From *Invisibilidad* to Participation in State Corporatism: Afro-Ecuadorian Community Organizing and Political Struggles, and the Constitutional Processes of 1998 and 2008

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• Shift from ‘monocultural mestizaje’ to ‘multicultural’ policies with 1998 Constitution
  – Emergence of the *el indio permitido* (literally the “allowed Indian,” or the “permitted Indian identity”)
• Second multicultural Constitution adopted in 2008
• 2001 general census
  – 271,372 (2.2%) self-identified as *Negros* (*Afro-Ecuatorianos*) (“Blacks [Afro-Ecuadorians]”)
  – 4.9% as either Negros or *Mulatos*
  – 830,418 (7%) as *Indígenas*
  – 9,411,890 or (77.4%) as mestizos
The 1998 Constitution, *Una Constitución de la Derecha*?

• 1997 Indigenous Movements
  – Response to the neo-liberal economic policies of President Abdalá Bucaram Ortiz
  – Staged by growing Indigenous, Afro-Ecuadorian, women, student and other grassroots movements and organizations
  – New constitution allowed for collective rights, ignored political and economic reforms

• Distinction between Indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian
  – Article 84 allows for Indigenous collective rights, excludes Afro-Ecuadorians
  – Article 85 indicates that “The State will recognize and guarantee to black or Afro-Ecuadorian peoples the rights listed in the previous article, every time that they are applicable [to their specific situation(s)]”

• Afro-Ecuadorians viewed as historically more incorporated, not fitting the “holy trinity of multicultural peoplehood.”
Afro-Ecuadorian Community Organizing and Political Struggle

• Differences between Indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian community organizing
  – Agrarian Reform

• *Primer Congreso de la Cultura Negra de las Américas* (the First Congress for the Black Culture of the Americas) in 1970
  – Orientation was for the pursuit of social scientific research on social realities and cultural traditions of the African diasporic communities of the Americas
Afro-Ecuadorian Community Organizing and Political Struggle

• Organizations and Political Processes
  – Centro de Estudios Afro-Ecuatorianos
    • Split between cultural and political orientations in early 1980s
  – Centro Cultural Afroecuatoriano
    • Created by Catholic Church
  – Proceso de Comunidades Negras
    • Political process for a special law inspired by the Colombian law 70 to correct the ambiguous wording of 1998 Constitution
    • Resulted in Law 46 or “Law of Collective Rights of the Black or Afro-Ecuadorian Peoples”
Afro-Ecuadorian Organizing, Corporatism, and the 2008 Constitution

• In corporatism, the State canalizes social demands in institutionalized spaces of negotiations in order to give an official voice to the group(s) in focus and to diffuse social protests
  – Leaders of organization becomes employees of the state

• Afro-Ecuadorian participation in corporatism mostly developed since the end of the 1990s and led to the adoption of the 2008 Constitution
Afro-Ecuadorian Organizing, Corporatism, and the 2008 Constitution

• Corporación de Desarrollo Afroecuatoriano (CODAE)
  – The CODAE is one—if not the most important—of the state’s institutions through which Afro-Ecuadorian corporatism takes place
  – Political disputes and appointments
  – Practice of clientelism
  – Illegal and non-recorded distribution of State funds or donor institutions funds
  – May 2007-appointment of José Franklin Chalá Cruz
Afro-Ecuadorian Organizing, Corporatism, and the 2008 Constitution

• 2008 Constitution
  – Afro-Ecuadorian collective rights, Chapter 4 “Rights of Communities, Peoples, and Nationalities” Articles 56-58; 60
    • Articles 57 and 58 structured like Articles 83 and 84 in 1998 Constitution.
    • Article 60: “The ancestral Indigenous, Afro-Ecuadorian and Montubio people may constitute territorial circumscriptions for the preservation of their cultures. The law will regulate their conformation. The Communes that have a collective property of the land will be recognized as a form of ancestral territorial organization”
Conclusions

• The examination of Afro-Ecuadorian influences on, and participation in, the Constitutional processes of 1998 and 2008 in light of the history of Afro-Ecuadorian organizing and political struggles helps to appreciate the speed at which their situation has changed over 30 years, from the late 1970s to the late 2000s. They moved from a situation of “invisibility” to a situation in which their existence as a people with acknowledged cultural traditions and collective rights is enshrined in the country’s political Constitution, which many see as one of the most progressive in Latin America.

• Factors contributing to change
  – Support from international and multilateral actors
  – Corporatist Ecuadorian State
  – Some successes in somewhat countering the surviving Anti-black racism in Ecuadorian civil society