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Donna Lee Van Cott
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Radical Democracy in the Andes

After a decade in local office, are indigenous peoples' governments in the Andes fulfilling their promise to provide a more participatory, accountable, and deliberative form of democracy? Using current debates in democratic theory as a framework, Donna Lee Van Cott examines 10 indigenous-party-controlled municipalities in Bolivia and Ecuador. In contrast to studies emphasizing the role of individuals and civil society, the findings underscore the contributions of leadership and political parties to promoting participatory–deliberative institutions. In addition, they suggest that democratic quality is more likely to improve where local actors initiate and design institutions. Van Cott concludes that indigenous parties' innovations have improved democratic quality in some respects, but that authoritarian norms associated with Andean cultures and political organizations have limited their positive impact.

Donna Lee Van Cott is associate professor of political science at the University of Connecticut. She is author of *From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics* (2005), winner of the 2006 Best Book on Comparative Politics Award, American Political Science Association, Organized Section on Race, Ethnicity and Politics, and a 2006 Choice Outstanding Academic Title. She also is author of *The Friendly Liquidation of the Past: The Politics of Diversity in Latin America* (2000) and editor of *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America* (1994). Van Cott has published articles on ethnic and Andean politics in such journals as *Comparative Political Studies*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, *América Latina Hoy*, *Democratization*, *Latin American Research Review*, and *Latin American Politics and Society*. She has held fellowships from the Fulbright Foundation and the Helen Kellogg Institute for International Peace, University of Notre Dame.

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List of Acronyms

AC	Agrupaciones Ciudadanas (Citizens' Groups)
ACOBOL	Asociación de Concejalas de Bolivia (Bolivian Association of Female Councillors)
ADN	Acción Democrática Nacional (National Democratic Action)
AIIECH	Asociación de Iglesias Indígenas Evangélicas de Chimborazo (Chimborazo Association of Indigenous Evangelical Churches)
ANC	Asamblea Nacional Constituyente (National Constituent Assembly)
ASP	Asamblea de la Soberanía de los Pueblos (Assembly for the Sovereignty of the Peoples)
CEDOC	Confederación Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones Clasistas (Ecuadorian Confederation of Classist Organizations)
CEJIS	Centro de Estudios Jurídicos e Investigación Social (Center for Juridical Studies and Social Investigation)
CIDOB	Confederación Indígena del Oriente Boliviano, later Confederación Indígena del Oriente y Amazonía de Bolivia (Indigenous Confederation of the Bolivian East, Indigenous Confederation of the East and Amazon of Bolivia)
CINEP	Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (Center for Popular Research and Education)

CIPCA	Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado (Center for Investigation and Promotion of the Peasantry)
CMS	Coordinadora de Movimientos Sociales (Coordinator of Social Movements)
CNE	Corte Nacional Electoral (National Electoral Court)
COB	Central Obrero Boliviano (Bolivian Workers Central)
CODENPE	Consejo de Desarrollo de las Nacionalidades y Pueblos del Ecuador (Council for the Development of the Nationalities and Peoples of Ecuador)
CONAIE	Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador)
CONAMAQ	Consejo de Ayllus y Markas del Qullasuyu (Council of Ayllus and Markas of Qullasuyu)
CONDEPA	Conciencia de Patria (Conscience of the Fatherland)
CONFENIAE	Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Amazonía Ecuatoriana (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon)
CONPOCIIIECH	Confederación de los Pueblos, Organizaciones, e Iglesias Indígenas Evangélicos de Chimborazo (Confederation of Indigenous Peoples, Organizations, and Evangelical Churches of Chimborazo)
CPESC	Coordinadora de Pueblos Etnicas de Santa Cruz (Coordinator of Ethnic Peoples of Santa Cruz)
CSCB	Confederación Sindical de Colonos Bolivianos (Syndical Confederation of Bolivian Colonists)
CSUTCB	Confederación Sindical Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (Single Syndical Confederation of Peasant Workers of Bolivia)
DP	Democracia Popular (Popular Democracy)
ECUARUNARI	Ecuador Runacunapac Riccharimui (Awakening of the Ecuadorian Indian)
FADI	Frente Amplio de la Izquierda (Broad Leftist Front)
FECAB–RUNARI	Federación de Campesinos de Bolívar (Federation of Peasants of Bolívar)

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FECAMTROP	Federación de Mujeres Campesinas del Trópico (Federation of Women Peasants of the Tropics)
FEI	Federación Ecuatoriana de Indios (Ecuadorian Federation of Indians)
FEINE	Federación Ecuatoriana de Iglesias Indígenas Evangélicas (Ecuadorian Federation of Indigenous Evangelical Churches)
FEJUVE	Federación de Juntas Vecinales (Federation of Neighborhood Juntas)
FENOCIN	Federación Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas, Indígenas, y Negras (National Federation of Peasant, Indigenous, and Black Organizations)
FETCH	Federación Especial del Trópico de Chimoré (Special Federation of the Tropics of Chimoré)
FETCTC	Federación Especial de Trabajadores Campesinos del Trópico de Cochabamba (Special Federation of Peasant Workers of the Tropics of Cochabamba)
FEYCH	Federación Especial de los Yungas del Chapare (Special Federation of the Yungas of the Chapare)
FICI	Federación Indígena y Campesina de Imbabura (Indigenous and Campesino Federation of Imbabura)
FORMIA	Fortalecimiento a Municipios Indígenas Alternativas (Strengthening of Indigenous Alternative Municipalities)
FSCCT	Federación Sindical de Colonizadores de Carrasco Tropical (Syndical Confederation of Colonists of Tropical Carrasco)
FSUTCC	Federación Sindical Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Cochabamba (Single Syndical Federation of Campesino Workers of Cochabamba)
ICCI	Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas (Scientific Institute of Indigenous Cultures)
ID	Izquierda Democrática (Democratic Left)
IPSP	Instrumento Político para la Soberanía de los Pueblos (Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples)
IU	Izquierda Unida (United Left)

LPP	Ley de Participación Popular (Law of Popular Participation)
MACOJMA	Markas, Ayllus y Comunidades Originarias de Jesús de Machaca (Markas, Ayllus and Original Communities of Jesús de Machaca)
MAS	Movimiento al Socialismo (Movement Toward Socialism)
MBL	Movimiento Bolivia Libre (Free Bolivia Movement)
MIAJ	Movimiento Indígena Amauta Jatari (Amauta Jatari Indigenous Movement)
MIAY	Movimiento Indígena Amauta Yuyay (Amauta Yuyay Indigenous Movement)
MICH	Movimiento Indígena de Chimborazo (Chimborazo Indigenous Movement)
MIP	Movimiento Indígena Pachakuti (Pachakuti Indigenous Movement)
MIR	Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario (Revolutionary Leftist Movement)
MNR	Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario (National Revolutionary Movement)
MPD	Movimiento Popular Democrático (Popular Democratic Movement)
MRTKL	Movimiento Revolucionario Tupaj Katari de Liberación (Tupaj Katari Revolutionary Liberation Movement)
MSM	Movimiento Sin Miedo (Movement of the Fearless)
MST	Movimiento Sin Tierra (Movement of the Landless)
MUPP–NP	Movimiento de Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik–Nuevo País (Pachakutik United Plurinational Movement–New Country)
NFR	Nueva Fuerza Republicana (New Republican Force)
NGO	nongovernmental organization
OSG	Organización de Segundo Grado (Second-Level Organization)
OTB	Organización Territorial de Base (Territorial Base Organization)
PB	participatory budgeting
PCB	Partido Comunista de Bolivia (Bolivian Communist Party)
PDC	Partido Demócrata Cristiano (Christian Democratic Party)

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PDM	Plan de Desarrollo Municipal (Municipal Development Plan)
PI	Pueblo Indígena (Indigenous People)
POA	Plan Operativa Anual (Annual Operating Plan)
PODEMOS	Poder Democrático Social (Democratic Social Power)
PRE	Partido Roldosista Ecuatoriano (Ecuadorian Roldosista Party)
PRODEPINE	Programa Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas y Negros (National Program for the Development of the Indigenous and Black Peoples)
PRONASOL	Programa Nacional de Solidaridad (National Solidarity Program)
PS	Patria Solidaria (Fatherland in Solidarity)
PSE	Partido Socialista Ecuatoriano (Ecuadorian Socialist Party)
PSP	Partido Sociedad Patriótica (Patriotic Society Party)
PT	Partido Trabalhista (Brasileira) (Workers' Party)
PUAMA	Pueblo Unido Multiétnico de Amazonas (United Multiethnic People of Amazonas)
SAFCO	Sistema de Administración Financiera y Control Gubernamental (Financial Administration and Governmental Control System)
SIISE	Sistema Integrado de Indicadores Sociales del Ecuador (Integrated System of Social Indicators of Ecuador)
TSE	Tribunal Supremo Electoral (Supreme Electoral Tribunal)
UCIG/UOCIG	Unión de Organizaciones Campesinas e Indígenas de Guamote (Union of Campesino and Indigenous Organizations of Guamote)
UCS	Unión Cívica de Solidaridad (Civic Union of Solidarity)
UN	Unidad Nacional (National Unity)
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNORCAC	Unión de Organizaciones Campesinas e Indígenas de Cotacachi (Union of Peasant and Indigenous Organizations of Cotacachi)
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development

Radical Democracy is a must read, based on its originality, thoroughness, lucid writing, and well-conceived challenges to conventional wisdoms in both its methodological approach and its empirical exploration.' Todd A. Eisenstadt - American University. 'Donna Lee Van Cott has long established herself as a pioneer and a leading figure in the study of indigenous peoples' movements and parties in Latin America. In this ambitious new book, she examines the degree to which local governments headed by indigenous peoples have succeeded in deepening democracy in Bolivia and Ecuador.Â 2008. Struggles of Voice: The Politics of Indigenous Representation in the Andes. University of Pittsburgh Press. ,La RazÃ³n.