Institute of Social Studies

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Civil Society Building and the Indigenous Movement in the Ecuadorian Amazon

A research paper presented by

Brian Wallis Fiallo

Ecuador

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Obtaining the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
Specialisation:

LOCAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Members of the Examining Committee

Supervisor: **Dr. Kees Biekart**
Second reader: **Dr. Erhard Berner**

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ACRONYMS

CAAP	Andean Center for Popular Action
CDES	Center for Economic and Social Rights
CEP	Ecumenical Center for Projects
CI	Interfederational Committee
CONAIE	Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador
CONFENAIE	Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Amazon of Ecuador
CODENPE	Development Council of the Indigenous Nationalities and Peoples of Ecuador
ECORAE	Organization for Eco-development of the Amazon Region of Ecuador
FEPP	Ecuadorian Popularum Progressio Fund
FINAE	Interprovincial Federation of the Achuar Nationality of Ecuador
FLACSO	Latin American Faculty for Social Sciences
GRO	Grassroots organization
HIVOS	Humanistisch Instituut voor Ontwikkelingssamenwerking
INNFA	National Institute for Children and the Family
ILO	International Labor Organization
ILV	The Linguistic Summer Institute
ISS	Institute of Social Studies
NAE	Achuar Nationality of Ecuador
OINAE	Interprovincial Organization of the Achuar Nationality of Ecuador
OPIP	Organization of Indigenous Peoples of Pastaza
SNV	Netherlands International Development Organization
UASB	University Andina Simon Bolivar

1. Introduction

Indigenous peoples continue to be excluded from full citizen participation in Latin American societies. The experience of the indigenous movement of Ecuador provides an illustrative case study of how social movements can contribute to the empowerment and political inclusion of indigenous people. The International Labor Organization (ILO) defines indigenous groups as being characterized by geographical isolation, cultural barriers, especially linguistic barriers, economic backwardness by comparison with the rest of the population, and for having their own forms of social and economic organization (ILO, Geneva 1953). The Achuar, Shuar and Kichwas of the Ecuadorian Amazon have historically been isolated due to long distances, cultural barriers and lack of penetration of the state into indigenous territories. Isolation has meant historical exclusion from Ecuadorian society.

The process of inclusion and extension of citizenship rights to the Achuar, Shuar and Kichwas was initially set in motion by missionaries in the 1950's helping them to establish their own indigenous organizations. These associational spaces served as bridges between the indigenous communities, the state and society. The network of indigenous organizations referred to as the Ecuadorian "indigenous movement" with support from national and international NGOs opened up spaces of political participation for these marginalized groups. The field research for this study focuses on two indigenous organizations of the Ecuadorian South Central Amazon region NAE, the Achuar Nationality of Ecuador, and Sarayaku a Kichwa base association, and the supporting role of an Ecuadorian NGO called Pachamama and HIVOS[1] a Dutch donor NGO.

[1] The research is part of a Knowledge Sharing Program between ISS, the Institute of Social Studies and HIVOS the Humanistisch Instituut voor Ontwikkelingssamenwerking.

1.1 Civil society building and democratization

Civil society building has become a central theme of international cooperation for development. Northern European donors have shifted attention towards civil society building as a mechanism to address poverty in unequal societies. In this view, democracy is seen as a precondition for development, and civil society building is perceived as a process that contributes to democratization (Howell and Pearce 2001). Civil society building strategies provide long term institutional support to civil society organizations and aim at bestowing marginalized groups with the required associational spaces to voice their demands. Strengthening civil society, to increase the participation of excluded groups (in particular indigenous movements) has been recognized as the top priority theme for some European NGOs working in Latin America (Biekart 2005:15). Non economic factors such as democratization have been recognized for their potential role in contributing to development in the region by helping to spread existing resources more equally.

1.2 Tackling the root causes of poverty

Development cooperation has been reproached for focusing on the treatment of the symptoms of poverty through relief, income generation, and institutional reform, while leaving the structures of society that perpetuate poverty more or less intact. Structural causes behind the symptoms such as social exclusion and discrimination are most often resilient to development interventions. Technical and short term solutions overlook local power structures, and undermine the significance of local politics. Development agencies have acknowledged these weaknesses articulating the need for a more political and long term alternative approach to development. The strategies of "many private aid agencies slowly evolved from addressing the symptoms of poverty to tackling its root causes: such as unequal power relations" (Biekart 1999: 93). Resource rich countries in Latin America have failed to translate growth into equitable development due to structural features inherited from colonialism that control the widespread distribution of benefits and exclude entire groups of the population. The failure of growth to trickle down in highly

unequal societies pinpoints to the important role politics, as well as participation of different sectors of society, play in the allocation and distribution of benefits.

1.3 The Indigenous movement: A force of democratization

For indigenous communities of the Amazon region, indigenous organizations have become the interlocutors that provide the required associational space for the expression of demands (Yashar 2005). Distant to the state, indigenous communities organized their own spaces of political participation. These civil society organizations of the Ecuadorian Amazon (that will be referred to as indigenous organizations) have benefited from funding, technical assistance, information and political clout from civil society building programs. NGOs have funneled resources, information and support to enable the Achuar, Kichwas and Shuar of the Amazon to voice their demands. On a meso level the indigenous movement operates as a higher level apex network with the capacity to impact wider political processes.

1.4 The appropriation of the democratic state

Disillusion with international cooperation and the de-legitimizing of neo-liberalism is shifting focus back towards the state. International cooperation has been criticized for lack of coordination, its tendency to bypass the state, the duplication of initiatives and projects, and contributing to the rolling back of the state as a result of structural adjustment programs (Thomas 1992, Friedmann 1992). The changing position of some European donors towards country ownership, sector wide approaches, and donor harmonization (Schacter 2001) reflects a change towards strengthening the state and its institutions, emphasizing local institutional development (Uphoff 1986). Reservations however remain due to a fatalistic and anti-statist outlook inbuilt in countries where frustration has set in as a result of political instability, corruption and inefficient bureaucracy. This paper seeks to encourage a re- appropriation of the democratic state by its citizenry. Concepts like rights, citizenship, inclusion, and participation are used to argument for the need for indigenous and excluded groups to take ownership over state institutions through an empowered participation that transforms the state to suit their

claims as citizens. The paper seeks to challenge existing positions that avoid discussing the issue of the inclusion of indigenous groups, claiming that inclusion is not what indigenous groups want.

1.5 Guiding questions and structure of the paper

The research responds to the following research question: *How do civil society building strategies that support indigenous organizations contribute to the political inclusion of indigenous people in the Amazon?*

It is further divided into the following sub questions:

- (Participation) Have indigenous organizations opened up spaces of participation for excluded groups?
- (Empowerment) Has empowerment led to improved living conditions?
- (Inclusion) How have indigenous organizations contributed to inclusion of marginalized groups?
- (Citizenship) How have indigenous organizations led to extending citizenship rights to indigenous peoples?
- What is the supporting role of donors and NGOs?

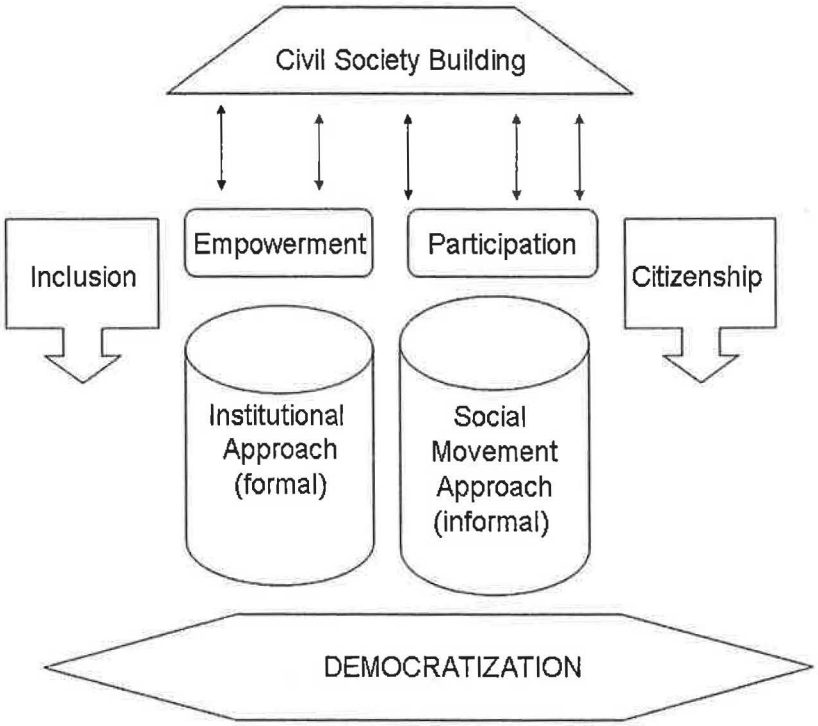
Chapter 1 provides an introduction and background to the study. Chapter 2 presents the analytical framework on civil society building strategies and democratization. Chapter 3 provides a historical review of indigenous organizations while examining processes of change. Chapter 4 analyzes the sub-components of empowerment and participation. Chapter 5 addresses issues of democratization, inclusion and citizenship. Finally conclusions are presented in chapter 6. The research is based on primary data[2] collected during field research in Ecuador. Information was gathered through 30 semi-structured interviews. Respondents where key informants from NGOs, International cooperation, indigenous organizations, academia and local government authorities. Different perspectives were sought out to ensure triangulation.

[2] All quotes from interviews have been translated from Spanish by the Author

2. Civil society building as a strategy for democratization

The research is guided by the following analytical framework that joins the concepts of empowerment and participation as key components of civil society building, as a strategy to promote democratization that in turn requires inclusion and citizenship.

Figure 1: Analytical Framework for Civil Society Building as a strategy for Democratization



The concepts of civil society, civil society building, empowerment, participation, inclusion and citizenship as shown in figure 1 are all components of the process of democratization. As indicated in figure one above civil society building promotes empowerment, participation, inclusion and citizenship to foster democratization by way of a formal and informal approach. Democratization is the desired end of civil society building strategies.

2.1 The civil society debate

Civil society building strategies are influenced by a variety of ideologies and differing interpretations. These distinct interpretations give civil society organizations ample room for maneuver. Van Rooy calls civil society an "analytical hat stand suitable for any political agenda" (Van Rooy 1998: 6). This paper will be based on an inclusive view of civil society, where civil society organizations are mechanisms for inclusion of excluded groups.

The term "civil society" is commonly linked to the pluralist interpretation. This definition states that "civil society is an intermediate associational realm between state and family populated by organizations which are separate from the state, enjoy autonomy in relation to the state and are formed voluntarily by members of society to protect or extend their interests or values" (White 1994). For Crook (2000) civil society "refers to all types of self chosen group based activity which has grown out of interest divisions in society and which are not formally part of the state". The pluralist definition emphasizes the need for autonomy from the state based on the idea that "for democracy to function there is a need for the emergence of public spaces that are independent of the institutions of government, the party system and state structures" (Martin 2004:38).

The inclusive approach of civil society building differs and seeks to incorporate marginalized sectors and deepen democratization. This approach to civil society building seeks to strengthen political society from below (Biekart 1999:97). Civil society groups are observed as instruments of bottom up pressure to open up spaces of political contestation, and as intermediary channels that mediate between citizens that are weakly or not represented and the state. Civil society organizations play a political role as bridges between the represented and the state. In contrast to the pluralist view, in the inclusive view, the boundaries of civil society and political society often become blurred.

The pluralist and inclusive approach are different as one emphasizes that civil society organizations must be autonomous from the state, while the other states that civil society is a part of political society and operates in relation to the state. The distinct views are not mutually exclusive. In fact civil society organizations are simultaneously part of political society and autonomous "located in a spectrum between full autonomy and cooptation by the state" (Biekart 1999:42) hovering along the spectrum according to opportunity structures.

Howell and Pearce (2001) provide a useful dichotomy of two different interpretations of civil society, the mainstream and alternative genealogies of civil society. The mainstream view follows a liberal genealogy tracing its origins to Rousseau, de Toqueville, Ferguson, Weber and Durkheim. It emphasizes the need for the break up of traditional bonds and solidarities replacing them for modern values and social solidarity to prompt social cohesion and a stable social order. Civil law and civility are regarded as reflecting the main distinction between developed and less developed societies. For the mainstream approach freedom is understood not as autonomy, but as freedom as security grounded in law mirroring the ideas of Locke and Hobbes. Development and change is perceived as being directly related to the emancipation of the individual from the tyranny of kings, kinship and rituals. The liberal views rejection of traditional forms of organization as primitive or backwards is criticized as Eurocentric. "Traditional societies are now almost non-existent, yet communitarianization has emerged in response to modernization" (Touraine 2001). In fact tradition is not replaced by the modern but instead re-affirmed by the advance of modernization evidencing two opposing ideological forces: liberalism and communitarianism. The liberal view advances individualism, freedom, and the abandonment of traditional forms of organization for modern forms borrowing from Durkheim. Communitarianism, by contrast re-affirms the validity of traditional forms of organization as legitimate forms of social organization along the ideas of Taylor and Schumacher.

The work by Putnam "Making Democracy work" has been the point of departure for the mainstream view using the concept of "social capital" as the key non-economic factor that provides social cohesion to help liberal democracy and capitalism work. The

assumption is that a certain level of social order is maintained through apolitical bridges and linkages across society that provide a social glue that contributes to good governance. These networks of civil associations create trust and cooperation making up social cohesion to lubricate the operation of society. Social capital aids the transition into modern mass societies viewing development as a linear process of modernization as modeled by Rostow's stages of growth that lead to a society of high mass consumption. Critics argue that mainstream views coincides with Fukuyama's "end of history" refuting any alternative to capitalism and liberal democracy. Putnam's a-political work has also been criticized for ignoring the local political context.

The alternative genealogy by contrast is based on a European tradition of radical reflection and is critical of the global economy and capitalism drawing its lineage to Marx and Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci. It emphasizes power relations that make development a conflictual rather than a consensual process. Furthermore it takes into consideration that in societies that are not homogenous power differences exist leading to different voices being heard. Gender, race and ethnicity determine the distribution of benefits in society. The alternative genealogy understands civil society as a space for the construction and staging of counter hegemonic views. Civil society provides citizens the space to subject public bodies to greater popular control. It also provides a space to make the voice of the underprivileged heard by giving them political spaces for participation (Howell and Pearce 2001: 54), and provides space for the debate about the desired kind of development or progress giving people the right to decide how they want to live, and the ability to reflect on alternatives, emphasizing self determination.

2.2 Civil society building, empowerment and participation

Two main components of civil society building strategies are empowerment and participation. These two are intimately related, and one cannot exist without the other. "Participation as citizenship" based on the perspective put forth by Hickey and Mohan (2005) seeks to relocate participation within a radical politics of development. Participation exists in relation to citizenship and should challenge existing social, political and economic structures in a way that empowers those previously excluded (Hickey and Mohan 2005:238).

Paulo Freire in the Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1970) illustrates that participation can only be meaningful if accompanied by a process of concientization. This is the process by which the poor shed the fatalistic attitude that often times prevents them from making demands as they assume a position of acceptance of the status quo. Concientization is a result of a process of internalization and understanding of relations of power. Participation in order to be meaningful must also go accompanied by empowerment and by a process of self reflection where a critical problem posing attitude replaces a complacent acceptance of imposed ideas referred to by Freire (1970) as characteristic of a "banking" education (where people receive deposits of knowledge from superiors unquestioningly). Critical thinking should enable people to overcome the limit situation they find themselves in. Participation should therefore seek to stimulate change what Freire (1970) refers to as intervention in reality.

Participation can take on two forms formal and informal. Wils (2001) highlights the existence of two parallel spheres of action one formal/state arena and another informal/protest arena. Formal participation corresponds to participation in formal processes in order to channel demands. This can be participation in government or private institutional processes through formal organization and representation. Informal participation, on the other hand, such as direct action is through collective action such as resistance, protest or mass mobilization. Independent of their differences, both formal and

informal processes are about citizens making demands and claims to guarantee their rights.

Empowerment is defined by Thomas as "the desired process by which individuals including the poorest of the poor take control over their lives (Thomas 1992:132). Empowerment of the people according to Edwards and Hulme is a process of assisting disadvantaged individuals and groups to retain greater control over local and national decision making and resources (Hulme and Edwards 1997:64). Empowerment is a matter of participation in decision making on matters important to the empowered. Wils looks at decision making power in terms of choosing among alternatives even if more powerful groups don't like or disagree with these decisions. Empowerment is treated as a political strategy and process that requires inclusion in order for empowerment to occur (Wils 2001).

Wils (2001) developed a framework to evaluate empowerment strategies of NGOs providing a useful tool which is summarized below. Empowerment of excluded groups is the result of a process of organization of the bases that stimulates their active participation in decision making on matters important to their lives. The increased participation in decision making should eventually lead to economic, social and cultural changes in response to the demands made. According to Wils empowerment is not an end in itself but a means whereby participation of previously excluded groups leads to political, social, economic and cultural changes. Participation in itself is not seen as an end either, but rather the impact of such participation is what matters; the desired end being higher and more general objectives like social transformation, equity or alternative forms of development, or broader objectives such as redistribution of power in society, or a shift in power relations (Wils 2001).

Wils identifies three major theories that shape NGOs empowerment approaches: Marxism, Gramsci/Freire and Feminism. The Feminist influence in particular captures elements of Marx, Gramsci and Freire and adds different levels to the struggle: informal, formal, individual and systemic. The feminist contribution sees that in order to have any

change in the position and situation of women against the culture of patriarchy, the battle must be fought in the cultural realm changing people's minds and long established cultural beliefs. Feminism brought the struggle down to the individual and household level. Formal, usually legal changes, in the constitution, laws or policies, are not enough if the informal institutions that govern people's behavior such as religion, language or culture remain unchanged. Change in addition to formal reform needs to address norms, practices and behavior at the informal individual level of consciousness and at the systemic level of cultural and everyday practices that reproduce inequality and exclusion (Mooij, 2005).

Wils argues that theories can not be used as templates that can be applied universally without giving serious attention to local factors and variables. NGOs are "unavoidably influenced by theories. In practice, however, things are more complicated" (Wils 2001:18). NGO and their empowerment scenarios "are faced with complex and multiple affiliations, often more complex than those envisaged in the theories that influenced them". NGOs capacity to problematise and manage an empowerment strategy depends on human resources, networks and connections that influence an NGOs intervention strategy and consequently an NGOs problem analysis and are part of a "configuration of variables that have a marked influence on the choices that shape an NGO intervention strategy in the field of empowerment" (Wils 2001:20).

Wils contribution furthermore identifies two distinct empowerment strategies an access strategy a parallel strategy. The access strategy is based on "empowerment of the poor so that they learn to claim access to legitimate entitlements", and it involves linking "organized or empowered groups to public and /or private sources of benefits". A parallel strategy consists of an NGO "developing its own broad based service programs focused to attend to the needs of the target group, where these programs or parallel schemes may eventually "become mainstreamed and transferred to government" (Wils 2001:19). A variant of the parallel strategy seeks to "democratize society and the economy enabling a system of service provision under the control of the grassroots themselves" (Wils 2001:19). This strategy is considered "more empowering than the access strategy, which

tends to create dependence on the state". Parallel strategies allow grassroots organizations to become recognized by the state as valid institutions for the delivery of services, or as valid institutional channels for the processing of demands of the groups they represent, allowing a significant degree of autonomy and independence from the state, a critical factor in countries where political instability makes the state unreliable.

Finally Wils highlights the importance of the "institutionalization of results of empowerment" (Wils 2001: 22-23). Empowerment strategies should aim at the institutionalization of the results of empowerment in the following areas: (i) administration (official recognition and registration, incorporation in procedures), (ii) Planning (inclusion in platforms, procedures, participatory planning) and (iii) Funding (eligibility to receive public finance) and sustained inclusion of the long excluded at administrative planning and funding levels (Wils 2001:23).

2.3 The different approaches towards democratization

Democratization is a process of progressive inclusion of various groups and categories of people into political life (Dryzec 1996: 475). Dryzec clarifies that formal democracy and universal adult citizenship rights may mask continued exclusion and oppression. Dagnino (1998) makes a useful distinction between two competing visions and interpretations of democracy that in turn lead to two roads when speaking of democratization: the institutional view of democratization and a new social movement's view. These can also be differentiated in terms of formal representative democracy versus informal direct democracy. The distinction is noteworthy yet the two approaches co-exist.

The formal road frequently finds solutions in institutional re-engineering where new institutions are established to include or build bridges to those previously excluded; this approach is criticized as technocratic by Dagnino (1998). The formal approach seeks the inclusion of excluded groups into government structures and gives an important role to the state and local institutions. The institutional view of democratization is associated to what Melucci refers to as the "fight for citizenship rights that aims at the extension of political rights or the integration of excluded and under privileged groups into the nation

state" (Martin 2004: 35). Melucci states that this interpretation of democratization is based on the experience of the industrial period of industrialized countries, and may not apply to new contexts. From a perspective of new social movement's theory, the deepening of democracy is a societal project which includes democratizing cultural practices embedded in social relations of exclusion and inequality seeking a redefinition of the notion of citizenship, and is based on the capacity of social movements to create new visions of society (Dagnino 1998: 47).

Social movements emerge as an option to parliamentary and representative democracy seeking the consolidation of direct and more radical forms of democracy. According to this view, it is collective action and political contestation that advance the claims of excluded groups. This view emphasizes "identity politics" giving less importance to the state and local institutions. Common interests, solidarity and shared identities operate independent of location, leading to the establishment of global webs and networks. Dagnino states that this view does not seek to "refuse political institutionality and the state, but makes a radical claim for their transformation' (Dagnino 1998:47). Formal and informal democratization are complementary, an institutional response for instance, is annulled if practices like clientelism, favoritism and patronage ties that perpetuate social exclusion are not addressed.

2.4 Democratization, inclusion and citizenship

Social Exclusion is a process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in society in which they live. Social exclusion is the inability to obtain claims because of structural or relational limitations i.e.: belonging to a particular race, caste or gender. Social Exclusion looks at discrimination, stigma and exclusion as a causality of poverty. Inclusion, however, is a problematic concept because it attempts to "integrate" the excluded into society. Post-modern interpretations have challenged traditional perspectives of assimilation and integration, signaling instead for tolerance, acceptance and the promotion of differences. In addition, in practice several groups have taken on collective identities to fight social exclusion. Instead of seeking inclusion individually, group struggles have emerged for the rights of women, gays, ethnic groups or other identity based collectivities in response to continued exclusion based on longstanding discriminatory cultural practices and conceptions.

The inclusion of excluded groups into society presents major challenges and dilemmas. Historically inclusion has been understood as assimilation or integration that implies adapting oneself to the standard that in turn means giving up difference. Melucci states that in complex societies democracy consists of enabling individuals and groups to affirm themselves and be recognized for what they are or what they want to be. In contrast to the idea of inclusion as the desired end, Melucci points out that excluded groups have the right to belong or to withdraw from belonging (Martin 2004: 37).

Inclusion is intimately related with citizenship, as the existence of citizenship rights means inclusion and recognition as part of the collectivity. Citizenship is membership in a political community and carries with it rights to political participation, a person having such rights is a citizen (Held 1995). Citizenship is the organic link between the state and its citizens (Biekart 1999:23). It is viewed as a product of struggle in which citizens demand inclusion in the political community by the entrenchment of civil and political and social rights (Yashar 2005:46). Rights in some cases are not enough, due to

restrictions of social exclusion leading to problems of what Yashar calls legal formalism where legal rights are undermined by the persistence of discriminatory cultural practices. Citizenship is seen by Yashar (2005) as social closure as citizens and non-citizens or citizens and aliens (Yashar 2005:33). Citizenship therefore creates the boundaries for rights. In countries with weak legal structures, affected by clientelistic practices, patrimonialism and patronage ties, legal formalism may guarantee universal adult citizenship rights only on paper. For Dagnino (2005) citizenship rights need to be extended beyond the judicial level redefining citizenship into everyday life seeking cultural and social change of daily social relations as a whole (Dagnino 2005:16).

Citizenship is criticized as a concept that cannot be applied universally. Melucci argues that citizenship is a concept that applies to a certain historical context. He warns about using citizenship and rights as universal claims, as "new forms of identity politics differ from the emancipatory politics of the industrial period stating that contemporary movements are not principally concerned with citizenship and do not demand access to state power by means of political processes" (Martin 2004: 35). He makes a compelling analysis of how in post industrial democracy the state is no longer seen as the sole mechanism to satisfy claims. State-centric models that operate on a national scale are problematized in the context of globalization where new mechanisms emerge to respond to claims. Transnational solidarity networks, international cooperation and governance institutions provide an alternative to the state as valid mechanisms to respond to claims. Indigenous groups, for example, claim "differentiated rights" as opposed to individual citizenship rights (Dagnino 2005:15) guided by international treaties.

2.5 NGOs and social movements

The "building" in Civil Society Building has often been construed as a process of manufacturing NGOs or third sector organizations. The 1990's witnessed a storm of criticism against NGOs as a result of the enormous explosion of NGO numbers (Edwards and Hulme 1995, Hillhorst 2003) in what Salomon (1994) called the "associational revolution". NGOs came under fire primarily for contributing to the rolling back of the state. By becoming service providers to marginalized communities, NGOs were

substituting or filling in for the state, or directly replacing the state (Edwards and Hulme 1995: 4). Their role curtailed the advancement of the state into underserved regions. Beneficiaries of NGO programs became NGO clients receiving as charity what is supposed to be a citizen right provided by government. The rise of NGOs has been explained in response to the withdrawal of the state as a consequence of structural adjustment and neoliberal policies (Hillhorst 2003). NGOs have been considered an essential component of the new policy agenda of neoliberal economics and liberal democracy (Edwards and Hulme 1995:4).

Donors funding the building of civil society found that new NGOs and networks did not guarantee a representative civil society. New NGOs intended to extend democratization had difficulty being representative (Ottaway and Carothers 2000). The existence of large numbers of NGOs did not translate into a meaningful civil society (Smillie 1995). Popular or membership organizations as opposed to NGOs by contrast are owned by their constituencies (Biekart 1999:39). Donors realized the need to support political and popular organizations as these represent legitimate claims and are owned by their constituencies. Furthermore experiences of networks or federations of grassroots organizations demonstrated the importance of higher level support networks to advance the claims of the grassroots and provide scale (Constantino-David 1995). These popular social movements demonstrated the capacity of influencing the wider political system and of democratizing politics (Edwards and Hulme 1995). Direct donor support to popular organizations was heavily discouraged by Bebbington and Riddel (1996) as direct contact with donors can divert local priorities. Fowler (1992) also warned of the danger of overfunding to GROs in the south (Edwards and Hulme 1996: 965).

NGOs are recognized as the optimum channel to provide support to social movements involved in extending citizenship rights to marginalized groups. Despite the criticism of NGOs, they are learning organizations and are considered the most adequate counterpart for donors as they are capable of administering complex donor funded projects (Basambrio 2000: 280). NGOs moved away from a role of service provision towards supporting political change agents such as social movements. NGOs changed their focus

towards rights based approaches that focus on existing resources being more equally shared, as well as asserting the rights of marginalized groups to access resources. The shift from needs based approaches to development to a rights based approach changed development practice from providing charity towards ensuring legal obligations are satisfied (Nyamu-Musembi and Cornwall 2004: 3). The Rights based approach aimed at: "encouraging people to assume rights on a personal and subjective level, strengthening popular organizations so people can make their own demands, working with agents of the state to create and strengthen legal mechanisms". (Molyneux & Lazar 2003:50). Rights talk as the new development fashion, has not gone uncontested (Nyamu-Musembi and Cornwall 2004) yet it has been avowed as helping to legitimize more progressive and radical approaches to development.

The paradigm of "participation and ownership" also represents a major re-examination of NGO practice as a product of the Paris declaration on aid effectiveness. Donors now stress context as a starting point, focus on state building, and alignment with local priorities/or systems, and long term engagement to ensure success (Rombouts 2006). NGOs intended role is to support community or grassroots organizations and accompany historical change processes to "beyond formal change- contribute to changing attitudes and behaviors aiming at structural change to address root causes of injustice (Molyneux & Lazar 2003: 51).

Social movements are claimed to be capable of societal transformations, to extend citizenship rights to excluded groups (Hickey and Mohan 2005:248), and to alter the way a society perceives itself. Social movement theorists classified "old" and "new" social movements. Old social movements search for political power and are centered in relation to the state (Calderon et all, 1992: 19). While new social movements are viewed as new forms of doing politics referring to collective struggles over meanings making them part of a cultural struggle (Escobar et Alvarez 1992:2). Rather than seeking to get close to an exclusive state social movements maintain a distance reaffirming identity while searching for own spaces of representation (Calderon et all, 1992: 25).New Social movements are seen as redefining politics and citizenship (Dagnino 2005) bringing politics to a personal

level, in what Melucci calls the democratization of everyday life (Escobar 1992, 70). This implies changing culture which is made up of everyday practices, where soft subversions and everyday forms of protest assert and foster the acceptance of difference, making it a struggle over meanings at the level of daily life creating "cultural innovation" (Escobar 1992).

Social movements theorists have identified different factors to explain their emergence. The typical dichotomy to analyze social movements has been the dualism of structure and motivation (Melucci 1989: 21). Structural theories explain why social movements emerge, for instance in response to globalization or modernization. Motivation theories instead view social movements as responding to opportunity structures based on relations and elements present within the environment as understood by Tarrow's resource mobilization theories. Melucci understands social movements as collective action based on a collective identity constructed from interactions, negotiations and relationships with the environment. Emphasizing that they are submerged in the social-cultural background from which they emerge.

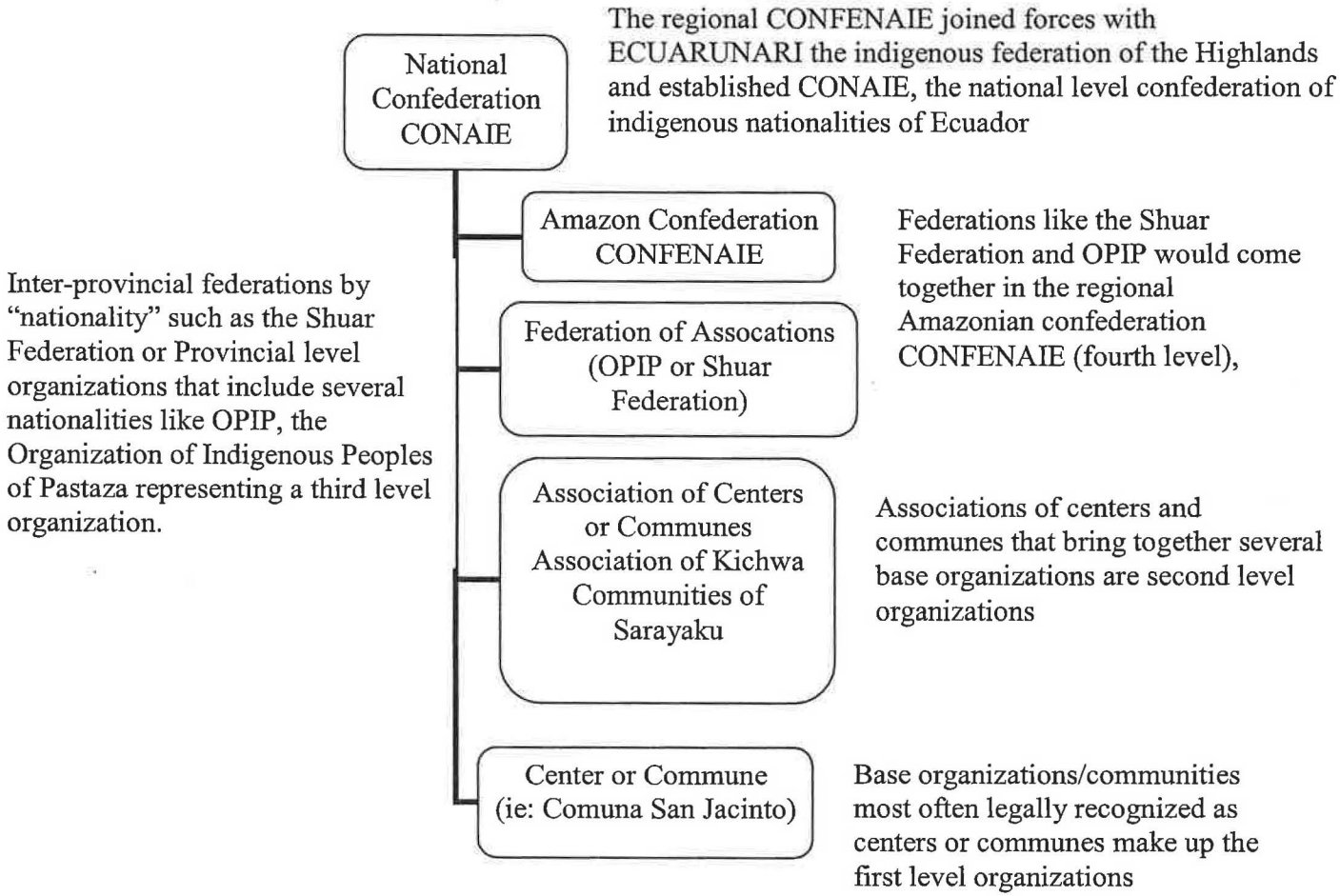
3. The indigenous organizations of Ecuador

The Amazonian indigenous movement's central claim is centered on defense of territory, and has substantial differences with the highland indigenous movement. The Ecuadorian "indigenous movement" as a broad nation-wide social movement emerged as a result of the unification of forces among indigenous groups from the Highlands and the Indigenous groups from the Amazon region. It is the network of grassroots organizations that represent the different indigenous communities (pueblos) and nationalities[3] of Ecuador's highland, Amazonian and also coastal regions. See annex 1 for additional details about the different indigenous "nationalities" of Ecuador. Figure 2 below provides a map of the organizational structure of the indigenous movement.

[3] "Nationalities" is the term chosen by the indigenous ethnic groups such as the Achuar, Shiwiar or Huaorani to emphasize that Ecuador's indigenous peoples are a heterogeneous group comparable to different nationalities with their own cultures, languages and territories. The use of the word nationality responds to the definition of a nation as a shared identity expressed by the notion of a "nation as an imagined community" (Touraine 2000). The concept of "nation" is used to reflect shared political, cultural, ethnic, religious and territorial characteristics that differentiates each ethnic group.

Figure 2

THE INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT OF ECUADOR:



3.1 The indigenous organizations of the Amazon

Missionaries influenced by theology of liberation were important catalysts in the process of indigenous organizing in Ecuador. Luis Vargas, a renown Achuar leader acknowledges that "the first leaders were ecclesiastic leaders". Dialoguing and cooperating among leaders started "from my base at the church where I had a center". This resulted in the foundation of OPIP and later CONFENAIE. "The church gave me the space to invite people to seminars, talks, and meetings"(interview with Vargas, L).

The Shuar were the first group to organize in the Amazon. They had historically had an autonomous, disperse and nomadic lifestyle (Silva Charvet 2003). According to Yashar "the state did not actually seek to harness the Amazon region until the latter part of the twentieth century" (Yashar 2005:62). Others speak of an absolute absence of the state until the 1970's (Silva Charvet 2003:30). Communication between indigenous communities and the state had been through intermediaries. The government dealt with the demands of indigenous communities by delegating the responsibility to others. As Ponce states it was not uncommon in Latin America for governments to delegate authority in areas far from its center (Ponce 2000:83). In the Ecuadorian Amazon the responsibility of "civilizing" the Indians was given to the religious missions.

The Instituto Lenguistico de Verano (ILV) played a key role in opening communication with the indigenous groups by learning indigenous languages (Ponce 2004). In the central Amazon the government delegated the responsibility of incorporating the indigenous people to the catholic missions. In 1893 the Ecuadorian government gave a concession to the Salesian order to reach out to the Shuar communities and convert them (Rubenstein 2005: 31). The Salesian missions established the first schools and clinics in the Amazonian provinces of Morona Santiago and Pastaza. In 1935 the Ecuadorian government created a Shuar reserve and gave the authority for its administration to the Salesian order. This allowed the Ecuadorian government to lay claim over these lands after having recently lost over 200,000 square kilometers to Peru. The Ecuadorian

government gave the authority over the territory to the Salesians in exchange for educating the Shuars and converting them into Ecuadorian citizens (Rubenstein 2005).

The land reform passed in 1964 called the "law of empty lands" opened up lands for colonization in the Amazon considering these lands unoccupied. This spurred a process of resistance from indigenous groups to defend their lands and rights supported by the Salesian missions who reacted to colonization and the potential displacement of indigenous communities. Since indigenous communities were nomadic, the Salesians attempted to make the communities sedentary by establishing centers. The Salesians worked to obtain legal recognition for each center and then legalized the lands in the name of each Shuar center to avoid indigenous lands from being encroached on (Rubenstein 2005). In order to prevent the lands from being considered unoccupied the Shuar with advice from the missionaries started cattle grazing on the lands.

In response to the aggressive expansion of the agricultural and productive frontier the Shuar were forced to take refuge in centers and communes as the only effective legal mechanism to guarantee their right to stay and own land. These new forms of organization and land tenure affected traditional institutions and ways of life, but represented the only way to prevent displacement. The various centers, associations and communes grouped together to establish the Shuar federation which obtained legal recognition in 1964. Following the same model the Kichwas established centers and later grouped together under one organization under the name of Union of Natives of the Amazon that later became OPIP the Organization of Indigenous Peoples of Pastaza (Ibarra 1987:96).

This initial model of indigenous organizations resulted in very large institutions that covered large territories and clustered a large number of communities. OPIP for instance was made up of 13 associations that represented 117 communities and an approximate total population of 12,524 corresponding to the Zapara, Kichwa and Shiwiar and Achuar nationalities (OPIP 2001). These organizations, substituted the state acting as representatives and as indigenous "government councils". These organizations, however,

were criticized for not being representative, particularly of the interests of smaller groups. As Francisco Rhon Davila, the Executive Director of CAAP, highlights there are important power differentials among the different indigenous "nationalities". The Shuar and the Kichwas represent the two largest indigenous societies of the Amazon. The Shuar are more than 40,000 persons and the Kichwas are more than 60,000 persons, and both groups are experiencing important demographic growth (Santana 1995:326). By contrast the other smaller groups like the Sionas, Secoyas, Cofan, Huaorani, Zaparos and Achuar are only a few thousand and their population is declining. The organizational nucleus of the Amazon is therefore constituted by the Kichwas and the Shuar (Santana 1995:26).

The Achuar who did not feel represented by the Shuar Federation[4] or OPIP[5] broke off and established their own organizations OINAE in 1993, FINAE in 1996 and NAE in 2005 (NAE 2005). NAE, the Achuar Nationality of Ecuador, by contrast is a smaller organization that directly represents the approximately 7000 Achuar inhabitants that speak Achuar Chicham. The fragmentation of indigenous organizations has been referred to as the process of decentralization of the movement towards smaller more representative organizations. According to Ortiz larger organizations became fragmented into smaller organizations. FOIN for instance the Federation of Indigenous Peoples of Napo that initially represented 70% of the indigenous communities of the Province was replaced by 5 organizations (interview with Ortiz, P). OPIP has also been severely weakened[6] while its members like Tayjsajaruta, the Association of the Kichwa Nationality of Sarayaku, gained importance over the last years.

[4] The Shuar Federation as the first indigenous federation was very powerful. During interviews with Erika Hannekamp (CEP) and Francisco Rhon Davila (CAAP) they both emphasized the power of the Shuar Federation. "Go to Macas and see how the Shuar Federation has marble floors" Rhon Davila.
[5] OPIP was the axis for the expansion of what Rhon Davila calls the Napo Runa civilization. The Kichwas of the Amazon according to Rhon Davila are "a colonizing force in the Amazon". They used OPIP as a means for communicating with the other and expanding their influence. Most of the Amazon speaks kichwa, which is evidence of the expansion and influence of the Kichwas according to Rhon Davila.
[6] OPIP has suffered from problems of corruption, internal divisions, and loss of donor support. At the time of the study OPIP's offices were closed.

3.2 Defense of territory

Most readings of the Amazonian indigenous movement have a structural understanding of the emergence of indigenous organizations viewing them as a response to external pressures[7]. Touraine (2000) for instance identifies indigenous movements as communitarianist regimes that emerge in response to globalization and modernization. Communitarianist regimes according to Touraine "emerge with the objective of defense of a historical community or of a cultural, linguistic or religious being where modernization, industrialization and finance capitalism pose a threat to national or regional societies and cultures" (Touraine 2000: 211). The defense of territory and culture in the Amazon seeks to preserve the ancestral cultures of the Achuar, Shuar and Kichwas. Paulina Palacios of IBIS describes: "{the territory as the space} where you grew up, where your culture is, with sacred sites, making up a cultural symbolic territory where all the needs- material and spiritual- are met by the jungle[8]". The defense of territory implies preserving indigenous language, spirituality and knowledge, which are all intricately related to the jungle as the basis of Amazonian indigenous cultures[9].

Resource mobilization theories of social movements by contrast look at indigenous movements in terms of opportunity structures and the surrounding environment. The indigenous organizations of the South Central Amazon and their objective of defense of territory and culture, in this light, are seen as a fusion of local and external influences. Alliances with international solidarity networks and NGOs, primarily environmentalists and anti-globalization activists influenced indigenous organizations to take on a conservationist rhetoric and speech.

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[7] Indigenous organizations historically reacted to threats of intrusion into their "territories" by colonizers, and by the exploration and exploitation of natural resources within them by extractive industries such as oil, timber and pharmaceutical companies.

[8] Indigenous societies of the Amazon have cultural practices such as shamanism in response to health problems, complex hunting and gathering practices and natural resource management tecniques to ensure good use of the chakra (land, jungle). These practices and "indigenous knowledge" are maintained through the language.

[9] Indigenous cultures are currently promoted as ancestral and unchanging. Rather than being protected, they could be re-evaluated as potential sources for cultural innovation.

Donor imagery became infused into everyday language shaping the movement's rhetoric. Consequently donors often interpret the concept of defense of the territory as the defense of the environment. Environmental NGOs working to "save the Amazon" have viewed indigenous peoples as the guardians of the Amazon (Mires 2003). Donor visions reflect the "imaginary of the happy savage" (interview with Rhon, F) and the "Amazon as the lost garden of Eden immersed in the western subconscious" (interview with Ortiz, P), reproducing purist and romanticized representations of indigenous peoples. Consequently indigenous people in the Amazon have been clever to play with this imagery to their advantage (interview with Elliot, D). This reflects Sen's (1995) criticism of the practice of targeting, as aid recipients are not passive receivers but active participants that respond to incentives.

From a resource mobilization theorists viewpoint indigenous movements of the Amazon blend elements of communitarianism, environmentalism and anti-globalization as a result of opportunity structures and actors. Ortiz, for instance, claims it is naive to think that indigenous intellectuals are not influenced by the contacts they establish with NGOs and global networks. He states that OPIP for example was influenced by regional indigenous movements. The presence of foreign conservationists in the Amazon furthermore led to the espousal of environmental discourses. Green radicalism in particular has taken force in the Amazon helping "individuals and communities to distance themselves from both government and corporate capitalism, in putative attempts to create an alternative political economy relying on self sufficiency" (Dryzec 1997:19). The blend between indigenous cosmo-visions founded on religious deities of Pachamama and Arutam with environmental and eco-centric perspectives provided environmental NGOs a home in the Amazon.

The overexploitation and opportunistic abuse of the imagery of indigenous peoples as the saviors of the Amazon developed into an industry. As a result the indigenous nationalities have become suspicious of foreign environmentalists and their intentions. In fact, tensions are rising and on the ground "defense of territory" has translated into physical

defense of borders leading indigenous organizations to become physical guardians of their territories (interview with Ortiz, P). Anyone that enters an Achuar community needs signed authorization from the President[10]. They have developed a defensive position towards outsiders, including NGOs[11]. This mirrors Touraine's observation of communitarian regimes that "give defense of a collective identity a political or military strength that leads to the rejection of everything that is foreign" (Touraine 2000:163). In a meeting with donors from California, Domingo Ankuash from the Shuar Federation expressed that communities are suspicious of donors and NGOs: "you must understand that you are financing us so that we can defend ourselves and our territories".

3.3 The highlands Indians

Indigenous groups from the highlands have a distinct historical trajectory. Their organizational history dates back to the 1930's when indigenous peasants had their first contacts with the Ecuadorian communist party (Ibarra 1992). The indigenous people of the highlands, in contrast to the indigenous people of the Amazon, were peasants working as indebted serfs within the latifundio system. Their struggle has therefore been called a class struggle of peasants fighting the system of haciendas and latifundios. The first accomplishment of the Indigenous revolts in the highlands was the abolition of the huasipungo[12] as a result of the land reform of 1964. The abuses of indigenous people working in the hacienda system have been illustrated in detail by Jorge Icaza in the novel Huasipungo (1936). The process of indigenous organizing in the highlands is therefore, markedly different from that of the Amazon. Ecuarunari, the regional federation of indigenous peoples of the highlands was established in 1972. Its political project has

[10] This policy responds to the problem of oil company "community negotiators" entering communities to make offers to community members bypassing the leadership. It also responds to fear of external actors entering communities for research, exploration, or extraction of natural resources (biodiversity) without creating benefits for the communities.

[11] Today the indigenous organizations have become defensive against environmental NGOs. A paper by Mark Chapin (2004) "A challenge to Conservationists" shows how large global environmental NGOs sideline indigenous peoples in their pursuit to gain access to the natural resources of the Amazon. Large environmental NGOs operate as transnational corporations with the objective of privatizing biodiversity via concessions that give NGOs permission to manage natural protected areas.

[12] Huasipungo was a small plot of land given to the indebted indigenous serf as payment for work on the Hacienda. The indigenous family could live on this plot of land and cultivate food for its subsistence, this was the form of payment for working on the Latifundios. Huasipungo is the Ecuadorian term for Minifundio.

elements of both ethnic and class struggle. In addition its intelligentsia studied in Quito and established links with progressive and leftist militants and "indigenistas", framing its ideology, and making it work in coalition with other non ethnic social sectors. Ecuarunari, which has had significant weight in CONAIE, the national federation of indigenous people, has a political agenda that promotes a national project in alliance with other social sectors and movements (Larrea 2004).

Indigenous groups of the highlands where not as physically isolated and distant as the indigenous groups of the Amazon. The highland indigenous groups are far more integrated within Ecuador's political structure. Furthermore some indigenous groups are well integrated into the market. Market cities like Otavalo and Cotacachi have wealthy indigenous entrepreneurs. Indigenous leaders in the highlands pushed for the establishment of the Pachacutik political movement which has led to indigenous leaders becoming active participants in Ecuadorian politics. Indigenous leaders have taken over 30 municipalities and parish councils in both the highlands and Amazon provinces as a result of the Pachacutik political movement (interview with Castro, M).

Consequently the autonomic proposals of the Amazon are not looked at favorably by the indigenous movement of the highlands. In the Amazon the proposal of Circumscripciones Territoriales Indigenas (CTI), seeks recognition of tribal or community self governments (comparable to Panchayats in India). It seeks recognition of indigenous local authorities with the same rights and responsibilities as municipalities. Article 228[13] of the constitution of 1998 gives legal right[14] over the administration of indigenous territories to legally recognized indigenous organizations constitutionally guaranteeing the right to self government. The CTI[15] proposal is nevertheless weakened by the lack of support from

[13] Article 228 states that: "local and regional autonomous governments will be governed by provincial councils, municipal councils, parish councils (juntas parroquiales), and as determined by law those organizations designated for the administration of indigenous territories (circunscripciones territoriales indigenas)".

[14] The legal right to self government in the constitution, however, has not led to the establishment of the so-called self-governments as "they need ¾ vote in congress to be approved, but indigenous laws are rarely passed in congress" according to Elliot, D.

[15] Ortiz states that the proposal of the circumscripciones territoriales and self-government is a thorny issue, as official recognition of indigenous organizations as legitimate local authorities and guaranteed state

the highlands Indians (interview with Castro, M). The proposals for autonomy and self government conflict with the interests of the highland Indians of winning over spaces within the current political system and strengthening Pachacutik. Whereas the highland indigenous groups have a national project and see the movement as a mechanism for excluded groups to build a popular front, the Amazonian movement is perceived as purely ethnic (Larrea 2004).

3.4 The indigenous movement of Ecuador

The indigenous movement of Ecuador has been labeled "Latin America's strongest, oldest and most consequential indigenous movement" (Yashar 2005: 85). It has been deemed an indigenous utopia. Since 1986, the year CONAIE was formed, the previously excluded indigenous sector has taken center stage in Ecuador's political scene (CONAIE 1998:50). Currently the President of CONAIE is running for President of the Republic. The indigenous movement as a whole, despite being fragmented, has obtained important results. Escobar (1992) claims literature on the indigenous movement is often overly enthusiastic. Writers on the movement are often also sympathizers, potentially making them lose objectivity. In addition depictions of the "indigenous movement" ignore differences between the Amazonian and Highland movements, and tend to refer to CONAIE as the movement.

The indigenous movement was recognized as a major force in Ecuador as a result of the indigenous mobilizations of the early nineteen nineties. The famous mass mobilization conducted by CONAIE in 1990 brought the country to a standstill as it managed to mobilize Highland and Amazonian groups. The pressure and leverage obtained by the mass mobilizations reaped several formal changes including constitutional changes, legalization of lands, and the creation of institutions to address the demands of indigenous groups. The constituent assembly led to the new constitution of 1998 and made several amendments in regards to indigenous people recognizing that Ecuador is a

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resources risks a loss of autonomy or cooptation and their is no guarantee that becoming included into the state structure will change the exclusive character of the government.

multicultural and pluriethnic country[16]. Furthermore the inclusion of a clause regarding the collective rights of indigenous peoples in Article 84 granted several legal rights. See Annex 2. And in terms of access to resources the famous March to Quito from Puyo called "Allpamanda Causaimanda, Jatarishum" (March for Territories and for Life) organized by OPIP in 1992 obtained the legalization of 1,624,778 hectares. Finally several institutions were set up to address the demands of indigenous groups. ECORAE assigned $0.50 per barrel of oil to Amazonian provinces, public commissions for indigenous education and indigenous health were set up, and institutions like CODENPE were created to channel public funds to indigenous groups for the development of indigenous communities.

In terms of non formal change, the indigenous movement led to a cultural and symbolic transformation of Ecuadorian culture challenging existing paradigms embedded in everyday practices. The proposal of indigenous nationalities transformed previous conceptions held about indigenous people and modified the language[17]. The recognition of distinct indigenous "nationalities" educated Ecuadorians about the cultural, linguistic, and ethnic differences between indigenous groups previously all labeled "indians". The recognition, not formally but culturally, of the different indigenous "nationalities" changed the way Ecuador perceives itself. Furthermore it challenged the hierarchical social stratification based on degree of white or Indian blood, with social status and wealth proportional to one's standing along the ethnic divide. Finally the movement helped indigenous groups to assert themselves and reclaim their identity, culture and language.

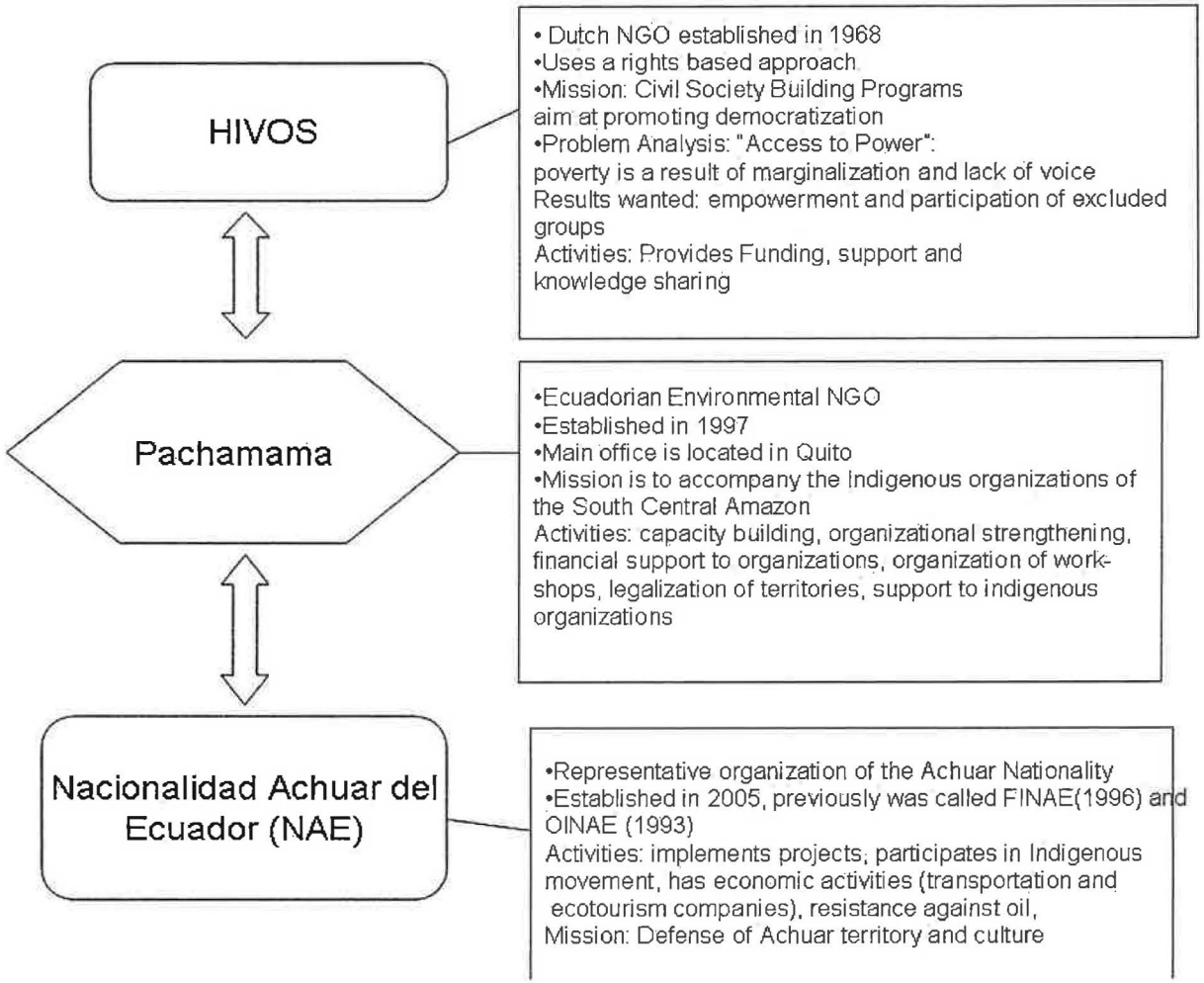
[16] However, the constitution does not recognize Ecuador as a pluri-national state which was the indigenous movements demand. Instead the constitution states: "Ecuador is a sovereign, independent, UNITARY, democratic, pluri-ethnic and multicultural country". The distinction between pluri-ethnic and pluri-national is significant as it shows the Ecuadorian governments rejection of the concept of indigenous "nationalities" considering them indigenous ethnicities instead. The concept of nationality with claims to own culture, language, territory and an own state, is viewed as a separatist project by the Ecuadorian state and military. Therefore the constitution emphasizes the unitary nature of the Ecuadorian state.

[17] The Huaorani were previously called Aucas, a word that in Kichwa means savage and was the way in which the kichwas referred to their warrior neighbors. The Shuar were called Jivaros, a name given to them by anthropologists. The indigenous group's challenged these names replacing them with the words they used to identify themselves.From Jivaro to Shuar, and from Auca to Huaorani.

The indigenous movement has had a significant impact according to Jose Tonello Executive Director of FEPP, Fondo Ecuatoriano Popularum Progresso, an established NGO in Ecuador that accompanied the highland indigenous movement from the 1970's. According to Tonello "the organizational process of the indigenous movement has had a profound impact in the transformation of the country. It has reduced the vulnerability of indigenous communities, had an impact on the dignity of indigenous peoples, supported the intellectual growth and capacity of indigenous leaders, and led to the fulfillment of many of the movement's demands, as well as improved living conditions". The movement has also given indigenous people a voice in national level politics.

Figure 3

ACTORS AND AID CHAIN OF CIVIL SOCIETY BUILDING PROGRAM



4. Civil society building in the South Central Amazon

NAE, the organization that represents the Achuar nationality receives budget support for its operations from Pachamama, an Ecuadorian NGO that gets funding and support from HIVOS, a Dutch NGO. This civil society building effort implies northern donor funding, knowledge sharing and general support to the intermediary NGO. An intermediary NGO that provides funding and support to the grassroots organization. And the indigenous organization intended to respond to the demands of the assembly that embodies the needs of the communities. The aid chain presented in figure 3 explains the relations and activities of the different actors.

4.1 Donors, NGOs and Indigenous Organizations

HIVOS, the donor NGO, has a political approach to development established in the policy document "Access to Power" (1998) that states that poverty and marginalization are caused by unequal power relations. "Hivos' vision on poverty in its broadest sense is that injustice, poverty, gender inequality as well as the marginalization and exclusion of large groups of the world population, are basically caused by unequal power relations at all levels of society: from political and economic relations at the international level to personal relations at individual and household levels. These unequal power relations determine – directly or indirectly – which interests are being represented, which voices are being heard and who is in the position to make claims in decision-making processes"(HIVOS 2002:18). HIVOS aims to achieve structural changes in power dynamics empowering marginalized groups by giving them a voice. HIVOS support to the indigenous movement of Ecuador has concentrated on the indigenous organizations of the lowland Amazon region. Support to the indigenous organizations of the South Central Amazon is channeled through the intermediary NGO Fundacion Pachamama.

Pachamama is a local counterpart organization of HIVOS in Ecuador. It centers its activities on accompanying the indigenous movement of the South Central Amazon

region of Ecuador. And is organized in three programs: Indigenous Organizations, Territorial and Collective Rights, and Sustainable Alternatives. HIVOS support goes to Pachamama's program called "protection and development of the indigenous territories in the Ecuadorian Amazon" in which the target groups are the Shuar, Achuar and Kichwas of Pastaza. Pachamama is an environmental NGO with an interest for the conservation of the Amazon. Its leadership holds close personal ties with the indigenous leadership.

Pachamama's work is based on the notion of ownership and seeks to not impose an agenda on the organizations it works with. Its work of "accompaniment" means supporting the historical process carried out by the indigenous organizations of defense of territory and culture (interview with Paez, B). Pachamama holds meetings with the organizations "to discuss how we can cooperate asking them what direction they wish to take" (interview with Santacruz, C). Pachamama is one of the few NGOs actively working with the indigenous organizations of the South East Amazon. Through its program of organizational strengthening it provides support to indigenous organizations including resources for the operation of the office, as well as equipment, lobbying support, organizational strengthening, support for strategic planning, creation of spaces for reflection and participation during workshops and seminars, as well as leadership training.

Organizational strengthening work by Pachamama includes financing the administration of the organizations, that according to Cristina SantaCruz entails much more than just paying their bills or covering the transportation costs of their leaders, "it is a strategic investment that allows leaders to gain capacities". The government councils, that provide a representative body, for instance, need finance in order to be operational and to respond to the demands of the communities. Programming and demands are made at assemblies at the community level, and then the leaders of the government council act according to the demands of the bases. According to Milton Callera the president of NAE: "we decide what we want to do based on a strong relationship with the base communities and a relationship of trust with Pachamama". The supporting role of Pachamama is to provide

everything required to make NAE, Tayjasaruta and the Interfederational Committee function.

The Indigenous Organizations of the South Central Amazon:

NACIONALIDAD ACHUAR DEL ECUADOR (NAE) is composed of a congress, assembly, government council, associations and communities. It represents 54 communities and 9 associations. The Congress is the maximum authority, and members are elected every three years. Participation is composed by government council members, the presidents of each association and the authorities of each community. All members of the government council are democratically elected every three years (NAE Statutes 2005).

TAYJASARUTA (Sarayaku) is a kichwa base association. Tayjsajaruta, represents a total of 5 Kichwa communities and approximately 950 persons. The 5 member communities are invited to the assembly by the traditional leaders: the Kurakas. Each community has a Kuraka, and the assembly serves as an open space for participation where community members can communicate with their leaders.

The Comite Interfederacional (CI) (inter federational committee) is a regional network that joins FISH, FIPSE, NAE and has extended to include Sarayaku. It seeks to build up apex networks to support the base communities. In the past the indigenous organizations of the Amazon had relationships with CONFENAIE, the regional federation of the indigenous nationalities of the Amazon. Milton Callera states that the current crisis of CONFENAIE has left the organizations of the Amazon on their own. The Comite Interfederacional is becoming a new force for the defense of the Shuar, Achuar and Kichwa territories of Pastaza and against external threats. With the breakdown of higher level apex organizations, the comite interfederacional seeks to build up a new network of support.

4.2 Civil society participation

In order to provide the associational space for the Achuar and Kichwas to express their demands, indigenous organizations need finance and support. According to HIVOS policy as expressed in their policy documents "Civil Voices on a Global Stage" or "Access to Power", support is based on the idea that the organizations open up spaces for participation and give a voice to the Achuar and Kichwas. Do NAE and Sarayaku open up spaces for the participation of the Achuar and Kichwas? And if so do they do an adequate job of representing the interests of the Achuar and Kichwa communities?

Based on the research findings NAE has opened up spaces for participation of the Achuar through various channels. The assembly is the most important space for participation where community members can communicate with their leaders. According to Ruben Gualinga the president of Sarayaku the assembly is the major strength of the organization, and is where the bases decide. "Every plan, project or decision is consulted with the base communities". Notwithstanding it was difficult to determine the true extent and type of participation that takes place in the assemblies in addition to who participates. In terms of the participation of women, in the highlands, Dolores Cacuango, Nina Pacari and Transito Amaguana have become emblematic symbols of women indigenous leaders. In the Amazon region, however, the process is less advanced according to Angelina Cuji, the women's director of Sarayaku. "Women are hesitant to participate or talk in the assemblies as they are shy. Nevertheless they are a bit more awake and some women leaders do travel to meetings in Quito or abroad. Alcoholism and domestic violence have been reduced".

In terms of political representation through the formal political system, Achuar leaders have a voice through the Pachacutik political movement. One leader, however, noted that some indigenous leaders attend meetings but remain silent. Others criticized that leaders are sidetracked by political campaigning. In addition participation in politics has corrupted indigenous leaders, who learned about corruption while working with the government (interview with Ankuash, D.) Notwithstanding the Pachacutik movement

has been a mechanism for several Amazonian leaders to assume positions in the public sector.

Another advance has been the creation of invited spaces that are not fully utilized as a result of the historical lack of cooperation with government. Indigenous organizations have access to invited spaces for participation at the local level as a result of the ongoing process of decentralization. Participatory planning has been introduced to ensure good local governance. Several municipalities have been successful in implementing participatory budgets with active participation from civil society actors. Particularly in the Highlands, municipalities like Guaranda, Otavalo and Cotacachi (with a majority of indigenous population) have stood out as models. In Cotachachi and Cotopaxi indigenous leaders from Pachacutik have implemented participatory planning and budgeting with the co-participation of indigenous organizations (Ospina 2006). The Municipality of Pastaza is trying to be innovative and incorporate participatory methodologies to promote civil society participation. In the design of the strategic plan for the canton of Pastaza, implemented with support of SNV, different actors including private, public and third sector associations were invited. See Annex C:

Participation of indigenous groups in Pastaza in response to the invitation, however, was disappointing. Invitations were sent to the indigenous nationalities expecting greater participation, yet the invitation was not successful. "People were not receptive and were skeptical towards this type of work" afraid that their ideas will not be heard (interview with Cuzme, J). The Municipality has been trying to build bridges towards indigenous groups unsuccessfully. For example the office for indigenous affairs was established to provide a space in the municipality for indigenous demands. The office is run by Miriam Guevara, a kichwa woman from the oldest commune of Pastaza, San Jacinto. She has been informing indigenous nationalities about the department asking for their participation to understand the needs of the different nationalities. Despite the invitations, there has been no response from the indigenous organizations.

Participatory planning cannot be considered an instant cure for the longstanding and complex historical gap that exists between indigenous people and the state. The novelty of participatory processes must be addressed with caution and should be understood as a long term process that needs to be built on. Interaction between conflicting ethnic and political groups can promote understanding, but participation can also do harm and even fuel conflicts (Rombouts 2006: 41). Frustration and misunderstandings can result from participation and simply reinforce existing prejudices. Despite these potential drawbacks participatory planning is the result of an ongoing struggle that requires the engagement of indigenous citizens to ensure genuine participation, and that the municipality takes this responsibility seriously beyond "participatory planning on paper" (interview with Viteri, L).

In conclusion NAE and Sarayaku have opened up various spaces for participation of the Achuar and Kichwas of the Amazon. These include the assemblies, participation through elected representatives through the political system and indigenous institutions. Finally the government has responded by creating new invited spaces that are not being utilized as a result of the historical gap between indigenous organizations and the local government.

4.3 Indigenous Organizations as vehicles for empowerment

Participation of itself does not lead to any change if it is not meaningful and carried out by empowered individuals with effective negotiation skills. Whether indigenous organizations have managed to empower excluded groups like the Achuar and Kichwas of Pastaza is the main focus of this section. First hand experience with the Achuar and Kichwa leaders revealed a high self esteem and pro-active attitude from the leaders of Sarayaku and NAE. The leaders are well connected on a national, regional and international level and are effective communicators. However, complaints emerged that the leaders are far from the bases and donor driven, while the communities' living standards have remained unchanged.

Organizations like Sarayaku[18] have articulate, empowered and sophisticated leaders with a large network of international connections. Sarayaku has gained international notoriety as a result of its fight against oil companies and its participation in transnational advocacy campaigns. Several transnational advocacy campaigns and international solidarity networks support Sarayaku in its fight against oil companies. These networks and contacts have helped make the voices of the Kichwas of Sarayaku heard and helped to defend their human rights in the struggle against oil companies. The Minister of Energy claimed Sarayaku has been very strategic as they established an impressive system of international communication where they showcase the Ecuadorian government as a human rights violator (Hoy July 7, 2004). This evidences how transnational advocacy campaigns can contribute to democratization of everyday life as they "connect ordinary citizens to global regimes and empower local voices" (Gaventa 2001:277) creating a transnational democratic space.

"Global citizen action" understands governance and citizenship rights as beyond the national level seeking to guarantee rights offered by global treaties and agreements (Gaventa, 2001: 277). Sarayaku with support from NGOs like Oil Watch and CDES is involved in an international law suit against the Ecuadorian State at the InterAmerican Court of Human Rights in Washington DC. This type of "global citizen action" however is also said to " bypass national governments in favor of applying direct pressure to global institutions, while undermining national citizenship in favor of a form of global citizenship that remains unattainable to most people in poor countries" (Hickey and Mohan 2005:247). According to one key informant Sarayaku's participation in transnational advocacy campaigns targeted at the State simply exacerbates the already complex relations of distrust and tension between the communities and the Ecuadorian state.

[18] Sarayacu is known as the more radical indigenous organization of the Amazon. The amount of international solidarity with Sarayaku is highly impressive witnessed by several web pages and internet portals dedicated to supporting the struggle of Sarayaku. Sarayaku's campaign against CGC is being carried out in Argentina, the United States, Europe and Australia simultaneously.

Several testimonies by key informants criticized indigenous activist leaders stating that they are donor driven, and part of an indigenous elite made up of a few families. In the view of one informant indigenous organizations are not intended to spend their time making conflicts "we are not supposed to be activists". According to this respondent indigenous organizations have other priorities. Other testimonies expressed that "currently the indigenous leaders are completely absorbed by the oil conflict which takes away too much energy, time and resources" and "it is not worth the psychological, physical and moral burnout of the leaders".

Indigenous organizations represent the main interlocutor with the state. Consequently they can serve as a mechanism to make claims to improve the living conditions of the base communities. Critics however state that the organizations are completely neglecting the social needs of their communities. Social demands to government are not channeled through indigenous organizations. Instead demands made through the indigenous organizations serve a political purpose (interview with Koster, H). Sarayaku and NAE are being pressured to respond to social demands of the communities as the reality of the communities evidences a pressing need to attend to social issues such as health, promoting economic and productive activities and food security. A study by OPIP, UNICEF and INNFA in 60 indigenous communities in Pastaza, shows that 78 out of 100 children are at risk of malnutrition. This situation is due to the lack of social services in indigenous communities, a decrease in the animal population and fishing stock, in addition to the monetization of the local economy and the introduction of limited goods from the market that do not contribute to a balanced diet (OPIP 2001).

According to Domingo Ankuash, Shuar leader of the Shuar federation, it is the responsibility of the indigenous organizations to address the health and social needs of the communities. "That is why we have an indigenous government" because the mestizo government does not represent us[19] (interview with Ankuash, D). Attending to the social

[19] Indigenous organizations proclaim themselves to be a form of indigenous government. Tayjsajaruta, the Kichwa organization of Sarayaku for instance calls itself the "autonomous government of Sarayaku" even

demands of the communities has become part of the responsibilities of indigenous organizations however their ability to process these demands is limited. The Achuar for instance designed their own parallel bilingual education and health programs but these do not receive guaranteed funding from government, instead they are funded by NGOs and foundations in a haphazard way (interview with Callera, M). Gilberto Wisum from NAE states that the Achuar have 60 teachers, but the problem is that the Ministry of Education does not pay them. Javier Cuzme of the department for Local Development of the Municipality of Pastaza states that although they have their own bilingual educational programs they lack didactic materials evidencing the "need to work with the government".

Cuzme, of the department of local development said that when indigenous leaders make demands to the municipality these are not for basic services like health or education. "Communities don't have basic services, sanitation or quality education, yet the demands we get from the indigenous leaders often don't reflect the community's real needs". According to Cuzme, indigenous leaders have become prone to rent seeking, corruption and easy money. According to Oscar Ledesma, the Mayor of Pastaza the empowerment of certain groups of leaders, in the case of the central Amazon, has corresponded to the empowerment of certain family groups, who do not necessarily represent the best interests of the communities. The "familias dirigentes" take advantage of the perks of international cooperation and travel around the world while styling brand name fashions. Meanwhile the communities continue to live in terrible conditions as leaders are not representative and are distant from the bases. Gualinga, the President of Sarayaku acknowledged that there have been complaints about leaders being in Puyo or Quito, and far from the communities".

Although indigenous leaders have been empowered this has not translated into improved living conditions of the communities. The leaders are far from the bases, they are driven by the agendas of donors and NGOs, and they are unable to negotiate on behalf of their

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though it is not recognized as such by the Ecuadorian government. It is legally recognized as a Community Association.

communities as a result of the oppositional relationship they maintain with local government. Even though organizations like Sarayaku and NAE have created parallel education and health programs to service their communities they have not been able to institutionalize results, they have not become officially recognized as self-governments, or incorporated themselves in procedures such as participatory planning, or secured public finance for their programs.

4.4 The role of NGOs and donors

What role do NGOs and donors play? In the case of organizations like NAE and Sarayaku, they play a key role as their support helps to sustain indigenous organizations (interview with Pedraza, G). According to Paco Rhon, NGOs today act as the new missionaries providing the entourage for indigenous organizations. Achuar leader, Luis Vargas, states that NGOs like Pachamama, and donor NGOs like HIVOS were instrumental in helping the Achuar to cover the costs to start up and set up their own organization: NAE.

The dependence on external funding, however, can be an Achilles heel creating multiple accountabilities: downwards to members and upwards to donors (Edwards and Hulme 1995, 1996). Multiple accountabilities are apparent in the organizations of the South Central Amazon. Organizations like NAE and Sarayaku are torn by multiple accountabilities towards communities, the demands of the indigenous movement, and by diverse donor and NGO interests. This leads to confusion, saturation and lack of clarity which impedes them from having a long term and strategic vision (Interview with Elliot, D) evidencing the difficulties of prioritizing and reconciling multiple accountabilities (Edwards and Hulme 1995). The agendas of the organizations are overbooked and the leaders are overwhelmed and tired (Interview with Paez, B and Santacruz, C). "They are busy attending to projects from different donors, preparing for elections of Pachakutik, working with networks and alliances, fighting oil companies, and administering economically productive activities. These multiple demands prevent organizations from performing effectively (interview with Santacruz, C).

"Sustainability" is the new buzzword in development circles stressing the problem of donor dependence. As a result, the indigenous organizations of the Amazon created their own revenues to become self-sustaining. To counter dependence on external support, the Achuar with support from Pachamama established own enterprises such as Aereo Tsentsa, an air transportation company and Kapawi, a luxury ecological lodge. In Milton Callera's words this is advantageous as "we work for our people and not for the NGOs, consequently we can't have patrons". Albeit this provides insurance in the event of a break with the NGO or donor, the earnings from both Aereo Tsentsa and Kapawi are minimal. For Cristina Santacruz from Pachamama indigenous organizations should not necessarily be self-sufficient: "the funds only allow for a basic operation of the enterprises, while distracting the organizations from their mission".

Another challenge to the indigenous organizations of the Amazon is an outcome of the tendency in development cooperation to view grassroots organizations as effective means for providing services, producing goods, and promoting economic development (Edwards and Hulme 1996). Donors and NGOs have identified indigenous organizations as attractive counterparts for project implementation (Ponce 2004). Critics, however, state that indigenous organizations are not NGOs. Erika Hanekamp of CEP raises the question as to whether an organization that is supposed to represent the interests of its members should become a project implementer (like an NGO). For her "indigenous organizations are not the logical counterpart for international cooperation". She prefers the intermediation of NGOs, with well prepared middle class professionals, to manage donor funds as direct funding to indigenous organizations is a double edged sword. "What we have seen is over-funding to indigenous organizations, which has been very damaging to the organizations". Donor funding according to Manuel Castro of CONAIE has actually created chaos in the Amazon.

Indigenous organizations in the Amazon have felt threatened by the uncontrolled influx of donor funds. Nevertheless NGOs and donors continue to select and add-on the indigenous organizations as their desired local counterparts for projects programmed in capital cities hundreds of kilometers away. Based on the World Bank's instrumental

vision of participation, the participation of indigenous organizations has been perceived as a factor that contributes to "sustainability" and "impacts" as well as a source of credibility. Consequently international donors and NGOs started working with indigenous organizations directly and indirectly channeling millions of dollars[20] to the organizations without an adequate absorptive capacity.

Resources have poured in to the Amazon creating an excess of money (interview with Elliot, D) contributing to the fragmentation of the Amazonian indigenous movement. "There were large projects with budgets of over $2 million dollars according to Achuar leader Luis Vargas. "Some leaders had high salaries devaluing the work and worth of being an indigenous leader". In addition "there have been lots of duplicated projects and a lack of follow up". Computers and other office equipment disappeared after projects ended. Vargas regrets so many resources have been wasted; redistribution cannot be only resources without financial direction or capacity" (interview with Ankuash, D).
Based on the chaotic experience with international donors and NGOs, CONAIE, the national level indigenous federation established a strict policy to only work with organizations that support their political project from now on. According to Manuel Castro of CONAIE, "we work conditional to their support to our plans".

NGOs responded taking a position that encourages ownership. IBIS for instance supports the political project of CONAIE to build a different pluri-national state as part of an anti-colonial struggle (interview with Palacios, P). Pachamama also supports the plans of the

[20] According to AIDA, the database for Accessible Information on Development Activities of the Development Gateway, $133,356,960 is the sum for activities in the area of Environmental programs and projects in Ecuador excluding the Galapagos. This includes activities such as environmental protection, biodiversity, natural resource management, protected areas, and comes from donors from Switzerland, Germany, the EU, Spain, Japan, the United States, Canada, the Netherlands, and the Interamerican Development Bank. Furthermore the World Bank recently had a project for the Ethnodevelopment of indigenous people that allocated $50 million. These projects, based on the notion of participation to improve the efficiency and sustainability of projects involves indigenous organizations in the implementation of these initiatives. Source: http://aida.developmentgateway.org

indigenous organizations of defense of territory. Despite efforts to not impose "the rhetoric of cooperation is still absorbed and infiltrated into the communities and their organizations" (interview with Palacios, P). Furthermore "there are (still) some NGO colleagues that introduce and impose their topics and themes aggressively". Consequently and as a result of the interest of environmental NGOs in the region, attributable to the immense ecological value of the Amazon, issues of environmental conservation predominate. The fixation on environmental issues, however, has sidelined social and political issues (Mires 2003) crowding out other important and cross-cutting themes like democratization or local governance.

NGOs have also shown a failure towards stimulating critical thinking or challenging the proposals of indigenous organizations. Mires (2003) points out that it vital to go beyond simply describing and adhering to the proclamations of indigenous organizations. "It is necessary to analyze the soundness of the proposals, as if these were proposals coming from any other sector of society". They should be judged by the value of their substance and content (Bustamante 2003:234). Bourdieu and Touraine both encourage social movements to go through a process of critical self analysis in order to strengthen their political strategies. Lastly NGOs and GROs must not take a defensive position as this becomes a liability that impedes knowledge sharing and feeds learning disabilities and path dependency.

More progressive NGOs around the world have adopted a rights based approach seeking to engage with the political process to pressure for redistribution and social change. This came as a result of criticism of NGOs inability to engage in political processes and to achieve fundamental changes in the distribution of power and resources. Civil Society building strategies should be understood by NGOs as a means to deepen democratization and tackle unequal power relations. Fowler's (1993) comparative account on NGO work however, demonstrates that NGOs in general, have been unsuccessful in developing "effective strategies to promote democratization" and in particular failed to promote "citizenship". GROs and NGOs have been blamed of being unable to promote

democratization, particularly as they themselves are only weakly democratic (Edwards and Hulme 1996).

A rights based approach by NGOs avoids adding to the historical gap with government, instead engaging the state to ensure that community needs and claims are met. NGO advocacy in the Ecuadorian Amazon however continues to center at a national and international level ignoring local spaces. Erika Hannekamp of CEP describes effective advocacy as a case where truly empowered women and indigenous leaders work with municipalities to produce local development plans with authentic participation. NGO's roles worldwide are changing towards aligning with local systems and working with local government. This is now possible as a result of the strengthening of local governments. Local spaces have been recognized as the most "significant space for people's creative unfolding" and are furthermore the immediate space open to most people (Friedmann 1992:4).

Donors are shifting from "emphasizing human rights abuses to promoting active citizenship" (Biekart 2004:14). In fact the most important theme and priority for European aid agencies in Latin America is political participation. In a survey of 18 large Private European Aid agencies 89% expressed as a priority theme political participation which means promoting participation of excluded groups (Biekart 2005: 14). Agencies are focusing more on civil and political rights and promotion of active citizenship. The "emphasis on practicing citizenship is closely related to the focus on local governance" with the aim of increasing citizen participation at the local level stimulating collaboration among civil society and municipalities" (Biekart 2005:16). New forms of local governance like participatory budgeting that have come as a result of decentralization are strongly encouraged by European donors. Donor suggestions could be dismissed as new development fashions, or be recognized as attempts to share knowledge and consolidate a more political approach towards development.

NGO practice in the Ecuadorian South Central Amazon does not reflect any changes. NGOs in the Amazon continue to apply the outdated model of Keck and Sikkink used

through out the 1990's as the basic model for transnational advocacy campaigns. This model contributes to worsening relations with the local government and neglects local spaces, proven to be more effective than cyber space. NGOs working in the Amazon however continue to have an antagonistic relationship with the state and overlook the importance of working at the local level. The oversight in terms of neglecting local spaces is evidenced in the lack of participation in participatory planning, where results could be obtained from lobbying at the local level.

5 Democratization, inclusion and citizenship in the Amazon

Democratization is of utmost importance for indigenous people of the Amazon to gain improved access to power and stimulate redistribution towards the region. Proposals for autonomy and self sufficiency however, have disregarded the importance of citizenship and inclusion of indigenous people actually reproducing exclusion and postponing improvement of the living conditions of the Achuar and Kichwas.

5.1 Inclusion, autonomy and the politics of exclusion

Political inclusion is according to Dryzec (1996) the foundation of democratization. Inclusion is also indispensable in order to have true empowerment (Wils 2001). Have NAE or Sarayaku led to the inclusion of excluded groups like the Achuar and Kichwas of Pastaza? Based on the research findings inclusion has actually been vilified in the communities of the Amazon that have historically resisted attempts to be included into the civilizatory project of the Ecuadorian state. The Achuar and Kichwa's of the Amazon have felt that inclusion represents a threat to their culture and way of life. The Amazonian indigenous movement therefore centers on autonomy and self determination. Consequently political and social inclusion are perceived as detrimental to the traditional way of life.

The desire to be autonomous and independent reflects Melucci's (1989) argument of group claims to withdraw from belonging. Indigenous groups like the Shuar, Kichwas and Achuar have been represented as self sufficient groups who's claims of defense of territory and culture stress how the jungle is the provider and not the state. This anarcho-communitarian rejection of the state has been celebrated by environmentalists and post-development enthusiasts that endorse self reliance. NGOs in the Amazon frequently advocate natural resource management and community forestry as a form of "sustainable" livelihoods for indigenous communities. Critics like Walker (2004) however, have questioned practices of community forestry that reproduce generic representations of "forest friendly" indigenous peoples. His study concluded that as a

result of power relations, foreign NGOs imposed community forestry on indigenous people while undermining their claims. In addition Wainright (2003) cautions against "conservative communitarianism" that promotes self help and self reliance as this means to accept that the state does not need to invest in the communities. Self reliance reaffirms the status quo of fiscal conservatism and neoliberalism where the state shakes off responsibilities by not responding to the needs of the communities. "Community self help means leaving the structures of inequality untouched" (Wainright 2003:37). Particularly in the Amazon, where servicing the communities is expensive because of transportation costs, self reliance provides a justification to the local government to not attend to the communities needs. In parishes like Sarayaku, 99.2% of the population has unsatisfied basic needs[21] (SIISE 2003).

Autonomous claims in the Amazon have persistently neglected inclusion and as a result reproduced social inequality. Autonomy in the Amazon is a reflection of a history of exclusion due to the historical absence of the state. This is reflected in common attitudes that evidence a lack of ownership of the state by indigenous communities. For indigenous groups like the Achuar or Kichwas the Ecuadorian government is a Mestizo government. In the words of Manuel Castro of CONAIE there is a historical distrust of the state and: "parish councils and municipalities are not our home". The gap in perspectives between indigenous groups and the so-called mestizo government is another issue that fuels the lack of ownership of state institutions by indigenous communities. The lack of understanding of the state of the vision of indigenous communities is reflected in the difference between the communities life plans[22] and the local governments local development plans. "When the government builds schools they don't feel ours" says David Malaver from Sarayaku. "The government wants to build concrete houses and

[21] SIISE calculates unsatisfied basic needs based on households with persistent lack of basic services. The calculation includes lack of services such as health, education or employment. It takes into account housing with precarious physical characteristics, lack of services such as potable water, sewage, letrines, no electricity, one or more household members over 10 that is illiterate. SIISE measures lack of material conditions as well as lack of capabilities. The rural average of unsatisfied basic needs in Ecuador is 79%. The incidence of unsatisfied basic needs in indigenous communities is persistently the highest. However, there is a tendency to say that these measures don't apply to indigenous people because of their use of natural resources creating a double standard for indigenous people and "other" people.

[22] "planes de vida" literally translated as life plans are plans made by the indigenous organizations where they describe how they want to see their communities in the future

pave roads. They don't understand our reality. We don't have the concept of development." Malaver explains that the basis of the Life Plan of Sarayaku consists of the following concepts: Sacha Runa Yachay: knowledge of the jungle; Sumak Allpa: good land; and Sumak Kawsay- good living in harmony with the jungle. Participation of indigenous citizens within the state's institutions can contribute towards transforming the state so that it accepts different logics.

Despite the widespread lack of ownership of state institutions some indigenous citizens in the Amazon are making direct claims to state institutions as citizens. "Indigenous people are claiming citizen rights directly with state institutions as opposed to through their interlocutor indigenous organizations showing interest for government programs" (interview with Ortiz, P). In Sarayaku there are 115 recipients of the "bono solidario" a government aid package for poor households. 96 mothers are registered as recipients of the "bono de solidaridad" (SIISE 2003). According to Ortiz "indigenous people are interiorizing the project of the state, speaking as citizens and no longer as Indians". This weakens the legitimacy of indigenous organizations as vehicles for the expression of demands.

5.2 Competition of local authorities

The project of state expansion creates conflict in the Amazon as it represents a threat to the indigenous organizations in their desire to become recognized as local authorities. It breeds competition for representation between state institutions viewed as the "mestizo government" and the indigenous organizations viewed as "indigenous government". Parish councils[23] in particular, have come in as new figures of representation and as a more effective means to make demands competing for representation of the communities

[23] The Parish councils (juntas parroquiales) were established by law in the year 2000 when congress passed the law 0262 in response to the fact that municipalities were unable to serve rural areas leaving these areas unattended. These new jurisdictional spaces used already existing political divisions and emerged as an attempt to reach out to communities isolated because of long distances, and communication and cultural barriers. The Parish council is intended to operate as a small municipality and as a vehicle for the expression of demands of rural areas.

with indigenous organizations, and with a greater capacity to process these demands. According to Pablo Ortiz the Parish councils are winning the loyalty of indigenous communities in the Amazon as they are more effective in responding to the social demands of communities. The Parish councils were however 'created over night" and are challenged by limited resources. According to Edison Rueda, the president of the association of Parish councils, "we are still new and trying to win our space as the most effective channel to reach out and help underserved regions". The fragmentation of indigenous organizations has contributed to communities feeling better represented by government institutions than by indigenous federations. Furthermore in the province of Pastaza, several parish councils have come under indigenous leadership.

A lack of clarity exists as to what the roles of government institutions are and what the roles of the indigenous organizations are. Moreover there is a problem of overlap (interview with Martinez, L). The existence of indigenous organizations creates an additional level of institutionality that contributes to overlap without a clear definition of roles. "There is a double institutionality in the territories of the Amazon, one of the Ecuadorian government and one Indigenous institutionality creating a situation of institutional parallelism" (Santana 1995: 73). Indigenous organizations assume jurisdiction and authority over all (Shuar) issues as the valid interlocutor of the communities creating conflict with local authorities. This problem of institutional fragmentation and lack of clear definition of roles among institutions is not limited to the Amazon, but is a national level problem (interview with Ortiz, S).

The research findings reveal that the Achuar and Kichwas of Pastaza started to claim the state. The Junta Parroquial in Sarayaku, for instance, is subordinated to the indigenous organization Tayjasaruta (interview with Ortiz, P). Furthermore indigenous leaders are actively working with state institutions. There is a current that points towards an appropriation of the state by indigenous citizens. In fact Castro, from CONAIE claims that indigenous people are starting to work through public institutions (like CODENPE). "That is the direction we are taking towards institutions that have guaranteed and

sustained funding over time as legitimate rights, as opposed to hoping for external support".

5.3 Indigenous people, citizenship and rights

Have indigenous organizations of the South Central Amazon helped to extend citizenship rights to indigenous communities? Indigenous organizations with the help of NGOs (through lobbying and mobilizations) obtained the legal recognition of the collective rights of indigenous peoples in article 84 of the constitution. These collective rights bolster group empowerment, an effective instrument to confront social exclusion and discrimination that still undermine the legal rights of individuals in Ecuador[24]. Collective rights have enabled Achuar and Kichwa citizens of Pastaza to make demands to the state as a collective. This has been an advantageous strategy to differentiate themselves and seek special attention from government, as opposed to becoming relegated to a long cue of demands of the poor.

Pachamama actively promotes the collective rights of the Achuar and Kichwas of Pastaza. In recognition of the struggle for the recognition of the collective rights of indigenous peoples, the statutes of NAE, prepared with the help of Pachamama, dedicate a section to the issue of collective rights: "in 1998 the Ecuadorian Congress approved the ILO agreement 169 on Indigenous Peoples granting collective rights to the indigenous nationalities of Ecuador". These collective rights guarantee bilingual education, traditional medicine, and the right to manage the natural resources within indigenous territories. Article 84 also claims own medicinal, legal, and educational rights. Most importantly it guarantees the right to adequate funding from government.

NGOs including Pachamama, CDES and IBIS, have played a crucial role in promoting collective rights. Furthermore they have been active in educating community members about these rights. Patricia Gualinga from Sarayaku highlights as one of the most

[24] An Achuar that wishes to make a claim with a local administration can be subjected to discrimination. The collective right as a member of the group "the Achuar nationality" propels the Achuar individual to feel entitled to rights, paving the way towards individual rights.

significant changes the interest that emerged from communities to know their rights: "whereas before rights were violated as a result of ignorance and lack of understanding, now we know our rights. Now we have article 84 in the constitution that guarantees the rights of indigenous peoples, as well as the treaty 169 of the ILO". This shows how in addition to legal changes that recognize indigenous rights in the constitution and the signing of international agreements by the Ecuadorian state, it is the awareness and empowerment on the part of individual community members that makes these legal mechanisms meaningful.

5.4 Results of civil society building in the South Central Amazon

Civil society building in the South Central Amazon region of Ecuador, as evidenced by NAE and Sarayaku, opened up spaces for the political inclusion of the Achuar and Kichwas of Pastaza. The interference of NGOs in the case of the South Central Amazon, however, fueled historical dilemmas. For instance, adding to the historical lack of cooperation with government and perpetuating historical processes of exclusion. In the South Central Amazon as a result of the lack of active participation by indigenous citizens, the municipality focuses on the urban and mestizo population. A rights based approach to engage the state and encourage the appropriation of the State by its citizenry, is appropriate and made possible by the transformation of the Ecuadorian state as a result of the indigenous movement. The lack ownership of local government by indigenous citizens reflects a lack of empowerment and an acceptance of the status quo. The mestizo government is a reflection of the lack of participation and engagement.

The historical process of the indigenous movement of the South Central Amazon exhibits significant advances in terms of the opportunities available to indigenous people. As a result of the struggle today there is an enabling environment for indigenous leaders and their participation. NGOs should lobby to assist the Achuar and Kichwas to institutionalize the results of their demands by ensuring state funding for the programs they have set up (education, health, life plans). This is a right guaranteed in the constitution in article 84. Accompaniment should include accompanying indigenous

leaders at the negotiation table with the municipality and other local institutions to address the needs of the Achuar and Kichwas of Pastaza.

In terms of the multiple accountabilities and roles assigned to the organizations there is a need to prioritize and think strategically. What is the principal role of indigenous organizations? NGOs like Pachamama need to stimulate debate and critical thinking. Donors should be careful not to impose themes that can have disempowering effects, and to not over fund areas that are already saturated. On the other hand themes such as gender and equity, democratization and empowerment need reinforcement. Knowledge sharing by donors can have a strategic effect introducing fresh ideas to challenge shared local interpretations. HIVOS approach of access to power, for instance, as a political approach to cooperation, is not understood[25]. It could be useful for HIVOS to distinguish itself and make clear that it supports civil society building and democratization. Finally HIVOS can make the most out of civil society building by encouraging learning, but most importantly by showing commitment and long term engagement.

[25] No distinctions are made of the different interests of donors. All donors are perceived as providing funding for the conservation of the Amazon, not for the empowerment of the Achuar and Kichwas.

6. Conclusions

Civil society building strategies involve donors, NGOs, and grassroots or popular organizations and social movements. Based on an inclusive model of civil society, that views these associational spaces as opening up spaces of political contestation for excluded groups, support to civil society organizations can contribute to democratization and political inclusion of the excluded. The framework employed in this study, however, reveals that democratization requires the fulfillment of several criteria including participation, empowerment, inclusion and citizenship. Furthermore it requires formal democratization, understood as the political inclusion of excluded groups, and informal democratization that necessitates a cultural change in terms of practices that perpetuate social exclusion. In addition civil society building involves informal and formal strategies and access and parallel strategies. These strategies aim at generating an active leadership and changing political society from below.

Based on the research findings civil society building can open up spaces for participation of the excluded, generate leaders, and stimulate group empowerment. Nevertheless, civil society organizations, are embedded in an environment and history, and are subject to multiple influences. These influences may divert the organizations from representing their members effectively creating multiple accountabilities. NGOs as the vehicles that accompany popular organizations and social movements in civil society building programs can at times divert rather than help processes of empowerment and democratization. The theories and ideologies that influence an NGO's problem analysis affect an NGOs strategies. Local understandings furthermore are submerged within complex historical and ideological associations that shape local interactions.

Stimulating empowered citizen participation is a key element of civil society building strategies. Assemblies and other representative structures are a mechanism to encourage participation. However, participation requires more than representative structures. It also requires empowerment and encouraging participation of people as a right. Participation

must be understood as a way to stimulate change as advocated by Freire (1970). Finally participation should generate claims that improve the situation of those involved. Empowerment strategies should accompany participatory processes, as otherwise participation alone will not challenge power structures embedded in culture and traditions that reproduce exclusion and silence less powerful groups. Empowerment should apply to everyone, particularly those that do not have a voice. Empowerment of groups should not simply produce new elites without changing the culture of exclusion and privileges. Moreover empowerment cannot be limited to the leadership as this has no effect on unequal power relations. It should aim at fostering an environment of inclusion, acceptance and tolerance of differences, encouraging dissent as opposed to consent in order to stimulate debate and new ideas. These are the foundations of a more democratic society. Empowerment as indicated by Wils should also translate into an improvement of the situation of the empowered.

In response to a frustration with development cooperation and its failure to have any impact on redistribution in unequal societies, NGOs and Donors have shifted towards civil society building strategies. The importance of confronting unequal power relations is at the core of civil society building and support. The shift towards rights based approaches responds to the need to challenge the neoliberal paradigm that curtailed the advancement of the state towards underserved areas. Rights based approaches encourage excluded groups to appropriate the state through active citizen participation and to shed fatalistic attitudes that accept the status quo. Environmental and communitarian discourses are scrutinized for sustaining neoliberal thinking and undermining the rights of citizens.

Excluded groups expression of feelings of lack of ownership and lack of identification with the state are a result of continued exclusion and negative experiences with the state. Social movements such as the indigenous movement of Ecuador, however, have played a significant role in extending citizenship rights to indigenous peoples and transforming the State. The indigenous movement with support of NGOs has used collective rights to assert the rights of indigenous people. This process of building bridges between excluded

groups and the state, and healing feelings of historical exclusion, are nevertheless something that cannot be mended in a short period of time, but require a long term engagement. NGOs accompanying this historical change process should aim at institutionalizing and securing the results of the struggle to guarantee the claims and rights of the excluded. One innovative mechanism that makes this possible is the introduction of participatory planning and budgeting following the model of Porto Alegre, Brazil. These newly conquered spaces create opportunities for local citizens to have a say in decision making processes as well as in the allocation and distribution of benefits. In addition it returns claim making to the local level as the most appropriate level to address the demands of citizens and communities. This is a new development that needs to be built up vigilantly.

A major element of civil society building is precisely to generate empowered leaders that can represent and negotiate on behalf of excluded groups and change the distribution of benefits in society, too often monopolized by certain powerful groups. Leaders however, can often take advantage of the benefits of leadership while not responding to the needs of those they represent and become prone to corruption. This demonstrates how leaders need to go through a process of concientization whereby they become aware of power inequalities and responsibilities. Civil society building as a political and alternative development strategy aims at creating a more equal society by empowering marginalized groups. This requires leader's participation to challenge rather than sharpen unequal power relations. Evidence reveals "depoliticized participatory approaches cannot deliver equity as long as changing power relations are not the central focus of these approaches" (Buchy and Subba 2003).

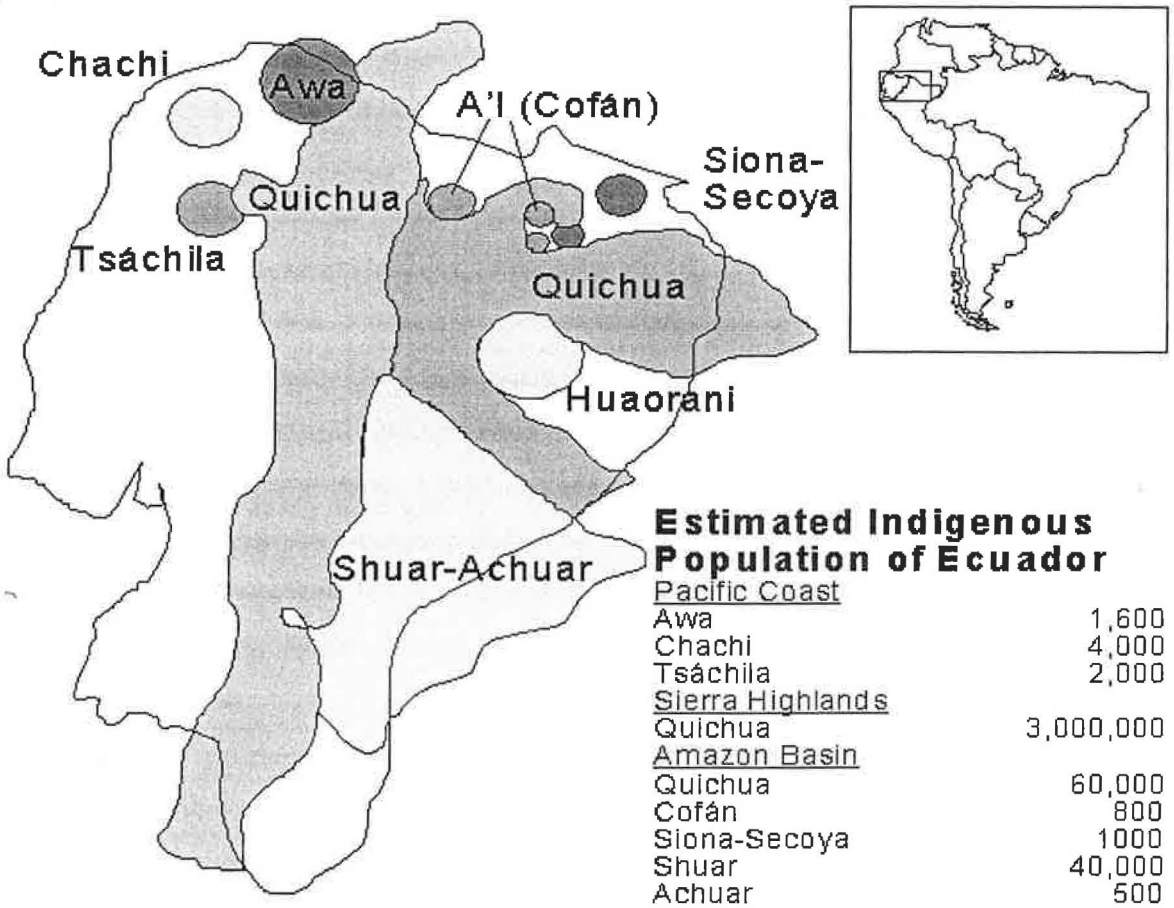
Based on the findings of the case study, civil society building strategies that support local social movements and popular organizations show mixed results; over funding to popular organizations, multiple accountabilities, and the empowerment of already existing local elites evidence serious flaws in the practice of civil society building. These flaws however, are affected by a lack of clear understanding of the purpose of civil society support on the ground. This is in part the result of the ambiguity and differing

interpretations that exist about civil society, as well as a problem of lack of understanding among donors. The multiple interpretations of civil society are mirrored in civil society organizations with no clear role as a result of the ambiguity of the term giving them ample room for maneuver. As a result civil society organizations may become opportunistic operating in function of resource mobilization. The inclusive view of civil society provides a useful definition that limits the role of civil society organizations to one of representation of the excluded.

In conclusion if civil society building strategies do not focus on issues of access to power (ie: challenging unequal power relations, voicing demands of the excluded) they will not differ from heterodox development strategies; they will simply produce new elites, become diverted by fashionable donor agendas, and consequently face problems of corruption as a result of over-funding. Civil society support needs to be understood for its political objectives; addressing inequality, reinforcing an alternative politics of development to obtain a more democratic, diverse and less unequal society, to obtain fundamental changes such as social transformation, democratization and redistribution in highly unequal societies. (17,095 Words)

Annexes

Annex A
Indigenous Nationalities in Ecuador



Estimated Indigenous Population of Ecuador

Pacific Coast	
Awa	1,600
Chachi	4,000
Tsáchila	2,000
Sierra Highlands	
Quichua	3,000,000
Amazon Basin	
Quichua	60,000
Cofán	800
Siona-Secoya	1000
Shuar	40,000
Achuar	500
Huaorani	2000

Fuente/Source: Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE), *Las nacionalidades indígenas en el Ecuador: Nuestro proceso organizativo*, 2d ed. (Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala, 1989), 284.

Annex B

Article 84 on Collective Rights of Indigenous People

Article 84:

- Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, develop, and strengthen their own identity, spiritual, linguistic, social and political institutions.
- Have the right to preserve their territory which is collectively owned and can not be subject to embargo and is indivisible, except under circumstances where the state declares these lands of public utility.
- Have the right to participate in the use, administration and conservation of natural resources within their territories
- Have the right to be consulted about plans and programs for the prospection and exploration or exploitation of non-renewable resources within their territories
- Have the right to participate in the benefits received from these activities, and receive compensation for any damages
- Indigenous peoples can maintain and develop their own traditional forms of social organization and exercise of authority.
- Indigenous people have the right to formulate priorities, plans and projects for the development and improvement of living conditions (social and economic) of indigenous communities with adequate financing from the state.

Annex C

Actors Invited to the Strategic Plan of the Municipality of Pastaza:

1. Municipal directors, counselors, consultants
2. AJUPAP- Association of Parish councils
3. Provincial Council
4. Neighborhood Federations and Associations
5. School of Engineers, School of Architects
6. Representatives of the University
7. Indigenous Organizations: Shuar FENASHP, Achuar-NAE, Kichwa-OPIP, Waorani- ONHAE, Zapara-NAZAE, Zapara, ONZAE, Shiwiar-ONSHIPAE, Andoa-ONAPE,
8. Tourism board
9. Taxi cooperatives and unions
10. Agricultural centers
11. Political coordinator of women
12. Ministry of the Environment
13. Ministry of Education
14. Ministry of Public Health
15. Youth groups
16. Municipal government of Children
17. Public employees

Source: Javier Cuzme, Municipality of Pastaza, list excepted from internal document of the Municipality regarding its Strategic Plan.

Annex D

Framework used to analyze civil society building strategies in the South Central Amazon*

	Goals	Indicators (and Source of Verification)	Assumptions
General Objective	Democratization (Macro-level)	Public investment in previously excluded regions National level representation of excluded groups	Assuming civil society can contribute to democratization
Specific Objective	To challenge regional and ethnic inequalities (social exclusion) by empowering excluded groups	Changes in laws, legislation, government programs, attitudes and behavior towards excluded groups	Assuming empowerment of excluded groups challenges regional and ethnic inequality
Purpose	To strengthen/ empower excluded groups and change local power dynamics	Improvement in Social, Economic and Cultural conditions of excluded groups (Using framework developed by Frits Wils)	Assuming access to power leads to access to resources to improve the social, economic and cultural conditions of the excluded
Result 1	Access to Power	Resources: land titling, financial resources and support to ensure associational spaces/ existence of institutions to represent the excluded- political participation and decision making - evaluation of empowerment	Assuming land titling/institutions will guarantee access to resources and power

Result 2	Self Determination	spaces for reflex ion about alternatives (campaigns, debates), desired model of development based on local culture (local development plans)	Assuming "alternatives" will be locally owned and not introduced by external actors higher on the power and knowledge hierarchy
Activities	Discussion groups, workshops, documents and information, teach-ins, mass media, lobbying, monitoring, public debates, funding and support to organizations, mobilization, networking and strengthening networks, resistance	Documents, participation in workshops, reports, public statements, local media and newspapers, personal testimonials	Assuming activities such as workshops, information, lobbying, debates, mass mobilizations are locally driven and owned and not manipulated by outside actors

*A careful analysis of assumptions was used to check and examine program logic (Gasper 2003). Project matrixes from HIVOS partners were analyzed and used to collect data on the design and objectives of the programs to examine how civil society building programs are designed and implemented

Annex E

Criteria used to guide semi-structured interviews**

Dimensions	Components	Tangible Change	Intangible Change	Indicators
Civil Society Building	Participation Citizenship	To be filled in with data collected during interviews	To be filled in with data collected during interviews	Increased Decision Making, Increased Claims and Demands, local ownership
Social Exclusion	Ethnic Regional			Racist and discriminatory language, customs and traditions, behavior and attitudes
Access to Power and Resources	Empowerment			Access to resources, (tangible) Legal rights, Land titling, Control over subsoil, Budgetary allocations, aid resources, projects and plans, livelihoods, access to public services, (intangible) Improvement in social, cultural and economic conditions
Democratization	Access to power		Public Investment, local and national level representation	
Local Development	self determination		Local Development plans that reflect local desires and imaginaries for the region's future	

**Primary Data collection obtained via semi-structured interviews during field work was guided by this framework to obtain information on tangible and intangible changes. Change processes were evaluated by observing and comparing scenarios observed for:

1) changes in practices of social exclusion at local and national levels
2) changes in processes of empowerment and participation
3) changes in access to power (access and control)
4) changes in decision making and self determination

Annex F

List of Interviews of Field Research in Ecuador (Primary Data)

Ortiz, Pablo. During my field research I had several long interviews and conversations with Dr. Pablo Ortiz. He is the principal investigator for Ecuador on the study of cooperation between Indigenous organizations and international cooperation (NGOs like OXFAM, HIVOS, IBIS). Pablo Ortiz is an insider that has worked for many years with the indigenous organizations of the Amazon. He has been particularly close to OPIP. He is currently a professor at the Universidad Andina Simon Bolivar in Quito.

Pedraza, Gustavo, Director of SNV Ecuador. I was able to work and have as a base the offices of SNV in Quito, based on their interest in assisting ISS students to perform research activities from which they can learn.

Koster, Harko, advisor of SNV, was the person in charge of SNV activities in the Amazon region particularly with local government and indigenous organizations. Harko accompanied me on my field research to Puyo, Pastaza. We held several discussions and semi-structured interviews in Quito and Puyo.

Salazar, Humberto. Consultant Institutional Development, Fundacion Esquel, one of the large Ecuadorian NGOs working with USAID involved in civil society building and capacity building programs. Interview held at the Fundacion Esquel offices in Quito on August, 1, 2006.

Rhon Davila, Francisco. Executive Director of CAAP -Centro Andino de Accion Popular. Paco Rhon is a Sociologist and a reknown Ecuadorian intellectual. CAAP was established in 1977 and was one of the pioneer organizations to work with grassroots and popular rural organizations in Ecuador. Interview held in the office of CAAP in Quito, on August 1rst, 2006.

Tonello, Jose. Director of FEPP, Fondo Ecuatoriano Popularum Progressio. FEPP was founded by the Catholic Church in 1970, its work focused on organizing and empowering the indigenous groups of the highlands during the 1970's. FEPP has grown to be one of Ecuador's most important NGOs. Jose Tonello, Italian, started working with FEPP as a missionary worker in the 1970's helping to organize peasants in the Highlands. Interview at FEPP office, Quito, August 1, 2006.

Hannekamp, Erika. Director of CEP, Centro Ecumerico de Proyectos. She has been behind CEP since its origins in 1973. She arrived in Ecuador in 1975 as a volunteer from Germany. The interview was held in the offices of CEP in Quito, on August 2, 2006.

Paez, Belen. Director of Pachamama. Interviews and discussions held in Pachamama office in Quito on August 16, 2006 and in Puyo on August 4th.

Callera, Milton. Achuar leader, President of NAE, the Achuar Nationality of Ecuador. Interview held in his office at NAE in Puyo on August 3, 2006.

Vargas, Luis. Achuar leader. He is a historical Achuar leader that was the first president of NAE, and was the ex-president of Confenaie. He started his work of organizing from the Church in the 1970's. He has been behind the establishment of OPIP and CONFENAIE. He is one of the Achuar leaders of NAE. Interview held at his restaurant in Puyo on August 3, 2006.

Gualinga, Ruben. Kichwa leader, President of Sarayaku, at the offices of Tayjasaruta, the autonomous government of Sarayaku, that is also the office of Papango tours, a tour operator run by the leaders as an alternative source of revenue for the community. I was also asking him for permission to enter the territory of Sarayaku, all researchers, or outsiders need signed permission of the President to enter the territory. Permission was not granted stating that it was better for me to stay in Puyo as all the leaders were in Puyo, and in the communities there would be no one to receive me. Interview held August 3, 2006.

Cuji, Angelina. Women's leader of Sarayaku/Tayjasaruta. Kichwa elder leader of Sarayaku, she is a very respected leader, has a role of mother of the community. Interview held in the Sarayaku office on August 4, 2006.

Gualinga, Cristina. Kichwa leader for education of Sarayaku. Also one of the key woman elder leaders of the community. Interview held at the Sarayaku office Puyo, August 4, 2006.

Malaver, David. In charge of Technical Support to the "Government of Sarayaku", Kichwa, is an educated young kichwa who is in charge of technical issues in terms of project planning, management, technical support. Interview held at the Sarayaku office August 4, 2006.

Gualinga, Patricia. Kichwa leader, perhaps the most active young woman leader of the Amazonian movement. Key person in maintaining international relations of Sarayaku. Interview held in Sarayaku, office in Puyo, August 4, 2006.

Ankuash, Domingo. Shuar leader of the Shuar Federation of Morona Santiago. He is from Morona Santiago but was at Sarayaku offices as he was providing support to them as one of the important Shuar leaders. He started in 1980, worked with CONAIE, worked in the Provincial Council with Pachakutik, and has been an active leader within CONFENAIE. Interview at the office of Sarayaku in Puyo, August 4, 2006.

SantaCruz, Cristina. Pachamama, in charge of Organizational Strengthening work of Pachamama. Interview in Banos on August, 5, 2006.* At conference with presentations by Bill Twist, founder of the Pachamama Alliance in the USA, Domingo Ankuash- Shuar Federation, Patricia Gualinga- Sarayaku, Luis Vargas- NAE, and Marlon Santi of Sarayaku – all comite interfederacional, also several interventions and questions by

donors. Meeting between Donors of Pachamama Alliance California and Indigenous Leaders in Banos held on August 5, 2006 at Luna Runtun Hotel in Banos.
Interview with Javier Cuzme, mestizo, head of the Department for Local Development of the Municipality of Pastaza. Interview at the Municipality of Pastaza in Puyo, August 7, 2006.

Viteri, Leonardo. Kichwa leader, Director of ECORAE in Puyo. He was also a key figure in the Amazonian movement, with OPIP, CONAIE, and CONFENAIE of which he was the Vice-President. Also research director of the Instituto Amazanga. Interview at ECORAE in Puyo. August, 7, 2006.

Guevara, Miriam. In charge of office of Indigenous Affairs of the Municipality of Pastaza, Kichwa woman. Interview at the municipality of Pastaza, August 7, 2006

Rueda, Edison. President of the Association of Parish councils (ASOPAP). Interview in the office of the ASOPAP in Puyo, August 7, 2006.

Rosero Cristina, Fundacion Natura, Representative of Fundacion Natura in Pastaza. Several conversations/ informal interviews. Fundacion Natura is one of the oldest established and powerful environmental NGOs in Ecuador. Several conversations in Puyo at the office of Natura from August 5 to August 9, 2006.

Ledesma, Oscar. Mayor of the Municipality of Pastaza, interview held at the Mayor's office in the Municipality on August, 7 2006.

Martinez, Luciano. Professor of FLACSO, director of the program of Territorially based Local Development at FLACSO, the Latin American Faculty for Social Sciences, an important research university in Quito. Interview held at FLACSO on August 14, 2006.

Ortiz, Santiago. Professor at FLACSO, expert on the Amazon. Interview held at FLACSO in Quito on August 14, 2006.

Palacios, Paulina. IBIS. Interview held at the offices of IBIS in Quito, on August 15, 2006.

Castro, Manuel. Communications and spokesperson of CONAIE. Kichwa Canari leader. Interview held at CONAIE office in Quito.

Elliot, David. Pachamama. Managed work on Territories at Pachamama. Interview at the Pachamama office in Quito on August 16, 2006.

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