. The long-term impact of current transnational campaigns is further seen as the implosion of international issues into domestic politics through the multiple belongings and flexible identities of these rooted cosmopolitans.

Multiple Belongings

By first admitting overlapping memberships and loose networks as traditional features of social movements, della Porta and Tarrow stress that the characteristic of contemporary transnationalism is its persistence of mobilization involving a heterogeneous social basis, as well as a heterogeneous range of protest entrepreneurs (ibid:238f). The concept of 'multiple belongings' thus refers to "*the presence of activists with overlapping memberships linked within loosely structured, polycentric networks*" and is exemplified in various recent international protest demonstrations and campaigns against neoliberal policies, bringing together members of various and heterogeneous associations and groups. In consideration of 'the overlapping memberships' what is new, according to della Porta and Tarrow, is thus not only that these transnational movements are comprised of activists from different traditions such as; workers, peasants, indigenous people, ecologists, unionists, feminists and religious groups, but more and more that activists are members of more than one group at the same time (ibid:239).

³ Transnational Advocacy Networks here defined as "those relevant actors working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse, and dense exchanges of information and services" (Keck –Sikkink 1998:2).

Flexible Identities

Della Porta and Tarrow argue that the new heterogeneous transnational movements require special types of identities. If past movements stressed equality among its members, the new transnational movements stress the diversity of members as a positive asset for collective actors. The international campaigns are not only built upon a common denominator, but are perceived as the development of a shared understanding of the external reality which holds the movement together (ibid:239f). Activists thus develop flexible identities, by which della Porta and Tarrow mean “*identities characterized by inclusiveness and a positive emphasis upon diversity and cross-fertilization, with limited identifications that develop especially around common campaigns on objects perceived as ‘concrete’ and nurtured by search for dialogue* (ibid:237).

2.2.4 The New Repertoire of Contention

Since recent forms of transnational protest campaigns are rooted at the local and national level, not only do mobilizations across borders link domestic actors to the international level, but they produce changes at the domestic level.

As for the collective action, della Porta and Tarrow argue that the new targets, new frames and new combinations of constituencies developed around transnational contention, have produced changes in contentious politics at the domestic level in many countries. The character of social movements has changed in consideration of structure, strategies and issues. While the organizational structure appeared institutionalized and bureaucratic during the 1980s and 1990s, the new types of social movement organizations are according to della Porta and Tarrow, more loosely structured developed around the issue of global justice. Further the movement strategies of social movements that appeared moderate and contained and largely focused on specific issues, have also come to include direct action and civil disobedience and show an increased interest in more general issues (ibid:12). Furthermore, they emphasize that the engagement of local groups in transnational protest campaigns, leads to changes in the framing⁴ of domestic political conflicts.

By drawing on the sociologists Robert Benford and David Snow’s concept of ‘master frames’, conceived of as ‘paradigms’ that provide meaning to movement-specific frames, della Porta and Tarrow argue that the opposition to neoliberal globalization has produced a theme of ‘global social justice’ which is an emerging ‘master frame’ of new mobilizations also at the local level. Specific movement concerns of labour issues, women’s rights, indigenous rights and environmental justice are weaved together around the theme of resistance to neoliberal globalization and the need for global social justice (ibid:12).

⁴ Framing processes of collective action relate to how social movements create meaning for action, more specifically how movements ‘name’ grievances and connect them to other grievances and construct larger frames of meaning that will resonate with a population’s cultural predispositions and communicate a uniform message to power holders and others (Benford-Snow 1992:136).

3. The Free Trade Area of the Americas

This chapter gives a brief presentation of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) –its official meaning and the critical debate surrounding it primarily seen from the indigenous stance. This is in order to give an insight to the background of CONAIE’s national and international responses to the FTAA.

3.1 The Objectives, Structure and Organization of the FTAA process

The initiative to create the FTAA⁵ was launched after the NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) between USA, Canada and Mexico, came into effect and is thus an extension of the model of the NAFTA. At the Summit of the Americas in Miami, U.S.A. in December 1994, the Heads of State and Government in 34 democracies in the region agreed to construct a Free Trade Area of the Americas – FTAA. The aim was to unite the economies of the Americas into a single free trade area by gradually eliminating trade and investment barriers and promoting the development of the interregional trade and the economies of the countries involved. The FTAA initiative was initially launched by the U.S. government under the Bill Clinton administration and is now being promoted by the Bush administration (FTAA).

The main purpose of the FTAA is to preserve and strengthen the community of democracies of the Americas, promote prosperity through economic integration and free trade, eradicate poverty and discrimination throughout the continent and guarantee sustainable development and conserve the natural environment for future generations (FTAA 1994). The main objectives of the agreement are; trade liberalization, market liberalization, enhanced competition and market access, reduction of trade barriers such as customs, tariffs and domestic subsidies, improvements in the hemispheric infrastructure and greater access to technology (FTAA 2003). The FTAA project is, if implemented, the geographically largest trade area in the world with a combined population of 800 million and thus the most ambitious trade integration in history.

The structure and organization of the FTAA negotiations are to be carried out under an agreed structure that is to be member-driven and geographically broad based. The chairmanship and the sites for holding negotiation meetings are thus rotating among the participation countries. Since the negotiations cover many

⁵ FTAA is the English acronym for the free trade area, the Spanish abbreviation is ALCA (Área de Libre Comercio de las Américas). For consistency this study refers to the FTAA.

areas, the work is divided into nine Negotiating Groups responsible for following specific areas; market access, investment, services, government procurement, dispute settlement, agriculture, intellectual property rights, subsidies, antidumping and countervailing duties and competition policy (FTAA).

The negotiations originally scheduled for completion by the year 2005 have however been stalled, partly because of conflicting national interests. Agricultural subsidies, foreign investments, tariffs and non-tariff barriers, intellectual property rights and governmental purchases have been among the main conflict lines in the FTAA negotiations. At the eighth FTAA Ministerial meeting in Miami, November 2003 it was therefore made an agreement to a more flexible two-tier approach to the FTAA. As a result, a number of processes of bilateral trade negotiations between the U.S. and individual Latin American countries have been initiated and are at the time of writing being negotiated parallel to pursuing the FTAA.

Since the initial negotiations in 1994, eight Ministerial meetings have been held in the participating countries throughout the Americas which have generated in eight Ministerial Declarations and to the constructing of three Draft Agreements dated; July 2001, November 2002 and November 2003 in order to provide general and institutional provisions of an overall structure for the FTAA agreement.

The FTAA agreement is decided to be balanced, WTO-consistent and constitute a single undertaking. One of the fundamental principles emphasized in the draft texts is also transparency. It is agreed that the negotiating process should be transparent and take into account the different levels of development and size of the economies, in order to facilitate full participation by all countries. The Ministerial meetings have thus emphasized the need to establish a dialogue with civil society and in 1998 an “open invitation” was launched to give various sectors of civil societies the opportunity to express their opinions on the FTAA process through an e-mail service (ibid).

Still, the FTAA negotiations have been described as a centralised process and many civil society groups are not satisfied with the ability to influence the negotiations. Some of the Latin American countries have emphasized the risks with openness, arguing that it leads to increased influence of sectional interests and the protectionist lobby and gives disproportionate power to the northern NGOs. These arguments have together with other debated subjects contributed to the establishment of a strong and growing anti-FTAA movement.

3.2 Anti-FTAA argumentation -the indigenous stance

The stalling of the FTAA is, other than the conflicting national interests among the participating countries, also due to a strong and growing civil society movement opposing the FTAA. Since the FTAA is essentially an expansion of the NAFTA model the general critic posed to the FTAA project is primarily based on the NAFTA experience and can be summarized in ten main points; firstly the FTAA agreement is being written without citizen input, further it is argued it will;

expand a proven disaster (considering the working families and environmental suffers of the NAFTA experience), undermine labour rights and cause further job loss, exacerbate environmental destruction, hurt family farmers, lead to privatization of essential services, jeopardize consumer and environmental protections, spread the use of genetically modified organisms (GMOs), increase poverty and inequality and furthermore citizens' groups argue that there are proven alternatives to the FTAA (Global Exchange).

With regard to the indigenous stance to the FTAA, it is of crucial importance to consider the relationships between the indigenous groups and their respective states, as they have shaped the living conditions and the societal context in which the indigenous groups operate (Roper et al. 2003:7). The indigenous people throughout Latin America are the most impoverished and vulnerable people in the region. Being marked by centuries of colonization, oppression and poverty, their current situation within the nation-state is still marked by severe systematic exclusion and discrimination and a widely spread discontent with the state response to their concerns (Van Cott 1994:4, Bell- Houghton 2004:1).

Considering the indigenous-state relationship, to enter a free trade agreement approved by the state and worked out mainly by the leading sections of the countries, would thus threaten to worsen already difficult domestic conditions for indigenous groups. It is important to point out that all indigenous groups in the Americas are distinct from each other, however there are certain basic aims that motivate indigenous political organization and that thus affect their position on the FTAA. The primary sets of policy issues are: self-determination and autonomy issues (often expressed in terms of cultural and legal rights); territorial rights and access to natural resources (often presented as a fundamental base of their economic development); and issues of military or police relations with indigenous peoples (Van Cott 1994:12). Hence, the entrance into the FTAA with new rules imposed 'from above', is generally conceived of as economically, culturally and ecologically exploitative, why the most common stance taken by indigenous people is a total rejection of the FTAA. Following quote from the "Abya Yala Indigenous Peoples' Mandate" reflects much of the general indigenous concerns in relation to the FTAA:

The FTAA will lead to greater destruction of the environment [which will cause us] to be evicted from our own territories. We will be led down the path of submitting to the privatization of water and the generalized use of genetically modified foods. Labor rights and working conditions will deteriorate. The living conditions and health of our peoples will worsen as the privatization of social services is accepted and implemented. Many small- and medium-sized businesses that are still surviving will go bankrupt. Democratic rights in society will be further limited. Severe poverty, inequality, and inequity will increase. The ancestral cultures and ethical values we still have will be destroyed. They will even end up dismantling nation-states and turning them into incorporated colonies. What kind of integration are you trying to tell us about when, as your plans are carried out, we are being disintegrated and eliminated? What kind of integration are you proposing if the basis of your proposal is competition, the desire to accumulate and obtain profits at any cost, inequity, disrespect for peoples and cultures, and the desire to make us all part of the

market, part of rampant consumerism? What kind of integration are you proclaiming if the first and foremost relationship of human beings is to mother earth, and you do not have such a relationship? (Abya Yala 2002)

The FTAA is by many indigenous movements seen as a strategy for the U.S. to dominate the Americas economically and politically. It is also emphasized that FTAA threatens their autonomy, as the supranational laws and regulations of FTAA is considered to circumscribe the national action space in several areas (Conaie et.al 2002a:1-8). In a common document from several various indigenous movements the FTAA is being strongly criticized for being a process of solely economic integration and thus preventing social, political and cultural integration (Conaie et.al 2002c).

Other arguments focus on the unequal conditions for production as the dominating productivity and large subsidies of the U.S. threatens to drive out the small scale local agricultural producers in Latin American of the market. Further criticism focus on the increase in privatizations of social services and basic natural resources such as water and that the new regulations of intellectual property rights fears to impinge on the cultural rights (Conaie et.al 2002a:3ff).

In consideration of the transparency of the FTAA process, a large part of the preparatory stages of the negotiations have been conducted in secrecy among the trade officials, without the consultation and involvement of civil society representatives. The decision to increase the transparency by making the first draft text publicly available in the four official languages (Spanish, French, Portuguese and English) did however exclude many indigenous people throughout the Americas, who generally do not speak one of these languages. Indigenous organizations thus fear that the secret nature of the FTAA negotiations will exclude the concerns of their members, as it is impossible to participate in the negotiations if they not even know the actual content of the negotiations (ACERCA).

4. CONAIE- an indigenous movement in the context of neoliberal globalization

This chapter first gives an account of CONAIE, its formation, organization and structure and its basic aims and strategies, and further analyze how the FTAA and the participation in national and transnational mobilizations against it have affected the movement in perspective of the theoretical framework of della Porta and Tarrow.

4.1 Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador —CONAIE

4.1.1 Formation and Organizational Structure

Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (in English Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador) or more commonly, CONAIE, is the national umbrella organization of the indigenous people in Ecuador coordinating the permanent struggle of the communities, unions, centres and indigenous federations of the country. CONAIE is an autonomous organization that represents the following indigenous nationalities; Shuar, Achuar, Siona, Secoya, Cofán, Waorani, Záparo, Chachi, Tsa'chila, Awá, Epera, Manta, Wancavila and Quichua (Conaie).

CONAIE was constituted in November 16, 1986 through a confederation of local, provincial and regional indigenous organizations of the highlands (the Andes), the Amazon regions and the lowlands (coastal regions). The structural organization of CONAIE is composed of three regional federations: CONFENAIE—Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Amazonía Ecuatoriana (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon) in the Amazon region; ECUARUNARI—Ecuador Runuacunapac Riccharium-la Confederación de los Pueblos de la Nacionalidad Kichuas del Ecuador (Confederation of Peoples of Quichua Nationality) in the central mountain region and CONAICE—la Coordinadora de Organizaciones Indígenas y Negras de la Costa Ecuatoriana (Coordination of Indigenous and Black Organizations of the Ecuadorian Coast) in the coastal region (ibid.). These federations make up the fundamental base of CONAIE and further the structural organization serves from the bottom up through the local, regional and national levels of organization. The local communities (*cabildos*) are unified in provincial federations which in its turn combine to form the three regional federations that

make up the national organization of CONAIE (Gerlach 2003:72). However, to describe CONAIE as a uniform organization would not give a realistic presentation of the movement. CONAIE has since its initiation struggled with internal tensions, particularly between the regions, between different ideological positioned groups and the distance between the national and the local level as the needs of the local communities are not always prioritized by the national leaders attempting to get political influence (Selverston Scher 2001:126f, Martin 2003:52, Beck 2001:8f).

At national level, the Congress is the highest authority; the National Assembly is the second instance being elected every third year (Conaie). The leadership structure has changed over the years but at present it includes; a President, Vice President, Secretaries of organization and promotion and of human rights, women, health and education. The permanent office is based in Quito, while the assemblies and congresses are held at various locations throughout Ecuador. CONAIE also cooperates and supports the initiatives of other civil society groups such as labour, peasants and environmental organizations. Likewise it has international allies, being supported by all from anthropologists to environmentalists as well as economic sponsors and resources from non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as OXFAM America and Rainforest Action Network (RAN) (Selverston –Scher 2001:38f).

4.1.2. Principal Objectives

Through its multilevel organization and international allies, CONAIE is primarily dedicated to promote indigenous rights in the economic, socio-cultural and political areas. As for all indigenous groups in Latin America, the consideration of the state is a central aspect in the study of CONAIE, since the state and the governmental policies have shaped the identity formation of the indigenous groups, as well as how they are perceived by the broader society (Roper et.al 2003:7). The state has thus been the primary target in the struggle of CONAIE. Indigenous groups consistently declare that the Ecuadorian state does not represent them, why they continue challenging its legitimacy. CONAIE challenges the meaning of citizenship and democratic participation within the state, framing their struggle in terms of indigenous identity.

The politics of identity is developed in response to a national context of cultural, economical and political exclusion. The exclusion is cultural in the sense that indigenous people in Ecuador have been marked by the colonialist cultural domination since the Spanish conquest. The colonial dominance has also economically excluded indigenous people by the loss of territory through agrarian reforms. Since small –scale agriculture production not only makes up the indigenous subsistence economy, but as the indigenous people in Ecuador also see Mother Earth ('pachamama') as an important part of their identity, the loss of land-tenure is socio-culturally excluding as well (Zamosc 1994:57, Dávalos 2002:5). These exclusionary policies have in turn led to the exclusion of Ecuadorian indigenous people in political participation ever since the Spanish

conquest (Selverston-Scher 2001:76f, 124). The identity based platform of CONAIE has thus centred on demands for indigenous cultural, economic and political rights. The cultural objectives revolve primarily around educational issues, the economic demands are focused on the land question and the political demands and alternative proposals consist of various reforms (Conaie, Selverston-Scher 2001:83).

In the constitution of CONAIE the movement outlines that their principal objectives are to: strengthen the indigenous villages and nationalities of the country; struggle for protection of land, indigenous territories and natural resources; strengthen and further develop the bilingual intercultural education; struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism; encourage the communitarian legislation and develop the integral comunitarismo⁶; strengthen the identity and its forms of social organization; promote the exercise of collective rights of the indigenous villages and nationalities of Ecuador; construct an intercultural society; promote the participation by means of establishment of a participative democracy, achieve equality and justice in the indigenous villages and nationalities and thus in the society in general and maintain the international relations with the indigenous nationalities of the continent (Conaie).

The movement has both immediate and long term objectives, which naturally have varied over the years. The immediate goal has however remained the solution of the land conflicts, while the more far-reaching ambition is the reform of the Constitution and recognition of Ecuador as a “plurinational state” (Selverston-Scher 2001:39). The demand for ‘plurinationalism’ (the official recognition of a nation with distinct peoples and nationalities) is of central importance in the work of CONAIE as it could give the indigenous people the rights as citizens and people with cultures. As the leaders of the state have sought to construct a single overpowering ‘national identity’ the indigenous people find that their identity is not being included and recognized. CONAIE thus force, as many other Latin American indigenous movements, a reconsideration of the concept of the nation-state in the struggle for plurinationalism (Conaie 2001:1, Selverston-Scher 2001:83, Mc Kee 1998:7). Since the formation of CONAIE the movement has therefore struggled for the fortification of ‘unity in diversity’ defending an ‘own political project’ of indigenous villages and nationalities (Conaie).

4.1.3. Strategies for struggle

In order to pursue cultural, economical and political changes on behalf of Ecuador’s indigenous population CONAIE uses a wide range of strategies and tactics including all from direct action to more long-term negotiations and electoral politics. CONAIE is well known for its popular uprisings (‘levantamientos populares’) that often include protests, marches, blockades and

3. ‘Comunitarismo’ is by CONAIE defined as “the form of life of the indigenous villages and nationalities based on reciprocity, solidarity and equality. That is to say, a way of production of communitarian character in which all members participate actively (Conaie 2001).

the take over of government buildings. CONAIE has organized several national uprisings throughout the years using extensive civil disobedience, mainly in order to protest government policies and reforms. These protest actions have been important for establishing a political space for indigenous actors at the national level. For example, the event that established the legitimacy of CONAIE was the 1990 uprising. Due to stagnating talks with the government, CONAIE coordinated a week-long uprising with roadblocks market boycotts, land repossessions and the cutting off of water supplies, which had an almost paralyzing effect on the country (Sawyer 2004:46, Selverston-Scher 2001:58-61, Lucero 2003:32, Macas 2000).

Even though these direct actions are central strategies in the struggle of CONAIE, the movement is also engaged in more long-term influencing of society's recognition of indigenous people. As Luis Macas, the current President of CONAIE has declared "Our tactic [mecánica] is not just to burn tires, throw stones or block roads. We can show our protest in a fiesta. This is our worldview" (Brysk 2000:73).

One important element in CONAIE's struggle for strengthening the indigenous identity is through the recognition of native languages and indigenous education (Macas 2001:xiii). Bilingual literacy campaigns and education have thus been one of the most important strategies for CONAIE, contributing to the reinvention of indigenous identity in Ecuador (Selverston-Scher 2001:40, Brysk 2000:58).

CONAIE has also sponsored development and cultural projects and supported development of local-level organizations. Furthermore CONAIE cooperates with foreign media and support network and has participated in the organization of a series of continental pan-indigenous conferences and mobilizations, such as the transnational movement COICA (The Coordinating Body for the Indigenous Organizations of the Amazon Basin) (Brysk 2000:74).

During the last decade CONAIE has also turned towards electoral politics with the formation of a political movement to participate in electoral processes, named *Movimiento de Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik-Nuevo País* (hereafter *Pachakutik*) in 1995. After several years of rejecting direct participation in elections, the combination of external influences and the critical situation in Ecuador much due to expanding oil-exploration, made the leaders of CONAIE reverse its stand and participate in the formation of *Pachakutik*. The founding of *Pachakutik* has served as an alternative political and social expression uniting indigenous and other peoples around a new political project but also given rise to an internal debate on whether the movement should be perceived as a social actor with a political project or a social movement without own political possibilities (Beck 2001, Selverston-Scher 2001:48, Dávalos 2004:7, Editorial 2005).

4.2 CONAIE in a system of Complex Internationalism

4.2.1 Neoliberal Challenges and the FTAA

To analyze the current situation of CONAIE I find it important to get an insight to the process in which the movement has emerged and developed. If the 1980s was

characterized by a structural organization process in which CONAIE achieved its organizational and political unity created around a number of principal objectives, the 1990s was when the movement started mobilizing at national level based around the proposal of building a plurinational state (Macas 2000:1f). Throughout the 1990s CONAIE mobilized national uprisings and several demonstrations primarily in response to the government's initiation of new neoliberal policies imposed by the U.S, the International Money Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The Agrarian Reform Law, the Modernization Law, and the approval of new extractions of oil resources, were controversial strategies that spurred CONAIE to increased coordination and activism together with other affected groups (Martin 2005:13).

The current situation for CONAIE and many other indigenous movements is marked by the absence of an alternative economic model together with the ambiguities of the politics of identity. They are in danger of stagnating or retreating into themselves if they don't manage to maintain and deepen their distinctive character of being able to link social, political, cultural and economic rights without confusing the distinction between them (Le Bot 2005:3).

In the period following the 1990s, Luís Macas, President of CONAIE, describes how the challenge facing the movement is how to unite a movement marked by diverse individual interests and a leadership increasingly distanced from the movement's grassroots, in a common global proposal for the country that includes everybody. The movement's acting and positioning according to how the Right sets the agenda for the country has created tensions within the movement in how to respond to these policies. Macas further emphasize the need of a critical evaluation of the indigenous movement as a whole, in order to see what perspectives are to expect for future challenges (Macas 2000).

The years after the 1990s can also be seen as a point of change for CONAIE in perspective of its position in an international context. While globalization processes have intensified neoliberal economic reforms and thus posed new challenges to recent indigenous leaders within CONAIE, the transnational opportunities in terms of mobilization frames and resources have strengthened CONAIE's previous international alliances and developed new forms of transnational networks and coalitions in the global justice (anti-globalization) arena (Martin 2005:1f).

Since 2000, Ecuador has been marked by the intensification of the neoliberal project through a number of national economic reforms, and more recently the current negotiations of the FTAA, resulting in a wave of anti neoliberal protests affecting the approach taken by CONAIE. While the struggle for national inclusion and framed issues of plurinationalism are still important for CONAIE, the movement now mobilizes against neoliberal economic reforms, and currently against the proposed FTAA in both national and transnational campaigns and coalitions. Consequently Luís Macas, President of the CONAIE, declared in a recent statement, that the movement has decided to reject the electoral agenda and only emphasize its objectives as a social movement for the year to come (Macas 2005).

CONAIE has made an effort to strengthen the internal unity between its three regional federations and the alliances at national and international level. As a

result of this CONAIE has emphasized the struggle of the indigenous movement in order to restrain the negotiation processes of free trade agreements like the FTAA (and Andean FTA) by taking part in national and continental campaigns against these agreements (Rolong 2004). The increased mobilization with other organizations opposing the neoliberal economic project has thus made CONAIE turn from being resource poor actors struggling for national inclusion to being national and transnational leaders engaged in the 'global social justice movement' (Martin 2005:17).

4.2.2. The FTAA - New Threats and Targets

The neoliberal policies introduced in Ecuador in the 1980s and intensified during the 1990s with the aim to modernize the country via export led 'free market policies' have all been met by scepticism and protest demonstrations from the indigenous population (Sawyer 2004:13ff). The current period is no exception. The former President Lucio Gutierrez and the current President Alfredo Palacio have extended the neoliberal agenda and their ties to U.S. imperialism through the negotiations on the agreement of the FTAA. The U.S. plans to integrate the economies of the Americas in a common free trade area is placing Ecuador in a new international context where the power and influence of the U.S, the Ecuadorian state and the non-state actors in the country is being negotiated.

Seen in perspective of the theoretical reasoning of della Porta and Tarrow, this reflects the varying levels of power and influence of states, international institutions and non-state actors in the international system (della Porta-Tarrow 2005:235). The FTAA is an international institution in the sense that it can be seen as an agent for global capitalism in its framework for the development of common markets, and since it is created by states to satisfy state interests and has become a focal point of contention for non-state actors (Tarrow 2005:26). The proposed FTAA poses new threats for the indigenous people in Ecuador, but also offers new opportunities and resources for new forms of transnational cooperation mobilizing against a common target and thus indirectly increasing the opportunities for CONAIE to operate outside its national borders in attempt to influence the FTAA process. Conceptualizing the CONAIE in the system of 'complex internationalism' producing threats, opportunities and resources for social movements attempting to influence the system from outside (della Porta-Tarrow 2005:235), thus makes up a case in point of how the globalized economy affects peoples lives and the role of non-state actors in the international system.

The current most serious threat to the indigenous people's survival is the proposed FTAA that, from CONAIE's and many other Ecuadorian civil society organizations stance is seen as a U.S. strategy for economic and political domination of the Americas and a political project in which the interests of the North American multinational corporations will dominate the laws and interests of the Latin American countries (Conaie et.al 2002 a:1,10). The free trade agreement is thus seen as a tool for ensuring access to Ecuadorian markets and natural resources, threatening the rural economies and the environment and thus the

economic and cultural survival of the indigenous people (ibid:9). Hence, CONAIE no longer only acts in a reactionary manner to the state's policies, but also mounts campaigns against the FTAA, the U.S. government and multinational corporations which constitute CONAIE's new targets for contention.

4.2.3 National initiatives opposing the FTAA

With the FTAA negotiations held in secret, excluding civil society actors and the Ecuadorian government failing to adequately educate and inform the public about the meaning of the agreement, the CONAIE has formed national coalitions to mobilize protests against the proposed FTAA, by emphasizing the economic and social consequences of free trade and thus demanding the government not to sign the negotiations and call for termination of the entire FTAA process (Conaie et al 2002a:10, Ruben 2002:3).

As national lobbying has been one of the primary activities for CONAIE in mobilizing public protests to pressure the government, national mobilizations against the FTAA has been used in order to effect at the level of national concern and influence on the state's negotiations stance. Since May 2000 CONAIE has led and coordinated a national campaign against the FTAA and Ecuador's participation in the FTAA negotiations. La Campaña Nacional contra el ALCA (The National Campaign against the FTAA), is a coalition where the majority of indigenous, peasant and other social movements, together with various non-governmental organization (NGOs) have joined to form a national resistance campaign under the slogan "Sí a la vida, No al ALCA- Otra América es posible" ("Yes to Life, No to the FTAA - Another America is Possible") (CMI 2002a). This national alliance was formed in response to the seventh FTAA Ministerial meeting held in Quito, 2002. In anticipation of the Summit and in order to defeat the FTAA with a long term strategy the CONAIE, together with other grassroots organizations and networks from all over Ecuador prepared plans for actions by organizing forums, popular education campaigns in the form of workshops and meetings on the impacts of, and alternatives to the FTAA. During the Ministerial meeting CONAIE organized mass protest marches, a media campaign and a hearing between Ecuadorian indigenous and civil society representatives and the FTAA ministers (CMI 2002b).

Furthermore, in order to call for international solidarity, the larger organizations, including CONAIE, declared the 27 of October to 1 of November 2002 to be "Continental Days of Resistance" against the FTAA (Ruben 2002:5). In addition, CONAIE has together with other organizations representing the indigenous people in Ecuador, such as the peasant federations CONFUNASSC-CNC and FENOCIN, produced declarations and alternative proposals in common policy documents aimed at influencing the government, media and the public opinion (Conaie et al 2002a, 2002b).

Besides the direct actions and protest marches through the national campaign initiatives, CONAIE has also produced statements and documents to the meetings with the FTAA Trade Negotiations Committee. With regard to the ongoing

negotiations of the bilateral Andean Free Trade Agreement (FTA)⁷ between Ecuador, Peru, Colombia and the U.S, initiated in 2004 in order to reach more flexible agreements as the multilateral FTAA negotiations were being stalled, CONAIE has led a national campaign under the theme of ‘Ecuador Decide’ with the aim of collecting a list of signatures in favour of a referendum on the Andean FTA (Conaie et.al 2004). Most recently, the CONAIE has together with other social movements from the Andean region called for a united Andean mobilization in order to express their condemnation of the Andean FTA (Conaie et.al 2005).

By lobbying through mass protests, education campaigns, national plebiscites and the production of documents and declarations, CONAIE has combined the direct action strategy and the more long term approach which have been central in the indigenous struggle throughout the history of CONAIE. There is however an evident increase in alliances with other civil society groups throughout the country, including not only the indigenous but the whole population, which affects the structure of the movement. While CONAIE initially was united in purpose although also marked by regional differences, the expanded organizational structure in the FTAA mobilizations including a diverse range of civil society groups across the country threatens to make it even more difficult to maintain a national coherency.

4.2.4 Transnational Contention- international initiatives opposing the FTAA

As the FTAA process has posed new threats to the indigenous people and thus made CONAIE turn to expanded forms of cross-country mobilizations against new targets, the debate over the FTAA has also encouraged a dynamic shift in the form and strategy of the struggle against neoliberalism, as it has made the CONAIE target their claims outside of Ecuador. Since the FTAA makes up an illustrative example of CONAIE’s position in the system of complex internationalism where “*the expansion of international institutions, international regimes and the transfer of resources of local and national actors to the international stage, producing threats, opportunities and resources for international NGOs, transnational social movements, and indirectly, grassroots social movements*” (della Porta – Tarrow 2005:235) the neoliberal economic integration through the FTAA has also created new international opportunities with the emergence of transnational allies mobilizing against the FTAA.

If opportunities available for non-state actors to influence internationally include the “*resources and opportunities for non-state actors to challenge elites and—on occasion — to collaborate with insiders, just as domestic movements sometimes cooperate with political parties or interest groups*” (ibid:236), the FTAA has considerably enlarged the number of groups and sites available for coordinating transnational contention, by serving as a common target for various

⁷ The Andean FTA is in Spanish defined as TLC Andino (Tratado del Libre Comercio Andino). This study will refer to the Andean FTA.

civil society actors throughout the Americas. The controversial character of the FTAA as it aims to integrate noticeably unequal economies into a common market has produced challenges that will affect all social sectors in all countries within the region. Hence, a number of alliances and networks have emerged throughout the continent to confront neoliberalism and the FTAA.

This has led to the development of Campaña Continental contra el ALCA (the Continental Campaign against the FTAA). This continental initiative in which CONAIE participates, includes regional networks such as the Hemispheric Social Alliance (HSA); the Jubilee campaigns against the illegitimate foreign debt; the Convergence of People's Movements of the Americas (COMPA); Grito de los Excluidos; Friends of the Earth Latin America; as well as country-based campaigns (James 2004).

The idea of mobilizing the organizations and alliances in a continental campaign, was conceived of through the birth of the Hemispheric Social Alliance (HSA), which is a transnational coalition that makes up the broadest based forum for social justice organizations to confront the neoliberal model and promote social justice in the Americas, under the slogan 'Another America is possible' (Campaña Continental: 2, HSA1999:1). The HSA is a coalition of citizens' networks from all over the hemisphere that was formed on the occasion of the Third Trade Union Summit, held parallel to the Trade Ministers' Meeting on the FTAA in Belo Horizonte, Brazil in May 1997. Since this event northern- and southern based NGOs and civil society organizations and networks of labour unions, scholars, environmentalists, farmers, indigenous people, women and many more from most of the countries in the Americas have given shape to the HSA in support of an alternative approach to the FTAA.

One of the central objectives of HSA is to adopt a common strategy which also respects diversity, emphasizing its broad base as a strength for gaining a better position in the struggle for an alternative development model for the Americas (HSA 1999:2f). The activists of CONAIE and the other members of the HSA thus reflect the 'flexible identities' della Porta and Tarrow identify as a part of the new activist stratum developing in contemporary transnational mobilizations, where "inclusiveness and a positive emphasis upon diversity and cross-fertilization" is seen as an asset for collective actors (della Porta-Tarrow 2005:237).

The HSA formally launched the Continental Campaign against the FTAA in February 4, 2002 at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil and has since then provided the coordinating body for networks and organizations mobilizing against the FTAA. The HSA is responsible for the organization of the campaign in which the central objectives are to; obstruct the FTAA, defend national sovereignty, change the economic model of external dependency and construct an alternative for social integration and sovereignty of the peoples of the Americas. The participating groups and networks have agreed to construct national and regional coordination including; raising awareness of the FTAA to the people; carry out permanent grassroots work to guide and organize the population; create mass movements against the neoliberal economic model; carry out hemispheric consultations on the FTAA issue; demonstrate before and during FTAA meetings; carry out economic battles against the transnational corporations that promote the

FTAA and press for holding national plebiscites on the FTAA in each country (Campaña Continental:3).

4.2.5 Multilevel Opportunities and Resources

In addition to the national initiatives taken by CONAIE, the indigenous movement has strengthened its previous international alliances and come to participate in new transnational forms of cooperation in the struggle against the FTAA. As a member of the regional peasants and indigenous coalitions Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Organizaciones del Campo (CLOC), Via Campesina and the Hemispheric Social Alliance (HSA), which all participate in the Continental Campaign, CONAIE has been able to link its domestic claims to the international level. The combination of a historically weak presence of the state in indigenous concerns and an increase in transnational forms of cooperation available has provided CONAIE with resources and opportunities for challenging the FTAA and the Ecuadorian government's negotiation stance, according to the definition of multilevel opportunities (della Porta-Tarrow 2005:236f). Drawing on an expanding transnational mobilizing structure, the CONAIE is thus not restricted to the national opportunity structure, but has increased its transnational visibility, the links to other social movements and thus strengthened its ability to influence events (ibid:237).

As international institutions, regimes and practices provide multilevel targets for social movements (ibid), with regard to the FTAA the Ecuadorian state is no longer the dominant target for protest as CONAIE also has come to focus on the U.S. and intergovernmental arenas. The official FTAA Summits have for example served as important mobilization points for hemispheric activist groups, providing opportunities to counter demonstrate, network, strategize and gain visibility around the FTAA opposition (Campaña Continental:3). The HSA has formed an important part of the emerging transnational mobilizing structure for CONAIE, dedicated to building opposition to the FTAA and the wider neoliberal agenda. The participation in the transnational mobilizations against the FTAA thus illustrates that the interests and claims of the indigenous movement are no longer only framed by domestic political opportunities and constraints but by international opportunities as well. Furthermore it has broadened the structure and strategy of CONAIE.

4.2.6 Transnational Contention and CONAIE's collective action repertoire and activists

Maintaining its structure organized at local, regional and national level, the movement has expanded to the international level in the struggle against FTAA. While CONAIE has cooperated with international allies in the struggle for indigenous rights, the new transnational coalitions opposing the FTAA mobilizing against neoliberalism under the theme of 'global social justice', are significantly

larger in its extent (both geographically and in its composition) and primarily focused on neoliberalism and the FTAA. By engaging in the transnational mobilizations of HSA and the other networks active in the continental campaign against the FTAA, the initial structure, principal objectives and strategies of CONAIE have to some extent changed but above all expanded. The participation in the Hemispheric Meeting against FTAA that took place in Havana, Cuba in 2001 and in the following mass mobilizations at the 2002 World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, staged by HSA, was the activities that started CONAIE's linking of its national campaign in Ecuador to the international arena. Since then, CONAIE has opposed the FTAA by participating in a range of activities, such as national workshops, lobbying, international protest demonstrations, plebiscites on the FTAA and the making of policy proposals and popular education campaigns in attempt to impact the negotiation process (CMI 2002 b).

Furthermore CONAIE has taken an active part in the yearly held Continental Meetings, the World Social Forums and in the Social Forum of the Americas in which opposition to neoliberal globalization and the future FTAA have been central themes (Rolong 2004:2). CONAIE has also contributed to draft the yearly versions of the document Alternatives for the Americas: Building a People's Hemispheric Agreement, published by the HSA and designed to establish concrete and viable alternatives to the FTAA, based on the interests of the people of the hemisphere (HSA 2002).

With regard to the changes in the repertoire of contention at domestic level, developed around transnational activism stressed by della Porta and Tarrow, this reflects how the new targets, new frames and new combinations of constituencies produced by the FTAA have made CONAIE move towards issues of concern for the whole population. However, considering the changes in the repertoire of action that by della Porta and Tarrow is seen as a move towards direct action and civil disobedience in addition to previous moderate strategies does not fit into the description of CONAIE (della Porta-Tarrow 2005:12).

CONAIE accompanied by other Ecuadorian social movements has emphasized the need to develop more long term strategies to defeat the FTAA, through better local organization, extensive public education and further strengthened international cooperation (Ruben 2002:6). The transnational alliances against the FTAA have thus not only extended the indigenous claims across borders, but also the organizational structure and strategies of CONAIE. Since the transnational ties to other activists throughout the hemisphere are not temporary exchange relations, but have been routinized and solidified through the HSA and transnational contacts via Internet, it has further strengthened the use of internet resources in the strategies available to CONAIE. Through cooperation with both southern and northern based groups via e-mail lists, the publication of common web documents and increased exchange of information the activists of CONAIE have been able to further expand and professionalize its organization and thus spread its FTAA protests internationally (HSA 1999:3,5).

Regarding the effects of international transformations and transnational contention on social movements, della Porta and Tarrow stress the changes in the repertoire of contention of social movements and the emergence of activists

engaged in transnational activism, while embedded in domestic political contexts, with multiple memberships and flexible identities (della Porta-Tarrow 2005:12, 237). As CONAIE participates in the transnational mobilizations against the FTAA to defend their indigenous culture and livelihood, the network of HSA involving a heterogeneous range of activists framing the struggle in terms of 'social justice' in a loosely linked Continental Campaign, has made the indigenous movement to join forces with other groups with which they share a common set of concerns, thus affecting the character of the activists of CONAIE.

In the FTAA process the dynamics of contention of CONAIE has changed. As the multilevel national organization of CONAIE is extended to the international level through the transnational anti-FTAA mobilizations, the leaders of the indigenous movement operate simultaneously at the local, regional, national and international level in opposition to free trade and the neoliberal government (Lucero 2005:28). Consequently, CONAIE now puts a pressure on the state from several levels. The CONAIE has a leading role in the National Campaign against the FTAA and the Ecuador Decide initiative, cooperating with other domestic society groups and is at the same time engaged in international activities against the FTAA through the Continental Campaign. This thus constitutes an example of activists operating as 'rooted cosmopolitans', in accordance with della Porta and Tarrow's definition of "people and groups who are rooted in specific national contexts, but who engage in regular activities that require their involvement in transnational networks of contacts and conflicts" (della Porta – Tarrow 2005:237).

By participating in a transnational coalition that comprises such a broad range of actors representing diverse interests, has developed so called flexible identities among the activists of CONAIE and the other participating groups, emphasizing the diversity as a positive asset for their common struggle against the FTAA. It has also modified the way in which the indigenous frame their claims and intentions. From the indigenous stance, the FTAA is seen as a way to integrate indigenous lands into the international economic system and thus imply considerable changes in the land use. Since the indigenous people see their land as their mother and motivate their opposition to the FTAA in terms of cultural and economic survival, their primary concern is the defence of their land (Conaie 2002c). Hence, in the transnational anti-FTAA mobilizations the activists of CONAIE not only operate in defence of their rights as indigenous people, but also emphasize their economic survival as peasants (CLOC et.al 2002). The transnational actors of CONAIE can thus be seen as activists with "overlapping memberships linked within loosely structured polycentric networks" according to della Porta and Tarrow's concept of activists with 'multiple belongings' which they see as characteristic for transnational activists in the contemporary period of globalization (della Porta –Tarrow 2005:238f).

Another impact of the transnational anti-FTAA mobilizations is the links forged between social movements both within the country and across the continent. The resistance against the FTAA has given the opportunities for various social movements within Ecuador to get to know each other. For example, in consideration of the land question, a growing alliance between indigenous and

peasants' organizations has begun to identify the threats and make common cause in defence of the rural economy (Carlsen 2002b). Furthermore as these alliances have expanded to the international arena, CONAIE's interaction with allies from the North and the South has aided them to link local frames with global frames. The frame of global justice reflects well this so called 'rooted cosmopolitanism' where activists operate with equal ease on home ground and in the international arena (della Porta –Tarrow 2005:242), as the activists of CONAIE operating in advocacy of indigenous rights can find common cause with advocates of other groups and rights.

The World Social Forums provide a space for all civil society groups and individuals that share the values of solidarity, human rights and environmental and social justice, which are concerns that have long been central to CONAIE in their struggle for indigenous rights (Conaie). The 'global social justice' frame thus provides an opportunity for CONAIE to link its local concerns to the international level (Carlsen 2002a).

However, although the links being formed with the global justice movement have been important for creating national and international coalitions, there are factors that impede the strengthening of a national and a regional unity. The regional divides between the indigenous groups that always have marked the national organization are also reflected in the FTAA mobilizations and in addition, there are also disagreements between the North and South over specific issues (Ruben 2002:6f). These are factors that remain a challenge for CONAIE and furthermore, since the leaders of CONAIE operate as 'rooted cosmopolitans', they face a challenge of creating a balance between their local bases, the regional and national organization and their transnational allies, which might threaten to weaken the capacity to mobilize at national level.

5. Transnational Activism and the movement identity of CONAIE

In this chapter I will summarize the analysis of CONAIE's activism and movement identity seen in perspective of the theoretical framework, in order to answer my question at issue and also give an evaluation of the theory with regard to its explanatory power of my case study.

5.1 CONAIE's movement identity

5.1.1. A New Collective Action Repertoire?

This case study sheds light on how the targets and frames of a social movement change over time, thus partly affecting its mobilizing structures, strategies, and activists. It also illustrates how domestic protest activities of nationally rooted collective actors are linked to the transnational level. The CONAIE has retained its national character, remaining tied to the national opportunities available, but has at the same time made use of international opportunities by interacting with other movements transnationally. By examining the original identity of CONAIE and the themes that brought the movement together compared with how CONAIE has responded to the proposed FTAA agreement through both national and transnational initiatives, has shown that the free trade agreement has structured the domestic and international opportunities for resistance and thus the activism and identity of the indigenous movement.

The CONAIE initially formed to provide a broad representation for the indigenous groups in Ecuador, opposing the state in the struggle for indigenous rights in the economic, cultural and political arenas (Selverston-Scher 2001:83), is now primarily dedicated to mobilizing nationally and transnationally against the FTAA and the wider neoliberal agenda focusing on the U.S. and intergovernmental arenas. The threats posed by neoliberal globalization processes and the FTAA have produced new targets, new frames and new constituencies for contention (della Porta-Tarrow 2005:12). In addition to the Ecuadorian state, the U.S. and the multinational corporations are now the targets at which CONAIE turns its contentious collective action against. As a result, the indigenous movement is now engaged in transnational coalitions, which bring together a diverse range of people and groups framing their struggle under the theme of global social justice.

These new advancements of transnational contention have, to some extent produced changes in the repertoire of contentious politics of CONAIE seen from

della Porta and Tarrow's line of argument considering the changes in structure, strategies and issues (ibid:12). Although CONAIE defines itself as a non-partisan organization, its engagement in electoral politics in the late 1990's can be seen as a reflection of what della Porta and Tarrow describe as a trend of institutionalized forms of political struggle (ibid:12). Since CONAIE now gives more emphasis to mobilizing against the FTAA, the move from institutionalized forms of influence towards participation in new organizational forms of loosely structured networks around the issue of global justice, is thus in accordance with the theoretical reasoning of della Porta and Tarrow.

Considering the strategies of CONAIE, the tactics used to pursue cultural, economical and political changes on behalf of Ecuador's indigenous population is, apart from increasing access to internet resources largely the same as the ones utilized in current anti- FTAA mobilizations. The combination of former contained and more moderate forms of movement strategies with new forms of direct action and civil disobedience, which della Porta and Tarrow see as the more contentious forms of collective action that have emerged as a response the new international threats and targets, has always been central to CONAIE. Since CONAIE for long has included protest demonstrations and uprisings in the more long term struggle for plurinationalism and cultural inclusion through development and cultural projects and bilingual language campaigns, the engagement in mass protests, marches and hearings, in combination with national workshops, media campaigns and the publication of documents and declarations in the more recent mobilizations against the FTAA are not new strategies to CONAIE. In perspective of della Porta and Tarrow's theory, CONAIE does thus not fit into their description of how movement strategies primarily have been moderate and non-violent. I argue that this can be seen as an illustration of how central the background and the context in which social movements have emerged is to understand their strategies and objectives. Since the theory of della Porta and Tarrow draws mainly from case studies of movements in countries of the North, the long history of popular resistance activities that have been central to CONAIE and other indigenous groups in Latin America is unsurprisingly not included.

In view of how social movement discourses have changed from specialization in single issues to focusing on more general issues due to the new targets, frames and combinations of constituencies, CONAIE can only partly correspond to the theoretical reasoning. The CONAIE has primarily been dedicated to promote indigenous rights framed around the issues of cultural, economic and political inclusion, plurinationalism and environmentalism, but also towards specific neoliberal policies. Now being dedicated to building opposition to the FTAA and the wider neoliberal agenda emphasizing general values of social and environmental justice, the CONAIE still employ the indigenous issues and also include them in the anti-FTAA mobilizations. The indigenous rights and issues have thus not been replaced by more general issues, but are rather included in the FTAA resistance. However, with regard to that the issues concerning the FTAA affect and engage the whole population of Ecuador and not only the indigenous, they can be defined as more general. In the case of CONAIE, the 'global social justice' frame provides meaning to the movement-specific frame of indigenous

rights and can thus be seen in accordance with the theory an emerging ‘master frame’ also at the domestic level (ibid:12).

5.1.2. A New Activist Stratum ?

In addition to the changes in the existing repertoire of contention, transnational exposure and activism has also led to a shift in movement identities as the activists of CONAIE have developed new identities according to della Porta and Tarrow’s model of the new activist stratum. Since the engagement in the transnational anti-FTAA mobilizations, the activists of CONAIE operate as ‘rooted cosmopolitans’ being rooted in Ecuador engaged in national mobilization activities, and at the same time creating linkages and participate in coalitions together with various types of actors operating at international level. The transnational actors of the indigenous movement thus fit into the description of rooted cosmopolitans as both “members of transnational advocacy networks who link domestic activists to international institutions through international NGOs, and “the organizers and occasional participants in transnational protest campaigns”(della Porta-Tarrow:238).

Furthermore, the engagement in transnational coalitions with a heterogeneous social basis mobilizing against the FTAA has made the actors of CONAIE turn into transnational activists with multiple belongings and flexible identities, which according to della Porta and Tarrow’s view provides evidence for the shift in movement identities that is the qualitatively new in the contemporary period of globalization (ibid:238).

5.2. Evaluation of the theory

The synthetic approach of della Porta and Tarrow developed around the categories of complex internationalism, multilevel opportunities and transnational activism has offered a model of useful theoretical tools to explain the case of CONAIE. Their focus on linking local contention to the international system has been particularly valuable since international economic integration and the interests and responses of the states and non-state actors to these changes are all key factors in the FTAA process that have had an impact on CONAIE.

In order to elucidate how the changing structure of the international system affects the indigenous people and the collective action of the indigenous movement, the resulting multilevel opportunity structure provides another aspect of importance for my study. With regard to my question at issue, which requires a comparative perspective, the connection between the emergence of new targets, frames and combinations of constituencies and the existing repertoire of contention at domestic level has been central in structuring the analysis and illustrating how the international context influence the activism of CONAIE. Furthermore, the more sociology based part of the theory which focuses on how transnational exposure and activism affects the non-state actors by developing

new identities, has proven to be of value for providing further theoretical terms to answer my question at issue.

The theoretical model provided by della Porta and Tarrow has thus been able to explain much of CONAIE seen in perspective of its international context by identifying the new threats and opportunities affecting the indigenous movement. However, the case of CONAIE also comprises some aspects with regard to its repertoire of contention that the theory does not take account of. Since the theoretical reasoning, mainly based on the countries of the North, suggests that movement strategies in the 1980s and 1990s were increasingly moderate and contained and mainly focused on specialization, the background and development of CONAIE's principal strategies and issues for domestic contention shows another pattern which thus not correspond entirely to the changes in contentious politics that della Porta and Tarrow have identified in their research.

To sum up, given the importance of the participation of southern movements in transnational coalitions, and the fact that transnational activism makes up an important part in the collective action of many social movements in the South, I argue that there is a need for more studies on cases of transnational contention in the southern part of the world. Furthermore as new forms of transnational contentious activism seems to be an all more expanding form for non-state actors to respond to contemporary global economic and political processes, it points to the further relevance of why this is problem that should be addressed for future research.

6. Summarising conclusion

The globalization of the economy has increasingly threatened the survival of the indigenous people across Latin America and with the FTAA; the free trade area proposed for the entire hemisphere, the situation has worsened significantly. Clearly, this study illustrates how the FTAA, not only poses new threats and challenges to the culture and livelihood of the indigenous people in Ecuador, but also affects the way people organize and mobilize in response to these challenges. The indigenous social movement CONAIE has long played a central role in mobilizing popular resistance to the advance of neoliberal policies at national level, but since the resistance to the FTAA has brought together various individuals and groups throughout the Americas in new forms of organizing in transnational coalitions and campaigns, the activism of CONAIE has expanded to the international level thus affecting the collective action and activists of the indigenous movement.

My aim with this thesis was to examine the challenges that the proposed FTAA poses to the indigenous movement CONAIE and the available opportunities for resistance provided by the formation of transnational forms of cooperation, in order to see if these threats and opportunities impact the movement identity of CONAIE. The question I wanted to examine was: how the proposed FTAA and CONAIE's participation in transnational initiatives opposing it has influenced the collective action repertoire and the activists of CONAIE and thus whether it can fit into the description of the changed movement identity proposed by the theoretical reasoning of della Porta and Tarrow. By examining the CONAIE seen from its formation and the principal objectives and strategies that brought the movement together, I have found that the FTAA has only partly changed the focus of the movement, but rather intensified and expanded its original content and structure through alliances with other society groups in Ecuador. With growing concern for their economic survival, the issues of land and natural resources are more emphasized in the opposition to FTAA, however not excluding formerly framed issues of more cultural and political concern.

As the anti-FTAA mobilizations not only has led to broad popular organizing across regional and ethnic divides but also across nation borders, the engagement in transnational activism has had yet another impact on the collective action of CONAIE. By examining if the repertoire of contention of CONAIE has undergone any changes as a result of the new targets, frames and combinations of constituencies emerging in the negotiation process of the FTAA and the participation in transnational anti-FTAA initiatives, I argue that the movement strategies and discourse have largely remained the same, while some changes in the organizational structure are identified. The move towards participating in new organizational forms of loosely structured networks and campaigns at national and

international level reflects a change in the movement organization of CONAIE. With regard to the strategies adopted and the issues of concern, there are no major differences in with which strategies and around which types of issues the CONAIE has operated in the past and in recent anti-FTAA mobilizations. The combination of direct action and more long term strategies and the focus on issues of human rights, and social and environmental justice still remain central in the activism of CONAIE, but have broadened as the domestic structure and strategies have come to include transnational actors.

A more noticeable shift in the movement identity of CONAIE is reflected in the character of the movement's activists. Although being supported by international allies in the struggle for indigenous rights, the engagement in recent forms of transnational coalitions and campaigns opposing the FTAA and the wider neoliberal agenda has developed new identities among the activists of CONAIE. They operate as 'rooted cosmopolitans' being rooted in Ecuador engaged in national mobilization activities, thus still maintaining its domestic base and contention, and at the same time participate in transnational coalitions with a wide array of other individuals and groups. Furthermore, as members of these transnational coalitions the activists have developed 'multiple belongings' and 'flexible identities' by framing their struggle not only as indigenous but also as peasants and emphasizing the strength in inclusiveness and diversity in order to reduce the tensions among the diverse collective actors.

By making this study I have found that social movements are not just dependent on their national context but are very much shaped by their international environment. My thesis has also shown that as the indigenous movement has entered the international arena, it has not transformed, but rather expanded. CONAIE has retained its original form, nationally bound structure, and movement activities and issues and at the same time embraced transnational opportunities and activities. What I find most notable is that in opposition to what I thought would be a transformation of the original indigenous movement and the central themes that brought the movement together as a result of the turn to the FTAA resistance, CONAIE has rather included the indigenous struggle since their anti-FTAA mobilizations have been intimately connected to indigenous rights. Whether this will ensure that the rights and concerns of the indigenous people will be considered in the FTAA remains to be seen, but what is clear is that there is a need for maintaining the struggle at both domestic and international level.

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