

## ECUADOR MAMALLAKTAPAK MAMAKAMACHIYTA (2008) KUTIN YUYARINA *REPENSANDO LA CONSTITUCIÓN ECUATORIANA DE 2008*

### UCHILLACHISKA YUYAY

Kay killkaka, Ecuador Mamallaktapak shuk waranka iskunpatsak, iskun chunka pusak watapi (1998) killkachishkata, shinallatak ishkay waranka pusak watapi (2008) killkachishka Mamakamachiykunatami chimpapurashpa rikuchin, tawka kawsay, tawka yuyay chikan chikan kawsaypura yuyayta rikushpa, kay yuyaykunaka runakunapak mutsurishkakunata, hatun tantankuykuna, mañaykunata rurankapak hillaykunami kan. Katipika, mama llaktapak kamay imashina kamachinakuyta paktachishmanata, shinallatak tawkapura mama llaktapi sumkata wankurishpa kawsankapak kunashkakunapashmi kan.

**Sapi shimikuna:** Maman llaktapak kamachiy, tawka kawsay, shukshinalla kawsay, tawkakaw-sayuk, kawsaypura, kamachiyanta tapuykuna.

### RESUMEN

*El texto analiza (a partir de las entrevistas, de la revisión bibliográfica especializada y secundaria y demás materiales referentes al tema) la transición de la Constitución Política de la República del Ecuador de 1998 a la del 2008; haciendo reflexiones comparativas en el pasaje de una Constitución pluricultural y multiétnica hacia una intercultural y plurinacional. Este pasaje implica el cambio de tipología de sociedad ecuatoriana, al menos en teoría, y la manera cómo estas categorías y postulados se constituyen en una caja de herramienta para las insurgencias y diálogos de los pueblos y nacionalidades indígenas frente a la estructura dominante. Seguidamente, aborda los avances, límites y contradicciones de las prácticas y discursos constitucionales. Ambos conceptos: tanto la interculturalidad como la plurinacionalidad parecen apuntarse como una contrahegemonía ontológica, epistémica y política. Epistémicamente, por ejemplo, resurgen o aparecen como saberes locales, aunque estos saberes se vuelven ensimismados; es decir, que son parte solamente de la población subalternizada, más allá de las incorporaciones que se hacen a los mismos en las academias, pero que son en su mayoría marginales.*

**Palabras claves:** Constitución, pluricultural, multiétnico, plurinacional, referéndum.



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## KALLARI YUYAY

Kay killkashka pankakunapika kay rimanakuykunmi awarishka: runakunapak makanakuy, mamakamachiypak ñankuna; shuk waranka, iskun patsak, iskun pusak watapi killkachishka kamachiy; Ishkay waranka pusak watapi killkachishka kamachiy; kawsaypurapak mama llaktapi tikra yuyaykuna, shinallatak harkaykunapash; shinallatak, tukuripiy churashka yuyaykuna.

Shuk waranka iskun patsak, iskun kanchis wata, aymuray killapimi – Ecuador mamallaktapika mama kamachiyta mushukyachinkapak hatun tantanakuyta wiñachinkapak ari mana nishpa tapuchirka, chaypika hatun charikkunata alikachik, shinallatak kullki sapa runakunami paykunapak nishkata rurarkakuna, manapash ñukanchik mañashkakunatami paykunapak allipaklla mama kamachiyta mushukyachishpa, manapash tukuykunata tapushpa ima shinami ishikay waranka pusak watapi mama kamachiyta allichishka shina allichirkakuna.

Shinallatakmi, shuk waranka iskunpatsak, iskun chusku wata, shuk punlla, kulla killapi Zapatista nishka awkakunaka, México, kiti San Cristóbal Chiapas llaktapi piñarishpa makanakuyta kallari-chirka. Ishkantik hatun llaktakun, runakunapak hatun tantanakuykunamantami ñankunata pitishpa, shinallatak kiti llaktakunata muyuchishpa harkashpa, mana murukuta yaykuchishpa, sinchi wankurita rurashpa, llaktata pushakkuna paykunapak yuyashka, pacha mamapi tiyakkunata kichushpa llamkaytaka harkakkuna. Shinami, chay kimsa hatun tantanakuykunaka mama llaktakunawan chimparashpa yuyaykunata kushpa, shinchita makanakushpa kawsankapak wiñarinkuna.

Shinapash, shuk waranka iskun pastak, iskun pusak watapi killkashka hatun kamachiypika, kallari rikuchipika mushuk yuyaykunatami churarkakuna: kawsaypura, shinallatak tawka runakuna kawsayta rikuchiktami churarkakuna. Chay punchakunamantami kichwa runakuna, shinallatak yana runakunapash kamachiyipika riksishka tukurka, shinallatak paykunapak allpakuna, kawsay, tantanakuy, ñawpa kawsay, ishikay shimipi

rimashpa yachay, makanakuykunata runakunallatak allichinchunpash churarkakuna.

Shinami wakin makanakukunaka ashallatapash kushiyarirkakuna, chay shuk waranka iskun pastak, iskun pusak watapi kallari-churashka yuyakunamanta, shinapash, yachak runakunaka mana allikachinchu, ashtawanpash wakin uchilla kamaykunapika uchilla harkaykunata churashkamanta, kuttin, Confederación de Nacionalidades y Pueblos Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAE) tantanakuy, shinallatak Pachakutik tantanakushkakunaka chawpi chawpillapash kushiyarinkunami, ashtawanka ecuador mama kamachiypi runakunapak tawka kawsaykunata churashkamanta, kipamanka ñukanchik llaktapi tawka kawsak runakunaka ñami sumakta kawsashun yuyashpa. Chay tawka runakunapak aynikunata riksishpa hatun kamaypi killkashkakunaka kayshuk karu llaktakunapi killkashka shinami kan nishpa.

Pacha mama kasayta charikmi nishpa killkachishkaka maypipash mana rurashkata shuk mushuk yuyayta katishpa kullkita hapinatami rikuchin. Washaman tikrashpa rikukpika, ñukanchik pacha mamaka mana kunan shina kawsayukchu karka, ashtawanpash shuy hayllita shina runakunak ukupi kashkatami rikukkuna karka, kunanka Ecuador mamallaktapa kamachiypi pachamamaka kawsayta charinmi nikpika shuk yalli allí ruryami kan, maypipash mana shina yuyashkatami kunan punllakunaka churashkanchik.

Chay killkakupak yuyayta uchillayachishpa rikukpika, pachamamaka kawsayta charik, kawsaymantami rimarina, allí yachakkuna nishka shinaka, kawsayuk kashkamantami kaparikun, tawka watakunata colonialismo nishka llapishpa kawsashkamanta. Shinami pachamamaka Ecuador mamallaktapak kamachiypika runakunapak mañashkata paktachishka, shinapash kunan punllakunaka pacha mama kawsayta charinmi nikushpash ecuador mama llaktata pushakka mana paktachikunchu, ashtawanpash ñami ñawpa yuyaypi shinallatak pacha mamataka kullkita hapikapaklla kashkata rikushpa allimantalla shuk hatun karu llakta rantikkunaman kukun.

Pacaha mama ishikay waranka pusak wata

Kamachiypi aynikunaka punllantami pakishpa mana paktachin, (yana wirata karu llaktaman katushpa, yasunipi tiyak hillyaykunata llushichishpa katushpa, shinallatak shuktanata rurashpami yallitak llakichiku); runakuna makanakuykunata harkashpa, kaparikunata wichkachishpa, tantanakuykunata rurankapak mana ari nishpa, Pachamamata yanapakkunata chinkachishpa, mana allí kachishpa tukuykunata mana allí rimashpa, allí rikukpika, mana ima yuyaytapash kuypak, nimata mana alikachishpa, ima allitapash mana rurashpami llakichikun.

Rafael Correa, Ecuador Mama llaktata pushak kashpaka mana yankamanta, asirishpa-llachu rimarka, ashtawantakka runakunapak wawsayta, kawsaypurata, yuyaykunatami aharka, ñawpa salakuna runakunata llapishpa kawsakkuna shina. Correa Pushakka, yankata yachapashpami rimakkarka. Ñawpa salakunaka makashpa kamishpapash, kunnan salalakunaka asishpa, kushiyashpa runakunata rimankuna, Correa shina. Correa nikkarka; pachamamapak wawallakuna nishpa, wawa runakuna, lluqui wawakuna nishpa, shinami kutin, mamam llaktapi kawsak hatun tantanakuyta pushakkunapash shukkunapash piñarishpa makanakuy kallarinakuna. Shinami, runakunataka, rakishpa, makanakuchishpa, wakllichishpa runakunapak tantanakuykunataka llakiman aparka.

Chashna makanakushpa kallarishpaka mana ima allí kunawan rinkunachu, ashtawanpash chay mama kamachiypi killkashka kawsaypura, tawwakuna shuk shinalla kawsayta shinchiyachinapak rantika makanakuytami kallarichin, chasnalla katishpaka ima alita mana rurakushkatami rikuchin, kutinllatak ñawpa kamachiypi rurashka shinallatak nimatapash mana mushukyachishpa apakushkatami rikuchin.

Shuk waranka iskun patsak, iskun pusak watapi mama kamachiypi churashka tawkakawsay, achka kawsay, shinallatak ishka waranka pusaku watapi mama kamachiypi churashka shukshinalla kawsaypura, shinallatak kawsaypura yuyaykunata churashkaka yalli mana kallpak shina runakunapak llaki kawsaytami harkashka. Shinallatak shuy yuyaypika kutin allí yuyarishpa, allí

rikushpa runakunapak kawsayta wiñchintami rikuchin, shinallatak, yachay ukumanta rikukpika runakunapak sumak kawsaymi rikurin, tantanakushka runakunapak aynikunamanta, kawsaypuramanta paykunapaklla allí kashkata rikuchikmi kan, shinapash mayhanpash chay yuyayta charishpaka chakurik shinami tantalla llamkankuna.

Shuk allí yuyachiyka kawsaypurata rikukunata wiñachina mutsuriymi, hatun yachana wasikunapi katiy rikuytami wiñachina, ima shina chay kawsaypuramanta, shinallatak shukshinalla kawsaypura hawa llamkaykunata kamayta rurachunkuna, chay llamkaykunataka mamallaktapak kullkiwanmi yanapana kan, allí imatapash rurarichun nishpaka.

## YACHAYÑANA

Kay killkayta rurankapakka tawka yachayñanakunami yanaparka: Kamachikunamanta yachak warmikunata, karikunatami tawka tapuykunata rurarkanchik. Ashka kutichishkakunami kay killkashka wachukunapika tiyakunkuna; kay killkashkata imashinami ñawirishpa rikunkakuna.

Shinallatak, kamukkuna, shuktak killkashka pankakunata ñawirishpami kay llankashka pankakunaka rurarirka. Yuyaykunapurata chimpapurachishpa, rimarishkakunata wankurichishpa, piñanakuchishpa, awachishpami, kay killkayta rurarishka.

Maypika, kay killkaypika chaymi waklli wakllilla, allí rikushkakunatami kay killkaypika yuyaykuna awarishka.

Ashtawantakka, kay kinmsa yachayñanami tinkirishpa killkaytaka yanapashka. Yuyaykuna, chimpapurankuypika killkakpak yuyaypashmi rikurin.

Kay killkashka yuyaykunaka imapakla allikashkatami willan, shinallatak imalla illashkatami rikuchin. Pillatak, mama kamachikwanka allí kawsayta charina kashkatami riluchin. Kay tapurikunapimi shuktak tapuykunata rurarkanchik. Ima kamachikkunallatak runakunapakka allí, allitak kawsayta kushanin; Mamakamachikka tukuy runakunatachu ukllay, kuyanpash; Sumak kawsa-

ypi purinkapakka pillatik llankanakanchik; kamachikkunapi nishkashinachu kawsakunchik, mana kashpaka, ruraywan, yuyaywan rakirishkachu kan. Ashtawantakka kay tapuykunami purirka mana runakunata tapunkapaklla, shinapash, kamukkunapipash ñawirishpa tapurinkapak.

Shinapash, kay, yachayñanata purichinaka sinchimi kan. Ñawpa pachakunapika, yurak runakunaka, nishunpash, shuktak llaktamanta shamuk runakunaka, ashtawantakaka, Abya-Yala, llaktapi kawsakkunataka mana yachankichikchu, ñukanchikmi yachanchik nikmi karkakuna. Mashna yachaskapash mana usharirkachu, yuyaypash chinkarirkami, kawsakunapash wañurkami, runakunata, pushakkunatapash wañuchirkakunami. Ñawpa taripak, llakichik, yurak amawtaku naka kapakmanmi katurirkakuna.

Chashna taripanaka, kay pachakunapika, sinchitami rimashka kashka: maypika paykuna puralatak, maypika wakchakunamanta. Kunan pachapika, tapukunapish yachanmi, tapushka runakunapash yachankunami, tukuykunamu yachankuna. Maymanta shamuk taripakkunapash shukta yuyayta, shuktak kawsayta, shuktak yachayta, shuktak runakunata paypak kawsayta shinllatakmi kuyana kan. Mana, taripakpak kawsay shinachu kan nishpaka, shuktak kawsaykunata llapinallachu kan.

Taripayta rurak runakunaka, mana, paykunapak kamukkunata killkashpallachu sakirina kan, ashtawankari, maypi tapurishkapak kawsayta allichishpa ñawpakman apanami kan. Taripakkuna alli kawstami mashkana kan. Yachakkunapak, killkakkunapak kari pak, warmipak, yuyakkunapak, wawakunapak kawsaykunapimi wankurina kan.

Kay killkashka pankakunaka mana runakunapak kishpirinatachu karan, shinapash ashaku yuyayakunawanmi yanaparin. Shinapash, ñawpa yachayñanataka shakishpami, shuktak yachayñanata ushaskanchik. Chay yachayñanaka chinpapura yachaymi kan, wankurinakuhsa killkaymi kan. Yachayñana minka nishpa tukuchishun. Kay Yachayñanamanataka shuktak killkakunapi ashtawan yuyarushpaka allichari kanman.

## RIKUSHKA NAKUY

## CHIMPAPURA-

### 1. RUNAKUNAPAK MAKANAKUY, MAMAKAMACHIYPAK ÑANKUNA

Ecuador ama llaktapi kawsak runaka mana hawallachu kawsaypak mutsuykunatka charishkakuna, ashpawampash sinchita makanakushpa, hatun tantanakuykunawan wankurinakushpami mañaykunataka charikkuna kashka, kunan punllakunakamami Abya yala tantanakuykunawan minkarishpa makanakunkuna. Shina: Abya yala hatun llaktapika, ishkey makanakuykunami tiyashka rikurin. Ecuador Mamallaktapi shuk waranka iskun ptsak, iskun chunka watapi shuk hatun runakuna hatari makanakuy tiyarka, kutin, chay watakunallatakmi Bolivia llaktapipash runakunaka tukuy ñankunata harkashpa llaktata pushakkunawan makanakuy tiyarka. Chay ishkey ruraykunaka makanakunapak mushuk tantanakuykunata wiñachishpa wankurishpa llaktata wichiman pushana kashkatami rikuchin “chay hatun ruraykunataka kunan kawsaypak yachanami tukun” (García 2003:195).

Shinallatakmi, shuk waranka iskunpatsak, iskun chusku wata, shuk punlla, kulla killlapi Zapatista nishka awkakunaka, México kiti San Cristóbal Chiapas llaktapi piñarishpa makanakuyta kallarihirka (Wallerstein 2008). Ishkantik hatun llaktakuna (Bolivia shinallatak Ecuador), runakunapak hatun tantanakuykunamantami ñankunata pitishpa, shinallatak kiti llaktakunata muyuchishpa harkashpa, mana murukuta yaykuchishpa, sinchi wankurita rurashpa, llaktata pushakkuna paykunapak yuyashka, pacha mamapi tiyakkunata kichushpa llamkaytaka harkakkuna. (Gutierrez 2009: 95). Shinami, chay kimsa hatun tantanakuykunaka mama llaktakunawan chimparashpa yuyaykunata kushpa, shinchita makanakushpa kawsankapak wiñarinkuna.

Wakinpika, runakunapak tantanakuy mañashkakuna, makanakuykunaka mana Mama llaktapak ruraykunata wakllichishpa panta mañaykunachu kan, ima shinami Teresa Sie-

rra chay guerrero llaktapi chapak hawaman-ta rikushka shinaka:

Shuk waranka, iskun patsak, iskun chunka, pichka watamantami, uchillallaktapi tantanakushpami yuyarikkuna, wañuchina illapa hillaykunata chay Costa Chica, Guerrero chusku chunka, pusak Awkakunata pushakkuna ukupi rikuchishpa killkachirkakuna. Shinami chay llaktapi chapakkunaka mana mamallaktapak tikraman ruraykunata rurana kashkata rikuchin, ashtawanpash shuway llakikunata wankurishpa allichinkapakmi kan, mana mamallakta allichitukushkamanta. (Sierra 2009:14)

Ecuador mamallaktapi wiñachishka runakunapak hatun tantanakuyupash mana tikraman llaktata llakichinkapakchu kan. Tukuy ruraykuna, shinallatak mañaykunapash kamaykunata paktachishpami kawsankuna. Wakinpika, shina paktachikunaka runakunata muspachinkapakmi kan, ama piñarishpa mañaykunata rurachun, shinami makanakuk runakunata mana makanakuk runakunata rurankuna (Poole 2008). Mamallaktamanta chashna muspachisha nikpipash, runakunapak hatun tantanakuykunaka uramanta hanakmanta makunakushpami paktachiykunata shinallatak mañaykunatapash hapishkakuna, shina: mushuk kamachiyta rurachirka.

## 2. SHUK WARANKA, ISKUN PATSAK, ISKUN PUSAK WATAPI KILKACHISHKA KAMACHIY

Shuk waranka, iskun patsak, iskun kanchis wata, ishkay chunka pichka punlla, aymuray killapimi Ecuador mamallaktapika hatun tapuy tiyarka, tukuy kiti llaktakumanta tantanakushpa hatun kamachiyta kutin allichishpa killakankapak. Shinami, chay shuy waranka iskun patsak, iskun kanchis wata, ishkay chunka punlla, kayak killapi, llaktapi kawsakkuna ari nishkawan kamayta killka kallarirkakuna, chay llankaytaka ñawpa pusak Oswaldo Hurtado aparka, kipamanka Luis Mejía Montesdeoca mishumi chay tantanakuytaka pusharka.

Kaytami yuyarina kanchik, llakpi tukuy kawsakkunaka tantanakushpa kamayta alli-

chinmi ari nirka, shinapash, achkata charik tantanakushka millay mishukuna tantanakushpaka paykunata nishkatami rurarkakuna, ashtawanpash mana ari nishkakunakamami tukuyta kamachiytaka mushukyachirkakuna. Shinami, chay kipaka shuk waranka iskun pastak, iskun pusak wata, pichka punlla inti killapi, Riobamba llaktapi mana ni pitapash tapushpalla hatun mushukyachishka kamachiytaka karwa killapi, chay watallatak ña ari nishpa churarkakuna.

Shinapash, shuk waranka iskun pastak, iskun pusak watapi killkashka hatun kamachiy-pika, kallari rikuchipika mushuk yuyaykunatami churarkakuna: kawsaytura, shinallatak tawka runakuna kawsayta rikuchiktami churarkakuna. Chay punllakunamantami kichwa runakuna, shinallatak yana runakunapash kamachiy-pika rikshisha tukurka, shinallatak paykunapak allpakuna, kawsay, tantanakuy, ñawpa kawsay, ishkay shimipi rimashpa yachay, makanakuykunata runakunallatak allichinchunpash churarkakuna.

Shinami wakin makanakukunaka ashallatapash kushiyarirkakuna, chay shuk waranka iskun pastak, iskun pusak watapi punta-pi churashka yuyakunamanta, shinapash Agustín Grijalva yachakka (2008) mana allikachincho, ashtawanpash wakin uchilla kamaykunapika uchilla harkaykunata churashkamanta, kutin, CONAIE tantanakuy, shinallatak Pachakutik tantanakushkakunaka chawpi chawpillapash kushiyarinkunami, ashtawanka ecuador mama kamachiy-pi runakunapak tawka kawsaykunata churashkamanta, kipamanka ñukanchik llaktapi tawka kawsak runakunaka ñami sumakta kawsashun yuyashpa. Chay tawka runakunapak aynikunata rikshishpa hatun kamay-pi killkashkakunaka kayshuk karu llaktakunapi killakashka shinami kan nishpa: Colombia 1991, Perú 1993, Bolivia 1994, Venezuela 1999 (Becker 2015).

Ecuador mama llaktapi tiyak hatun runakunapak tantanakuykunaka, chay shuk waranka iskun pastak, iskun pusak watapi killkashka kamachiyta pushakkuna mana pakchikta rikushpaka, kutinmi shinchita mañaykunata rurashpa makanakuykunawan kallarirkakuna. Shuk waranka iskun pastak, iskun pusak

watapi killkashka kamachiyka achka allí yuyaykunatami charin, rimaykunata, aynikuna, hanpirinamanta, yachaymanta, ash-tawanpash ishka waranka pusak watapi killkachishka kamachiyka ñawpa kamachiypi churashka yuyaykunata sinchiyachishpami killkachin.

### 3. ISHKAY WARANKA PUSAK WATA-PI KILLKACHISHKA KAMACHIY

Rafael Correa Delgado, allí yachak, llaktata pushankapak mushuk yuyayta charik, allí yachachaik, amawta, kullki kamayuk, Alfredo Palacio pushakuy watakunapimi riksi-shka tuparka, ishka waranka sukta watapi-mi Ecuador mamallaktapak pushak tukurka. Pichka chunka, sukta chunka kanchis aspi-wanmi (56,67%), Ishka chunka punlla, sasi killapimi chay achka kullkisapa Alvaro No-boia ishka kutin mishanakuyipi misharka, chaypak washaka ishka waranka kanchis wata, chunka pichka kulla killapimi ña llak-tata pushankapak kallarirka.

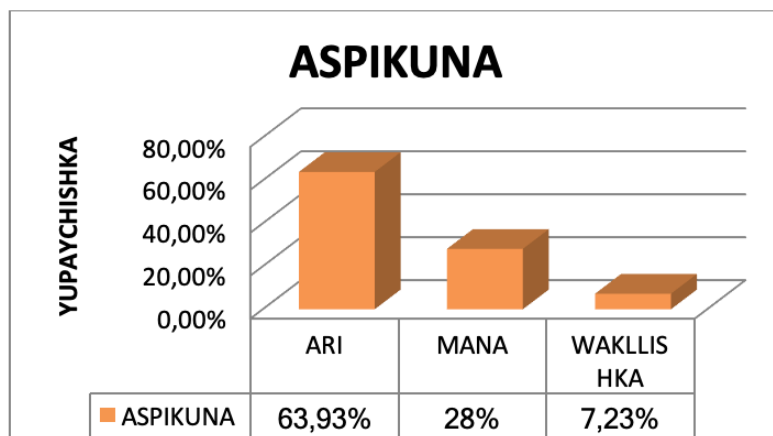
Tukuymanta yalli paypak yuyay churaskaka mamallaktapak kamachiya mushukyachi-chinkapak hatun tantanakuyta wiñachinata-mi rurasha nishpa yaykurka, shinallatak ru-nakunata hatun tantankuy pushakunawan, kayshuk tantanakuyta pushkunawanpash, llukimanta yuyayta charik tantanakuynta tantachishpa pushanatami kallarirka. (Parti-do Socialista, Pachakutik, Movimiento Po-

pular Democrático, Izquierda Democrática, Partido Roldosista Ecuatoriano).

Shinami, Rafael Correa Ecuador Mamallak-tata pushak yaykushpaka, ishka chunka pichka punlla, kulla killa, ishka patsak kanchis watapi hatun tapuyta rurankapak kayachirka. Kimsa killa washa, pay pus-hankapak yaykushka kashpami kayachir-ka ari mana ninchununa, shinaka, chunka pichka ayriwa killa, ishka patsak kanchis watapi ña kayachikpika ecuador mamallak-tapi tukuy kawsakkunaka pusak chunka yu-paykunawan (80%) ari, mushuk kamachiya killkachun shuk tananakuyta wiñachichun nishpa mishachirka (Becquer 2015). Ña, kimsa chunka punlla, kuski killa, ishka waranka kanchis watapi kayachikpika pat-sak kimsa chunkamantaka, pusak runaku-na paypak wiñachishka llaktata pushaypak ukumanta muisharka, chasnami chunka shuk marka llaktakunamanta misharkakuna.

Kutin, shamuk wata, ishka chunka pusak punlla, sasi killa, ishka patsak wata kaya-chipika sukta chunka kimsa, iskun chunka kimsa aspikunawanmi ari nirkakuna, ku-tin, ishka chunka pusak, chunkakunallami mana nirkakuna, mana allí aspihakunaka kanchis, ishka chunka kimsakunatami as-pirkakuna, Guayaquil llaktallapimi mana nishpaka misharka, (chusku chunka, iskun kanchis yapaykunawan mana nirka, shi-nallatak, chusku chunka, sukta pusaku yu-paykunaka ari nirka).

Killkak rurashka shuyu



Shuyu 1: Shuyupi akllashka yupaykuna

Kay suyushkakunapika (1 y 2) imashina Mama Llaktapi pushakkunata akllashkakunatami rikuchin: arinishkakuna (63, 93%), mananishkakuna (28%), sinallatak wakllishkakunatapash (7,23%). Ñukanchik yuyaypika, kay yupaykunaka mamallaktapak akllaykunapak tandanakuyka allí kawsaytami rikuchin. Astawantakka, kay 63,93% arinishka yupaykunami Ecuador, Mama Llaktapi allí tantanakushkata rikuchin. Mama Llaktata pushakpash sinchi sinchitami shayarishpa yuyarishpapash pushanka. Shinaka, karipak, warmipak, wawakunapak, yuyakkunapakmi allí kawasaykunakanka. Chay hatun kayachiypi mishayka, runakunapak hatun tantanakuy yanapashpa llankashkamantami misharka. mana Correa pushakllachu mishashka, runakunapak tantanakuy wankurishkakunami mishan nishpami Ana María Anaguarqui Chimborazo markamanta runakunapak tantanakuy pushkka nirka. Ima shinami Venezuela llaktapi waranka iskun patsak, iskun chunka iskun watapi killkashka kamachiy shina, ñukanchik Ecuador mamallakta kamachiyka tukuytami ukumanta mushuk yuyaykunta churarkakuna, chasnami mushuk pushakkunatapash akllana tukurka, kiti llaktamanta kallariysha, kamaykunata rikukunata, shinallatak mamallaktata pushakkama, (Becker 2015). Achka kawysakunamanta shinallatak tawka runakunamanta, shuk kawsaytura, shinallatak tawkakuna shukshinalla kawsayta charishkata rikuchik yuyayta churaskami ashtawanka sumak allí karka.

Shuk niki.- Ecuador Mamallakta mamakamachiy hayñi, kishpiriyshka runakunapak, llakta-ushay, hawaman awkiyak, kikinilla, tantachik kawsaytura kawsay, tawka kawsayyuk, mana iñipash kikiniyashka Mamallaktami kan, Kay hatun llaktaka Mamallakta shinami tantarin, shinapash markakunapi. llaktakunapi, karumanta kamachishpami pushan. Mamallaktaka awkikayka llaktapimi minkarin, kamachikka paykunapak munaypimi sapiyarin, runakunapak tantanakuy ushaywan paktachin, paykunapak yachaywan chaypi kashpa

Mamakachiypi ima shina ikta hawaman churashpa pushan. Mamallaktapak allpa llaktapi tiyakkuna mana kutin wiñarik kakta, mamallaktapak charishkata, mana shitanalla, mana pipash yaykunalla, mana katunalla, wiñaypak charinallami kan. (Becker 2015: 120).

Kay yuyayta churashkaka, Ecuador mamallaktapi tawka kawsaytura, chunka kimsa llakta kawsay, shinallatak yalli pachaka mishukunawan tantalla kawsayta rikushkatami umanachin. (Trujillo 2012; Becker 2015) shinallatak kimsa yuyaykunatami rikuchin

(Shuk) Ecuador mamallaktapika tawka tantanakushka runakuna kawsashkata, ashtawanpash mana shuklla tantarishka runakunallachu kawsan nishpa riksirishkatami rikuchin. (ishkay) Shuy sumak yuyaypika, tukuykuna sumakta kawshuk chaysuk wankurishpa mana makanakushpalla shinallatak mana kayshukka hatun tukushpalla makipurashpa kawsachun yuyaytami rikuchin. (kimsa) Ña kipawanka, shuk tantanakushka runakulla, kayshukkunata mana alikhishpa kawsanata kunkarichun nishpa hatun yuyaytami rikuchin (Ávila 2012:283).

Shinamari, kawsaytura rikuchiyka tukuy kawsaypi mamallaktapak kamachiy mutsuriyshka kana kashkata rikuchin, kay yuyakunaka allí kawsaypi, mama llaktapak kallariypi, shinallatak tukuy mama kamachiypimi rikurin (Ávila 2012). Katherine Walsh rikuypika (2009-2012) chay sumak yuyaykunaka, ñawpa runakunapak kawsaymanta hapishkakunami kan, paykuanaka mamallaktamanta chikanchishka, waklichishkami kawsakkuna karka.

Kutin, paykunapak sumak yuyaykunata mama kamachiypi churashpa killkashkaka aschka allimi kan, chaymantami llaktata pushakkunaka paykunataka sinchiyachishpa sumakta tantalla pushana (Grijalva 2008). Llaktata pushak Rafael Correa, mana tantalla tawka runakuawan Ecuador mamallaktata pushashkamantami runakunaka piñarishpa chinkanyarishpa anchurkakuna. Ecuador

mamakamachiypika shuk sumak rikuytami churarkakuna pachamamapak aynitami killkachirka, kaykamaka pachamaka shuy haylli shinallami rikushka karka, kunanmanta ñawpakmanka pachamamaka kawsayta charikta rikushkami kan (Acosta 2014:323).

Pacha mama kasayta charikmi nishpa killkachishkaka maypipash mana rurashkata shuk mushuk yuyayta katishpa kullkita hapinatami rikuchin. Washaman tikrashpa rikupika, ñukanchik pacha mamaka mana kunan shina kawsayukchu karka, ashtawanpash shuy hayllita shina runakunak ukupi kashkatami rikukkuna karka, (Cartesinopak yuyay), kunanka ecuador mamallaktapa kamachiypi pachamamaka kawsayta charinmi nikpika shuk yalli allí ruryami kan, maypipash mana shina yuyashkatami kunan punllakunaka churashkanchik (Walsh 2012).

Chay killkampak yuyayta uchillayachishpa rikupika, pachamamaka kawsayta charik, kawsaymanta rimarina, Hinkelammert nishka shinaka, kawsayuk kashkamantami kaparikun, tawka watakunata colonialismo nishka llapishpa kawsashkamanta. Shinami pachamamaka ecuador mamallaktapak kamachiypika runakunapak mañashkata paktachishka, shinapash kunan punllakunaka pacha mama kawsayta charinmi nikushpash ecuador mama llaktata pushakka mana paktachikunchu, ashtawanpash ñami ñawpa yuyaypi shinallatak pacha mamataka kullkita hapikapaklla kashkata rikushpa allimantalla shuk hatun karu llakta rantikkunaman kukun.

Pacaha mama ishkey waranka pusak wata kamachiypi aynikunaka punllantami pakishpa mana paktachin, (yana wirata karu llaktaman katushpa, yasunípi tiyak hillaykunata llushichishpa katushpa, shinallatak shuktanata rurashpami yallitak llakichiku); runakuna makanakuykunata harkashpa, kaparikunata wichkachishpa, tantanakuykunata rurankapak mana ari nishpa, Pachamamata yanapakkunata chinkachishpa, mana allí kachishpa tukuykunata mana allí rimashpa, (Sierra 2014:36), allí rikupika, mana ima yuyaytapash kuypak, nimata mana alikachishpa, ima allitapash mana rurashpami llakichikun (Ospina 2009).

Shinallatak, ñukanchik, Mamallaktata pushakunaka; pi kashpash, maykan kashpash, wiñay kawsaypimi runakunataka llakichishpa, wañuchishpa, shamushkakuna. Shina, runakunapak kawsay kakpipash, manatak llakillachu kawsashkakuna, imalapash, imashinapsh pukllaywan, ushaywan, munaywan, yachaywanmi ñawpakman katikmushkakuna.

Chasna makanakushpa kallarishpaka mana ima allíkunawan rinkunachu, ashtawanpash chay mama kamachiypi killkashka kawsaypura, tawkakuna shuk shinalla kawsayta shinchiyachinapak rantika makanakuytami kallarichin, chasnalla katishpaka ima alita mana rurakushkatami rikuchin, kutinllatak ñawpa kamachiypi rurashka shinallatak nimatapash mana mushukyachishpa apakushkatami rikuchin.

#### 4. KAWSAYPURAPAK MAMA LLAKTAPI TIKRA YUYAKUNA, SHINALLATAK HARKAYKUANAPASH

Kawsaypurata shinallatak shukshinalla tawka kawsaykunata shuk mamallaktapi churashkaka shuk “hayllikuna shinami kan” (Foucault 2010), shuktakkunapak kawsaykunata riksinkapak, kipanchishpa pakashka kakpi rikurinapak, shinallatak pakalla kawsakushta rikuchinkapak. Kawsaypurayuk mamallaktapika wakchalla llakilla kawsanaka mana pakashka kanachu (Ávila 2012). Shuktakkunapak kawsaykunata riksina, sumakta yachana kikin yachaskata tikra kunkarishpa yachaypakmi kan, chay hatun tantanakushka runakuna, kayshuk uchilla tantanakushka kawsaykunata yachanaka achka mutsurishkami, tantalla llamkana, ñukanchik kiwakunallawantak hampirinamanta, warmikuta alikachishpa kawsaymanta yachanakuna, kutin, kawshuk hatun llaktakunapak kawsaykunaka achka yankamanta wañuykuna, shinallatak shuk hampikunawan hampirishpa kawsaytami apamushka (Ávila 2012). Shina yachaykunataka, kashnami shutichinchik kawsaypura yachay. Shimami kay mutsurinamanta rikupika yachay pampakunapi, shinallatak yachana ukukunapipash kutin allí yachachina kanchik, kawsaypura shukshinalla tukushpa yachaytami ruray tukunchik (Walsh 2013), chashna millay yuyay ñukanchik ukupi ti-



yashpa hatun tukuna yuyayta, shinallatak pitapash mana alikachishpa kawsana yuyayta kukpi kunkarinkapak (Foucault 2014:16).

Shinami, kay mamallaktapi kawsaypurata sinchiyachinaka mana shuk yanka rimaylla kay. Paktaykunaka mana kamaykunapa killkashkallachu kana kan, yachay wasipi wawakunata yachachinkapaklla, hatun pushayta wiñachishpalla, karu rikuyupi rikurinkapakllachu kana kan. Ashtawanpash mamallaktapi kawsaypuramanta rimayka hatun paktaykunapakmi, tukuy runakuna wankurinakushpa sumakta kawsankapakmi kan (Ávila 2012:378).

Hatun yuyarina, tapuy punchakunapimi kawsanchik, ashalla waklishka yuyaykunata kushpami kawsanchik (De Sousa Santos 2010) mana killkana pataku washamanta sumakta rimashpalla makipi waktayta chaskinkapakllachu kan, “imallatapash ashtawanmi rurana kanchik” (R. M. Illicachi, comunicación personal, 18 de enero de 2019).

Kutinllatakmi yuyachini, kawsaypuramanta llankankapakka yachay ukumantami kallarin, yachana wasi ukumantami wiñachina. Imatatak yachana wasika wiñachin- Yachana wasika kawsaypura wankurishpa kawsayta, mana kashpaka sapalla kawsanatami yachachi tukun. Yachana wasi ukupimi rikchachi, mana kashpaka kawsaypuramanta, shukshinaklla kawsayta chikakachichun yachachin, chaymantami tawka llamkaykunata rurana kanchik, shina: yuyaykunata chimpapurashpa tantanakuy, killkanata killkakatishpa, yachana kamukunata killkashpa, sumak kawsaymanta, tantalla kawsaymanta shukkunamantapash. Kawsaypuramanta, shukshinalla kawsaymanta, twka tanatanakuy kawsaymanta, shukshina kawsaymanta rikunkapak killkakunaka achkakunami tiyan, shinapash imashina yachay ukunamanta llamkanaka mana achkachu rikurin (Martínez 2007).

Kawsaypuramanta, shukshinalla kawsaypuramanta, sumak kawsaymanta hatun yachana wasikunapi, uchilla yachana wasikunapi yachachiyka mana kichwa runakunapakllachu kana kan, ashtawanpash tukuykunapakmi minkashka kan. Mamallaktapi kawsaypura, shukshinalla kawsaypurata sinchiyachinkapakka tukuylla yachanana wasikunapi, shinallatak tukuy yachaykunapimi yachachina kan, “yachankapakka ñawpaman yachaskata kunkarishpami yachana” (Walsh 2013), “chimpapurashpa wankurishpa rurayta katinami allí kanman yuyanimi” (Foucault 2014:14), mana kawsaypura ima

kashkata yachankapaklla, ashtawanpash kawsaypak ima allí pushaypak, mana makanashpa kawsaypak, mana alikachishpa kawsayta sakishpa sumakta shuk shinalla tawkakuna kashpapash kawsankapak.

Karu llaktapi killkashishka kamchiykunapash llamkaymanta pushak 169, muyuntik llaktapak killkashka UNESCO nishka shinaka, sinchitami llankana kan, ecuador mamallaktapika manatak ayllu ukupi yachay, llaktakunapi, apunchikta yachana wasi ukukunamanta chikanchishpa llankanachu, ashtawanpash anta uyarianta, yachana wasikunamanta tukuy manyakunamantami kawsaypurata, shukshinalla kawsaypuratka yachachina kanchik mana shina llankakpika sumak rimashka, allí kamachiyta charishkata rikuchikllami sakirinka.

Kawsaypura yachayta mana hawamanta churashkalla kachunka, ayllumanta wiñachishkami kana kan, paykunami ñawpa llaki kawsaytaka yachankuna, paykunami rimanakushpa kawsanatata mañankuna, shinami kikinyarishpa shukshina yuyashpapash kawsanata charinkuna (Ávila 2012:304), runakunapak hatun tantanakuy, yana runakunapak tantanakuy, shinallatak llukichishka yuyayta pushakkuna sinchita kaparishpa mushuk kawsayta wiñachinkuna, paykunaka mana pushak tukunkallapak, mañaykunata makanakuyta pushankapakllachu llankankuna, ashtawanpash kunan pachakunaka runakunapak tantanakuykunaka sumak kawsaypak allí yachaykunata yuyarinakushpa churankapak, ima shina kawsaypurata yachay ukukunamanta churankapakmi kankuna (Escobar 2001), shinami, kichwa runakuna, yana runakuna, mishukunapash wankurinakushpa shukshinalla tawka yuyakunawan llaktata sinchiyachiyachinkakuna.

Kay yuyaypimi awarin, Norma Bayas rimarishka: “Ñukanchik kamachikunaka, tukuykunatami kuyaya kan, pita mana llakichinachun kan. Kunan pachaka, ñawi allí kawsana kanchik, chimpapura rikunakushpa, makita kunakushpa, shunkuwantak kuyanakushpa. Mana shunkumanta kuyanakupika ima allí kamachikkuna tiyakpipash mana, imapak mana ushunkachu” (N. Bayas, comunicación personal, 15 de marzo de 2019). Chashna karpika, nipakmi kanchik, kamachikkunaka allimi tiyashka; shinaka, kamachikukunata purichikkunami waklli, waklli kashkakuna.

## TUKURIPIY CHURASHKA YUYAYKUNA

Shuk waranka iskun patsak, iskun kan-chis wata, aymuray killapimi – Ecuador mamallaktapika mama kamachiyta mus-hukyachinkapak hatun tantanakuyta wi-ñachinkapak ari mana nishpa tapuchirka, chaypika hatun charikkunata alikachik, shinallatak kullki sapa runakunami paykunapak nishkata rurarkakuna, manapash ñukan-chik mañashkakunatami paykunapak allipaklla mama kamachiyta mushukyachishpa, ma-napash tukuykunata tapushpa ima shinami ishkay waranka pusak watapi mama kama-chiyta allichishka shina allichirkakuna.

Shuk waranka iskun patsak, iskun pu-sak watapi mama kamachiypi churashka tawkakawsay, achka kawsay, shinallatak ishkay waranka pusaku watapi mama kama-chiyti churashka shukshinalla kawsaypura, shinallatak kawsaypura yuyakunata churashkaka yalli mana kallpak shina runakunapak llaki kawsaytami harkashka. Shinallatak shuy yuyaypika kutin allí yuyarishpa, allí rikushpa runakunapak kawsayta wiñchinateami rikuchin, shinallatak, yachay ukumanta rikukpika runakunapak sumak kawsaymi rikurin, tantanakushka runakunapak ayniku-namanta, kawsaypuramanta paykunapaklla allí kashkata rikuchikmi kan, shinapash mayhanpash chay yuyayta charishpaka chakru-rik shinami tantalla llamkankuna.

Shuk allí yuyachiyka kawsaypurata rikukkunata wiñachina mutsuriymi, hatun yachana wasikunapi katiy rikuytami wiñachina, ima shina chay kawsaypuramanta, shinallatak shukshinalla kawsaypura hawa llamkaykunata kamayta rurachunkuna, chay llamkaykunataka mamallaktapak kullkiwanmi yanapana kan, allí imatapash rurarichun nishpaka (García 2007:85).

Ecuador mamallaktapak ishkay waranka, pusak patask watapi killkachishka kamachiypi kawsaypura yuyay ñan shina kakkpika, tukuy yachaykunapimi churana kan, uchilla shina-llatak hatun yachaykunakama, tukuy markakunapi, shinami kawsaypura llamkayka mana shuk pachalla, wakín yuyarishka pachalla yachachinka, mana runakunapakllapash kanka, ashtawanpash tukuykunapakmi kanka.

Ecuador mama llaktaka, tukuy kamachiykunapi killkashkanataka shina, kawsaypura, shukshinalla kawsaypura, sumak kawsay, piñanakuy allichiykunataka paktachinatakmi kan, runakunapak hatun tantanakuykunawan wankurishpa ima shina kawsaypura yuyayta paktachinakatami rurana kan.



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