

**Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, FLACSO Ecuador**  
**Department of International Studies and Communication**  
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specialization in Security and Human Rights**

**Petroleum Policy and Collective Rights;**  
**A comparative analysis of 2003 and 2013. Case study: The waorani**

**Kristina Danjiela Cvetich**

**Assessor: Dr. Fredy Patricio Rivera Vélez**  
**Readers: María Fernanda Noboa González y Ernesto Alfredo Vivares**

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Kristina Danjiela Cvetich

## **Summary**

The central objective of this work is to determine the role of the State in the Ecuadorian petroleum policies of 2003 and 2013 and its effect on the Waorani Nation. Through an International Relations approach to this topic, one can explore how the international political economy has very direct impacts on specific populations, in regards to security and human rights. A study of Ecuador and its management of the natural resource of petroleum will be presented through Critical Theory ontology, epistemology and methodology.

The hypothesis of this research is that: With the Constitution of 2008 providing a greater role of the State and an increment in collective rights, in 2013 (in comparison to 2003) there should exist less circulation of capital, colonization, less concession of territory, and less vulnerability of collective rights. However; the current situation of Ecuador is contradictory to this model in that the reverse is true; presenting the contradictory actions of the State. The Waorani are a concrete example of this. Though the Constitution of 2008 replaced the guarantor constitution of 1998, there exists more pressure and more tension in the territory than in 2003; creating conflict within the region.

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## **Introduction**

The study of International Relations is based on the issues of power relations and world order. For a study to fall within the umbrella of International Relations, these elements must be discussed and analyzed. Power relations and structures within the world order are currently in transformation. In regards to Latin America, these changes can be seen through two fundamental phenomena: the first being that of the new interactions between States and the second being the role of the State in regards to decision making and enforcement. These transformations arise from the failure of neoliberal politics in the region. The changing role of the State can be seen through its exercise of power within the globalized world, with a focus on development, the market and politics.

A specific example of these changing power relations is that of Ecuador, where the State, in the past decade, has strengthened its role in the management of power, seen through both its domestic and international politics. A clear example of this is the political decisions and changes that Ecuador has partaken in, in regards to their natural resources, i.e. Petroleum.

Ecuador, having little petroleum in comparison to other petroleum exporting countries, has been using petroleum as a tool for development for the past decades- making it the countries primary export. However; with the approval of the new Constitution of 2008 a new vision of development has arisen, called “Buen Vivir”, driven by a strong indigenous movement, that calls into question the ‘modern’ idea of development and the previous politics of the State, which ultimately has driven the State to seek new forms of development.

This thesis analyzes these changing power relations through a specific case study, discussing how the use of natural resources at the global level has direct implications at the domestic level. Accordingly, this work seeks to resolve the question of: What are the implications of the strategic petroleum policies of Ecuador in 2003 and 2013, within the Waorani territory, for the collective rights of the Waorani Nation. To analyze this, the central objective of this work is to determine the role of the State in the Ecuadorian petroleum policies of 2003 and 2013 and its effect on the Waorani Nation.

The secondary objectives of this work, which are used to fortify the central objective are: 1) Compare and contrast the petroleum policies of Ecuador present in 2003 and 2013. 2) Compare and contrast the collective rights provided in the 1998 and 2008 Constitutions of



Ecuador. 3) Compare the social reality of the Waorani peoples in 2003 and 2013. The years of analysis, 2003 and 2013, are used due to the fact that in said years there have existed two common events of violence within the waorani territory. Further these two similar conflicts occurred during different periods of the Ecuadorian State's resource management.

Through an International Relations approach to this topic, one can explore how the international political economy has very direct impacts on specific populations, in regards to security and human rights. A qualitative, descriptive study of Ecuador, its management of the natural resource of petroleum will be presented through Critical Theory ontology, epistemology and methodology, keeping in mind that there exists a relationship and dynamic between the international, regional and domestic spheres of world order. The instruments of interviews, observaton, document review and historical investigation will be used in order to come to a conclusion regarding the proposed question.

This work will be organized in four chapters, each demonstrating the link between the State and Politics. The first chapter, titled International Political Economy: State, Politics and Petroleum, , presents a theoretical analysis of the topics of the State and its politics through the framework of the Political International Economy. The second chapter, titled Ecuador: State, Poltiics and Petroleum, presents a historical analysis of the strategic petroleum policies of Ecuador, in order to understand how the State and its politics have evolved over the years. In the third chapter, titled Case Study, the Waorani and their past and current reality are presented in order to respond to the central question of this work. In chapter four, titled Conclusion, final statements will be made.

## **Chapter 1**

### **International Political Economy: State, Politics And Petroleum**

#### **Introduction**

Robert Cox (1996) states in his work, *Approaches to World Order*,

Social science is never neutral. It is, therefore, only fair to warn the reader that my purpose in undertaking this survey was to discover and encourage avenues of enquiry that might in the long run aid towards the transformation of power relations both within and among nations in the direction of greater social equity (Cox 1996, 376).

Every author, thinker, academic has a bias due to ones own life experiences, this is undeniable; however, through the use of theory one is able to step out of ones own reality and into that of another, depending on the epistemology, ontonolgy and methodology chosen, in order to analyze specific topics and issues. While more positivist approaches to investigation push the idea that objective analysis is possible and necessary, interpretivist approaches are based on the idea that investigation is intrinsically subjective, since our realities are transactional (Guba & Lincoln 1994). Essentially, “Theory is a critique, revision and summation of past knowledge in the form of general propositions and the fusion of diverse views and partial knowledges in general frameworks of explanation” (Nederveen 2010, 2). Thus, theory is necessary in formulating one’s hypothesis and, ultimately, forming ones final conclusion

The objective of this chapter is to understand the theoretical debate of the role of the State within the political international economy at the levels of: 1)Development, 2) State-Market, 3) State politics, where the topic of petroleum can be used as a tool for analysis.

#### **1. Development**

A discussion of development theory is important in this work in order to understand the changing power relations within the world order and the results of such changes. Domestic politics of development are being overtaken by the forces and dynamics of globalization and regionalization. Even more, international institutions and the market are surpassing state power and becoming the dominant actors in development. The classic vision of modernization is questioned, which in brings into question classical visions of development. (Nederveen, 2010). What is evident is that “Westernization no longer seems compelling in a time of

revaluing local culture and cultural diversity. In view of the idea of multiple modernities, the question is modernization towards *which* modernity?" (Nederveen 2010, 1). This question demonstrates the importance of understanding the different views of development and their evolution over the years, since "Development then is a field in flux, with a rapid change and turnover of alternatives" (Nederveen 2010, 2). Nederveen (2010) defines development as "the organized intervention in collective affairs according to a standard of improvement" (Nederveen, 2010: 2). Here the issue is what is the definition of improvement, and this is where the differing perspectives of development, the transformation of development theory over time, becomes an issue. The conventional idea of development, that of economic and social progress, arose after World War 2 (Gudynas 2011, Escobar 2005, Payne 2005, Nederveen 2010), as a response to global issues such as poverty and wealth distribution (Gudynas 2011). This led to distinguishing between developed and underdeveloped countries (according to theoretical framework).

In the 1980s classical development theory no longer functioned as a tool for analysis due to changes in world order, "namely, the ending of the era of US hegemony and the attendant unwinding of the original Bretton Woods system of regulated capital movements and international trade" (Payne 2005, 36). The new politics of development that arose from this changing world order had grave affects at the global level, through its impact on the states. What is evident is that while it had impacts on all states, the ones who suffered the most were those of the 'south' (Africa, Latin America and the Carribean). In this period "such states [were] run into intractable debt and balance of payments problems, which pushed them inexorably into the hands of the IMF and the World Bank" (Payne 2005, 37), a result of the neoliberal, free market, policies of the time. This vision was based on the idea that all states are capable of development, in terms of economic growth, as long as the market was the driving force of global interaction.

Due to the grave affects that neoliberal policies were shown to have on 'developing' countries (Africa, Latin America, Carribean), many began to critique this approach. Thus, critical approaches to development were born. A common theme within these new views was that previous notions of development were all 'Eurocentric', and thus did not serve as valid models for true development accross the globe. Thus, new visions of development were seen as essential, ones which took into consideration far more than just economic and political

issues. Culture, gender, ethnicity, religion all became new topics within development studies. These new, critical, perspectives fall under the category of “post development”.

Table 1.1 Timeline of meanings of development

Period	Perspectives	Focus	Meaning of Development
1950>	Modernization theory (liberal)	Growth & Development	Political and social modernization
1960>	Dependency theory (Marxist theory)	Capitalism	Capital accumulations (national, autocratic)
1970>	Alternative development	Social and community development	Human flourishing
1980>	Human development	Enabling	Capacitation, enlargement of people's choices
1980>	Neo-liberalism	Economic growth	Economic growth – deregulation, liberalization, privatization. Limit government control over market
1990>	Post-development (Post-structuralist, Critical Approach)	Anti-development	Authoritarian engineering, failure
2000	Millennium Development Goals	Poverty reduction	Structural reforms

Source: Nederveen, 2010. Escobar, 2005. Miller, 2008.

Post development theories arose in the 80s and 90s, when the concept of development came into question, as mentioned above, and is seen as developing from the branch of post structuralist theories. The main goal of the post structuralist critique was to “precisely question the modes in which Asia, Africa and Latin America became defined as ‘underdeveloped’ and, therefore, in need of development” (Escobar 2005, 18). The issue became geared towards how discourse and development practices have driven the labeling of these regions as the ‘Third World’. The following tables demonstrates the major differences between the three main theories of development, in order to demonstrate the main differences

between the post development (post structuralist) perspective, liberal theory (modernization) and marxist theory (dependency):

Table 1.2 Theories of development according to their “paradigm of origin”

Paradigm	Liberal Theory	Marxist Theory	Post Structuralist Theory
Variables			
Epistemology	Positivist	Realist/dialectic	Interpretive/constructivist
Key Concepts	Individual Market	Production (modes of production) Work	Language Meaning (significance)
Object of Study	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Society”</li> <li>• Market</li> <li>• Rights</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social Structures (social relations)</li> <li>• ideologies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Representation/discourse</li> <li>• Knowledge - power</li> </ul>
Relevant Actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individuals</li> <li>• Institutions</li> <li>• State</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social classes (working class; rural)</li> <li>• Social movements (workers, peasants)</li> <li>• State (democratic)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Local communities”</li> <li>• New social movements and NGO</li> <li>• All producers of knowledge (including individuals, State, social movements)</li> </ul>
Questions regarding development	How can a society develop or be developed through the combination of capital and technology and state and individual actions?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How does development function as a dominant ideology?</li> <li>• How can development be separated from capitalism?</li> </ul>	How did Asia, Africa and Latin America become seen as underdeveloped?
Criteria for change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Progress”, growth</li> <li>• growth plus distribution (the 1970s)</li> <li>• market adoption</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Transformation of social relations</li> <li>• Development of the forces of production</li> <li>• Development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Transformation of the political economy of truth</li> <li>• New discourse and</li> </ul>

		of the class consciousness	representations (plurality of discourse)
Mechanisms for change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Better theory and data</li> <li>• More focused interventions</li> </ul>	Social struggle (of classes)	Change the <i>practices</i> of knowing and doing
Ethnography	How development and change are mediated by <i>culture</i> -Adapt projects to local cultures	How local actors <i>resist</i> development intervention	How knowledge producers resist, adapt, subvert the dominant knowledge and develop their own knowledge
Critical attitude in regards to development and modernity	Promote a more equal development (deepen and complete the project of modernity)	Reorient development towards social justice and sustainability (critical modernism: separate capitalism and modernity)	Articulate an ethics of expert knowledge as a practice of freedom (alternative modernities and alternatives to modernity)

Source: Escobar, Arturo (2005)

What is evident from the theories of development is that development is the framework that drives state action and decision-making (policy), thus a states conduct at a domestic and global level is greatly determined by its vision of development. It is necessary to keep this in mind, since a State's actions determine its role. Further, in order to analyze the role of the State, an understanding of what the State consists of is necessary.

## 2. The State

The State is one of the most important topics within the study of IPE, where the debate lies in how the State acts in regards to globalization. Globalization is a hot topic in international relations, and has much to do with the discussion of 'world order'. Mary Kaldor (2008), in her work "Introduction From New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era" describes globalization as "The intensification of global interconnectedness- political, economic, military and cultural" (Kaldor 2008, 556), demonstrating the international, all-permeating characteristic of the phenomenon called globalization. Further, Janine Brodie (2003) states that "Globalization is a contested term perhaps best understood as a set of interactions whose uncertain parameters are, in many respects, historically unique and still unfolding" (Brodie 2003, 47), demonstrating the ever-evolving dynamics of globalization. She continues,

bringing up the terms ‘globality’ and ‘globalism’, acknowledging the ambiguity of this definition and defining it further.

At a minimum, the many dimensions of contemporary globalization can be subsumed under two related processes- globality, the irreversible forces of time, space, and nation and the fashioning of the planet into a global community, and globalism, a contestable political posture that promotes a transnational worldwide, philosophy of governance and institutional structures (Beck 2000, 1-3, 11-15) Brodie 2003, 47).

However, “this process of intensifying interconnectedness is a contradictory process involving both integration and fragmentation, homogenization and diversification, globalization and localization” (Kaldor 2008, 556). It is, as stated above, complex and dynamic. One of varying relationships and realities: “What is evident is that “Globalization is playing a major role in shrinking the planet, proliferating issues, and changing the roles of key actors” (Karns & Mingst 2004, 21). Two of these key actors are the State and the Market.

## **2.1 The State-Market**

Theories of IPE (International Political Economy) seek to examine the link between the study of economics and political science, on a global scale: “The field of IPE teaches us how to think about the connections between economics and politics beyond the confines of a single state” (Cohen 2008, 1). The behavior of economics becomes more inclusive, in regards to both its cause and effect. IPE not only examines economics, politics and their link, it puts great emphasis on development and the effect that the economic policies have on development across the globe. Further, it examines how the political economy essentially effects or determines world order. With all the current changes, IPE has become an important focus of International Relations:

The increasing importance of the international political economy stems from several trends. First, economic transactions among states, including trade, investment, and lending have been rising dramatically. The number of interactions among states has grown both in absolute terms and as a share of total economic activity. Second, there has been increasing expectations about the responsibilities of national governments for economic policies. Citizens expect their governments not only to have political objectives, but to formulate economic and social policy objectives as well. Third, as these economic issues become the subject of public discussions, they become more transparent to individuals and groups that are potentially affected by the

decisions; hence, the outcomes are more controversial and therefore more politicized (Mingst 2008, 247-248).

What is evident is that the world economic transactions are broadening and increasing, becoming more transnational than ever before. Governments are having to broaden their role and become more focused on economic issues at all levels (individual, State and global).

Robert Gilpin (2003) in his essay “Contending Views of IPE”, provides an introduction to this line of research, stating the existence of the two major elements of IPE studies, the State and the market. In this essay he states that “The parallel existence and mutual interaction of ‘state’ and ‘market’ in the modern world create the ‘political economy’; without both state and market there could be no political economy” (Gilpin 2003, 10). Taking it a step further, he continues by defining the basic interests or necessities of these actors: “For the state, territorial boundaries are a necessary basis of national autonomy and political unity. For the market, the elimination of all political and other obstacles to the operation of the price mechanism is imperative” (Gilpin 2003, 10). Through this claim, it is evident that there exists a tension between the two; in that the state seeks to maintain its sovereignty, while the market looks for universal openness and infiltration. Thus.

Whereas powerful market forces in the form of trade, money, and foreign investment tend to jump national boundaries, to escape political control, and to integrate societies, the tendency of government is to restrict, to channel, and to make economic activities serve the perceived interests of the state and of powerful groups within it (Gilpin 2003, 10).

In effect, the state and market are two parts of a whole, that function together and thus cannot be analyzed as completely separate entities. (Kratke & Underhill, 2006) (Underhill, 2000)

Three dominant approaches have arisen in regards to State behavior, due to the dynamic relationship between the State and the market, and the broader issue of globalization and how it effects state-market relations. These approaches are called ‘hyperglobalist’, ‘sceptical’ and ‘transformationalist’ (Payne, 2005) (Phillips, 2005) (Amoore et al. 2007). The hyperglobalist vision saw globalization as a serious threat to “the nation-state as a territorially bounded economic, political and social unit” ((Amoore et al. 1997, 185). The state was seen as having lost its power in all directions- “‘upwards’ to international institutions and transnational corporations, ‘sideways’ to global financial markets and global social movements, and



‘downwards’ to subnational bodies of all shapes and sizes” (Payne 2005, 32). According to this view, the nation-state was no longer considered a relevant level of analysis (Ohmea, 1995). Globalization was seen as a force of destruction that was irreversible and unstoppable, integrating the world and destroying all “national’ entities, not only states but also economies, societies, systems of regulation, modes of governance and so on” (Phillips 2005, 91-92).

The second vision, called the sceptical position, saw the hyperglobalist perspective as exaggerating the situation of the state. Academics of this perspective, such as Hirst and Thompson (1999) (Phillips, 2005), believed that what was really happening was simply a “heightened internationalisation’, rather than globalization, and asserted accordingly that such global restructuring as has taken place has been driven by the interaction of national capitalisms” (Payne 2005, 32). They believed that the state still maintained its power within world order and questioned the very existence of globalization, stating that what was occurring was simply the same phenomenon of internationalization that has occurred for over a century (Hirst and Thompson 1999).

The last vision in the state debate is the transformationist position, which is based upon the idea that

The state is neither transcended nor unaltered in some overarching, all-encompassing fashion: instead each state [...] is finding that its relationship to key social forces both inside and outside its national space is being restructured as part and parcel of all the other shifts to which globalization as a concept draws attention (Payne 2005, 33).

Thus, the state is not seen as losing power on a global level nor is it seen as being unscathed by the processes of globalization, rather it is seen as transforming or transitioning along with world order. An example of this is the State’s relation to or actions in regards to natural resources.

## **2.2 The State and Natural Resources**

In this work, the natural resource discussed is that of petroleum, as the connecting link between the behavior of the state and public policy as the implementation of state power within world order. Karen A. Mingst (2008) states, “No international economic issue is more illustrative of benefits and liabilities of globalization than energy in the twenty-first century;

no economic issue is as politicized as this one” (Mingst 2008, 276). Petroleum is an example of this, in that it “is now the strategic resource of the twenty-first century” (Mingst 2008, 277). The topic of petroleum in IPE is mainly focused on the effects of natural resources on domestic and global development and how it shapes world order. Richard M. Auty (2000) states in his article “How Natural Resources Affect Economic Development” that “Recent studies have established that, since the 1960s, resource-abundant countries have experienced significantly slower growth than resource-poor countries ((Lal and Myint, 1996; Sachs and Warner, 1995; Ross, 1999) Auty 2000, 347). A main focus within IPE studies is analyzing this phenomenon and attempting to understand why this is so or if this is so. In his work, the author (Auty 2000) proclaims, “variations in economic performance are caused by differences in the quality of governance that are linked through the type of political state and the pattern of structural change to the natural resource endowment” (Auty 2000, 347), thus putting emphasis on the type of government and economic capital.

In Michael L. Ross’s article “Does Oil Hinder Democracy”, the author specifically addresses the issue of petroleum, development and governance. Here he discusses three causal mechanisms that have been argued to demonstrate that oil, in fact, ‘hinders’ democracy: “a ‘rentier effect,’ which suggests that resource-rich governments use low tax rates and patronage to relieve pressures for greater accountability; a ‘repression effect,’ which argues that resource wealth retards democratization by enabling governments to boost their funding for internal security; and a ‘modernization effect,’ which holds that growth based on the export of oil and minerals fails to bring about the social and cultural change that tend to produce democratic government (Ross 2001, 327-238). The common element of these three mechanisms is government (politics) and economics. Thus demonstrating their relevance to IPE.

Ross’s study, which discusses the issue of the ‘resource curse’ ultimately concludes with four findings, based on the research he partook in, the first three being: “First, the oil-democracy claim is both valid and statistically robust; in other words, oil *does* hurt democracy [...] does greater damage to democracy in poor states than in rich ones, and given a rise in oil exports, will do more harm in oil-poor states than in oil-rich ones. [...] Second, the harmful influence of oil is not restricted to the Middle East. [...] Third] that nonfuel mineral wealth also impedes democratization” (Ross 2001, 327-238).

The author's main conclusion here is that the resource curse, in terms of governance and economics, does not simply apply to the Middle East. The phenomenon can be identified in various regions of the globe. Lastly, with the fourth finding, the author readdresses the concept of the mechanisms he presented earlier in the article, stating "there is at least tentative support for three causal mechanisms that link oil and authoritarianism" (Ross, 2001: 356), presenting a link between oil and authoritarian governments. While these findings are interesting in terms of IPE, a major concern can be seen in the implications they have for "the fate of resource-rich states across the developing world" (Ross 2001, 357).

However, while this perspective and the belief in the resource curse are prevalent in the studies of IPE, there are those that contest such conclusion. In the article "Do Natural Resources Fuel Authoritarianism?: A Reappraisal of the Resource Curse" written by Stephen Haber and Victor Menaldo, the IPE studies on this topic are critiqued. According to these authors, "Because natural resource reliance is not an exogenous variable, this is not an effective strategy for uncovering causal relationships. [And] Numerous sources of bias may be driving results, the most serious of which is omitted variable bias induced by the unobserved country-specific and time-invariant heterogeneity" (Haber & Menaldo 2011, 1).

Thus, according to these authors, the 'resource curse' is much more complex and cannot be explained by solely politics and economics. It is much more dynamic and, in turn, they suggest that

oil and mineral reliance does not promote dictatorship over the long run. If anything the opposite is true. These results hold even when we search for a host of conditional effects suggested by literature. This is not to say that there may not be specific instances in which resource rents might have helped sustain dictatorship. It is to say, however, that there is a big difference between pointing to these instances and making sweeping, law-like statements (Haber & Menaldo 2011, 25).

To truly understand the phenomenon of petroleum within IPE, longer periods must be studied, all variables taken into consideration and there must be an understanding that the econometric model is a *representation* of reality, not reality in and of itself. The critics of the IPE perspective seek to pinpoint what truly moves or causes reality, and state that the error of economic models is that they begin proposing a relation between the variables they are examining, when in reality such variables may have no true correlation at all.

What determines the effects of natural resources on states is essentially their modes of governance within the global system. Global governance can be defined as “a mode of regulation of the interactions between the State, society, economic actors and international actors” (Fontaine 2010, 23). This concept is particularly significant when dealing with such topics as petroleum politics, which is essentially an international issue by nature. While petroleum politics has to do specifically with oil, the broader concept of such politics at the international level is known as ‘energy governance’: “We define energy governance as a system that regulates and directs the interactions between the State, the market and the society within the energy scope, through legal norm, public policy and institutions of enforcement and control” (Fontaine & Puyana 2008, 20). The topic of petroleum as a main energy source globally is especially important for studies involving Latin America (Fontaine & Puyana, 2008).

Petroleum and processes involved in its extraction, as well as the technology and actors involved, have had an immense impact on Latin America and its insertion into and place in the global world. Petroleum politics are essentially determined by the global ebbs and flows of the price and supply and demand of said product. “Petroleum policy is delimited by external and internal elements, but even more by historical factors like dependence of the economy, the treasury of hydrocarbons and the flow of direct investments, that condition the petroleum politics” (Orozco 2013, 41-42).

Furthermore, “Petroleum can be considered a product of high global activity by nature” (Fontaine 2007, 52), due to the fact that it is an internationally traded product as well as the fact that it is an important strategic resource in regards to global political and economic relations (Fontaine, 2007). Likewise,

the activity that it generates and the earnings that it creates reached sufficient importance in the decade of the seventies to provoke two international economic crisis and be the cause of the first financial crisis of the decade of the eighties (Fontaine 2007, 52).

This demonstrates the great impact that energy governance and more specifically, petroleum politics, have on not only specific States that are involved in its exportation, importation or

have any part in its production, but even more demonstrates the importance of petroleum politics within international relations as a whole and the functioning of world order in general.

Theoretically, petroleum politics of the State should consist in a just distribution of the earnings of growth, for the purpose of bettering the indicators of the level or quality of life, in particular in the scope of health, education, infrastructure of public services and housing (Fontaine 2007, 105).

While this is what the ideal enforcement of petroleum politics would look like, in reality there are more complex factors at play and in turn, politics tend to vary. According to Fontaine (2007), there are four main arbitrations that essentially determine the route that petroleum politics take, in order to benefit from them.

First, a production rhythm must be established. This means that the State must decide whether extraction will be done at an intensive rate or a more conservative rate. Second, the State must decide the level of inversion it wishes to partake in, whether it be national or international. For this, it must look at the cost/benefits of extraction and exportation. Third, an analysis must be made of how and where to distribute the economic gains of petroleum extraction, and whether the focus should be to invest in the private or public sector. Fourth, the type of public inversion must be determined. This means that the State must decide whether it is more beneficial to spend petroleum gains on investing in infrastructure strengthening/development (highways, public services) or invest it into the traditional market sectors (agriculture, industry) in order to support production within those sectors. The fifth dimension in forming petroleum politics is that the State must decide on a type of policy to enforce, whether it be policy that allows for competitiveness of sectors that are affected by petroleum extraction, in order to have a more balanced market, or whether to put more focus on petroleum as a strategic resource for economic gains and development. (Fontaine, 2007)

Essentially, due to the process of petroleum politics and their nature, issues arise. One of these issues need to continue extraction of petroleum in order to support the new public policy enforced (which invests and invests into different public or private sectors). This creates a constant dependence on petroleum extraction. Another is that the instability of the international market, specifically in regards to oil prices, which ebbs and flows, creates the need to extract more in times of low prices. Another issue is the fact that the majority of oil reserves are used up, or are coming to the end of their life cycle, which leads to the need to

spend more money on exploration for more reserves as well as leads to a dependence on the participation of multinational companies in this process (Fontaine, 2007).

In the end, it is evident that global governance essentially plays a major role in State's petroleum politics in that the international market is what determines the supply and demand of this resource, making it either a commodity or a burden. What is further evident is that petro-politics are often enforced in order for the State to make use of this natural resource, creating a sound framework from which to embark on policy enforcement, yet what results is much more complicated, thus demonstrating the issues of public policy in general and essentially the relationship between policy and politics. Often politics dealing with petroleum have sound goals and purpose, yet when they are converted into tangible public policy the topic becomes much more complex, in regards to cause and effect and making petro politics function along with other public policy currently established.

### **3. Politics**

As stated in the book *Public Policy Analysis: An Introduction* (1981): "Policy analysis is an applied social science discipline which uses multiple methods of inquiry and argument to produce and transform policy-relevant information that may be utilized in political settings to resolve policy problems" (Dunn 1981, 35). To truly analyze policy signifies to partake in a multi disciplinary analysis, which goes beyond a simple economic, political or social investigation and ultimately interlinks these elements in order to not solely address issues, but predict and solve them: "Policy analysis draws from a variety of disciplines and professions whose aims are designative, evaluative, and advocative" (Dunn 1981, 36). Public policy is what shapes our world today; it essentially has formed the realities in which we find ourselves, both internationally and domestically. As Jean-Claude Thoenig (2000) states in "Public Policy and Public Action", "Public policy is present everywhere. It concerns public and private decision makers and puts the social sciences in motion" (Thoenig 2000, 19).

Even more specifically,

Policy analysis goes beyond traditional disciplinary concerns with the explanation of empirical regularities by seeking not only to combine and transform the substance and methods of several disciplines, but also to produce policy-relevant information that may be *utilized* to resolve problems in specific political settings. Moreover, the aims of policy analysis seek also

to produce information about values and preferable course of action. Policy analysis therefore includes policy evaluation as well as policy advocacy (Dunn 1981, 36).

One must understand the difference of policy analysis from other branches of research in order to understand the process of public policy. The fact that policy analysis not only includes evaluation, but also the promotion of policy, means that:

The policy analyst may therefore be expected to produce information and reasoned arguments about three kinds of questions: (1) *values* whose attainment is the main test of whether a problem has been resolved; (2) *facts* whose presence may limit or enhance the attainment of values; and (3) *actions* whose adoption may result in the attainment of values and the resolution of a problem (Dunn 1981, 36).

To partake in such analysis is therefore a dynamic and multi-dimensional process, which involves empirical, evaluative and normative approaches (Dunn 1981).

Through policy (the technique or bureaucratization) potential actions are presented. Through politics (the representation, electoral process) actions are enforced and put into effect. While there is a difference between these two aspects, in the long run they essentially converge and become two parts of a whole. This is how public policy is put into effect, resulting in how governance is partaken in and is thus an autonomous action, transforming the public realm (Fuentes, 2013). Guillaume Fontaine (2010) presents the idea of “governance as a mode of regulation” (Fontaine, 2010). Thus, governance as such is based on power, since those in power, the dominating actors, are capable of regulating it. Public policy not only is enforced at the domestic level, a State’s policies essentially link the domestic with the international and the actions deemed acceptable for such interactions. A specific example of the interactions created by politics are the way in which identity is formed, within and between States.

### **3.1 Politics of Recognition**

Within the realm of public policy, there exists the issue of recognition, as discussed and presented by Charles Taylor (1994). In his work *The Politics of Recognition* (1994), the author demonstrates the link between recognition and identity, “where the latter term designates something like a person’s understanding of who they are, of their fundamental defining characteristics as a human being” (Taylor 1994, 25). The relevance of recognition can be seen through the effects of ‘nonrecognition’ or ‘misrecognition’ which, as stated by

Taylor, can “inflict harm, [and] can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being” (Taylor 1994, 25). Thus one's identity becomes intrinsically linked to the politics of recognition.

Further, Taylor states, “Due recognition is not just a courtesy we owe people. It is a vital human need” (Taylor 1994, 26). For without due recognition an individual, or society, is doomed to the whims of the greater society, thus “the first task ought to be to purge themselves [the misrecognized individual/society] of this imposed and destructive identity” (Taylor 1994, 26). This idea greatly demonstrates the identity issue of indigenous peoples, for it is known that “since 1942 Europeans have projected an image of such people as somehow inferior, ‘uncivilized’, and through the force of conquest have often been able to impose this image on the conquered” (Taylor 1994, 26). Indigenous communities are thus seen as the ‘other’ and marginalized within society, often suffering from nonrecognition or misrecognition in terms of politics, which “can inflict a grievous wound, saddling its victims with a crippling self-hatred” (Taylor 1994, 26).

To understand these dynamics and the political functioning of our society, Taylor breaks up the issue of recognition and identity into two differing perspectives. One which is known as the politics of equal dignity and one which is known as the politics of difference, both which attempt to answer the issue of the social construction of identity, due to the fact that “The genesis of the human mind is in this sense not monological, not something each person accomplishes on his or her own, but rather dialogical” (Taylor 1994, 32). Even further,

We are of course expected to develop our own opinions, outlook, stances toward things, and to a considerable degree through solitary reflection. But this is not how things work with important issues, like the definition of our identity. We define our identity always in dialogue with, sometimes in struggle against, the things our significant others want to see in us [...] the contribution of significant others, even when it is provided at the beginning of our lives, continues indefinitely (Taylor 1994, 32-33).

This presents the formation of identity, the construction of it, through language and interaction. It is not something we merely decide on our own, “however one feels about it, the making and sustaining of our identity, in the absence of a heroic break out of ordinary existence, remains dialogical throughout our lives” (Taylor 1994, 34). This means that our identities are thus negotiated, through our own feelings and opinions and those of the people



that surround us, “That is why the development of an ideal of inwardly generated identity gives a new importance to recognition” (Taylor 1994, 34).

There thus exists the intimate level of identity construction, which involves that of significant others, and the social plan of identity construction, in which “we have a continuing politics of equal recognition” (Taylor 1994, 36). Further, “Both planes have been shaped by the growing ideal of authenticity, and recognition plays an essential role in the culture that has arisen around this ideal” (Taylor 1994, 36). This is where the two politics of recognition come into play.

The politics of equal dignity emphasizes “the equal dignity of all citizens, and the content of this politics has been the equalization of rights and entitlements” (Taylor 1994, 37). This can be considered a politics of universalism, in which all are equally worthy of respect and all are “rational agents, capable of directing our lives through principles” (Taylor 1994, 37).

Likewise, we all have a universal human potential, which ensures that each individual deserves respect (Taylor, 1994). Thus, regarding our circumstances or realities, we are all human beings, deserving a life of dignity and respect, demonstrating how this perspective is ‘difference blind’, in that it puts everyone in the same hat, eliminating the differences that actually do exist between individuals or cultures.

In the second perspective, that of the politics of difference, there also exists a universal potential that is acknowledged, however this potential is that of a person in “forming and defining one’s own identity, as an individual, and also as a culture” (Taylor 1994, 42) and “must be respected equally in everyone” (Taylor 1994, 42). However, there exists a problem with this idea of potentiality, in that what the value of one’s potential may not be considered worthy of praise by another. This perspective can be seen to “foster particularity” (Taylor, 1994: 43) and thus “violates the principle of nondiscrimination” (Taylor 1994, 43), while the first can be seen as denying identity and forcing homogeneity (promoting the hegemonic culture) and thus discriminatory (Taylor, 1994).

The reality is that “In a functioning republic, the citizens do care very much what others think” (Taylor 1994, 46) and people ultimately live within a society, one in which interaction is an every day occurrence and thus plays a role in one’s identity. Taylor continues by discussing the issue of ‘esteem’ and how this is altered and formed by one’s relationship with

the public sphere, thus further calling attention to the importance of recognition. The reality is that “In the modern world it will always be the case that not all those living as citizens under a certain jurisdiction will belong to the national group thus favored” (Taylor 1994, 55).

However; “A liberal society must remain neutral on the good life, and restrict itself to ensuring that however the see things, citizens deal fairly with each other and the states deals equality for all” (Taylor 1994, 57).

However, what may be considered equal treatment for some cultures within a State, may not be as such to others. In reality, “Political society is not neutral between those who value remaining true to the culture of our ancestors and those who might want to cut loose in the name of some individual goal of self-development” (Taylor 1994, 58). Thus, the State must take it into their own hands to ensure that the hegemonic society within its territories remains dominant and make sure said culture survives. As Taylor states, “politics aimed at survival actively seek to *create* members of the community” (Taylor 1994, 58-59). Thus it is necessary to create active citizens that function in regards to the State’s interests and goals. To construct the identity of its peoples. However,

A society with strong collective goals can be liberal, on this view, provided is is also capable of respecting diversity, especially when dealing with those who do not share its common goals; and provided it can offer adequate safeguards for fundamental rights” (Taylor 1994, 59).

This however is not always easy, as can be seen in a country such as Ecuador, in which there exists politics of recognition, as can be seen in the Constitution of 2008, as well as petroleum policies, which both make up the sphere of the public policy of the State. As Taylor states, “Indisputably, though, more and more societies today are turning out to be multicultural, in the sense of including more than one cultural community that wants to survive” (Taylor 1994, 61), thus such liberal stances may turn out to be impractical in a world of such dynamics.

The grand issue is that there are “substantial numbers of people who are citizens and also belong to the culture that calls into question our philosophical boundaries. The challenge is to deal with their sense of marginalization without compromising our basic political principals” (Taylor 1994, 63). Ecuador is such a complex example of the effects and importance of public policy because of it is a multicultural society, in which there exists a demand that “we all

*recognize* the equal value of different cultures; that we not only let them survive, but acknowledge their *worth*” (Taylor 1994, 64).

In conclusion, “What is new, therefore, is that the demand for recognition is now explicit. And it has been made explicit [...] by the spread of the idea that we are formed by recognitions” (Taylor 1994, 64). The politics of recognition is extremely important, at the micro and macro level, especially in a country in which ethnic identity is a reality and a serious political topic.

### **3.2 Politics of Security**

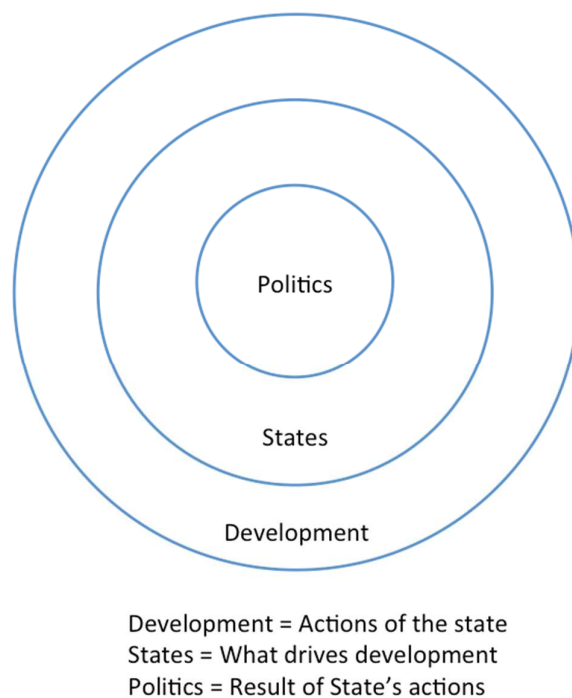
Security, as the a result of State action, is innately political; and as Buzan (1997) states “Security’ is the move that takes politics beyond established rules of the game and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics or as above politics” (Buzan et al. 1997, 21). The idea of ‘security’ has changed within the study of International Relations over the years; more specifically with the end of the Cold War and the rise of globalization. It has become a highly discussed topic in the field, due to the changing world order and new dynamics, which call for new discussions and policies in order to defend security at a global and domestic scale. The study of security is now, by many, considered much more than just that of a focus on military-state/defense: “the new emphasis is very much on how actors constitute themselves or are constituted, which inevitably involves identities, orders, and borders (Brown 2000, 119). This new, broader view can be divided into different categories, which demonstrate the interdisciplinary issues now included in this focus: the military sector (where the object of study is usually the state), the political sector (threats to the sovereignty or ideology of the state), economic sector (firms, national economies threatened), the social sector (collective identities independent of the state) and the environmental sector (survival of species or habitat, climate change, etc).

Global and domestic issues can be classified as either non politicized (not considered an issue), politicized (an issue identified by the state and addressed in public policy) or securitized (issue seen as an absolute threat and thus merits actions greater than those normally designated for political procedure) (Buzan, 1997). Security is thus, innately subjective in that “Security means survival in the face of existential threats, but what constitutes an existential threat is not the same across different sectors” (Buzan 1997, 2). The topic of securitization clearly demonstrates the issue of subjectivity in security procedures and

processes; which is further shown by the fact that for an issue to be securitized, it must essentially be accepted by the audience, or peoples being addressed. Thus, rhetoric or discourse is the key aspect of securitization, in that it is what turns the politics of security into the process.

Keeping in mind that development, the state and politics are connected elements within international relations, all which are important in determining the role of the state in the process of politics and their results within a given population.

Figure 1.1: Relationship between Development, State, Politics



Source: Author

## Chapter 2

### Ecuador: State Politics And Petroleum

#### Introduction

Even though within the international arena, Ecuador's petroleum exports represent a very small percentage, (approximately one percent) "the importance of its revenue in the national economy is very significant" (Fontaine 2008, 172). Over the years, petroleum has played a major role in the development of the State and been a major political factor:

Ecuador is a country that is highly dependent on the production and primary exportation of petroleum [...] this high dependency has made [it] a country of costly imported goods, which is reflected in the permanent problems of payment balances and the limited effect of the integrator and dynamics of the apparatus of production. In this sense, the exportation of primary products in the last years [before 2010] have reached the range of 77% of exportations (Varela 2010, 128).

This makes Ecuador highly vulnerable to the movement of the international market. This must be kept in mind while discussing the characteristics of the State of Ecuador, and the implementation of its policies used to promote the well being of the State and its peoples.

#### 1. Ecuador and Petroleum

##### 1.1 Ecuadorian State and the Market

Petroleum was first discovered in the Santa Peninsula of Ecuador in the 1920s, however, these exportations "did not have the transcendence that the selling of Orient crude would have in the international market" (Acosta 2003, 77). It is necessary to state that Santa Elena began exporting oil in the 20s, in order to understand why hydrocarbon laws emerged in this era, when crude was first discovered in the Amazon region in the 70s. Through an examination of the following outline one can get an overview of how petroleum discoveries and politics have evolved over the years, through different decades and periods in Ecuador's history.

**Table 2.1. Timeline of Petroleum 1921-2013**

1921	<b>Law of Leases (la Ley de Arrendamientos).</b> Established during the presidency of Jose Luis Tamayo, was claimed to be the first law of hydrocarbons in Ecuador (Gordillo, 2004). This law "decreased in practice, the economic participation of the State, to less than half of the royal fifth [quinto real] (20%) of the colonial era, and established ridiculous superficial rights" (Gordillo 2004, 46).
1937	<b>Petroleum Law (la Ley de Petr�leos).</b> Established by the dictator Federico P�ez

	and created concessions as a model of petroleum contract (Gordillo, 2004). “This law, modified by the reformist government of Enriquez Gallo, in its formal part maintained the same rules of the law of 1921, and in the economic part decreased the possibility of State revenue” (Gordillo 2004, 47).
1940	“Nine concessions in the exploration period in all of the Ecuadorian territory; of which four petroleum companies and five were individuals” (Gordillo 2004, 47). Of the oil companies, only one, Shell, was conducting such work in the Orient of Ecuador, and the other 3 were located on the coast (Gordillo, 2004).
1950s	“Annual growth rate of final energy consumption was more than 7%, while the GDP grew to less than 5%” (Gordillo 2004, 49).
1964	<b>Texaco-Gulf obtains a 40 year concession</b> of a million and a half hectares in the Amazon region (Montalvo, 2004).
1967-1970	Initiation of exploitation of petroleum by Texaco-Gulf in the Orient (Gordillo 2004, 50).
1971	“The economic growth of the country was not consistent with the energy consumption, which caused a serious deformation of the economic apparatus and an accelerated deterioration of the environment due to contamination and deforestation” (Gordillo 2004, 49). There did not exist any law that deterred such practices (Gordillo 2004, 49). In the same year, Velasco Ibarra enacted <b>the Hydrocarbons Law (la Ley de Hidrocarburos)</b> which abolished the concessions and created new systems of petroleum contraction; however, this law did not come into full effect until 30 years later, when the contracts that were in place when the law was presented expired. (Gordillo, 2004).
1972	General Rodriguez Lara, implemented <b>nationalist petroleum politics</b> . Profound structural changes were put in place in order to change the relationship of Ecuador with the oil companies and consuming countries. Also the year of the <b>creation of CEPE</b> (the Ecuadorian State Petroleum Corporation as well as new petroleum contracts (Gordillo, 2004).
1973	<b>Ecuador joins OPEC</b>
1976	<b>The law of prevention and control of environmental contamination established (la Ley de prevención y control de la contaminación ambiental).</b> (Gordillo 2004, 52)
1981	<b>The Forest Law established (la Ley Forestal)*</b> were not directly related or linked to petroleum. (Gordillo, 2004)
1982	Environmental issues brought up (Gordillo, 2004).
1984	CEPE politics of community relations created, ex: Fondo de Desarrollo Comunal created (Fontaine, 2005).
1985	Complaints recorded and reparations of petroleum companies begin. (Gordillo, 2004)
1989	<b>Law 45 (Ley de 45)</b>
1990	Environmental regulations taken into account. (Gordillo, 2004)
1992	<b>Ecuador leaves OPEC</b> , increase in foreign investment (Fontaine, 2008). <b>Petroecuador takes over Texaco operations.</b> (Gordillo, 2004)
1993	<b>Reformation of the Hydrocarbons law</b> (Ley de hidrocarburos de 1993), which introduced the contracts of participation in which the private petroleum companies (transnationals) receive a percentage of the petroleum extracted as a payment, this percentage was previously established in contracts (Orozco, 2013).
1998	<b>New Constitution of the State</b> established that “included the environment as an element of State priority” (Gordillo 2004, 53).
1999	<b>Environmental law drawn up (la Ley de gestión ambiental.</b> (Gordillo, 2004).

2001	<b>Environmental Regulation for Hydrocarbon Operations</b> (Reglamento Ambiental para las Operaciones Hidrocarburíferas) put into effect, thus <b>Hydrocarbons law is reformed</b> . Also the year of the <b>dissolution of the National Leadership of Hydrocarbons</b> (Dirección Nacional de Hidrocarburos) (Gordillo, 2003). Conversion of UPE of Petroecuador into an Administration (GPA)
2003	Change in government, affecting petroleum politics.
2006	<b>Contract with OXY petroleum company expires and 50% of the extraordinary gains of private companies nationalized</b> due to the rise in oil prices (Orozco, 2013).
2007	President Correa <b>modifies bylaws of the Hydrocarbon law No. 42-2006</b> . This decreed that 99% of the extraordinary gains go to the State and only 1% stays with the petroleum company (Acosta, 2011). Ecuador returns to <b>OPEC</b> . <b>Yasuní-ITT</b> project announced, and begins. Crude in this region will remain below ground as long as the international community contributes monetarily with at least half of the resources that would be gained from extraction (Andrade, 2011).
<b>2010</b>	<b>Reformation of the Hydrocarbons law and the law of domestic tax regime</b>
2013	<b>Yasuní ITT project canceled</b>

Throughout the petroleum history of Ecuador, it is evident that transnational companies have played a major role in petroleum activities. What is further evident is that there has been a need to reform Hydrocarbon laws over the years, in order to nationalize the petroleum revenue for the State, and make sure that the State comes out benefiting from this natural resource, as opposed to the transnational companies working in this area. When the first hydrocarbon laws were established (1921), there was a fixed percentage (20%) that the State could essentially make based on the oil companies revenue, yet as oil prices began to rise, this no longer was convenient for the State, in that it began to gain less from the increasing prices in terms of overall percentages.

What is also evident is that transnationals, such as Shell, were useful in the exploration process of petroleum: “In 1937, Royal Dutch / Shell took possession of concessions in the Amazon region and began the first works of exploration there (Fontaine, 2007). In 1972 there occurred renegotiations of concession contracts (those signed before 1971). In this year nationalization of petroleum occurred, which gave greater control to the State in terms of managing the activities and monetary gains. By 2007, President Rafael Correa further modifies the hydrocarbon laws and decrees that 99% of the revenue of petroleum gains be delegated to the State, while 1% remains with the private companies, thus demonstrating the vision of the necessity to diminish the control of the transnationals within the territory.

## **1.2 Ecuador and Natural Resources: Petroleum**

The exportation of petroleum aided in “boosting and expanding the economy [...] because its control fell to the State, especially thanks to the constitution of the State Corporation of Ecuadorian Petroleum (CEPE), now Petroecuador” (Acosta 2003, 77). As is evident from this timeline, “For the State it is important to create means of wealth distribution that permits the economic growth of the country” (Andrade 2004, 105). Petroleum has been the strategic resource for such goals of economic growth, however; it has not been an easy ride. Without doubt, the 70s were a pivotal decade in Ecuador’s history of petroleum, in that there was an international oil boom, which not only had immediate effects, it had long term effects in regards to external debt of the country and domestic income. As Alberto Acosta (2003) states in “Ecuador: entre la ilusion y la maldicion del petroleo, “With the exportation of petroleum from the amazon region, during the decade of the seventies in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Ecuador entered fully into the world market and experimented and accelerated process of Nation-State consolidation” (Acosta 2003, 77). Further, “The exploitation of crude constituted a autonomous fountain of financing” (Acosta, 2003: 77). This discovery and exploitation of petroleum in the Amazon would have profound and long term effects on the economy of Ecuador, and evenmore the social growth of its peoples.

In order to put this period into perspective, it is crucial to understand the statistics of this time period “the exportations grew from 1999 million of dollars in 1971 to 2.568 million dollars in 1981, the GDP grew to 1.602 million dollars to 13.946 million dollars in the same period” (Acosta 2003, 78). This pushed Ecuador into the international market on a scale larger than ever before (Acosta, 2003). This petroleum boom was a fast way to improve the economy and create an instant integration of Ecuador into the flourishing international capitalism of the time. What is important to keep in mind is that this insertion into the global market through exploitation of hydrocarbon was thus not a response to the domestic energy demands of the country, rather it is explained through “the logic of taking advantage of the world petroleum resources through transnational companies, that is by the necessities of the accumulation of capital and, ultimately, by the level of technological development reached by the core countries” (Acosta 2003, 78).

With this, it is evident that the focus on petroleum was a strategic move, in order to immediately increase economic gains, however, it created a dependence and vulnerability on

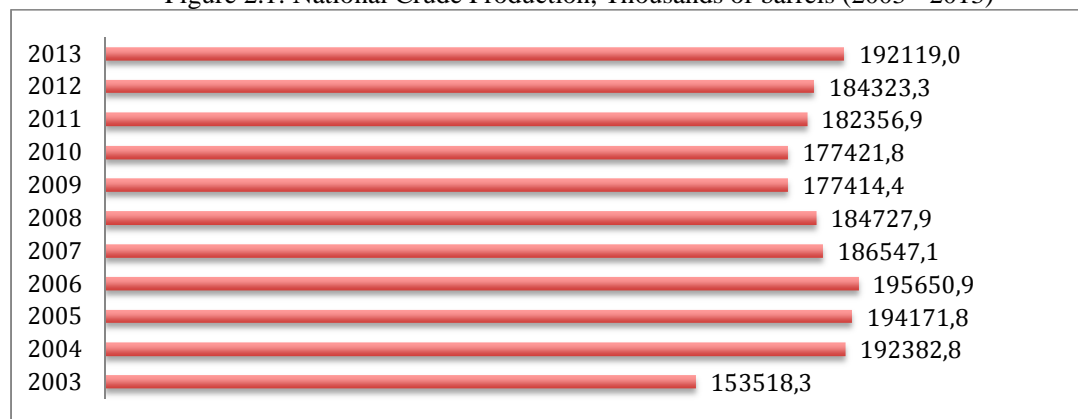


the rises and falls of the global capitalist market. During this period, the amount of external debt grew by almost 22 times: from 260.8 million dollars at the end of 1971 to 5.869,8 million dollars at the end of 1981. This debt went from 16% of the GDP in 1971, to 42% of the PDB in 1981 (Acosta, 2003: 80). This debt was not only caused by borrowing from the development banks, but incremented by the high interest rates of their policies.

Furthermore, during this time “international organizations- the World Bank, IMF and IBD – strengthened this process of excessive external financing of underdeveloped countries, including Ecuador” (Acosta 2003, 80). With this, the external debt of Ecuador increased substantially, causing great systematic and social changes within the country, leading to a debt crisis by 1982 (Acosta, 2003). These statistics demonstrate how the State, from its institutions and sectional governments, finds it difficult to reach agreements that permit a better advance of the undertaken processes. “The State crisis is reflected in the crisis lived in its institutions” (Andrade 2004, 105).

In the following graphic it is evident that the production of crude oil in Ecuador has increased over the years, demonstrating the necessity of petroleum in order to deal with external and internal debt:

Figure 2.1: National Crude Production, Thousands of barrels (2003 - 2013)



Source: BCE (2016).

### 1.3 Energy governance

Energy governance is both a domestic and international issue that is essentially determined by politics. As Fontaine states:

The problem of energy governance in Ecuador consists in the first place, in determining what aspects and in what conditions, with the orientations and priorities, the national petroleum industry can integrate itself into the world markets and escape the technological and financial dependency in which it fell in the decade of the seventies. The politics and the conduct of this industry should be planned and thought of again in its wholeness, in order to respond to criteria of efficiency, of sustainable human development, of compatibility between environmental protection and energy auto sufficiency, while contributing to the bettering of democratic governability (Fontaine 2008, 14).

Thus, energy governance in Ecuador is dynamic and involves a number of elements. Not only must it take into account the political economy of the country, it must also involve social and environmental issues. Further, domestic energy governance in Ecuador can be directly linked to Ecuador's place within the global system. Therefore, the mode of energy governance has direct effects both domestically and internationally.

Energy governance is ultimately enforced by laws that are based on a constitutional framework: "The new constitutional framework, overwhelmingly approved by the Ecuadorian people on September 28, 2008, demanded and still demands [stated in 2011] substantial changes to the legal hydrocarbons framework" (Acosta 2011, 45). Many issues were redefined in the process of amending the 1998 constitution, and one of these topics is that of the

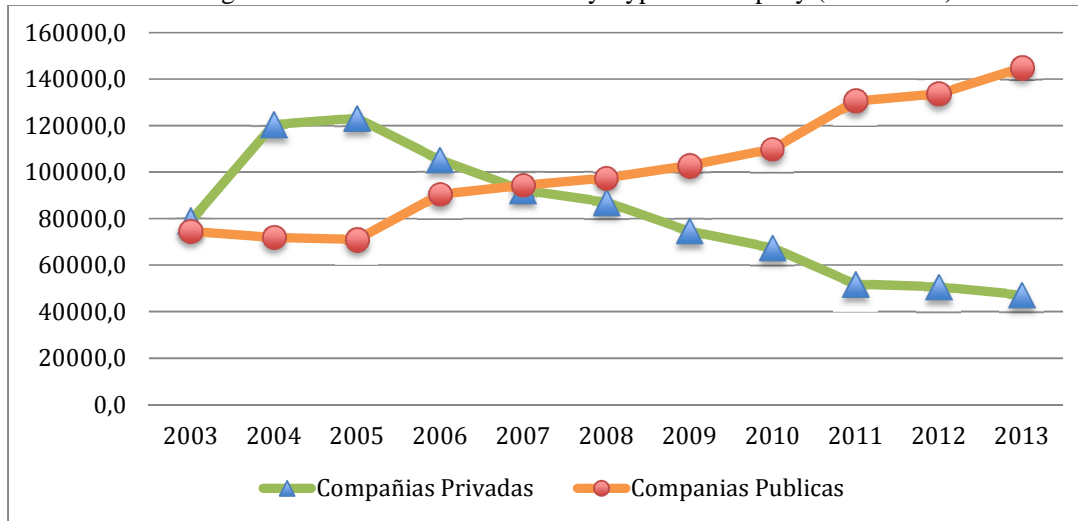
role of the State in the exploitation of unrenovable natural resources. Above all in articles 313 to 318 the strategic sectors and public services and companies are addressed. The foundation was laid to close the opprobious neoliberal past and the submission to the interests of transnational companies (Acosta 2011, 46).

The new constitution demanded a strengthening of the power of the State and its businesses, but left room for the State to continue working with private foreign or national companies through investments (Acosta, 2011). The main general change of the Constitution of 2008 was the distancing from the old framework of development which held more of an extractionist perspective, to that of a more holistic perspective known as "Buen Vivir" as a form of development (Acosta, 2011). The main changes in the constitution are:

1. The change of the role of the State in the non-renewable natural resource strategy (stronger role of the state, weaker role of TNCs).
2. A push towards international integration at the regional level.

3. The expansion of the Rights of Nature, Human Rights and indigenous (or Collective) Rights and the need for previous consultation before extraction.
4. Protected areas in order to maintain the sovereignty of un-contacted peoples. No extraction to take place in these designated areas.

Figure 2.2. Petroleum Production by Type of Company (2003-2013)



Source: BCE (2016).

What can be seen in this graphic is how petroleum politics affected the reality of the companies that were/are the driving force behind the petroleum market. Whereas, starting from 2002 to 2005 there is a rise in the production of oil from private petroleum companies in Ecuador, after 2003 and the change in the political party of the government, bringing about changes in the petroleum politics, there begins a rise in public State companies. The amount of production from public companies steadily rises to present day, demonstrating the nationalization of petroleum politics, due to the referendums of the hydrocarbons law. Just as noticeable, there is a quick decline in the number of private companies in this sector of the economy. In general, there is an increase in the amount of oil production from 2002 to 2015, demonstrating that more petroleum has been extracted over time in order to meet the State's demands.

## 2. Politics

“A Constitution is not just a legal norm but is a social process, a system of rights impregnated in the consciousness of the citizens, the constitution is a culture”  
(Grijalva 2011, 11).

In 2008, Ecuador was faced with the decision of whether or not to go ahead with constitutional reform, pushed for by the political party and movement, Alianza País. This reform was eventually approved with a 63.499% vote (López & Celis, 2009). The process of this reform demonstrated the value of numerous actors within the political realm. This moment in Ecuadorian history is important because the “campaign for the referendum was converted into a moment of restructuring the previous political structures, especially in the case of political parties and their traditional figures” (Lopez & Celis 2009, 14). The debate was mainly divided into those who supported the reform and those who did not. What can more simply be called the “si” camp and the “no” camp. Rafael Correa, representing the political party “Alianza País”, led the “si” camp. Further, “The political discourse created a polarity of: yes = *change* / no = *status quo*, where voting yes implied not only extending a yes to the constitutional reform, but a yes to the Citizens Revolution, and even more a yes to Correa” (Lopez & Celis 2009, 15).

However, some actors established a differentiation between supporting the constitutional reform and Correa. Through this arose the “Sí crítico” (critical yes). A main actor promoting this view was *La Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE)* – the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador. Thus this indigenous movement in Ecuador supported the constitution yet was not 100% supportive of Correa as a presidential candidate. This actor put great emphasis on supporting the referendum yet maintaining that there did not exist a unanimous support for Correa. This stance called for change in the political model as well as change in form and process of development, yet was sceptical of the political campaign of Alianza País and their promotion of the idea of a Citizens Revolution (Lopez & Celis, 2009). The proposed change in the development model was called Buen Vivir, and encompassed more than just economic, social and political ideas of development.

There also existed the ‘Nul’ position:

The social organizations linked to this option rejected Correa’s conduct, but at the same time tried to salvage the differences between the groups with the ‘No’ position. It included, chiefly, radical ecologists, anarchic-comunist sectors and parts of the indigenous movement linked to communities in Chimborazo and Tungurahua. For these sectors the ‘Nul’ vote was an elusive way of political positioning to the virtual electoral monopoly of the Left by Alianza País, and of the Right, articulated through the figure of Jaime Nebot with the ‘No’” (Lopez & Celis 2009, 15).

Lastly there was the 'No' perspective, which was against the reform as well as the government of Rafael Correa. A number of political actors and institutions constituted this position. One of those being the mayor of Guayaquil, Jaime Nebot, who was a leader of the right winged Social Christian Party. The oligarchy of Guayaquil back up this view, depending the political autonomy of the province. For these actors, buen vivir would be retrocessing in time and ultimately throwing away progress towards a 'civilized' society (Cortez, 2010). The catholic and protestant churches were also strong forces behind the "no" position, stating the error in giving nature such a strong relevance, putting it even before god (Cortez, 2010) However, "in the end, the 'No' actors were defeated. The 'Si' actors, on the contrary, flourished" (Lopez & Celis 2009, 17).

## **2.1 Buen Vivir**

The main difference between the Constitutions of 1998 and 2008 is the implementation of the indigenous people cosmovision of Buen Vivir (Sumak Kawsay or the good way of living) as a basic principle of the Constitution of 2008. While the Constitution of 1998 presents the issue of development within the economic system, demonstrated by Title 12 of said constitution, titled "The Economic System", in which the means of development are presented, the 2008 constitution, Title 6, presents the new model of development, titled "Buen Vivir".

In 1997, through their political project, CONAIE pushed for a more holistic vision of life and development to be included in public policy, yet the term 'Buen Vivir' was never adopted within the constitution. What was included in the 1998 constitution was the acknowledgement of Ecuador as a Plurinational, Plurilingual and Pluricultural State, as the topic of interculturality. These key concepts called for a new understanding of the meaning of 'nation', primarily viewed as "a human group united by special connections of cultural, historical, political, economic and linguistic homogeneity, that shares a territory and are governed by the same government" (CONAIE, 1997). In comparison, CONAIE (1997) defined a plurinational nation as "the recognition of a multi cultural society within the indissoluble unit of state policy that acknowledges, respects and promotes the unity, equality and solidarity between peoples and nationalities existing in Ecuador, regardless of their historical, political and cultural differences" (Walsh, 2009: 176). The difference in these definitions lies in the fact that the first views the nation as one sole peoples within a physical border, while the second broadens this view, acknowledging the diversity that exists between designated borders.

In 2007, CONAIE continued in their push towards a new vision of development and way of life, and “presented ‘buen vivir’ as the core of their proposals to be taken into account in the debate and elaboration of the new ecuadorian constitution” (Cortez 2010, 11). In regards to historical context, this perspective arose after some 20 years of liberal and neoliberal development models, which resulted in concentration of wealth, the promotion of dispossession, of inequality and sovereign delegation to big foreign monopolies (Cortez, 2010). In reaction to these development models, indigenous populations join together to present a new conception of development (Buen Vivir), one that is based on human wellbeing and living well, through a balance of ecological, economic and social aspects (Cortez, 2010). While this concept was new to the occidental world in regards to models of development, the concept in and of itself was centuries old, in that it was taken from the indigenous cosmovision. ‘Buen Vivir’ or Sumak Kawsay, in Kichwa, has been constructed into public policy. Born from an indigenous concept signifying the harmonious existence of humans with nature, Buen Vivir has been politicized and become a symbol of change.

**Table 2.2. Development perspectives: 1998 and 2008**

Constitution of 1998 Title XII: The Economic System	Constitution of 2008 Title VI: Development Structure
<p><b>Chapter 1</b> <b>General principles</b> <b>Art. 242.</b> The organization and functioning of the economy will respond to the principles of efficiency, solidarity, sustainability and quality, to ensure the residents a dignified existence, and equal rights and opportunities to access to work, goods and services: and to ownership of the means of production. <b>Art. 243.</b> The permanent objectives of the economy will be:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Socially equitable development, regionally balanced, environmentally sustainable and democratically participative.</li> <li>2. The preservation of macroeconomic balances, and a sufficient and sustained growth.</li> <li>3. The increase and diversification of production-oriented supply of goods and quality services that meet the needs of the domestic market.</li> <li>4. The elimination of destitution, overcoming poverty, reducing unemployment and underemployment; improving the quality of life of the inhabitants, and equitable</li> </ol>	<p><b>Chapter 1</b> <b>General principles</b> <b>Article 275.</b> The development structure is the organized, sustainable and dynamic group of economic, political, socio-cultural and environmental systems, which underpin the achievement of Buen Vivir (sumak kawsay). The State shall plan the development of the country to assure the exercise of rights, the achievement of the objectives of the development structure and the principles enshrined in the Constitution. Planning shall aspire to social and territorial equity, promote cooperation, and be participatory, decentralized, de-concentrated and transparent. Buen Vivir shall require persons, communities, peoples and nationalities to effectively exercise their rights and fulfill their responsibilities within the framework of interculturalism, respect for their diversity, and harmonious coexistence with nature. <b>Article 276.</b> The development structure shall have the following objectives:</p>

<p>distribution of wealth.</p> <p>5. Competitive and diversified participation of Ecuadorian production in the world market.</p> <p><b>Art. 244.</b> Within the system of the social market economy the State will be responsible for:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ensuring the development of economic activities by a legal order and institutions that promote, encourage and build confidence. Public and private business activities receive the same legal treatment. Domestic and foreign investment are ensured equal conditions.</li> <li>2. Formulating, in a decentralized and participative manner, obligatory plans and programs of public inversion and references for the private.</li> <li>3. Promote the development of competitive activities and markets. Promote free competition and sanction, according to the law, the monopolistic practices and others that impede and distort.</li> <li>4. Ensure that economic activities comply with the law and regulate and control them in defense of the common good. Anotocism is forbidden in the credit system.</li> <li>5. 5. Create physical, scientific and technological infrastructure; and provide basic services for development.</li> <li>6. To undertake economic activities when required by the general interest.</li> <li>7. Rationally exploit the goods of their exclusive domain, in a direct manner or with the participation of the private sector.</li> <li>8. Protect the rights of consumers, punish fraudulent information, misleading advertising, product adulteration, alteration of weights and measures, and failure to meet quality standards.</li> <li>9. Maintain a disciplined fiscal policy; encourage savings and investment; increase and diversify exports and make sure that public borrowing is compatible with the country's payment capacity.</li> <li>10. Encourage full employment and improving real wages, taking into account the increased productivity, and provide targeted subsidies to those in need.</li> </ol> <p><b>Art. 245.</b> The Ecuadorian economy will be organized and developed by the coexistence of the private and public sectors. Economic enterprises, in their forms of ownership and management, may be private, public, mixed and community or self-managed. The State shall recognize, guarantee and regulate them.</p> <p><b>Art. 246.-</b> The State shall promote the</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To improve the quality of life and life expectancy, and enhance the capacities and potential of the population within the framework of the principles and rights provided for by the Constitution.</li> <li>2. To build a fair, democratic, productive, mutually supportive and sustainable economic system based on the egalitarian distribution of the benefits of development and the means of production, and on the creation of decent, stable employment.</li> <li>3. To foster participation and social monitoring, acknowledging the diverse identities and promoting their equitable representation, at all stages of governance.</li> <li>4. To restore and conserve nature and maintain a healthy and sustainable environment ensuring for persons and communities equitable, permanent and quality access to water, air and land, and to the benefits of ground resources and natural assets.</li> <li>5. To guarantee national sovereignty, promote Latin American integration and boost strategic insertion into the global context, which contributes to peace and a democratic, equitable world system.</li> <li>6. To promote balanced, equitable land use planning, integrating and coordinating socio-cultural, administrative, economic and management activities and bolstering the unity of the State.</li> <li>7. To protect and promote cultural diversity and to respect its spaces of reproduction and exchange; to restore, preserve and enhance social memory and cultural heritage.</li> </ol> <p><b>Article 277.</b> The general duties of the State in order to achieve Buen Vivir shall be:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To guarantee the rights of people, communities and nature.</li> <li>2. To direct, plan and regulate the development process.</li> <li>3. To make and implement public policies, and to control and sanction any breach thereof.</li> <li>4. To produce goods, to create and maintain infrastructure, and to provide public services.</li> <li>5. To boost the development of economic activities through a legal system and political institutions that promote, foster and defend said activities in observance of the Constitution and the law.</li> <li>6. To promote and bolster science and technology, the arts, ancestral wisdom and, in general, activities resulting from the creative initiative of communities, associations, cooperatives and the private sector.</li> </ol>
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development of community enterprises or self-management, such as cooperatives, craft workshops, administrative boards of drinking water and the like, whose ownership and management belong to the community or people working permanently in them, that use their services or consume their products.

**Art. 247.** The natural non renewable resources and, in general, the products of the subsoil, minerals and substances whose nature is different than the soil, including what is found in areas covered by territorial sea water, are inalienable and imprescriptible property of the State.

These assets will be exploited on the basis of national interest. Their exploration and rational exploitation can be carried out by public, mixed or private companies, according to the law

It will be the exclusive power of the State the use of electromagnetic signals for broadcasting radio, television and other media frequencies. Equal conditions are guaranteed in the concession of said frequencies. The transfer of concessions and any form of direct or indirect hoarding by the State or private persons of means of expression and social communication is prohibited.

The waters are national property for public use; its domain is inalienable and imprescriptible; its use and exploitation corresponds to the State or whoever obtain these rights, according to the law.

**Art. 248.** The State has sovereign rights over biodiversity, natural reserves, protected areas and national parks. Their conservation and sustainable use will be made with participation of the populations involved and, when it is the case, the private sector, according to the programs, plans and policies that are considered factors of development and quality of life and in accordance with international conventions and treaties.

**Art. 249.** It will be the responsibility of the State to provide public services such as drinking and irrigation water, sanitation, electric power, telecommunications, roads, port facilities and others of similar nature. It can provide these services directly or through delegation to mixed or private companies, through concession, association, capitalization, transfer of stock or any other contractual means, in accordance with the law. The agreed contractual terms cannot be unilaterally modified by legislation or by any other provisions.

**Article 278.** To achieve Buen Vivir, it is the duty of people and communities, and their various forms of organization:

1. To participate in all stages and spaces of public management and national and local development planning, and in the execution and control of the fulfillment of development plans at all levels.

2. To produce, exchange and consume goods and services with social and environmental responsibility.



The state will guarantee that public services, provided under its control and regulation, respond to principles of efficiency, responsibility, universality, accessibility, continuity and quality; and shall ensure that their prices or rates are fair.

**Art. 250.** The Solidarity Fund is an autonomous organism designated to combat poverty and eliminate destitution. Its capital will be used in safe and profitable investments and cannot be spent or used to acquire securities issued by the central government or public bodies. Only its profits will be used to finance, in an exclusive manner, education, health and environmental sanitation programs, and to address the social impacts caused by natural disasters.

The capital of the Solidarity Fund will come from the financial resources generated by the transfer of assets of companies and public services, except those that come from the transfer of goods and assets of the National Financial Corporation, Development Bank and organizations of the autonomous sectional regime, and it will be administered in accordance with the law.

**Art. 251.** The autonomous regional governments, whose non renewable natural resources within their territorial districts are exploited and industrialized, have the right to participate in the revenues received by the State. The law will regulate this participation.

**Art. 252.** The State shall guarantee the freedom of transport by land, air, sea and river within the national territory or through it. The law will regulate the exercise of this right, without privileges of any kind. The State shall exercise the regulation of land, air and water transport and airport and port activities by through autonomous entities, with the participation of relevant institutions of law enforcement.

**Art. 253.** The State shall recognize barter trade transactions and the likes. It will seek better conditions of participation of the low-income, informal sector in the national system through specific credit policies, information, capacitation, commercialization and social security.

These can become free ports and free trade zones, according to the structure established by law.

Source: Constitution of Ecuador 1998, Constitution of Ecuador 2008.

This table demonstrates the differences in the visions of development within both constitutions. What is evident is that in the 1998 document, there is a more economic, market based vision of development, in which development is considered social, economic and political progress. In the 2008 constitution, with the presence of the concept of *buen vivir*, it is evident that a new perspective of development has been accepted, which views previous perspectives as eurocentric, non inclusive and rather irrelevant to the realities of Ecuador. In the new constitution there is more focus on balance between economic, social, political and environmental spheres of development.

## 2.2 Politics of Recognition

Public policy in Ecuador is dynamic and diverse. Not only does it have to do with economic issues, but very specific social ones that can potentially unite or separate a population in a very direct way. Like Catherine Walsh (2012) states in *Interclulturalidad crítica y (de)colonialidad*, “In Ecuador, as in other countries of the region, the ethnic-cultural difference stems from the colonial condition as well as is constituted by it” (Walsh 2012, 27). What is important to realize is that these differences are not naturally formed, more-so they are socially as well as politically imposed over generations.

Collective rights are ultimately considered ‘human rights’, being that they are ‘third generation rights’ and thus are “specific fundamental rights of which the holders are indigenous peoples” (Narvárez, 2013: 99). First generation are considered civil and political rights; economic, social and cultural are considered second generation rights; and human rights (collective rights) are considered third generation rights, within the international community. While the Constitution of 1998 was revolutionary in that it “acknowledged collective rights for indigenous populations, bilingual education, traditional medicine, among others (Grijalva 2007, 1 cited by Narvárez 2013, 99), the 2008 Constitution elaborated on these rights. The difference between the two constitutions can be seen in the following graphic, which presents the sections pertaining to collective rights.

Table 2.3. Comparison of Collective Rights

Constitution of 1998	Constitution of 2008
Chapter 5 – Collective Rights	Chapter Four

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>First Section – Indigenous and Blacks or Afro-Ecuadorian peoples</b></p> <p>Art. 83.- Indigenous peoples, whom define themselves as nationalities of ancestral roots, and black or Afro-Ecuadorians peoples, form part of the Ecuadorian State, one and indivisible.</p> <p>Art. 84.- The State recognizes and guarantees indigenous peoples, in accordance with this Constitution and the law, the respect to public order and human rights, the following collective rights:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To maintain, develop and strengthen their identity and traditions in spiritual, cultural, linguistic, social, political and economic realms.</li> <li>2. To conserve the imprescriptible ownership of community lands, which are inalienable, indefeasible and indivisible, except for the power of the state to declare it public utility. These lands are exempt from property tax.</li> <li>3. To maintain the ancestral possession of community lands and obtain their free adjudication on accordance to the law.</li> <li>4. To participate in the use, enjoyment and management of the renewable natural resources found in their land.</li> <li>5. To be consulted before plans and programs of exploration and exploitation of non-renewable resources located on their lands that could affect them environmentally or culturally; to participate in the benefits that these products produce, as much as possible and receive compensation for the social-environmental damages caused by them.</li> <li>6. To conserve and promote their practices of biodiversity management and their natural environment.</li> <li>7. To conserve and develop their traditional forms of coexistence and social organization, of generation and exercise of authority.</li> <li>8. To not be displaced, as peoples, of their land.</li> <li>9. To the collective intellectual property of their ancestral knowledge; to their testing, use and development in accordance to law.</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Rights of Communities, Peoples and Nations</b></p> <p>Art 56.- Indigenous communities, peoples and nations, the Afro-Ecuadorian people, the back-country people (montubios) of the inland coastal region, and communes are part of the single and indivisible Ecuadorian State.</p> <p>Art 57.- Indigenous communes, communities, peoples and nations are recognized and guaranteed, in conformity with the Constitution and human rights agreements, conventions, declarations and other international instruments, the following collective rights:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To freely uphold, develop and strengthen their identity, feeling of belonging, ancestral traditions and forms of social organization.</li> <li>2. To not be the target of racism or any form of discrimination based on their origin or ethnic or cultural identity.</li> <li>3. To recognition, reparation and compensation for community groups affected by racism, xenophobia and other related forms of intolerance and discrimination.</li> <li>4. To keep ownership, without subject to a statute of limitations, of their community lands, which shall be unalienable, immune from seizure and indivisible. These lands shall be exempt from paying fees or taxes.</li> <li>5. To keep ownership of ancestral lands and territories and to obtain free awarding of these lands.</li> <li>6. To participate in the use, usufruct, administration and conservation of natural renewable resources located on their lands.</li> <li>7. To free prior informed consultation, within a reasonable period of time, on the plans and programs for prospecting, producing and marketing nonrenewable resources located on their lands and which could have an environmental or cultural impact on them; to participate in the profits earned from these projects and to receive compensation for social, cultural and environmental damages caused to them. The consultation that must be conducted by the competent</li> </ol>
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<p>10. To maintain, develop and administer their cultural and historical heritage.</p> <p>11. To access to quality education. Having a system of intercultural, bilingual education.</p> <p>12. In terms of their systems, knowledge and practices of traditional medicine, including the right to protection of ritual and holy places, plants, animals, minerals and ecosystems of vital interest from their point of view.</p> <p>13. To formulate priorities in plans and projects for the development and improvement of their economic and social conditions; and to adequate funding from the State.</p> <p>14. To participate in, through representatives, in the official organisms that determine the law.</p> <p>15. To use symbols and emblems that identify them.</p> <p>Art. 85.- The State recognizes and guarantees the black or Afro-Ecuadorian peoples, the rights determined in the previous article, in all that is applicable to them.</p>	<p>authorities shall be mandatory and in due time. If consent of the consulted community is not obtained, steps provided for by the Constitution and the law shall be taken.</p> <p>8. To keep and promote their practices of managing biodiversity and their natural environment. The State shall establish and implement programs with the participation of the community to ensure the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity.</p> <p>9. To keep and develop their own forms of peaceful coexistence and social organization and creating and exercising authority, in their legally recognized territories and ancestrally owned community lands.</p> <p>10. To create, develop, apply and practice their own legal system or common law, which cannot infringe constitutional rights, especially those of women, children and adolescents.</p> <p>11. To not be displaced from their ancestral lands.</p> <p>12. To uphold, protect and develop collective knowledge; their science, technologies and ancestral wisdom; the genetic resources that contain biological diversity and agricultural biodiversity; their medicine and traditional medical practices, with the inclusion of the right to restore, promote, and protect ritual and holy places, as well as plants, animals, minerals and ecosystems in their territories; and knowledge about the resources and properties of fauna and flora. All forms of appropriation of their knowledge, innovations, and practices are forbidden.</p> <p>13. To uphold, restore, protect, develop and preserve their cultural and historical heritage as an indivisible part of Ecuador's heritage. The State shall provide resources for this purpose.</p> <p>14. To develop, strengthen, and upgrade the intercultural bilingual education system, on the basis of criteria of quality, from early stimulation to higher levels of education, in conformity with cultural diversity, for the care and preservation of identities, in keeping with their own teaching and learning methodologies. A</p>
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	<p>teaching career marked by dignity shall also be guaranteed. Administration of this system shall be collective and participatory, with rotation in time and space, based on community monitoring and accountability.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>15. To build and uphold organizations that represent them, in a context of pluralism and cultural, political, and organizational diversity. The State shall recognize and promote all forms of expression and organization.</li> <li>16. To participate by means of their representatives in the official organizations established by law to draw up public policies concerning them, as well as design and decide their priorities in the plans and projects of the State.</li> <li>17. To be consulted before the adoption of a legislative measure that might affect any of their collective rights.</li> <li>18. To uphold and develop contacts, ties and cooperation with other peoples, especially those that are divided by international borders.</li> <li>19. To promote the use of garments, symbols and emblems that identify them</li> <li>20. To restrict military activities in their territories, in accordance with the law.</li> <li>21. That the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories, and ambitions be reflected in public education and in the media; the creation of their own media in their languages and access to the others without any discrimination.</li> </ol> <p>The territories of the peoples living in voluntary isolation are an irreducible and intangible ancestral possession and all forms of extractive activities shall be forbidden there. The State shall adopt measures to guarantee their lives, enforce respect for self-determination and the will to remain in isolation and to ensure observance of their rights. The violation of these rights shall constitute a crime of ethnocide, which shall be classified as such by law.</p> <p>The State shall guarantee the enforcement of these collective rights without any discrimination, in conditions of equality and equity between men and women.</p>
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	<p>Art 58.- To build up their identity, culture, traditions and rights, the collective rights of the Afro-Ecuadorian people are recognized, as set forth in the Constitution, the law, and human rights agreements, conventions, declarations and other international instruments.</p> <p>Art 59.- The collective rights of the coastal back-country people (montubios) are recognized to guarantee their process of integral, sustainable and durable human development, the policies and strategies for their progress and their forms of societal management, on the basis of knowledge about their reality and respect for their culture, identity, and own vision, in accordance with the law.</p> <p>Art 60.- Ancestral, indigenous, Afro-Ecuadorian and coastal back-country (montubios) peoples can establish territorial districts for the preservation of their culture. The law shall regulate their establishment. Communities (comunas) that have collective land ownership are recognized as an ancestral form of territorial organization.</p>
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Source: Constitution of Ecuador 1998, Constitution of Ecuador 2008<sup>1</sup>

**2.3 State interests and security**

Currently, “The renewed focus on energy security is driven in part by the exceedingly tight oil market and by high oil prices, which have doubled over the past three years” (Yergin 2006, 69). However, “It is also fueled by the threat of terrorism, instability in some exporting nations, a nationalist backlash, fears of a scramble for supplies, geopolitical rivalries, and countries’ fundamental need for energy to power their economic growth” (Yergin 2006, 69).

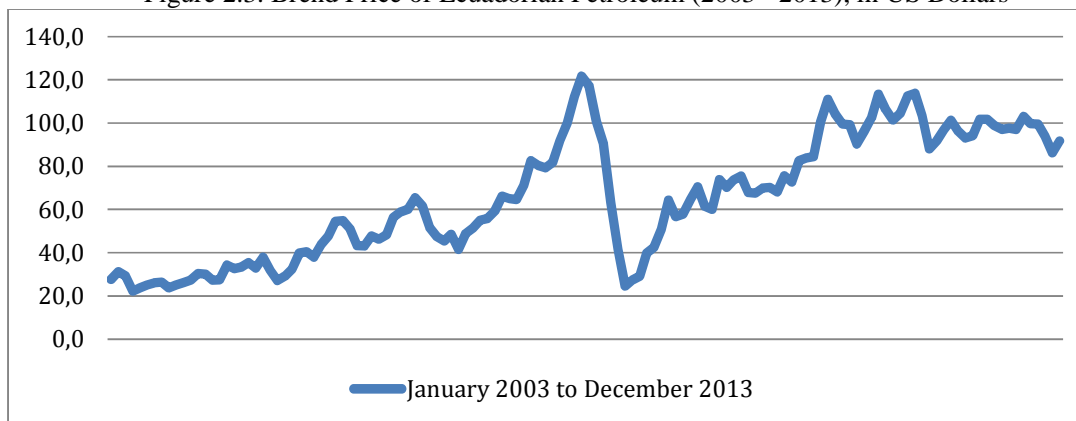
What this presents is that national security is not solely the military, power relations that it once was focused on and seen to be. National security now includes such issues as energy security, economic issues, environmental issues as well as many other elements that have to do with domestic and international relations- all of which are interlinked and interrelated. What has been stated is that since 2000, with the changing dynamics of the international order (Helm, 2007), specifically in terms of the energy market, “The focus moved from asset sweating towards investment, and has been accompanied by a paradigm shift in the objectives

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from spanish

of energy policy- towards security of supply and climate change” (Helm 2007, 1). This changing paradigm not only has effects on the international level, it has direct effects at a domestic one, which can be seen through the evolution of public policy and the structural changes in Ecuador.

Figure 2.3. Brent Price of Ecuadorian Petroleum (2003 - 2013), in US Dollars



Source: BCE (2016).

This graphic demonstrates the instability of the price of Ecuadorian oil between January 2003 and May 2013, in that prices have greatly fluctuated over the years. It is vital to keep in mind that petroleum was Ecuador’s leading export during the dates presented. Due to this instability, energy governance essentially is an issue of State security. While taking into consideration the broadening of the security issue, and the fact that no longer does security solely have to do with military power, it is evident that the dependence on petroleum for development or economic growth is innately risky.

After examining the situation of Ecuador in regards to petroleum politics and collective rights, it is necessary to analyze the implementation of these concepts within a specific population and the reality this population faces in order to determine the role of the State in each of these constructs.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Waorani Nation And Extraction**

#### **1. The Waorani Nation**

Within the Waorani territory it is evident that there are new actors at play. Though the Waorani had violent contact (during the rubber boom in the late 1800s-early 1900s, missionaries were the first to establish a more invasive, peaceful contact and, “from 1958, they [Waorani] began a peaceful and permanent contact with the outside world through the efforts of missionaries from the Summer Institute of Linguistics” (Lu et al. 2012, 109). Since contact, things have drastically changed and the increasing presence of ‘globalization’ is more evident now than ever. Just like the reality of the political, economic and social world has changed, so has reality changed within the territory. There are new actors, new relations and new threats. There are now flows of missionaries, NGOs, international and national government organizations, tourists, researchers and extraction companies that come in and out of the territory, each one with their own idea of who the waorani are and who they should be. Further, each with their own agenda, as well as positive and negative impact.

In a world full of differing cultures and societies in which ones wellbeing signifies different things; ones livelihood greatly differs depending on the norms and values of ones culture. Thus the occidental worlds definition of development, as presented in Chapter I, is not always sufficient or, perhaps, its policies and norms are not feasible for all societies. This is the case with the Waorani: an indigenous group who in the past half century has experienced grave changes to their way of life, with the influx of outside influence, or colonization, of their territory

The push and pull of colonization presents many issues and includes many actors; however often the most important actor, the Waorani themselves, are not completely analyzed nor understood. Our understanding of their situation ultimately shapes their identity by our labeling of their existence, thus creating an idealization or demonization of their true reality and existence. With the existence of indigenous tribes, the presence of petroleum companies, colonization, the State and other varying actors, conflict in the region is inevitable. In the territory, it is evident that everything moves in regards to the extraction.



Table. 3.1. Timeline of Waorani Relations

<b>Period</b>	<b>Waorani Relations</b>
Late 1800s – early 1990s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Waorani control around 2 million hectares.</li> <li>• Rubber boom, in which Waorani are captured as slaves.</li> </ul>
1940	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Shell exploration within Waorani territory, obtains a concession of 20 million hectares within the waorani territory</li> </ul>
1956	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Permanent contact through SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics)</li> <li>• Changes in traditional forms of living and beliefs.</li> </ul>
1976	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SIL has reached contact to almost all Waorani population.</li> <li>• Via Auca construction planned</li> <li>• Logging extraction begins</li> </ul>
1979	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Yasuni park legally created – 678,000 hectares</li> </ul>
1981	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• President Jaime Roldós Aguilera expels SIL from territory</li> </ul>
1983	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government of president Oswaldo Hurtado designates 66,570 hectares to the Waorani nation</li> </ul>
1990s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Petroleum tenders throughout territory, including Yasuni park</li> <li>• Creation of OHNAE (Organization of the Waorani Nationality of the Ecuadorian Amazon) in order to stop petroleum companies</li> </ul>
1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Intangible zone declared to protect un contacted tribes</li> </ul>
2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Intangible zone delimited by the government of Alfredo Palacios, after 7 years of its declaration and numerous confrontations with uncontacted tribes</li> <li>• Implementation of the Plan of Protection of isolated indigenous peoples</li> <li>• Ministry of the environment is declared the authority in implementing said plan</li> </ul>
2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Executive decree No 1317 established, linking the Ministry of Justice and Human rights to the Interamerican System of Human Rights, Universal System of Human Rights, as well as other international compromises and obligations</li> </ul>
2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ministry of the Environment eradicates illegal logging and establishes remote monitoring system in Tagaeri-Taromenani Intangible Zone</li> <li>• Ministry of the Environment transfers authority to Ministry of Justice and Human Rights through executive decree No 503</li> </ul>

Source: Franco, 2013.

The waorani peoples do not appear in occidental history until the 20th century, “when the exploitation of natural resources of the Amazon begins, initially during the period of the rubber period, and in the decade of the forties, during the period of petroleum” (Franco 2013, 144). Due to the fact that they had no written history, what is known about them has been passed down orally, through the use of myths and stories (Trujillo 2011). Their language – wao tededo- has not been linguistically linked to any other south american language (Franco 2013). The moment of contact marks the beginning of a new era for the Waorani. “Contact of the occidental world with the Waorani has been established in function with extraction and exploitation of natural resources and has been marked by violence” (Franco 2013, 146).

Academics (Narvaez 2013, Franco 2013) have sought to explain the Waorani reality in periods, creating chapters of the tribe's history, in order to understand their current situation:

Divided into two periods, according to Juan Carlos Franco (2013):

1939-1955: first petroleum activity – shell. In 1941 Ecuador entered into a war against Peru. The amazon was militarized and petroleum companies entered to partake in exploration. The military and petroleum companies worked together to essentially “civilize” the region, and turn it into conquerable State and Company territory. During this time there were successions to transnational oil companies, such as Shell, which was granted 4 million hectares in 1948, within the Waorani territory.

1956-present: The period during and after contact with SIL. During contact, the territory Waorani was greatly shrunk, and the population was organized in order to facilitate control and organization.

The era of ‘post contact’, as described by Franco, is that of a “period that came between the break between ‘traditional’ forms of beliefs and living of the wao culture and the acceptance of a new model of relationship with the ‘others’, whether they be indigenous, State or Company [...]” (Franco 2013, 150).

The waorani have their own division of time periods: According to Trujillo (2011), there existed two periods, within the territory, before formal contact with the western world: 1) the time of peace (which the Waorani call waomo eñere), and 2) times of war (piinte eñere) (Trujillo 2011). These two periods explain the “social and symbolic history of the wao, their development and above all their survival strategies against the “other groups” called “cowuri” and other enemy family groups called ‘warani o no nanikaiboiri” (Trujillo 2011, 9). During the time period of peace they lived a more sedentary life, and each clan had their own territorial space. They were able to stay in one place for months, since there was no threat.

The second period mentioned, that of war, “was characterized by high mobility, searching for safe places” (Trujillo 2011, 9). This is when they become more semi nomadic, since they were only able to stay in one place for short periods of time due to intergroup conflict. During this time family ties were incredibly important, since they are what separated one clan from another, thus determining who was considered the enemy. Trujillo states that war was a

cultural institution that was “the fundamental base of social relations between the different waorani clan groups” (Trujillo 2011, 10).

## **2. Territory and identity**

For the Waorani, territory is more of a figurative term; though it does have a strong meaning. They are traditionally a nomadic tribe, thus there are no hard drawn lines in the ground marking where their territory begins and ends; there are mere landmarks (a sign, a petroleum company, a path) that signify a boundary. While the majority are no longer nomadic, there still continue to be very few dividing lines within the territory. As anthropologist Laura Rival (2002) states in her book *Trekking Through History*, the territory is “rather, a fluid and ever evolving network of paths used by people when ‘walking in the forest’” (Rival, 2002: p 1). However, territory becomes a major issue when it becomes limited, calling into question ones identity.

The Waorani identity, in a very occidental sense, has changed. Traditionally for the Waorani, “Killing creates otherness and marks the boundaries between those who, living apart, are or become unrelated, and hence potential enemies” (Rival, 2002, 62). Killing was the basis of their security, a physical force that enabled them to maintain their physical territory and kin. Further, Rival (2002) states, regarding the Waorani, that “People are far more expansive on the subject of war than on peace, as if peace were not meant to be discussed but experienced” (Rival, 2002, 62).

Rival (2002) continues, stating, “The [traditional] Waorani vision of life is not limited to fertility but natural abundance” (Rival 200, 182), further, “the notion of natural abundance encapsulates the essential meaning of adaptation to a giving environment” (Rival 2002, 182). This once giving environment, with colonization and State presence, attempting to turn the Waorani into functioning State citizens whom will not violate interior state security, has turned into an environment without resources, without growth, and ultimately one of general poverty in every sense of the westernized word (malnutrition, economic, cultural, societal) (Ortiz-von Halle 2011, 127-133).

The waorani identity is a complicated issue to address. Waorani, in wao tederero, means ‘true men’ or peoples, “this is how this group identifies themselves before other groups, which are called ‘cowode’ or no Waorani, ‘the strangers, the outsiders, the others’” (Trujillo 2011, 10).

This is how the Waoran viewed their world. These very natural divisions of “us” and the “other” were essential for their survival and delimiting their territory. This was the division between them and all others, be it other indigenous groups, mestizos, missionaries or company workers. For the waorani, this was the way they survived.

However, the other side of this equation is their identity, according to the outside world. Since the relation that the occidental world had with this tribe was based on warfare, they became seen as violent, barbaric and savage, and were thus initially identified as “Aucas” meaning “savages” in Quichwa, until the SIL presented their identity to the world as the “Waorani” (Trujillo 2011).

### **3. A Region of Conflict**

Through historical research, it is evident that there has existed constant conflict in this region; the events of 2003 and 2013 are specific examples of the accumulation of the tensions and dynamics in the region, and the result of such conflict.

The conflicts of 2003 and 2013 are merely two examples of the tension that exists within the territory. The reason that these two conflicts were chosen as examples and comparisons is that they are rather similar in the acts committed, as will be noted when reviewing the circumstances presented below, however; they occurred during differing world orders and more specifically state structures. When the conflict of 2003 occurred the 1998 Constitution was in effect, and when the 2013 conflict occurred the 2008 Constitution was in effect; thus while both conflicts are similar, they occurred in times of varying political realities.

Characteristics of these conflicts used to compare and contrast include: Actors involved, reason for conflict, location of conflict, and public and state reaction to conflict.

#### **4.1 Conflict of 2003**

The conflict of 2003 occurred in May, when “a group of huaorani men from a family located on the northern ethnic front, wandered onto populations of non contacted clans (tagaeri, taromenane and others) and, claiming an old family feud, killed 26 people” (Rivas 2003, 21). This news reached national infamy and fueled the already existing idea of the waorani as savage and uncivilized.

In regards to the reasons behind the attack, there are differing versions depending on the source. According to those who participated, it was vengeance killing. Something that had been a part of the waorani culture yet was generally oppressed due to the teachings of the missionaries since contact. While the story was further embellished by waorani men who partook in the act, the indigenous leadership (dirigencia) denied the protagonists versions (Aguirre, 2003), stating that the feud was not simply vengeance, but was rather fueled by the loggers in the region, whom provided guns to the waorani men, promoting the attack in order to aid in opening up more land for logging.

Another version or explanation is that of the pressure of petroleum companies in the region, that innately fuels such conflicts. This was majorly promoted by academics in this area of study at the time. What is evident is that “The richness of petroleum and forest resources within the huaorani territory leads to the creation of a permanent state of instability in the region” (Aguirre 2003, 27). This can be seen by the conflicts in coming years, and specifically in that of the conflict of 2013.

#### **4.2 Conflict of 2013**

In 2013 a similar conflict arose. On May 5, 2013, the assassination of Ompure “a 70 year old hunter-warrior and his wife Buganey of the Waorani community of Yarentaro, near the Yasuni park” (del Pilar 2013) occurred. These elderly waorani are thought to have been killed by uncontacted Taromenane, due to the location and type of killing (spears identified to be of taromenani style). Soon after members of the elders community went into the forest, seeking vengeance for the death of their family members, “Armed with shotguns and rifles, they hunted the Taromenane for a week, found a communal lodge and massacred 20 people, mostly women and children” (Miroff 2014, 2). The waorani men returned to their community, taking two young taromenani girls with them. While the validity of their story was questioned, videos taped on the assailant’s phones came to light, along with their retelling of the occurrence. This provoked state action and intervention in the matter.

The reason why the taromenane killed the elders is debated, while the counter attack and massacre that followed is widely accepted as vengeance killing (common during the warring history of the waorani peoples, yet prohibited by occidental norms). As in the case of the 2003 conflict, there are varying theories in regards to the cause of this one. While the State maintains that it is due to bad trading between Ompure and the taromenani clan, with which

he is said to have had contact with and been exchanging goods with, activist groups as well as indigenous leaders maintain that the underlying cause is that of petroleum extraction, the shrinking taromenane territory, and pressure in the area.

The differing versions can be seen very clearly in the press. “El Telégrafo”, an Ecuadorian State influenced newspaper took a very clear stance, when publishing the article “Dirigentes y lideres waoranis, entre chantaje y las amenazas” (waorani leaders, between blackmail and threats), in which they timelined their view on State, petroleum company, waorani relations through all the demands the waorani leaders have made on the companies and state. The article essentially seeks to demonstrate that the waorani have caused the chaos in their territory, through blackmailing and threatening the companies located there into giving monetary and material offerings in order to allow them to conduct their business there, even going so far as to state that

[R]eports from companies that operate in Orellana and of police and civil authority, also realize that some of the oil spills have been caused by community members in order to claim compensation for environmental remediation for the benefit of the owners of the affected properties (El Telégrafo, 2013).

Concerning the conflict and the reasons behind it, the newspaper stated that

Experts and authorities coincide in saying that the declarations of the leaders of NAWE [Nacionalidad Waorani del Ecuador] and certain leaders of the communities, seek to divert the attention from the underlying problem. They even use the strategy of blaming the conflict between ethnicities on petroleum and logging companies that operate in the zone (El Telégrafo, 2013).

This clearly demonstrates the stance of this media outlet, which is popularly known to represent the government’s positions, on the conflict. This view sees the 2013 conflict as directly related to inter ethnic relations.

Another position is that of activist groups, indigenous leaders as well as the international community, which can be seen in such media sources as Newsweek and the Washington post. The Washington Post states (2014) “Environmentalists and indigenous advocates say the Taromenane attacked Ompure because he failed to satisfy an impossible demand: that the oil

workers stop encroaching into the nomadic tribe's territory" (Miroff 2014, 3). This view is that the State has failed in protecting the Taromenane due to its interests in extraction.

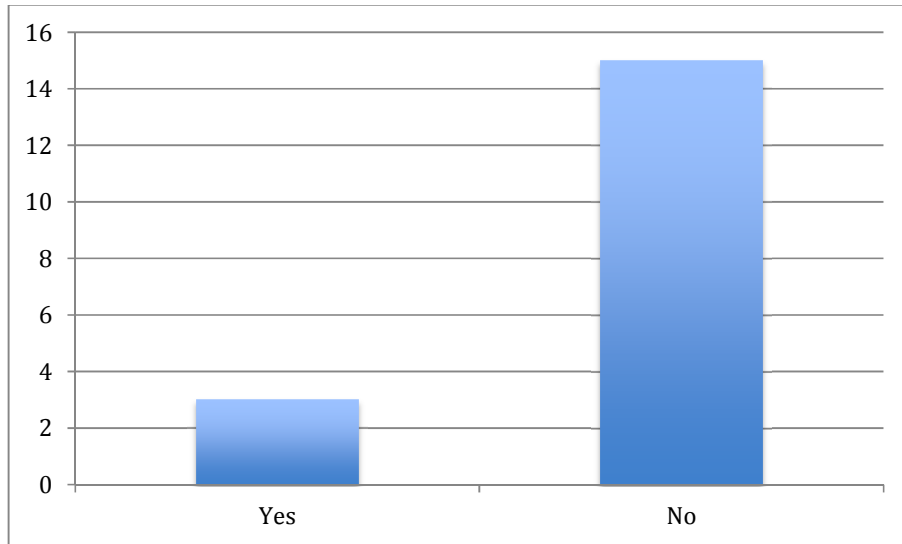
Waorani versions of the reason for said attack also vary. While the majority interviewed (Keweriono 2014) stated that the killing was due to bad trading agreements, many blamed this on petroleum companies. Some other opinions were that the Taromenane were upset with the petroleum companies noise and intrusion in their territory, and decided to attack, mistaking the elders as being part of the petroleum companies dynamics, others said that the petroleum companies were essentially the actors involved in the bad trade agreements and likewise the elders were mistakenly considered to be linked to the company. One man stated outright that he did not know the cause.

Just like the 2003 conflict, there are varying theories as to why this attack occurred, depending on ones perspective and position within the state and international system.

## **5. Waorani opinions on extraction**

Field work was done in the Waorani community of Keweriono, located in the province of Francisco de Orellana, along the Shiripuno river. This is a community located relatively far from petroleum blocks where extraction activity is occurring, yet the influence of the occidental world, as well as the pressures of such contact are still felt. The interviews were conducted on the adults of the community, in order to get a general idea of the opinions on State, Company, Waorani relations. Those interviews ranged from male and female, from 18 - 50 years of age, with one elder being around 70 years. The president of NAWE, Moi Enomenga was also interviewed, as well as Manuela Ima, the former president of AMWAE (The association of waorani women of the Ecuadorian Amazon) in order to demonstrate the leaders opinions, who essentially are the representatives of their peoples on a domestic and international level.

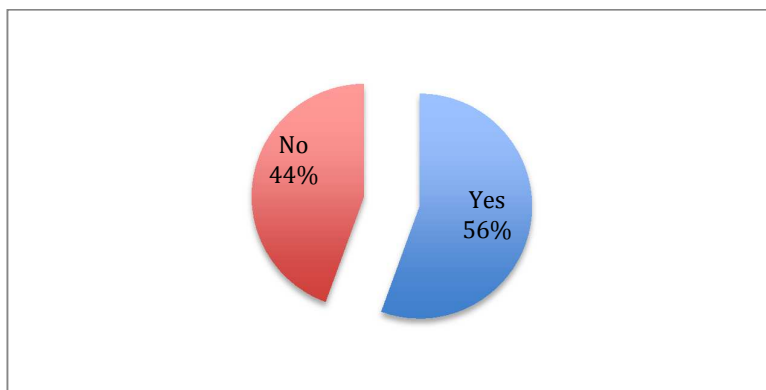
Figure 3.1 Question 1) Do you agree with the decision to extract from the Yasuni Park?



Source: Author

The three people that answered 'yes' stated that they agree with extraction in the Yasuní because 1) a promise was already made to the government (one person), 2) with extraction money will be made that will help the territory (two people). The reasons for not supporting extraction in the territory are: 1) contamination and environmental damage, 2) need to protect and preserve the territory for future generations, 3) it will affect other communities as well, not solely the ones where the extraction is taking place, 4) do not want companies within the territory.

Figure 3.2. Question 2) Would you agree to petroleum extraction in other communities in the Waorani Territory?

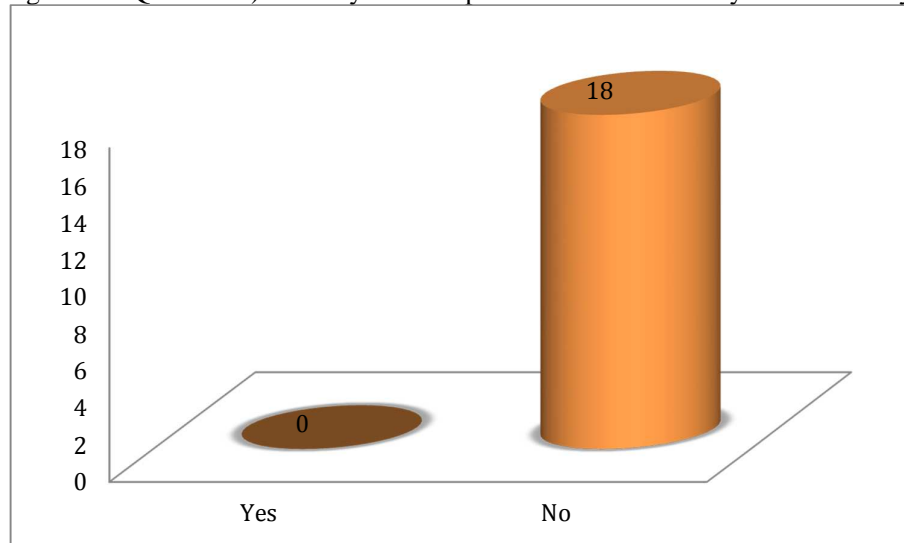


Source: Author



This graphic demonstrates that while the waorani are more likely to not approve of extraction in the Yasuní, they are more willing to allow it in other parts of the territory. This may seem rather contradictory, yet when asked why they felt this way the answers mostly had to do with other communities right to decide whether or not they wanted extraction in their area. This type of response makes sense in regards to their culture, sine they do not seek to impose their will on others and all are free to make their own decisions.

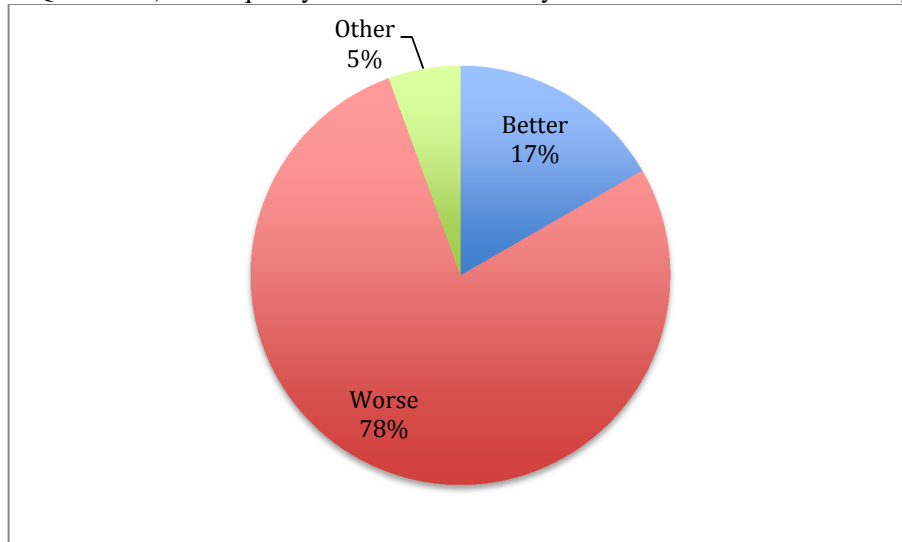
Figure 3.3. Question 3) Would you allow petroleum extraction in your community?



Source: Author

The response to this question was a definite 'no'. While other communities may be free to decide whether or not they allow petroleum activity in their region, this particular community seem to have decided that they do not want anything to do with it. When asked the reasons why the main focus was on environmental damage and contamination, the fact that it would change their way of life and would ultimately effect the eco tourism project going on within the community.

Figure 3.4. Question 4) Is the quality of life in the territory better or worse than it was ten years ago?

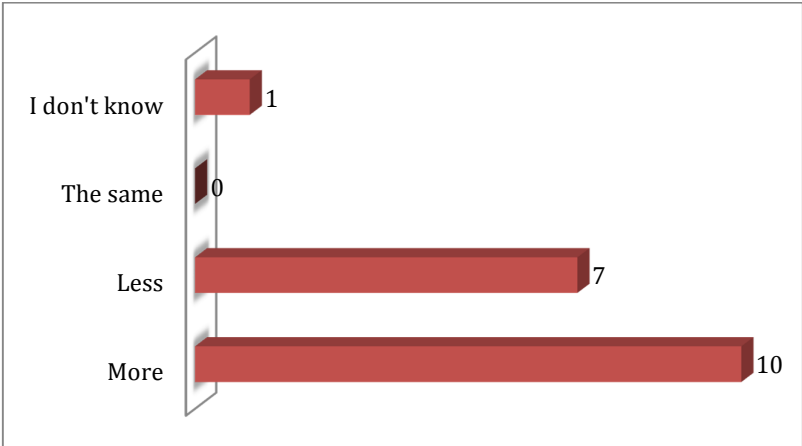


Source: Author

The response to this question was a majority 'worse', with participants stating that life was healthier before, the youth are uninterested in maintaining their culture, many cultural changes have gone on, there is an increase in issues like alcoholism, illness and theft. Those who believed that life is currently better than 10 years ago stated that they now live more peacefully, they have better access to education, a well maintained landing strip as well as more material things.

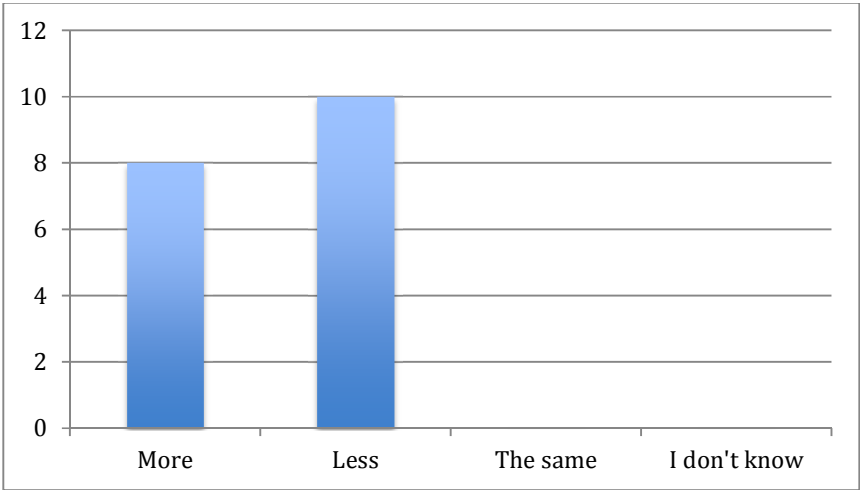
Another topic in the interviews was regarding the amount of different institutions within the territory. This was asked in order to get a waorani perspective on how things are now compared to years ago.

Figure 3.5. Question 5) Are there more or less petroleum companies in the territory than ten years ago?



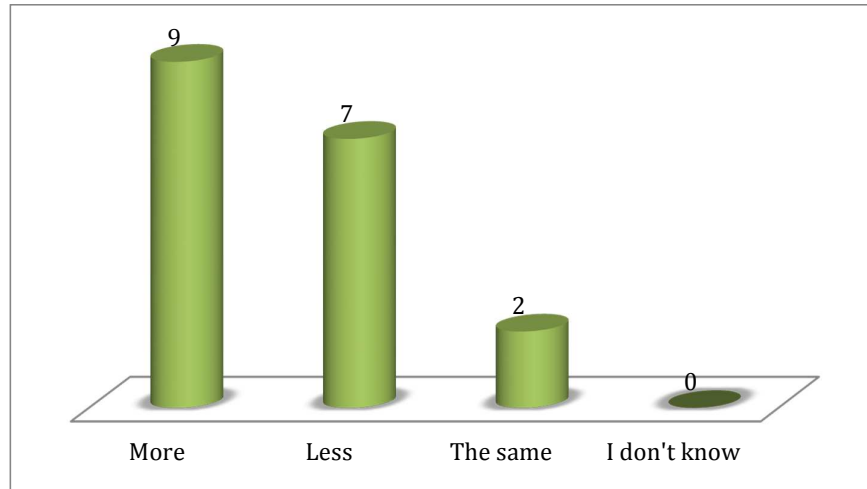
Source: Author

Figure 3.6. Question 6) More or less state presence within the territory than ten years ago?



Source: Author

Figure 3.7. Question 7) More or less presence of non governmental organizations in the territory than ten years ago?



Source: Author

What is demonstrated by these graphics is that the people interviewed feel there is more petroleum company presence, less State presence and more non governmental presence than there was 10 years ago, however these opinions are only slightly the majority.

In an interview with Manuel Ima, the former president of AMWAE, it is evident that petroleum is not something that she feels benefits her people. She understands the complexity of the issue, stating that “it is a good tool that serves for something, for better technology and a tool for the outside world, but for us it is something that invades our forest. Because we want to live healthy and clean. This is very important for us. It is petroleum, for us it does not mean a better life. We can live better, but petroleum can be our death. You cannot touch it, it can bring illness to everyone”. She continues, “I understand that the state needs petroleum, that it is for the use of everyone. But what is important to us is that the State controls what we have health, education, that the indigenous people can be use technology to be better protect the environment”. While she states that it is beneficial for the international community, it is evident that her opinion is that it is not beneficial for the Waorani people.

The people in Ecuador and in the world need to be very careful and think about how indigenous people will live. We [AMWAE] as women, do not want petroleum extraction, not in any part of the territory. The issue is that the young people, because of interest or because they want to live like the people outside, do not want to be in the jungle and work to take care

of the forest”. This was also seen in the interviews conducted in Keweriono, where the younger demographic was more prone to approve of extraction and see the benefits of it.

Manuela stated the necessity of maintaining the language in order to maintain culture. When asked whether she believes that the Waorani people benefit from petroleum extraction, her response was a definitive ‘No’: “No . We have no idea where the money goes, it just goes to Works. It does not benefit us. They [the State] build us houses, but that is not what we want”. Further, the affects of petroleum in the territory have been grave: “I do not believe that we have gotten much support in terms of healthcare. They do not care about contamination, drinking water, they do not help with anything.”

She speaks about the changes in the culture since contact, stating that much has changed: the language, clothes, food and the culture in general. And further expresses concern that the Waorani institutions, such as NAWE, function for the people in the city but are not beneficial to those in the communities: “NAWE does help, but does not help everyone. But we, as women, are advancing”. Thus, while she questions the main Waorani institution, NAWE, she sees hope through the organization AMWAE, who has less political affiliations.

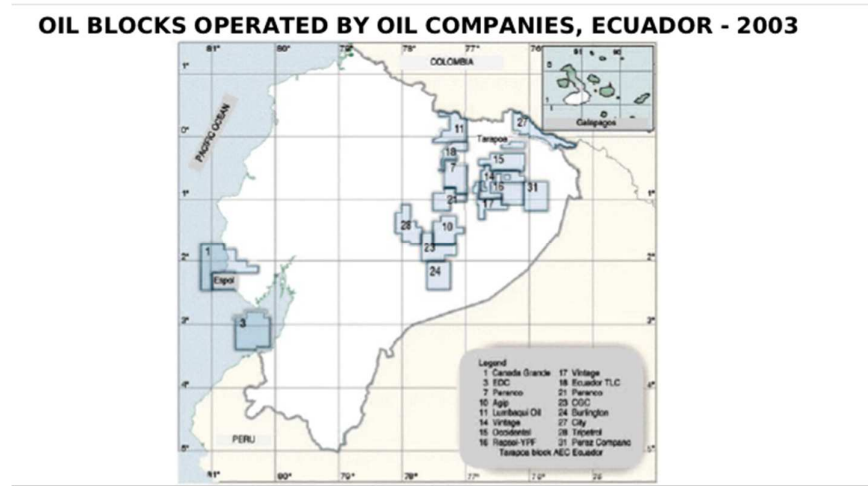
When speaking with Moi Enomenga, the current president of NAWE, it is evident that there is more dialogue going on with the State actors, and more of a relationships in regards to politics. Many of his points lead to the fact that, before, the Waorani had less control over the territory, but now they are able, through the aid of the State, to maintain more control and make decisions in regards to issues within their territory. He is adamant that there has been progress made over the years, that many students have graduated, that there are more opportunities available for the Waorani, and that the relationship between Waorani and the State in regards to petroleum can be beneficial:

“The bad management of projects over the years has lead to problems. We have agreements that there will be no more roads constructed, no more damage. We, as Waorani, have different opinions. Some people want roads. The government changes, petroleum changes. Roads must be opened, but at less of an impact. Now, with politics, we have to protect our culture. Maintain low impact what was destroyed before. The Waorani people make the decision, and NAWE helps control. We are still stopping extraction, little by little, in the territory.” What was evident by this interview is that NAWE works more closely with the State and in the

decision making process. Thus has more of a political view on State, petroleum, Waorani relations. While AMWAE tends to have more of a critical view.

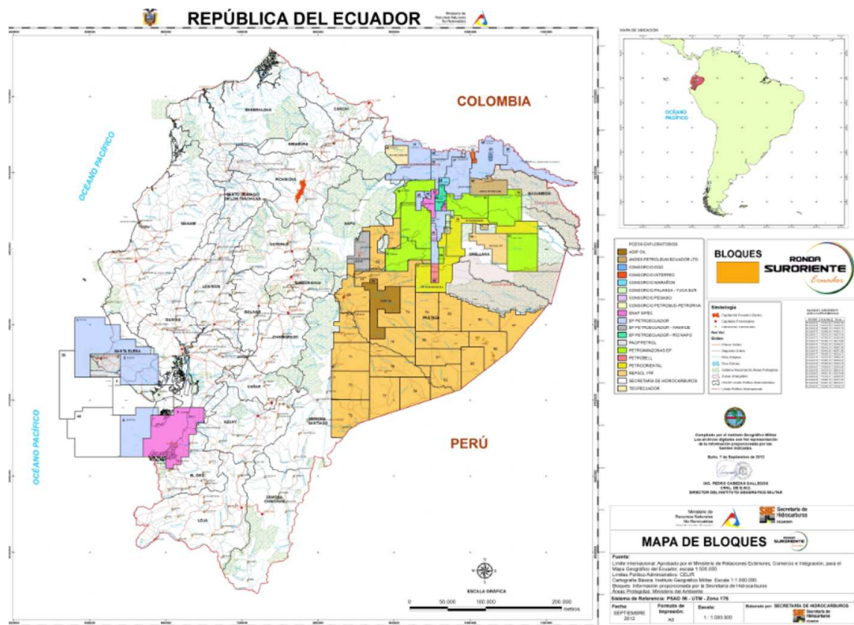
While the interviews show how the Waorani view their reality, based on their experiences, one can see a more objective view of how the territory has changed by looking at maps of 2003 and 2013; how the petroleum blocks have either grown or diminished over the years.

Figure 3.8. Oil Blocks 2003



Source: (Gomez,Duarte & Castro; n/d)

Figure 3.9 Oil Blocks 2013



Source: (Instituto Geografico Militar, 2013)

In 2003 there were 16 companies operating within the country. As you can see from the more recent map that follows, the amazon is now completely divided into petroleum blocks, demonstrating the increased presence within the territory.

## **Conclusion**

States are constantly in a process of transformation, Ecuador being an example of this. The changing realities within the state of Ecuador reflect the current global issues: development, the State and Politics. These three concepts are interconnected at all levels: economic, social and political, demonstrated by the discussions of the State of Ecuador, Petroleum and the Waorani.

The development of this work has permitted four preliminary conclusions in terms of development, state and politics, concepts that are interconnected. First: States, within world order, are in constant transformation. A clear example of this is what Ecuador has gone through during the period of study. Second: There exists a relation between development, the state and the market, in which politics are the result of the action of the State and development is the platform from which it acts, keeping in mind that there are three different forms within globalization and the global structure. Third, and very obviously, we live in a world where natural resources are of great importance for the development of countries, petroleum being one of these. This natural resource dependence has specific causes and effects. Finally, we can conclude that politics reflect the power of the state within society, where action demonstrates direct and indirect state interests, and whose interests directly and indirectly affect populations where there exist natural resources. This is the case of this work, where one can see the Waorani are affected, be it in a good or bad way depending on one's perspective, by the petroleum politics of Ecuador.

Through an examination of the State of Ecuador within the International Realm, its dynamic public policies ranging from energy governance to politics of recognition, it is evident that Ecuador is a complex case study. Whereas it would be assumed that with a decrease in TNC presence, increase in State control as well as an increase in collective rights provided by the State, the level of conflict in the Amazon Region would go down, this is not the case. When answering the question, 'What are the implications of the strategic petroleum policies of Ecuador in 2003 and 2013, within the Waorani territory, for the collective rights of the Waorani Nation?' what is evident, through document revision, historical analysis as well as interviews conducted, is that during the period of 2003 to 2013 there has been an increase in petroleum company presence in the region and pressure within the communities that call said region home. The qualitative implications of the implementation of such politics within the Waorani



territory are that of conflict, uncertainty and instability, not solely physical, but even political and social, within the Waorani community.

At a glance, this research sought to demonstrate how social constructions, which define public policy and international relations, have very real and direct consequences on specific populations. Through including more participants or communities in the interview process, this argument could have been strengthened. Further, it is important to note that the mere fact that field work was done in a community in which I had previous contact with means that interview answers may have been swayed from previous contact.

Further investigation into the vulnerability of Waorani institutions and their ability to represent the general Waorani population would be an interesting future study. To what extent are these institutions influenced or affected by international institutions such as NGOs, international religious communities, tour companies, transnational companies, etc., and what does this mean for the Waorani future and their rights? If power is essentially knowledge, how can the Waorani ever have true power or control over their territory or livelihood, if their knowledge depends on others presentation of reality? How can they exercise their rights, whether they be human or collective, if the information they are given is continuously swayed, depending on the institution delivering the information and their interests?

There are varying opinions on what Ecuador's petroleum politics mean for the Waorani people. However; what is evident is that the conventional, occidental view of development cannot be applied to such a community, even less such a diverse country.

## **Annex**

### **Interview Questions:**

#### 2003

Que fue la causa del conflicto del año 2003?

Fueron resueltos los factores que llevaron a cabo este conflicto?

#### 2013

Que fue la causa del conflicto del año 2013?

Fueron resueltos los factores que llevaron a cabo este conflicto?

Como ha cambiado el territorio desde 2003?

Hay mas o menos presión?

Hay mas o menos compañías petroleras?

Hay mas o menos presencia estatal?

Hay mas o menos presencias de ONGs?

#### Políticas

Hay mas o menos derechos colectivos en la constitución de 2008 que en 1998?

Los derechos del pueblo Waorani han sido y están siendo respetados?

El pueblo Waorani ha beneficiado de la extracción del petróleo en su territorio?

Si ha beneficiado, en que manera?

Si no, por que y como?

Que efectos han tenido la presencia de empresas petroleras dentro del territorio y entre la gente Waorani?

#### Generales

Han funcionado las organizaciones institucionales del pueblo Waorani a través de los años para proteger sus derechos y su auto determinación?

Como ha cambiado la cultura Waorani desde el primer contacto?

## **Interview Answers:**

1.

reasons for yes: 1. there is already a promise with the government (1). 2. With extraction money will be made that will help the territory (2)

reasons for no: 1. contamination 2. One day it will be gone. 3. Not needed, will run out, ruins the land, contamination. 4. The environment, contamination, need to take care of the environment. 5. Protect the territory, must not let petroleum companies enter. 5. To maintain the territory. 6. Protect the territory. 7. Causes damage. 8. Environmental damage. 9. For future generations. 10. Affects other communities. Contamination. Need to protect nature and territory. 11. Contamination, damages the land. 12. Don't want petroleum companies in the territory. 13. For the future, Protect culture and nature.

2.

Reasons for yes: 1. They are already extracting. 2. Other parts want it. 3. It is fine in other parts but in my community no. 3. People in other communities want extraction, it is their decision. 4. It is their decision. 5. (no response) 6. Yes in other places, but in our community we do not want it. 7. Yes in other places but in keweriono we do not want it. 8. Other people want it. 9. It depends on the people, it is their decision. 10. They can extract from other communities, but in keweriono no.

Reasons for no: 1. It will contaminate other communities. 2. Must protect the communities, the territory, it causes damage and we must take care of the jungle and our culture. 3. Because they can extract from other parts, outside of the territory. 4. Family members live in other parts, must maintain our territory clean. 5. Contamination of the air and damage to animals living in the territory. 6. Must protect for the future, maintain nature in order to live. 7. Because the rivers are all connected, once one is contaminated, they all are. Companies cause conflict within communities. We must protect the future. However; it is already happening in other communities.

3.

Reasons for yes: none

Reasons for no: 1. It damages the environment and the trees. 2. For the future. We should not extract now, but in the future it could happen. 3. For the future. 4. For tourism we do not want extraction here. 5. Contamination, causes death. 6. Contamination of the environment. 7. Changes way of life, less peaceful. 8. Contamination. 9. Must maintain and protect the community. 10. Contamination. 11. Sickness and environmental damage. 12. Tourism 13. Do not need petroleum, we lived well without contamination. Only outside the territory is it ok. 14. Extraction causes damage, we only wants tourists to come. 15. It effects tourism, they can extract outside of the territory. 16. Contamination. 17. Causes damage, don't want extraction in any part of the territory. 18. Maintain tourism to live.

4.

Reasons for yes: 1. Receive help, help develop the community. 2. Yes, because they are helping, but I would like wood houses, not cement. 3. The landing strip and jobs, also that they will build houses and better the high school. 4. Yes if they put houses of wood. They are helping.

Reasons for no: 1. Tourism, people will not visit due to the changes. 2. I do not want to live like that (like in a city). 3. It will be a city, it is good they will help with education, but the houses should be traditional houses. I want to live natural. 4. Environmental damage, will cause many changes. 5. It will change the way of life. 6. It is better to live like in the past, traditional houses. It is not good to have so many houses so close together. 7. It will be a city, and will affect tourism. 8. I do not want to live like people in the city. Other people do, but not me. 9.

yes and no: 1. on the one hand good, on the other no. it will be a type of city, but it will be good that the youth are getting an education, knowledge. There is a lack of this here. 2. Yes we want the houses, but to make a city will effect tourism. 3. In keweriono yes, but in my community I would not want it. It will change the way of life and the future. 4. Yes, because they are helping, but I would like wood houses, not cement. 5. Only the houses, so that we

receive help from the government. 6. Yes in keweriono, but not in my community, so that we can maintain our culture.

5.

better: 1. The culture is changing, it is more peaceful now. 2. (no reason given) 3. More education, landing strip, etc. We have more things.

worse: 1. Before people lived healthier, there have been changes. 2. Life is changing, the youth do not know as much about the culture. 3. Many cultural changes, alcohol etc. 4. Before there were less things from outside, many changes have occurred which have damaged the culture and the environment. 5. More conflict, more people entering. 6. (no reason given) 7. Before there were no things from the city, it was more peaceful. Now we are losing our culture, lots of outside influence. 8. Our way of life has changed. 9. Because of extraction, our way of life has changed. 10. The youth are forgetting our culture. 11. The forest and the animals were good. Now everything is dying. 12. It is contaminated. 13. Roads, changes in our way of life and in the people. 13. More problems, alcoholism, illnesses, theft, it is like a city.

No answer: we do not know how it will be in 10 years, we must think like our grandparents and not forget. We must think of the future.

6.

more: 10

less: 7

the same: 0

I don't know: 1

7.

more: 8

less: 10

the same:

8.

more: 9

less: 7

the same: 2

9.

yes: 5

no: 8

more or less: 1

in some parts: 1

sometimes: 1

when the petroleum companies respect us, we respect them. When they don't respect us we don't respect them. That is the law.

We have the right to reclaim

10.

yes: 2, but people that live in parts with petroleum companies, keweriono no.

no: 16

11. what affects: 1. Contamination. 2. Changes, on the roads there are problems. 3. Trash, sicknesses. 4. Changes, there are things that did not exist before. 5. Contamination. 6. Changes, it is like the city. 7. Everyone wants money, they do not think of the future. Changes in the environment and the quality of life is lower. 8. There exist changes in relations between the people. More 'colonos' are entering. 9. Environmental damages. 10. Damages. 11. The territory and environment are damaged. 12. There are no changes, it is the same as before. 13. It is very different, lots of illnesses and problems. 14. Trees are destroyed, contamination and sicknesses. 15. Construction. 16. In the petroleum blocks there are more problems, illnesses and contamination. 17. Before it was good, little problems. Now there has been a lot of harm done- environmental damage and contamination. More conflict. 18. Huge changes. Grave exploitation, conflict, war between ourselves. Environmental damage. Big conflicts

12.

yes: 3. Moi organizes well and helps with funds. 4. Yes. 6. Yes. 7. Yes. 11. Yes.

no: 1. Because there are arguments and problems within the organizations. 14. They do not visit or help.

N/A: 1

NAWE works, ONWO doesn't: 5. ONWO did more damage, worked with petroleum companies, NAWE works. 8. Only NAWE works. 9. NAWE works, it helps little by little. 12. Only nawe, onwo no. 13. NAWE yes, ONWO no, onwo worked with petroleum companies. 15. Only NAWE, ONWO works with petroleum companies. 16. NAWE yes, ONWO no. 18. Nawe yes, ONWO no. but there is a lack of communication with the people.

10. ONWO doesn't work, NAWE works a little

17. I cannot say. They manage their organization and do not visit.

13.

reasons for conflict of 2013:

1. wanted daughter for marriage, elders did not want to give her, killed them.
2. Petroleum, negotiation for goods was the cause of the conflict. That's why we don't want petroleum companies
3. Tagaeri said there should be no more roads in their territory. They exchanged things with the elders. Said they would give and did not. Petroleum companies and tagaeri. Cause conflict within the Waorani.
4. There was already contact with exchanges.
5. The companies promised goods to the community to give to the tagaeri. The company did not follow through.
6. Exchange of goods. The tagaeri asked for things, the family did not complete their request. Killed. Community went back for vengeance.
7. Taromanani were in contact with the elders. Vengeance.
8. Taromoanai asked for things, they did not give them, the community went back for vengeance.
9. Vengeance
10. Vengeance
11. n/a
12. do not know, in truth
13. petroleum companies, taromenani want to live without noise and contamination. there was a lot of noise, asked the elders to stop the noise. It continued and they wanted goods. Blamed them. Killed the elders. Community went back for vengeance.
14. Waorani want to live together with them. That's why they killed them. Family went back for vengeance.
15. Negotiation, asking for things. Companies gave things but then stopped. Each time the elders went back they forgot, never went. Taromenani got mad and killed, Waorani went back for vengeance. They killed the parents, we will kill the same.
16. They went to visit and give things, they said they would give things and didn't, so the taromenani killed them.
17. Taromenani are free people, they did not like people bothering them, killed them. Defending territory.
18. Petroleum workers lied, did not give what they said they would, tagaeri, vengeance.

14. 1. N/A 2. N/A 3. N/A 4. N/A 5. N/A 6. N/A 7. N/A 8. Yes it helps, provides resources. 9. Does not help, causes more problems. 10. Does not help, contaminates, animals die, destroys the earth and the territory. 11. Does not help, destroys nature. 12. Does not help, petroleum is thrown wherever they want to throw it, causes death, contamination and sickness. 13. Does



not help, n/a. 14. Does not help. 15. Does not help, there are parts that get help from the companies, and others that receive no help. 16. Does not help. 17. Does not help, roads, problems, no help is given to other communities. 18. Does not help, has affects inside the earth, damages the environment.

### **Interview with Manuela Ima:**

Estas de acuerdo con sacar petróleo del yasuni, si o no? Nosotros estamos, como mujeres, indígenas, hombres y mujeres, preocupamos por los hijos por la familia, la gente, tiene que saber de nuestra vida, de buen vivir. Sin problemas, sin enfermedad como antes, sin contaminación, eso es para mi significa ser feliz, para vivir toda amistades, en familia. La cosa que hace muchos anos los Waorani vivía sin problemática, sin nada, sin enfermedad pero tenia el bosque, los alimentos, todas vitaminas que tiene la comida. Eso para mi es muy importante. El tema del yasuni, estamos hablando de tres provincias, pastaza, napo y Orellana. De Orellana es mismo cosa que vive Waorani cerca del territorio zona intangible y también hay el parque nacional el yasuni.

Para nosotros es que preocupamos de bosque, animales, la tierra, el rio, todo en la naturaleza, de donde crece de animales de refrigeradora de donde están los alimentos para comer indígenas y humano, no. La otra cosa contamos de petróleo. Petróleo es, significa para mi la petrolera, petróleo gasolina es para mi no es que es para tomar es buena un herramienta que sirve para algo, tecnología mejorar a todos herramienta que hace de afuera, pero para nosotros es como una herramienta que entra a nuestro bosque. Porque queremos vivir sanos y limpio eso es muy importante. El yasuni es un lugar que tenemos para mi, no queremos que exportar el yasuni. Es petróleo no es petróleo que va a vivir mejor. Si vamos a vivir mejor pero puede ser un muerte no puedes tocar en la mano, quema de todo el mundo puede enfermar a todos. Yo creo que esto que vimos imagines porque para mi hablamos de nuestros padres, nuestro abuelas nuestro mama me cuenta, no, queremos que vive asi nuestros hijos nuestros hijos tiene que defender, tienen que hablar y cuidar a la naturaleza. Yo creo que estas era imagines de la gente que hacen y para mi el yasuni para el estado yo entiendo, el estado tiene necesidad del petróleo. Petróleo no es para unos es para todos. El estado que le puede controlar para mi muy importante seria para salud, para educación pero un día de indígena puede aprender mejor tecnología, mejor ambientalista. Podría ser en el futuro pero sin saber asi no mas que lo puede botar por rio, no sabemos. Pero ahí tienen que estudiar y preparar bien cosas. No queremos que bota la basura por los ríos ese es para mi es un error. No queremos que pasa. No estamos en cara de mala que vamos hacer. Pero derecho podemos reclamar. Que hace botar todo por la naturaleza. la indígena nace de donde viene dios que puso este bosque y crecieron de donde vinieron pero hace muchos años vivía. Yo creo que de estado tiene que respetar que vivía ahí dios nos pusieron este bosque hace muchos años y respetamos ellos y respetan indígenas que también tienen derechos para defender. Yasuni un día puede mantener

después en el futuro. Que tenemos en Ecuador más de la naturaleza. La petrolera es no se puede hacer solo con la petrolera hay muchos países de otros países que quieren sacar petróleo. Petróleo que saca ida y vuelta que viene pero ahí tiene que tener muchos cuidados la gente de Ecuador o no en Ecuador tiene que pensar humano como va a vivir indígena. Pero en el bosque. Es más que cuidamos el bosque también tienen que cuidar el petróleo. A veces saca de petróleo todos a veces viene el cambio climático puede ser mucho sol viene de mucho problemática por ahí por enfermedad y te muere de agua o el río de árboles está secando y como podemos proteger eso. Y también para mantenemos de todos respiración bosque te muere. Entonces el petróleo es una agua caliente y saca del aire puro de toda la tierra que mantiene cuando ya acaba la tierra morirá del árbol morirá, las personas y puede quemar a todos podrían morir ellos. Pero ahí tienen que saber mucho cuidado la gente pero nosotros los indígenas piensan que no sabemos porque hay tenemos como algo de cómo antropología dice que sabemos la historia de los shamanes y mucho saberes de lo que puede pasar todo del agua o puede venir más grande la vida. Entonces eso yo creo que puede pasar. Por eso la gente nosotros como mujeres pensamos que no queremos que saque petróleo. De ninguna parte del territorio. La cosa es que la gente joven por interés o porque quieren vivir como la gente de afuera, no trabajar en bosque no cuidar eso piensa la gente algunas. Pero alguna la gente sabemos vivir como es la vida para vivir larga vida (----5:56) para proteger a la naturaleza. Entonces como humanos tenemos que cuidar. Eso es la manera que pensamos nosotros.

Ecuador estratégica. Yo creo que en la organización ellos tiene que saber muy bien capacidad todo dirigencia. Waorani nunca vivía como en la ciudad. La casa es muy diferente. Estoy hablando de mucho sol y estas casas ya no aguantan, puede estar contaminada, puede ser enfermedad. A veces la gente dice “ay estoy viviendo bien” pero no estoy viviendo bien porque agua. Antes vivíamos muy seguro ahora viene más contaminada y más enfermedad. Entonces para nosotros es a veces decimos si vamos a vivir. A veces decimos jóvenes te va a estudiar va a preparar. Yo creo que lenguaje la cultura lo mismo que eso ya puede perder como la casa. Pueden aprender pero ya pueden perdiendo la cultura. Entonces la cultura es muy importante tiene que mantener. Para mí no quiero que me hagan una casa gigante eso puede perder nuestra cultura. No es buena. Pero es muy importante ahí tiene que saber bien las comunidades.

Nunca he hablado con ellos el gobierno la realidad. No quiero eso porque Waorani quiere vivir como casa como cultura. Y eso ellos pueden trabajar. Ellos mismo pueden ayudar para

ayuda de trabajo para casa y guardar esa platita para necesidad, no queremos que explote par eso cemento. Para eso tiene que ver tecnología mejor. Para que sea bien hecho. Ahora que no sabemos, que manda gobierno dicen eso es para ti pero algunos dicen no, yo no quiero vivir yo me voy que me hago otro casa para mi. Entonces no estamos todos de acuerdo hasta yo mismo no estoy de acuerdo.

La calidad de vida mejor o peor: yo creo que antes era mejor. Pero ahora no se pero sabemos mucho mas. Antes para mi era mejor. Casa típica, asi Waorani mismo queremos vivir.

Ahorita hay mas o menos presión petrolero: yo creo que ahora esta mas. Ahora ya van a entrar en pastaza pero a nadie les preocupa. yo seguía como organización pero tenemos que contestar al estado. Como yo soy indígena tenemos que reclamar par nuestro territorio. Tiene que respetar. Simplemente dijimos cuando viene petrolero ahi tiene que cuidar tenemos que cuidar y que respeta. Ahora que hay tres provincias. Ok estas zonas pastaza napo Orellana. Hay mucho petróleo. Si no había petroleo podríamos vivir mejor nuestro sin problemas. Pero ahora donde estamos viviendo hay mucho petróleo. Y tenemos que tener mucho como hemos cuidado mucho la naturaleza. Y no se que va a pasar ahora esta muy complicado. Ahí tenemos que hablar. Firmen y cuidar. Tenemos que contestar. Hay mas petroleros.

Presencia estatal, mas o menos: yo creo que antes era . uno de misión de uno misioneros. Mas misioneros y mas apoyo. Ayudaba mejor. Preocupaba ellos. Ahora los petroleros no te preocupa los indígenas. Mas petroleros. No viene mucho estado. Menos misioneros.

Nosotros estamos respetando derechos. Cuando hablo en reunión tienen que respetarme. Yo creo que si ese es el ley como nosotros respetamos a ellos también respetan a ellos. Tienen que respetar pero no hacen ahora. No escuchan a nosotros. Hacen lo que quieren. Tienen que respetar y no respetan.

Beneficiado: no . no sabemos donde el dinero va. Solamente para obras no mas. No sirve para nosotros. Sirve para hacer ventaja para ellos. Sirve para hacer casas pero para nosotros no esta bien.

Efectos de petroleros: yo creo que cambio mucho de salud no nos apoya en muchas cosas como antes. Por se preocupa por ejemplo contaminación, no se preocupa por agua potable

para nada. No ayuda nada. Waorani vive normalmente donde el río. No nos han dado buena salud o buena educación.

Organizaciones funcionan o no: Yo creo que la dirigencia se mueve solamente en la ciudad pero no para las comunidades. La nawa sí ayuda pero no para todos. Pero nosotros somos mujeres que estamos avanzando. ONHO- trabaja con organización apoya petroleras.

Como ha cambiado la cultura Waorani: antes te respetaba la cultura. Y cambiaron mucho de la cultura por ejemplo el idioma por la educación, el cambio de ropa, alimentación y también la cultura. Ha cambiado mucho. Pero mantenemos todavía idioma

Sacar petróleo del suelo ayuda o hace daño: bueno yo creo que el petrolero, el territorio sacan petróleo y no te paga nada. Contamina más río. Donde sería bueno, un tubo en puente río o en una cascada bota petróleo. En el territorio no apoya. Waorani a veces reclama si usted hace eso yo tengo que matar a usted

2003 que fue la causa: yo creo que esa zona la petrolera y madereras es justamente ellos pasaron por interés de negocios. Madereras. Vivía la más cerca de los taromenani. Yo creo que más que ellos se siente por taromenani por territorio. Waorani (entraron los madereros para cortar madera. Taromenani no le gustaron el ruido de las motosierras. Después viene a atacar. Maderos o petroleros. Fue complicado. Tuvimos que hablar las organizaciones y comunidades. Ese bosque tenemos que mantener. Madereras y petroleras quieren negociar con indígenas pero indígenas tienen que saber como es la vida y que va a pasar en el futuro. Por eso tenemos la organización. Ellos tienen que proteger a las comunidades y la naturaleza que hay en el territorio. Después de la segunda ataque a tagaeri, pero hace muchos años Waorani vivía en contacto con ellos. Se llevaron bien. Estaban en comunicación. Poco a poco hablando. Poco problemas de no cumplir con promesas, como de dar cerbatana que yo hace años pedí y nunca me diste. Tengo que defender o atacar. Yo creo que con la familia no tenía problemas. En 2013 . es importante para ayudar a ellos y proteger el territorio. Es un parque. Tenemos que cuidar a todos para proteger. Yo para mí veo que la única nacionalidad sin contacto ellos están defendiendo. Si no había ellos, la petrolera ya había entrado. Tiene que pensar si ellos no se preocupan, como podemos proteger el Yasuni. Me preocupó . gracias que viven ellos para cuidar al bosque. Waorani tiene una lanza para proteger. Hay que dejar que vive en el territorio de ellos. Cuando ya entra petroleros y taromenani entra en nuestras casa.

Como nosotros estamos sufriendo ahora. Va a llegar mucha enfermedad y ellos pueden morir. Como vamos a salvar.

Desarrollo: para mi que veo un gobierno. Para mi seria bueno Waorani pueden preparar bien a nosotros, dar buena educación. Antropóloga bióloga. Podrían dar buena educación para que ya podamos hablar. No tenemos proyectos de educación salud para la comunidad. Por ejemplo yo hago un proyecto. El gobierno no ayuda en el desarrollo de las comunidades.

Waorani ya tenia en la casa las escopetas. A veces ellos mantienen. Pero yo se que ellos quieren que dejan en paz para trabajar. Tenemos comida la ropa compraron antes escopetas. Solo hay en la ciudad.

Correcto meter en cárcel: yo creo que de una forma puede castigar para que aprendes. Tengo que hacer mi cultura pero tengo que decir perdón a mi gente si he hecho mal. La cultura ya aprendieron ropa etc y no hicieron bien. Ya aprendieron como es la vida de afuera y hay que enseñar a la gente como no se puede vivir. No enseñaron bien como vivir con los de afuera y los leyes de afuera. Mezcla de culturas. Tiene que castigar y así va a aprender.

2013 hace años que no había reglamento. De matrimonio, pero ahorita ya no. Como vamos a vivir. Es muy complicado. Como van hacer eso. Ahora como antes. Están aprendiendo.

Para mi seria una comentario yo estoy mirando ahora queremos ir a las comunidades. De los 4 hombres que salieron de 7 hablar y decir que ya no mas. Ya no hay venganza. Taromenani están defendiendo la naturaleza. Ellos no saben nada de nosotros. Yo creo que ahí tenemos que hablar. Alguien quiere ir a atacar, hay que decir no. Ya están viviendo como afuera. No se pueden ir a hacer venganza. Para que aprende y que tenga una historia las leyes. Yo veo que eso es importante. Importante capacitar a la gente. A las mujeres. Hay que respetar y ayudar a los taromenani.

Por que salen los taromenani: por comida. La comida de chakra de ellos es muy pequeño. A veces no le gustan el ruido de generador, aviones etc. Si atacan a nosotros atacamos a ellos. Tenemos que dar con plátano yuca par que deja vivir. El rio pueden tomar y pueden morir. Eso también nos preocupamos.

Yo quiero acompañar a convencer a las comunidades, a todos, una charla o una reunión o conferencia o colegio escuela a convencer a la gente las cosas que podemos hacer para no tener petroleras. Es complicado. Yo veo la gente y escucho. Escucho diferentes ideas. Complicado es el español y el waoterero, es importante poder comunicar para defender nuestro territorio. Los que no quieren explotar, no hablan español. No tienen representación.

### **Interview with Moi Enomenga:**

Idea Waorani idea amazónica. Primero pueblo Waorani no sabíamos 40 años vino generando petrolero . El pueblo huaorani hemos mantenido nuestros derechos. Hablamos de dos mundos. Uno es lo que nosotros Waorani siempre hablamos mantenemos cultura tradicional, idioma, defensa unidos y Waorani ha mantenido derechos. Norte sur oeste este. Abuelos pasado. Ahora tenemos 12 mil hectaria. Yo comencé organizar un poco política Waorani para vivir solo entre Waorani. Sin permitir a nadie. He conocido a gobierno nacional para vivir Waorani. Mas educación etc. Pero al final entró petrolera. Coca tiguino tareno gareno (etc)...(por diferentes partes) viendo estuvimos un poco analizando y por ahora no necesitamos petrolera pero para el futuro . pero con golpe de estado el mismo Waorani salieron y firmaron convenio .encima de todos proyectos entró petroleros. Pero mal manejo de proyecto y de ahí no dijimos no mas petrolero, no mas carretera. Tenemos convenio para no hacer mas carretera, no hacer daño. Ahora tenemos otro pensamiento, Waorani, todos diálogos existe. Manejo de Waorani si existe. Waorani una parte, toñempare, quiere carretera también quiere tiguino. Existe tecnología cambio gobierno también cambio petrolero. También carretera hay que abrir pero menos impacto. Yo creo que sigue petróleo por 100 años, mil años, todos países hay problema. Calentamiento como humedad hay que abrir. Crece agua hay contaminación tenemos que proteger bueno malo protegemos cultura Waorani. Ahora que viene la política dijimos tenemos que proteger. Bueno, mao pero protegemos el futuro Waorani. Manejar poco impacto de lo que antes fue destrucción. Yo creo que estamos un poco frenando como Waorani, que no entre maderero, petrolero, decreto existe, pero mas con el estado vamos a participar, entender el problema que va a venir. 30, 100 años para sacar poco. Pero jóvenes ya cambiaron, tenemos 120 graduados. Por ahora nosotros como nawe vamos a controlar todo el territorio waorani. Ahora nawe va a controlar fondos de proyectos de petroleros pero también fundación, ONG van a trabajar solamente con NAWE a través del estado. Ahora maneja estado ecuatoriano temas de trabajo, educación, emergencia. Para ser mas estables creo que es menos problemático, antes era con compañía directa, firma contrato, contrato. Tenia problema con dirigencia, ahora es diferente. El pueblo Waorani manda. Pusieron NAWE para controlar y ahora no firma personal. Si corresponde bueno firmamos, si corresponde malo no firmamos. Nuestra política es NAWE para tener bien organizados, bien respetados pueblo Waorani para controlar bien. Para no tener tanto problemático y generar proyectos y buena calidad de vida para el pueblo Waorani. Convenios con el estado como Waorani para controlar. Pensamiento de los Waoranis, yo creo que el único que se respeta es no vender tierras, no vender nada solamente cambia que de educación buena. Porque no puede vender tierra nunca mas creo,



eso es importante para que sobrevive Waorani hasta fin del mundo, pero si vende tierra va terminar pronto. Ahora hay mucho contacto del Estado, pastaza, napo, Orellana.

Yasuni, mi punto de vista ahora mayoría de Waorani trabaja con petrolero. Ahora mucha ONG, ambientales de los pachamama ahora se fueron. Y nosotros no podemos caer. Vamos a mantener nuestro pueblo. Nosotros no queremos petróleo. Pero por todos lados hay petrolero, solo un pueblo do poca gente no hay. No tenemos petrolero en nuestra zona (keweriono y los 5 comunidades de la region) pero en el parque nacional va a entrar. Aunque no queremos pueblo, va a entrar porque tanta gente Waorani ya esta trabajando. Solo poner tubería a sacar. Así que mejor dijimos si porque nosotros queremos nosotros. Porque no es kichwa. Ahora sector kichwa va a sacar mayor parte del petróleo pero donde Waorani no hay. El yasuni antes era parque para Waorani, ahora es parque para ecuatorianos. Nosotros dijimos que si porque corresponde también porque tagaeri vivía ahí, Waorani vivía ahí. Pero ahora no existe, no están. Toca negociar. Pero eso dijo el gobierno, menos impacto. Yo digo si porque si no, con que va a vivir pueblo Waorani.

Sacar petróleo cerca de keweriono, no. Solo exploración sísmica en el sur. Otros comunidades si, están de acuerdo con trabajar con petroleros, pero nosotros no. Antes lo que recibió el estado era 20 por ciento . Ahora no, ahora 80 por ciento. De eso beneficia el pueblo Waorani. Luchando en contra, hemos perdido. Antes ese dinero se fue afuera, para quito, pero ahora mas y mas va a compartir. Waorani, shuar, kichwa va a devolver para construcción. Nosotros tenemos un modelo para construcción de ecuador estratégico, ahí respeta porque el gobierno no quiere cemento porque cada cultura tiene su manera de vivir, modelo de construcción. En toñempare construyeron full cemento, pero es comunidad de ellos. En Keweriono planteamos modelo Waorani. No como ciudad. El gobierno va respetando visión Waorani. Pero esa plata es donde esta sacando petrolero para construir.

Ahora va a mejorar la calidad de vida bastante porque hace 10 años enfermedades bastantes. Vida de Waorani va a mejorar pero al respeto a cultura, no va a cambiar. Ahora el gobierno mejora educación Waorani.

Ahora hay menos presión de afuera porque no hay nada, no hay problemas. Yo antes sabia pelear este problema.

Ahora hay menos petroleros. Antes había muchas empresas querían entrar. Ahora veo que hay menos, lo que único es que no tienen plata.

Ahorita hay mucha mas presencia de estado con los Waorani.

No hay nada de presencia de ONG

Ahora mucho mas se respeta derechos de los Waorani. Ahora hay mas paz.

El pueblo Waorani todavía no ha beneficiado de la extracción de petróleo. Hay mucho reclamo. Dame motor, dame plata. Pero el gobierno dice ya no pide al petrolero, a mi pide. Mas fácil porque antes era la compañía y ahora mas con el estado.

Ahorita bastante petrolero quiere trabajar pero ahora el gobierno no deja. Lo que mas causa problemas son carreteras. Por plata, por madera, por pesca. Para mi, los Waorani viven mejor.

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