sometimes puts them at odds with other Kichwa communities, which are composed mostly of poor people who are chronically short of land. Chimborazo, in particular, has the highest concentration of indigenous peoples in Ecuador, but also some of the highest levels of poverty.

Historically, the Saraguro have been known as Ecuador's most rebellious highland indigenous peoples. Fernando Daquilema epitomizes this history of rebellion: For a week in December 1871, Daquilema launched an uprising from his community of Yaruquíes. It quickly spread to neighboring communities before being suppressed by the government. The central issue in this struggle was not land, but taxes, which indigenous people were forced to pay to the Catholic Church and the government. Activists remember this uprising as one of the largest, strongest, and most important of their revolutions in the nineteenth century in Ecuador.

The Kayambi, neighbors of the commercially suc-

cessful Otavalo in the northern highlands, also survived on an agricultural economy and gained a reputation for their ability to organize movements in support of their demands. In the 1920s, Jesús Gualavisí organized the first rural syndicates to fight the owners of neighboring haciendas for land rights. Together with other activists such as Dolores Cacuango, in 1944, he organized the Federación Ecuatoriana de Indios (Ecuadorian Federation of Indians), Ecuador's first indigenous federation. In the 1990s, the Kayambi organized themselves as a people, providing a model that other Kichwa communities would emulate.

## Modern Life

Scholars commonly divide the Amazonian Kichwa into the Quijo of Napo Province and the Canelo of Pastaza Province. Although this division reflects cultural differ-

## LUIS MACAS

Luis Macas is one of the most important indigenous leaders in Ecuador. He has led the country's strongest social movement, the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE, Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador), organized several powerful uprisings, run for the presidency of the republic, and held both elected and appointed posts in government.

Macas was born on June 3, 1950, in the Saraguro community in southern Ecuador. During the 1970s, he earned a degree in linguistics from Catholic University in Quito, as well as a law degree from Ecuador's Central University. While studying in the capital, he became involved in regional and national indigenous organizing efforts leading up to the formation of CONAIE in 1986. Macas served as CONAIE's vice president from 1988 to 1991. During that time, he gained national exposure for his leadership of a June 1990 uprising demanding social, political, and economic rights for indigenous nationalities. Macas subsequently served as CONAIE's president from 1991 to 1996, organizing uprisings in 1992 and 1994.

Macas resigned the leadership of CONAIE when he won a congressional post as a national deputy with the newly formed pro-indigenous political party known as Pachakutik. He was the first indigenous person ever elected to a countrywide office in Ecuador.

In 2002, Macas ran unsuccessfully for the Andean Parliament, which worked for regional integration among Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela. Indigenous ally Lucio Gutiérrez won the presidency that year and named Macas to head the Ministry of Agriculture. Macas served in that post for half a year in 2003 before quitting because of disagreements with the president's neoliberal economic policies.

Macas returned to the presidency of CONAIE from 2005 to 2008 to fill a perceived need for the guidance of a veteran leader to return the organization to a position of strength. In 2006, Macas ran for the presidency of Ecuador on the Pachakutik ticket. Despite conducting a serious and dedicated campaign, he came in a dismal sixth place (out of thirteen candidates), with just over 2 percent of the vote.

In 1994, Macas won the Goldman Environmental Prize, which is awarded annually to grassroots environmental activists. He has organized several international indigenous meetings in Quito, including the First Continental Conference on 500 Years of Indian Resistance in 1990, the Second Continental Summit of Indigenous Peoples and Nationalities of Abya Yala in 2004, and the Encounter of the Original Peoples and Nationalities of Abya Yala in 2010.

In 2004, Macas helped establish and became rector of the Intercultural University of Indigenous Nationalities and Peoples. The following year, he founded and became director of the think tank Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas (Scientific Institute of Indigenous Cultures). He frequently speaks internationally on indigenous rights issues.

Marc Becker