

*An Emergent Ecuadorian Quichua Foundation:
Conservation Planning in Grassroots Development*

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Land tenancy in Ecuador has been adjudicated on the basis of clearing the land and putting it to "productive" use. In Napo - Galeras, a transition zone between the foothills of the Andes and the Ecuadorian Oriente rain forest, inappropriate land tenure arrangements have led to the expropriation of indigenous territories from their ancestral owners by in-migrating Quichua and *mestizo* colonists. This is a study of how a small indigenous Quichua foundation, aided by a small environmental NGO, was able to sign agreements with key government agencies in order to safeguard its ancestral lands in Napo - Galeras. Moreover, the foundation convinced the surrounding communities to cooperate with the demarcation of Napo - Galeras National Park and to act as a buffer against future colonization. Complex political maneuverings and temporary alliances characterized the state of indigenous organizations in the Napo province in this illustrative case. This paper argues that the strengthening of local indigenous organizations by intermediary grassroots support organizations is a viable conservation strategy to protect smaller forests.

Key words: NGOs, grassroots development, national parks, Quichua; Napo, Ecuador

The struggle by indigenous peoples to reclaim traditional lands is a politically and emotionally charged issue, and this poses difficulties for the anthropologist who attempts to assume a neutral position while acting as a participant observer of this complex social phenomenon. Almost invariably, the anthropologist identifies with one group over another and is subject to all of the consequences that follow from this decision. At no point during the fieldwork did I work as an advocate, and I conducted my research as a participant observer. Yet through my friendships and contacts, I did become associated with one particular family. In this study, I document the ancestral rights of one indigenous Quichua family group to an area of pristine rain forest in eastern Ecuador. Although in this case the family group involved worked towards the goal of stewardship rather than ownership, the symbolic value of this achievement was understood by rival factions who had sought to discredit the family's ancestral ties to the region.

Through a discussion of processes of deforestation, land tenure laws, and the social and demographic situation surrounding the contested forest area, I set the stage for the political actors in this illustrative case. In this example, by linking a local grassroots project with the work of a non-governmental organization (NGO), more effective natural resource management strategies resulted, and these efforts led to cooperative actions with the public sector. This paper makes a case for bottom-up development strategies in conservation planning by profiling an example of successful group capacity building in a primary indigenous grassroots organization.

Most of the recent literature dealing with the deforestation of Ecuador's rain forests

and the indigenous response through NGOs has been approached from the perspective of ecologists, geographers and development planners (Bebbington *et al.* 1992; Meyer 1993; Peck 1990; Pichón 1996a, 1996b, 1997; Rudel 1993, 1995). There have been few anthropological studies conducted in eastern Ecuador examining the interrelationship between the processes of deforestation, insecure land tenure, and the growth of indigenous NGOs, save a few notable exceptions (Macdonald 1981; Salazar 1981; Vickers 1988). The small number of recent anthropological studies on the land tenure situation of Ecuador's lowland indigenous peoples has focused almost exclusively on the negative environmental consequences of the national government's ill-conceived development policies rather than discussing indigenous strategies for preserving their cultural autonomy and protecting traditional lands (Hicks *et al.* 1990; Uquillas and Davis 1992).

Two major problems facing indigenous peoples in the Ecuadorian Oriente are: 1) oftentimes legally-sanctioned Indian land claims are not enforced; and 2) government conservation strategies have been largely ineffective. Using an ethnographic example from Ecuador, this paper argues that the strengthening of local indigenous organizations by intermediary grassroots support organizations (GSOs) is a viable conservation planning strategy to protect smaller rain forests. Teamwork between these two types of organizations with the public sector is offered as a model for natural resource management activities.

Carrol (1992:11) classifies two types of intermediary NGOS: GSOs (Grassroots Support Organizations) and MSOs (Membership Support Organizations). The term "intermediary" is used to distinguish these NGOs from large, international NGOs which must often enlist the aid of intermediary NGOs to reach the grassroots level. Carrol makes the point that GSOs are usually made up of "outsiders" whose management is composed of middle to upper-class professionals and does not have a base membership. MSOs on the other hand, or "insiders," are accountable to their beneficiaries and are often an extension of base groups themselves. An example of a MSO is a rural people's organization (RPO), which aptly describes most indigenous federations and cooperatives in Ecuador (Bebbington 1996:1173). According to Bebbington, these organizations appear to have the most successful relationships with technical government institutions and international GSOs, and this finding is corroborated by the present case study.

Intermediary GSOs aid RPOs by establishing bridges between local people and government agencies and by helping these organizations to locate outside funding for development projects. Nevertheless, even without funding, Bebbington finds that these RPOs survive, since much of their strength derives from firm convictions related to self-determination, defense of traditional lands and pride in their native languages. Bebbington (1996:1163) states, "In addition to being modernizing forces, these (rural people's) organizations have been used by their members to pursue claims of access to resources and rights that are grounded in historical tradition . . . Thus, running through all their activities is a clear sense of modernizing from a grounding in tradition." Some examples of the resilience of these organizations and their appropriation of Western technologies can be found in the literature on Amazonian Indian struggles (Conklin and Graham 1995; Conklin 1997; Turner 1995:114).

Intermediary GSOs have played an important role in this process since they have provided technological and organizational assistance to these entities leading in many cases to greater effectiveness and legitimacy for RPOs in the eyes of government authorities.

Nevertheless, intermediary GSOs have found it difficult to reach the poorest communities which have weak support organizations, concentrating instead on firmly established RPOs which have made some initiatives and have the resources to dedicate to development programs (Farrington and Bebbington 1993:98). Consequently, the economic inequalities at the national level are reproduced at the local level where some impoverished areas improve while others languish.

Intermediary GSOs can also assist indigenous organizations in the formal process of devising management plans for protected areas that the state will recognize as legitimate. By acting as cultural brokers, intermediary GSOs can lend credence to indigenous resource use systems, the rationale for which often eludes bureaucrats in government agencies. Successful conservation efforts by RPOs and intermediary GSOs lead to enforcement of the legal land claims of indigenous smallholders and pressure governments to implement conservation policies which include local people in development decisions.

The next section will describe some of the forces propelling the deforestation of the Oriente and how this has led to an insecure land tenure situation for the majority of jungle Quichua of the upper Napo Tena-Archidona region, or Napo Runa.¹ In order to emphasize the inappropriateness of frontier property arrangements, this will be followed by a discussion of how inappropriate tenurial arrangements in Ecuador indirectly cause excessive deforestation from spontaneous colonization and jeopardize the future of Ecuador's smaller protected forests, like Napo - Galeras. This leads into a section which characterizes important land tenure legislation and describes how some indigenous peoples have adapted to the changing circumstances to the detriment of forest areas. Next, I draw from my fieldnotes to sketch a brief history of the Mamallacta family and examine the power dynamics related to the genesis of their primary grassroots foundation. The paper continues with a case study, describing the particular land tenure situation around Napo - Galeras and some of the events which led to the 1994 declaration of Napo - Galeras National Park. I conclude with an evaluation of the relative success of the national park project.

Causes of Deforestation and Local Response

This is not a technical paper on the causes of rainforest degradation, but before discussing the specific logistics for protecting smaller forests, we need to take a step back and examine some of the associated economic and political ecological causes of deforestation. Durham (1995) has shown how the simplistic IPAT (Impact = Population X Affluence X Technology) model does not take into account such factors as ethnicity, power inequities, and other social relations in determining the product of environmental impact (I). A revision of this model as sketched by Durham (1995:253) in his commentary on the other articles in this edited volume describes two positive feedback loops - one labeled impoverishment and the other capital accumulation. The capital accumulation loop begins when a consortium of entrepreneurs, companies, and small farmers work together either directly or indirectly to create avenues for the development and deforestation of large blocks of forest in order to extract valuable natural resources. Contributing factors include domestic and foreign demand and the appropriate government policies in place to facilitate these activities. Population displacement and land scarcity are the product of these forces and a secondary cycle of poverty results, fed by lack of economic alternatives and dwindling household incomes. Durham

(1995:255) infers that one of the possible responses to impoverishment is migration wherein the cycle of impoverishment and environmental degradation is reproduced. This pattern has emerged in the study area, and it is particularly the perceived threat of further migration which led to the national park project in Napo - Galeras.

While deforestation is a process that occurs locally, the forces causing deforestation in most cases are primarily external to the region in question. As Sierra (1994:25) points out, agricultural and commercial logging are often seen as the forces driving deforestation, yet both are dependent on a growing population and an associated immiserization process, wherein landless laborers and shifting cultivators establish or expand small farms around already deforested areas due to lack of other economic options (Rudel and Roper 1997:56). This certainly holds true in Napo - Galeras where deforestation has proceeded unevenly depending on proximity to roads and navigable rivers and to varying opinions about where future roads would be built.

Short-sighted agrarian reform legislation has led to inappropriate land tenure arrangements which creates conditions favorable to land speculation and forest degradation (Southgate and Whitaker 1992:796). Moreover, ill-directed economic policies leading to high inflation, coupled with and an overall lack of forestry research and extension activities, has worsened the situation, while struggling colonists continue to clear lands for agriculture and livestock activities (Southgate and Whitaker 1994:43). This adverse climate for rain-forest conservation is compounded by a number of other factors including: 1) socioeconomic pressures which cause farmers to leave their agricultural plots in the Sierra and colonize frontier areas in the Oriente; 2) inability to intensify production on existing agricultural lands due to lack of capital and suitable technologies; 3) rising demand for manufactured goods combined with insufficient nonfarm employment; 4) promise of financial gain from frontier commercial farming activities; and (5) failure of the government to enforce clear property rights (Pichón 1996b:349). In addition, the inefficient government apparatus in charge of administering the over four million combined hectares of forest patrimony, parks and reserves is understaffed and thereby incapable of controlling access to these lands. In order to make up the difference, part of the task of supervising and protecting these areas has been assumed by national and international NGOs as well as by primary indigenous grassroots organizations.

Understanding the need for social reform, the Napo Runa have responded to this situation through the formation of foundations and even second and third level federations in defense of traditional territories.² Since the late 1960s, indigenous organizations have flourished, and more Napo Runa have advanced to professional careers in law and politics. This development has significantly increased their bargaining position as the largest ethnic minority in Amazonian Ecuador. Furthermore, the Napo Runa are now able to make better informed decisions when it comes to seeking title for their lands.

Many of the problems related to land tenure insecurity stem from the legal framework upon which land ownership is premised. In order to comprehend this background, we turn to the laws which have determined the nature of land titling in the Ecuadorian Amazon.

Land Tenure Laws and Insecurity

By discussing the major laws which have shaped land tenure and land use, one arrives at a more complete understanding of the dynamics of deforestation and the associated

indigenous response in the Napo province. The agrarian reform laws of Ecuador are based on a policy of integration (Davis and Wali 1993:11). The aim behind the following laws is to integrate indigenous people into the national economy and to colonize the frontier with the overflow populations of urban areas. The method for carrying out this process is to organize indigenous people into cooperative forms of organization with the promise of land rewards in exchange for compliance.

The Law of Agrarian Reform and Colonization (1964), was passed in an effort to increase national food production in response to the United States' program for Latin America, the Alliance for Progress. In order to accomplish this task, the newly created IERAC (Ecuadorian Institute of Agrarian Reform and Land Settlement) would be in charge of land redistribution which was sanctioned under the appended Law of Unoccupied Lands and Colonization (1936) (Macdonald 1981:363; Uquillas 1986:370).³ Since the Agrarian Reform, colonization has been the most common method of land redistribution. The underlying political objectives of these agrarian reform laws included lessening demographic pressures in highland urban areas and assimilating lowland Indian populations into nationalist programs.

Under the appended law, after five years, the tenants must convert at least half of their lots to "productive" use in order to aspire to a title, by turning the land into either pasturage or gardens, and if the land remains uncultivated for more than ten years, it will be subject to resettlement (Uquillas and Davis 1992:104). The law stipulated that lands would be adjudicated in individual and family lots (Armendáriz 1988). The objective of the law was to stimulate the agricultural sector so that "unused" lands could be redistributed by IERAC (Macdonald *et al.* 1993:16).⁴

As far as titling lands to indigenous communities, IERAC would only grant such titles if these communities organized into cooperative organizations, as the non-Indian colonists had done, and converted their lands to "productive" uses (Hicks *et al.* 1990). In practice then, whether colonist or long-time resident, the prerequisite for receiving land titles was to either join a cooperative organization or to form a pre-cooperative. In a pre-cooperative, members would petition IERAC to recognize their land claims and then begin the legal task of forming an official cooperative (Uquillas 1986:375). The cooperatives would receive blocks of land, which would in turn be subdivided into individual family allotments of approximately 50 hectares each (Hiraoka and Yamamoto 1980:429).

The new Agrarian Reform Laws (1973) were another attempt by the national government to increase national food output by pressuring large hacienda owners to modernize their means of production. These laws also affected indigenous peoples. While the emphasis was not on expropriation, IERAC officials informed the Runa that their lots could be expropriated if half of their holdings were not put to "productive" use within five years (Rudel 1993:55).

The Law of Colonization of the Amazon Region (1977), was complementary to the Agrarian Reform Law of 1964 but was declared a "special law" because it took precedence over all other agrarian reform laws (Hicks *et al.* 1990:35). The main purpose of this law was to facilitate colonization of the four Amazon provinces of Ecuador which would act as a safety valve for the densely populated urban areas. The 1977 law created INCRAE (National Institute of Colonization of the Ecuadorian Amazon Region), and this body was to coordinate its efforts with IERAC and to oversee the quasi-military colonization of the Oriente to

strengthen the Ecuadorian presence along the southern border in response to the potential military threat from Peru (Vickers 1988:206).

The Law of Forestry and Natural Areas and Wildlife Conservation (1981), allowed the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock (MAG) to lease protected areas to private companies, which under the provisions were responsible for reforestation, though there was no executive agency to enforce this contractual obligation. However, the legislation favored forest management and supported the creation of programs which addressed the issue of forest resources. Lands designated as protected reserves or under the process of reforestation would be exempt from the other agrarian reform laws (Davis and Wali 1993:36). Under the present laws, colonists residing on such lands are no longer required to clear them in order to receive land titles (Southgate and Whitaker 1994:127).

The Runa have had to learn how to maneuver these laws to their advantage to avoid losing rights to their ancestral lands. In the early 1970s, Ecuador's government granted cooperatives tracts of land based on the equation that each family would be allocated around 50 hectares apiece. This led to problems of land inheritance as successive generations were forced onto smaller and smaller plots. Moreover, the Runa encountered new difficulties as they gradually shifted from itinerant horticulture to livestock raising. Fifty-hectare plots were sufficient for cash-cropping of coffee and cacao, but as the Runa tried to raise the funds to acquire permanent land titles and shifted from pigs and chickens to cattle, it was obvious that the small parcels would not meet their needs (Hiraoka and Yamamoto 1980:433). This has led to fissures in the cooperatives as some family groups refuse to adhere to the fifty hectare limit and risk censure from their representative organizations.

New colonists have encountered difficulties because the lengthy process of obtaining titles through individual and communal property claims often produces conflicts which can lead to further land disputes. Southgate and Whitaker (1992:790) point out that up to ten different procedures are necessary to settle a claim, a costly process which can take up to ten years to complete. They find similar forms operating in nearby Peru and Brazil. Uquillas and Davis (1992:95) explain that since a typical family can only work one-quarter of its 50 hectare plot, other areas are rented or lent to relatives so that more of the claim can be cleared to comply with the preconditions for receiving title. Rudel (1983, 1993) examines an example of spontaneous colonization in the northeastern Oriente and explains how IERAC (Ecuadorian Institute of Agrarian Reform and Land Settlement) failed to control the process of land titling.⁵ Rudel (1983:398) demonstrates how disputes between claimants led to further land clearing, a tactic used to consolidate their claims.

Of the land which had been identified as belonging to indigenous peoples in the Amazonian provinces of Napo and Sucumbios, only twenty-four percent had been titled to communities by 1988 (Davis and Wali 1993:12). Government agencies in charge of land tenure have given priority to road construction, settlement of migrants, and agribusiness enterprises seeking large tracts over the demarcation and titling of indigenous lands. As of 1988, along the Napo River only 24 of 78 Quichua communities had received land titles (Hicks *et al.* 1990:18). What is taking place is essentially a land alienation process biased against individuals and communities which lack sufficient economic means. The argument that gross economic inequalities in access to resources --thus leading to further environmental degradation-- are institutional barriers which impede conservation efforts in all of the Andean countries finds support in numerous studies (Garland 1995; Jones 1995; Painter 1995). Poor

colonists may spend up to seven or more years in an area, only to procure provisional land titles, thus disqualifying them from applying for credit and possibly leading them to abandon their plots eventually for economic reasons (Hiraoka and Yamamoto 1980:434). Even with permanent titles, many indigenous people suffer the consequences of ill-defined strategies for protection combined with a lack of coordination with the state, so even titled lands are often confiscated illegally (Uquillas and Davis 1992:95). Shifting now from the legal arena to the ecological realm, I will describe some of the environmental consequences of deforestation to emphasize the ecological imperatives for preserving the Napo - Galeras bioregion in its forest-covered state.

Environmental Consequences

Since 1972, half a million hectares have been cleared for livestock in the five Oriente provinces, a rate of land clearing of 140,000 hectares per year (Southgate and Whitaker 1994:34-37). The area of land in the Oriente which MAG (Ministry of Agriculture and Cattle) has determined to be suitable for livestock and crop production has been surpassed, and since then, an additional 200,000 hectares have been cleared, areas with limited agricultural potential (Southgate and Whitaker 1994:38). There are no longer any tangible benefits for economic growth from land clearing, and the negative effects from low agricultural outputs, timber destruction, soil erosion, and water resource damage are beginning to make an impact on policy decisions.

According to Southgate and Whitaker (1992:795), the national government perceives a shortage of arable lands in the west, so the trend has been to encourage settlement in the Oriente; however, the low fertility, high erodibility, and poor drainage makes most of the Oriente an unproductive locus for agricultural development. The Ecuadorian Amazon region is by nature a regenerative system where soil fertility is a function of the natural organic cycle. In general, the soils of the Amazon belong to the "interfluvial ecotype," which are mineral-poor, requiring the organic cycle to replenish the relative fertility of the soils (Uquillas 1985:95). The problem of soil erosion becomes even more acute if intermontane regions like Napo - Galeras were to be cleared, as this would lead to even larger ecosystem imbalances, threatening local water resources.

Indigenous forest management in the Napo employs the traditional slash-mulch strategy of forest clearing and rotating swiddens. The system requires large areas of forest since a small garden plot only remains productive for about three years, after which time it must lie fallow for about ten years. As Macdonald *et al.* (1993) note, the management of various garden clearings has the net effect of producing a mosaic of productive areas, each with different ages and resources. The problem confronting indigenous forest practices stems from land reform laws which define fallow lands as "unproductive" and subject to colonization. Indigenous peoples respond by deforesting areas to gain titles and engaging in intensive monoculture or cattle ranching which the mineral-poor soils cannot sustain. Roughly the size of Oregon, Ecuador is a country of extraordinary biological diversity. There are an estimated 20,000 to 25,000 different plant species compared to 17,000 for the entire continent of North America (Hicks *et al.* 1990:5). The Amazon region of Ecuador is noted for its high levels of rainfall ranging from 7 to 18 ft. (Uquillas 1985:95). Focusing on the Napo - Galeras bioregion, there are a number of unique characteristics. The confluence of ecological zones between the

Andean pre-montane life zones and Amazonian tropical moist forests has produced high ecological diversity in the lowland tropical wet forest region on the eastern side of Napo - Galeras. Because of this biodiversity, there is unusually high floristic endemism: one example is the *Ishpingu* (*Ocotea quixos* Lauraceae), unique to Ecuador and having the aroma and flavor of the Asian cinnamon. Additionally, Napo - Galeras is host to a number of endangered species including the Andean cock of the rock (*Rupicola peruviana*), the green military macaw (*Ara militaris*), the Andean spectacled bear (*Tremartus ornatus*), and the famed spotted jaguar (*Panthera onca*) (Miller and Jorgensen 1993).

Since Napo - Galeras represented such a high level of biodiversity and was supported in this distinction by scientific studies from GSO/government agency collaboration, the intermediary GSO Rainforest Information Centre - Ecuador decided that a management plan for this region should be implemented to avoid the vast extinction of species from potential forest clearing. Since government protection programs were lacking, RIC - Ecuador started a project with a primary indigenous grassroots organization to coordinate a management plan to protect this ecological treasure.

The next section describes the study area and will be followed by a section offering a brief history of the Mamallacta family and their nascent foundation, Izhu Mangallpa Urcu (IMU)⁶. This leads into a discussion of the power dynamics between rival indigenous organizations. With the help of RIC - Ecuador, IMU gained legitimacy as a political actor and was able to follow through with its projects. This section will be followed by a description of the complex demographic situation around Napo - Galeras to highlight the difficulty of the work undertaken by IMU and RIC - Ecuador to implement the joint-management plan for Napo - Galeras National Park.

Napo - Galeras: The Study Area

The remainder of this study focuses on the work of IMU and how it negotiated with local communities, government agencies, and RIC - Ecuador to lay the groundwork for the demarcation of Napo - Galeras National Park. The relative success of IMU will be considered through a discussion of its political, historical, and cultural relationships with various communities and organizations as well as the physical landscape around Napo - Galeras.

A number of studies have been written on the formation of parks and reserves around traditional indigenous territories in Ecuador and the parallel rise of native federations and leaders associated with this development (Brown 1993; Chernela 1990, 1995; Ehrenreich 1989; Salazar 1981; Vickers 1988, 1989; Yost 1981). Some of these studies focus on small ethnic minorities such as the Huaorani and the Siona-Secoya numbering roughly a thousand people each, as compared to the more numerous jungle Quichua or Runa, who number more than 30,000 in the northern Oriente provinces of Napo and Sucumbios alone. Compared to the more visible Huaorani and Shuar peoples, the Runa have not received much scholarly attention as a distinct ethnic group with ties to ancestral territories (Uquillas and Davis 1992:95).⁷

The Runa's social organization is very territorially specific. The various muntun (kinship groups or subgroups of Runa) can be perceived as a hierarchy of groupings ranging from large to small. Therefore, a group of families living territorially close to each other form a muntun, usually referred to by the nickname of the elder male leader of the group, but this small muntun is also a member of a larger subgroup of Runa occupying a particular

geographical area, such as the Pano muntun or Archidona muntun (Muratorio 1991:46-47).

The Mamallactas are Archidonas who maintain ties to their ancestral territory in Napo - Galeras. There are various small muntun of Mamallactas with members concentrated around the towns of Tena and Archidona, but this study focuses on one particular muntun of the Mamallactas, --from here on to be referred to as the “Mamallacta muntun”-- which is comprised of three large nuclear families, with Don Casimiro Mamallacta Mamallacta (both his mother and father were Mamallactas) as its patriarch. There are around fifty adult members of the Mamallacta muntun. Roughly two hundred adult members from other small muntun have shown support for the Mamallacta muntun at one time or another.

Archidona is a town of 2,500 inhabitants just north of Tena, the provincial capital of Ecuador's Napo province located in the northern Oriente, and a six-hour bus ride southeast of Quito, the national capital (INEC 1990). Formed on the basis of consanguineal kinship bonds, the IMU foundation was legally established by leading members of the Mamallacta muntun in April of 1992. In its scant five years of official existence, the small foundation has undertaken a variety of projects, the chief one being the demarcation and protection of the Napo - Galeras bioregion. Drawing from eight months of field research as a participant observer, in 1990, 1994 and 1996, I will describe how the IMU foundation, through its linkage with RIC - Ecuador, gathered the support necessary to lobby the federal government for the preservation and management of Napo - Galeras, a watershed for the upper Napo River, tributary of the great Amazon River.

Napo - Galeras is located at the headwaters of the Napo River northeast of Tena - Archidona between 0 degrees 45' - 60' latitude south of the Equator - 80 kilometers east of the Andes and between 77 degrees 26' - 35' longitude (Miller and Jorgensen 1994). The cordillera Galeras is a massif ranging from 400 to 1730 meters above sea level. As a watershed, Galeras is the source of at least seven tributaries of the Napo river. The many rivers running down the east side of Galeras have carved numerous clefts into the limestone, producing a unique region of tropical wet forest composed of a mosaic of microclimates. Consequently, Napo - Galeras is an area characterized by high plant endemism and extraordinary biodiversity. Recent deforestation around Napo - Galeras is attributable to the agricultural activities of shifting landless colonists, both Runa and *mestizos*, who gained access to this region via new penetration roads linking Tena and Coca to the northeast, which divided the Sumaco volcano region from the Galeras watershed to the south. Colonists came from the Tena - Archidona region where there were no longer any available lands for settlement and sought to find new opportunities in this apparently unclaimed area.

Ancestral Claims

The Mamallacta family, led by Don Casimiro, claim ancestral rights to lands in the cordillera Galeras on the grounds that eight generations of Mamallactas have hunted, planted, and camped in this area, but Ecuadorian law does not recognize these claims as legitimate grounds for title since they do not maintain permanent domiciles there presently. Since the lands in question were already government-owned, the Mamallactas fought for the rights of stewardship rather than outright ownership, meaning that they would work as park guardians and managers. Therefore the Mamallactas would not hold land title to the government-protected park lands, but would act as guardians of the park, based on the earlier precedent

that had been reached with the Huaorani to act as guardians of the Yasuni National Park.

The Mamallactas hold title to their cooperative lands just outside of Archidona and maintain two houses in the cordillera Galeras, also on cooperative land, on the western border of the park land. Don Casimiro's great-great-grandfather, Manuel Mamallacta, born around 1840, was a powerful healer and warrior who maintained a vast territory reaching east to the summit of Galeras. In the varajuj tiempu (times of indigenous authorities), he held the title of *güinaro*, meaning that he was responsible to the government authorities as an indigenous governor to send Indians under his jurisdiction to work as chasquis (mail couriers) between Tena - Archidona and Quito.⁸

Manuel's son Vicente inherited his father's office and carried on the healing practice as well. Because he had contact with the many supai (dangerous spirits) in these places, he could walk freely through this territory, whereas others feared the place. If anyone wished to hunt in these areas Vicente would have to grant his permission, for trespassers would be dealt with severely, either through malevolent sorcery or violent reprisals.

Another factor, besides inaccessibility, which kept most Runa away from the region was the presence of the Huaorani, who would make hunting trips to the south side of Galeras until the Summer Institute of Linguistics concentrated them into fixed settlements thirty years ago. The Huaorani refer to Galeras as *Eygahue-yaboga*, the mythical site where their ancestors escaped the great deluge (Miller and Jorgensen 1994). The famed spear attacks and general warlike disposition of the Huaorani kept all but the most adept Napo Runa yachag (shamans) away from Napo - Galeras.

Vicente had two sons, Antonio and Pascual: the former was the father of Don Casimiro; and Pascual had two sons, Don Cesar and Don Vicente Mamallacta. Antonio consolidated the Mamallacta's ancestral territory, establishing eight small huts from west to east at Lushian, Hollín, Ishqui Ñambi, Huachi Urcu, Racachi Yacu, Tutacano, Pusuno and Galeras serving as bases for hunting and gardening. Don Casimiro, now 66 years old, was the only one of this last line to maintain the ancestral territory by visiting the eight huts, conversing with the spirits of Galeras, and recognizing the stands of chonta palms planted by his grandfathers.⁹

The elder Mamallactas continue the oral tradition of their grandfathers by passing on to their children a number of myths about the "World Puma" trapped inside Galeras. The Mamallactas have one of the most elaborate versions of the "World Puma" myth, and the sons and daughters have all had to memorize the two-hour long story with all of its myriad details as part of their cultural identification as Mamallactas. Don Casimiro said to me in one interview: "when speaking, you do not forget the stories, we do not forget, just like a tape recorder in the head, I hear my father. It is necessary that I tell these tales in Quichua, the legends, to my daughter, to the family, about the star twins Cuilluru and Duceru of Galeras."¹⁰

I recorded one account of the myth told by Don Casimiro, who explained that the star twins, Cuilluru and Duceru, deceive the Grandfather Puma and talk him into sitting in a cave-like house which they had built for him on Galeras mountain where the Grandfather could live. The twins are trickster figures who save humankind from the terrible World Puma and trap him in the Galeras cave. The culture heroes are admired in these tales for their craftiness and wit, and like them, I would make the analogy that the Napo Runa have had to employ creative adaptive responses, such as forming indigenous organizations to defend their land claims, in an

effort to survive the penetration of the predatory national political economy.

The Mamallactas are extraordinary among Napo Runa in that they possess a particular gifted ability for oral expression, music and rhetoric in their native Quichua and in Spanish. This proficiency is recognized by other families and can be a source of envy, another visible trait of Napo Runa culture. The Mamallactas were instrumental in forming *Los Yumbos Chahuamangos*, a traditional musical, theatrical and dance group founded in 1960.¹¹ Together with other artists from the town of Rucullacta, the group received national recognition and even competed internationally. They played a role in revitalizing the Napo Runa's cultural traditions and strengthening indigenous organizations, so successfully that they eventually leveraged services from the national government and international NGOs.

Political Rivalries as Modern Forms of Shamanic Dueling

For the Napo Runa, the concept of power refers to the force of one's will, which can be thought of as a metaphor for shamanic knowledge. A person can emanate this power through the performance of a song played on the flute or by effecting a successful shamanic healing. Whitten (1985:108-9) likens power to the concept of *samai* (breath), which offers evidence of one's inner strength. *Yachag* (shamans) display the power or *fuera* (strength) of their *samai* by blowing harmful spirit darts at rival *yachag* or through effecting cures by purging afflicted patients of these malignant objects. Duels between *yachag* are tests of strength, so the one who survives the conflict is proclaimed to be more *duro* (strong).

Rivalries masked in the guise of shamanic duels are frequently manifested publicly in the form of competitions over land. The winners prove their ancestral land claims by employing their superior economic and political position in order to negotiate their claims through legal channels. As Neumann (1997:575) argues in the case of indigenous peoples in Africa, the legal identification of traditional land rights is often a political decision. Therefore, power or strength has two dimensions: it relates not only to the traditional shamanic power of the *yachag*, but also to the economic and political power of the Napo Runa's representative federations, their relationship to the nation-state, and their position in the political economy. For indigenous peoples, power involves holding onto traditional ways, or what are perceived by potential outsider allies as traditional forms, to support their struggles for autonomy and self-determination (Jackson 1995:5).

IMU has positioned itself against rival Runa federations to further its claims over Galeras, yet the rival federations' young leaders deny the Mamallacta's ancestral connection to Galeras. These allegations coincided with IMU's contact with foreigners at RIC - Ecuador, who according to some of the federation's leaders were befriending IMU so that they could buy Galeras. Don Casimiro maintains a spiritual connection to Galeras as a *yachag*, an achieved status which requires strict training, diet, and sexual abstinence to acquire the power to heal. Whereas many of the younger leaders of the federations were schooled in the missions, Don Casimiro received his education from the plant and animal spirits of Galeras, becoming what Whitten (1985:117) refers to as a "paradigm manipulator," traveling across boundaries of different cultures and languages. Under pressure from the mission schools, the young leaders have rejected the shamanic traditions as *brujería*, or witchcraft, plus the fact that the different demands of modern life make it unlikely that they will undergo the sacrifices necessary to achieve *yachag* status.

To appreciate the dynamics of these rivalries between foundations, federations, and muntuns, a general picture of Runa social organization is in order. The older system of muntun heads has already been discussed. The muntun heads are generally older yachag who have more voice in family meetings and transmit shamanic knowledge to their male descendents. Supernatural battles are fought among the yachag of rival Runa muntun in dreams and visionary sessions. When people fall ill, especially children, yachag from enemy muntun are often blamed.

The system of muntun heads is reflected in the modern *comuna* structure. Many communities have formed *comunas*, which are formally organized cooperatives with a president, vice-president, secretary, and other elected officials. The primary officers of these *comunas* are frequently all members of the same small muntun, and if they are not practicing yachag themselves, they will employ them to attack their enemies and protect themselves from malevolent sorcery. These *comunas* are supposedly democratic as elections are held periodically to choose *comuna* representatives. When *comunas* become too large, they will likely fission as small muntuns gradually separate and become distinct under different muntun heads in successive generations.

While some native communities have benefited from the recent empowerment of their local organizations, the move towards self-governance among the Runa has in some cases led to jockeying for power and entrenchment of long-standing family rivalries leading to strong divisions within communities, intensified by political and religious differences. With the entrance of NGOs since the early 1970s, indigenous organizations have found powerful allies, repeating a pattern established earlier in the century. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Runa turned to Catholic and Protestant missions to free themselves from indebtedness to the patrons (large hacienda owners), and apparently, some families were more successful than others because some forms of patron-client ties lasted until the late 1960s when indigenous federations entered the political arena (Muratorio 1991:164-65). The first organization of the Napo Runa was the Federation of Organizations of Napo Indians (FOIN), and a brief history is appropriate here.

FOIN was one of the first indigenous organizations in the Oriente, established in 1973 and modeled after the Federación de Centros Shuar which had set the precedent a few years earlier. The originators of the idea for the Shuar federations were Catholic and Protestant missionaries who sided with indigenous people against invading colonists attempting to appropriate indigenous territories. The missionaries hoped to integrate Indian communities into the national culture while simultaneously protecting indigenous lands and cultural identity through economic initiatives with the introduction of cattle. FOIN, unlike the Shuar federations, received little support from the area's Catholic Josephine missions, and in fact both Protestant and Catholic missionaries opposed the federations' radical separatist position, so even though FOIN's members were mostly Catholics, it had to rely on aid from international NGOs (Macdonald *et al.* 1993:16). FOIN has had a troubled relationship with the Josephine mission in its separatist rhetoric. According to one informant, a past leader of FOIN made incendiary remarks and wrote letters asking the Italian priests of the Josephine missions to leave Ecuador. This same leader was educated in the schools that the Josephines established. This ruptured the organization and FOCIN was formed, and then ACIIN, another splinter organization (see note 2). FOCIN extends membership to campesinos and Indians, and is a growing political force. Some of the Mamallactas have participated in these splinter organizations, which partly explains their fallout with FOIN.

This phenomenon of intensified rivalries between federations is exemplified in the situation around Napo - Galeras. FOIN formally opposed the legal formation of the IMU foundation because the Mamallactas had made claims to their ancestral territories in Napo - Galeras and had done so while recapturing their traditional ways of life in craftmaking and beadwork, thus attracting the attention of conservation NGOs and ecotourists. This situation is in some respects mirrored in Jackson's (1995:6) statement that "cultural forms that have evolved in highly politicized circumstances can be, and often are, contested." The shift in leadership of FOIN and one of its affiliated community organizations, the Cooperative of San Pedro de Rucullacta was largely the impetus for the formation of the IMU foundation. Because the Mamallactas were wary that fellow cooperative and federation members were planning to expropriate their ancestral lands, they sought legal advice and decided that the best course to follow to ensure that their rights would be protected was to form an independent foundation. The conflict between IMU and Rucullacta had no basis in religion since both parties were Catholic. The split had to do with the size of the organizations involved and the fact that the success of IMU could cause further splintering of a larger organization (FOIN) that was corrupt and had alienated many of its members.

The eldest son of Don Casimiro was schooled in the Josephine missions and had achieved a post-secondary education; in addition, he profited by holding various positions with some of the regional federations including FOIN. He assumed the presidency of the IMU foundation. One of his brothers-in-law, who is a teacher in a bilingual (Quichua/Spanish) school, assumed the treasurer position. Don Casimiro's four elder daughters have also played very important roles in the success of their foundation by acting as representatives for IMU in meetings with other communities and organizations. The Mamallacta women are all very vocal, and one of Don Casimiro's daughters has recently assumed the position of foundation vice-president. By forming their own foundation, the Mamallactas angered some of the leaders of Rucullacta, who feared that other small muntun within the cooperative might take the same independent initiatives.¹²

The Cooperative of San Pedro de Rucullacta is a blanket organization with a membership of 17 communities spread over 41,888 hectares and has its offices located in Rucullacta, a small community just north of Tena. There are a total of 3,450 inhabitants and 668 *socios*, or men who pay membership fees to the cooperative (Ramiro Chimbo - personal communication).

The leaders of Rucullacta are younger men who deny the Mamallacta's ancestral claims to lands in Galeras partly because they see the potential for income from ecotourism in the region if they could appropriate the lands there. Some of their more prominent leaders were schooled in the Catholic missions, and they have appropriated the missionary's rhetoric, advocating land rights and bilingual education (Brown 1993:315). Don Casimiro Mamallacta and his cousins were instrumental in the founding of the Rucullacta Cooperative in 1962, since they donated their lands to help form the organization as a safeguard against colonists, but they have recently had to defend their own parcels within the cooperative against fellow cooperative members.

The Cooperative of San Pedro de Rucullacta took advantage of cheap government credits from the Ecuadorian Development Fund (FED) to begin a cattle enterprise (Bebington *et al.* 1992:78). When the credits were frozen and the negative environmental consequences from cattle-raising became evident, the cooperative sold its cattle and used the capital to buy

more land, start a community store, and switch to agricultural production of coffee, cacao, and naranjilla. The cattle enterprise was never really successful in Rucullacta as monies were misspent by corrupt officers, the promised benefits were not conveyed to cooperative members, and the cooperative continued to accrue more debt with the National Development Bank. When the failure of the cattle enterprise became evident, Rucullacta, along with other FOIN member communities, moved towards natural forest management through timber sales with the aid of international conservation groups (Jahnige 1990; Macdonald *et al.* 1993; Shiguango, Avilés, and Irvine 1993).

As mentioned, Don Casimiro donated some of his lands to form San Pedro de Rucullacta in its early years, but the new leaders of the cooperative wanted to strip Don Casimiro's membership away, deny his founding role, and expropriate his lands. IMU was concerned that its ancestral lands were designated as forest patrimony, the lowest protection status under government control, so it wanted to make sure that these lands were safe from colonist encroachment and the claims of rival federations by elevating the region's protection status to that of national park, with a joint-management plan in place. As a legally-sanctioned foundation, IMU could now sign work agreements with government agencies and act in an official capacity with the communities around Galeras.

The Mamallacta's defense of their land is a continuing process. This case demonstrates that there are various political actors who have motives for undermining indigenous people's land claims. Indigenous organizations must employ direct confrontation as a method to dissuade illegal colonists from claiming their lands and work with power brokers to legitimize their concerns.

Community Formation Around Napo - Galeras

All of the details of the extensive work by IMU to contact and establish agreements with the communities surrounding Galeras will not be addressed in this study. But in order to appreciate the enormous effort of this small foundation to establish a national park, it is necessary to describe the political geography of Napo - Galeras and some of the communities which cooperated with the demarcation effort (Refer to Figure 1). In many of these areas established farmers chose to expand their small farms rather than risk losing their lands by leaving for the oil regions to seek temporary wage work. In order to curtail this agricultural expansion, boundaries were established for the proposed Napo - Galeras National Park.

The catalyst for colonist penetration into the north side of Galeras was the construction of the Hollín-Loreto road in late 1987. In March of the same year, a powerful earthquake shook Ecuador's Amazon region. The northeast Amazon was effectively cut off from road transport to the west and some important oil pipelines were ruptured, so the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) responded to the emergency and provided funds for the construction of bridges, assisting the Ecuadorian government in the completion of this road following the course of the Napo river to the northeast.

One consequence of the road was the division of the Galeras range from the unique bioregion around the Sumaco volcano to the north. Some colonists who were earthquake victims were resettled in the protected area of Sumaco by IERAC unbeknownst to USAID, and this led to conflicts between government agencies and USAID (Long 1992). In 1988, both Sumaco and Napo - Galeras were declared "Patrimonio Forestal," which is the lowest

protection status, and even though a project was in place to create infrastructure with the help of international funding for Sumaco, there was no management plan for the protection of Galeras (Ferguson 1993).

According to Macdonald *et al.* (1993:19), in the Napo province, only 9 of the more than 30 Quichua communities near the new road possessed community titles to their lands. The economic response of the indigenous communities to their new market access was to engage in more timber extraction without any clear management strategy.¹³ Timber companies were responsible for reforestation, but they never fulfilled this role. As timber companies often decided to deal with individuals instead of communities, factionalism resulted and communities witnessed the disappearance of their forest reserves. At this juncture, FOIN stepped in, and with funding from Cultural Survival, Inc., it initiated a sustainable timber project but never followed through with the program. FOIN embarked on a campaign to affiliate these disjointed and recently formed associations as FOIN member

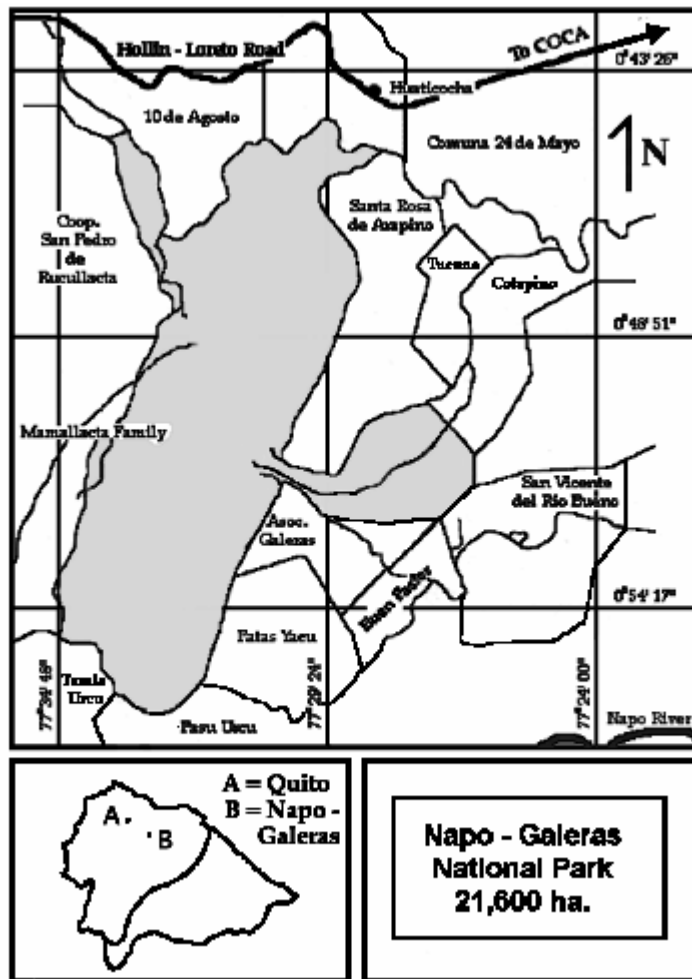


Figure 1. Napo - Galeras National Park (1994), shown as shaded area

communities.

Between 1987 and 1993, five communities were established around Galeras by Quichua and *mestizo* settlers from Archidona. FOIN was working with the communities along the new road to make a claim based on one global title. Members of some communities opposed this measure because they wanted to have individual titles to their lands. These persons wanted to have the same stipulation against the selling of their lands while retaining individual titles; moreover, from interviews in the field I learned that some communities opposed the form of leadership that would be imposed by FOIN onto their communities, effectively creating small elites within relatively egalitarian communities. Two communities which eventually received community land titles near the Hollín - Loreto road were 10 de Agosto and Santa Rosa de Arapino, and their boundaries define the northern section of the lowland sector of Napo - Galeras National Park.

The situation south and east of Galeras was significantly more problematic in terms of community land titles. Transportation to this region is via the Napo river, so market accessibility is more limited compared to the northern communities closer to the road. After the Huaorani withdrew from this region, colonists, *mestizo* and Runa alike, settled this region north of the Napo River to the south of Galeras. Within the past 10 years, local communities have organized and petitioned IERAC to demarcate their boundaries, but most of the work has been done by the communities themselves. Following the stipulations of the Law of Colonization, colonists have each cleared their own fifty hectare parcels in order to procure individual land titles. Now the communities have organized together to form blocks of these allotments along the Rio Bueno, but they have chosen not to assume the *comuna* form of government and become FOIN member communities.

Two other communities in this region, Asociación Galeras and Buen Pastor del Río Bueno, have established communal forest reserves for hunting and gathering and have set aside allotments for their children (Miller and Jorgensen 1994). These communities form the southeastern boundaries of the lowland section of Galeras National Park. Land clearing did not extend much into the lowland section because of the particular nature of community formation and informal social controls which limited the necessity for extensive land clearing to establish usufruct rights. The lowland section was not colonized, and consequently, it was included in the forest patrimony declaration of 1987.

Due to the arrival of new colonists and the farm expansion plans of current residents, legal measures were deemed necessary in the management plan to halt the advancing agricultural frontier. Because of the distinctive nature of the colonists in southeastern Galeras --*mestizo* and Runa individuals originating from different places, each seeking their own fifty hectare parcels-- community organization did not proceed smoothly as it did in the north in Santa Rosa de Arapino for instance, where stronger informal social controls limited the extent of deforestation because the inhabitants respected the land claims of their neighbors and relatives, thus limiting the necessity for extensive land clearing. As Rudel (1995:189) observes for colonists in the Upano-Palora area of the southeastern Oriente, even though the colonists came from different communities of origin, over time from joint cooperation in work projects, they became organized enough to discourage neighboring landowners from encroaching onto their claims. Rudel (1995) makes the argument that an informal social order which respects

existing land claims effectively limits the extent of deforestation; however, in the case of Napo - Galeras, especially in the southeastern area, a physical legal boundary, in addition to the physical boundaries imposed by the rugged terrain, was necessary to guarantee that informal social controls would develop because community organizations in this area were the least advanced and the only economic option for the colonists was to expand their farms.

Napo - Galeras National Park

One strategy employed by indigenous organizations, and the one employed by IMU was to negotiate with the government to develop joint agreements for the management of protected areas with the cooperation of surrounding communities which would act as a buffer against illegal colonization. This strategy was employed in this case because the government possessed title to the lands in question, and only through concerted grassroots action could the land's protection status be upgraded. A thorough understanding of land adjudication procedures was necessary for this conservation planning effort to be successful. As mentioned, a result of the change in land reform laws in 1981 is that there was now a legal justification for the protection and maintenance of forest reserves.

Napo - Galeras National Park was legally declared by the Institute for Forestry, Natural Resources, and Wildlife (INEFAN) in March of 1994. The initial proposed size of the legally declared Napo - Galeras National Park was approximately 21,600 hectares, but this has now been reduced to 13,885 hectares as a result of the land claims of surrounding communities. Through the combined efforts of IMU, RIC - Ecuador, and various government agencies such as the Institute of Water Resources (INERHI), INEFAN, and the Institute of Cultural Patrimony, the surrounding communities were persuaded to sign agreements to respect the boundaries of the national park, but it is questionable to what extent these communities will honor these agreements when enforcement of the boundaries is minimal. Some of the communities, notably Santa Rosa de Arapino, took an active role in the arduous demarcation effort. Members from IMU were omnipresent in the demarcation task by coordinating the food provisioning and contracting the surveying team. Without the hard work of IMU and the financial assistance from RIC - Ecuador, the fragile watershed of Napo - Galeras would not have received the highest protected status of national park.

Delegations composed of IMU, RIC - Ecuador and representatives of relevant government agencies made repeated visits to reach agreements with the following communities around the lowland sector: Santa Rosa de Arapino, San Vicente, Pingullo, Buen Pastor, Patasyacu and Asociación Galeras. The demarcation effort began with the participation of local communities around Santa Rosa de Arapino who helped to create the 19 kilometer physical boundary line along the eastern side of Napo - Galeras (Miller and Jorgensen 1994). Around ten marketable varieties of fruit, nut and palm trees were planted along the boundary, providing a self-sustaining resource for the native inhabitants and serving as a visible warning to illegal colonists.

Of the original forest patrimony, the eastern lowland section was not included initially within the boundaries of the park. Because of inaccurate map information provided by IERAC, this vital area was not included. This situation was rectified through ground reconnaissance by IMU, RIC - Ecuador, and INEFAN working together with the surrounding communities to petition for the inclusion of this area. With the assistance of the local

communities, a physical boundary line was created around the 2200 hectare lowland section. There was one group of colonists living illegally inside the lowland section of Napo - Galeras National Park, and these people were resettled with equitable compensation for their loss because they had colonized in the lowland section of the park shortly before it was declared forest patrimony. Through the inter-institutional teamwork of INEFAN, IERAC, IMU, and RIC - Ecuador, the proposal for indemnification was accepted by the displaced colonists (Miller and Jorgensen 1994).¹⁴

IMU benefited greatly from an agreement with the FAE (Ecuadorian Air Force) which made "food-drops" to assist workers along the demarcation line. RIC - Ecuador assisted with the physical demarcation of the first 20 kilometers of the park's boundary. The former director and founder of RIC - Ecuador, who came to Ecuador ten years ago as a representative of RIC - Australia, was a key player in the drafting of the joint-management plan for the Napo - Galeras project and was the major fundraiser for IMU's projects. Under his direction, RIC - Ecuador played a vital role in the demarcation of the home territory of the Huaorani and the Awa, so his experiences aided the Mamallactas in their cause.

After the physical boundaries of the park were completed, IMU began coordinating the next phase of the management plan which involved the employment of six park guardians to cover the territory of the national park. Considering that in 1991, the national average was 12,000 hectares of park lands per guard, the arrangement at Napo - Galeras is a step in the right direction (Southgate and Whitaker 1994:43). One guard covers the area in the north of the park around Santa Rosa de Arapino, and three guards monitor the south and eastern areas: one from San Vicente del Rio Bueno, one from Mushullacta on the eastern side of Galeras, and one farther south from Tamia Urcu. The final two guards, Don Casimiro and one of his elder sons, overlook the western side of Napo - Galeras.

However, the problems of illegal hunting and logging will continue to be problems, and a more comprehensive management strategy will have to be implemented to address these issues. Another important concern is whether there are sufficient faunal resources in the communities to prevent them from engaging in illegal activities inside the park, which from recent reports have already taken place. There have been no studies to examine the abundance or scarcity of fauna in the communities around Napo - Galeras, and this represents a significant oversight in the planning effort. As Chicchón (1995:241) observes, it is crucial to include the environmental and social factors which bear on resource use if a management plan is to remain sound. The challenges which the communities face in the southeastern portion of Galeras are greatest since they have the least market access, live on the subsistence level, and face the greatest pressures to search for game inside the park.

The inclusion of the Mamallactas as guards of the Napo - Galeras National Park is a positive result of their self-determination to defend their ancestral territories. Because FOIN had claimed the lands of Galeras as their own, and the Mamallacta's plots inside the cooperative, lying outside the park boundaries, had been questioned by *socios* (members) of Rucullacta, IMU was left with no choice but to solicit the aid of both government and non-governmental agencies to support them in their struggles.

Because of the advocacy and government contacts of RIC - Ecuador, IMU was able to successfully lobby the government to allow them to devise a joint-management plan for Napo - Galeras. This was achieved in the face of direct opposition by one of the more powerful Napo Runa federations, whose leaders were viewed as corrupt by government officials. INEFAN

recognized the Mamallacta's ability to organize the communities to help with the demarcation effort and to procure the resources to cover the expenses of the project. The lack of experts and the shortage of funding for such projects in public sector agencies dealing with these matters, such as MAG and the now defunct IERAC, created an opening for IMU and RIC - Ecuador to essentially administer the Napo - Galeras park project even though INEFAN and FAE claim official credit. Therefore, IMU, together with RIC - Ecuador, was the logical choice to administer the arduous task of demarcating the rugged terrain of Napo - Galeras.

Conclusion

The joint cooperation effort to demarcate Napo - Galeras National Park has now been completed, but this would not have happened without the positive working relationship between IMU and RIC - Ecuador with the public sector offices of INEFAN and FAE. This is confirmed by other studies in Ecuador that public, nonprofit, and private sectors benefit from mutual collaboration (Meyer 1992:1122). With the technical assistance of the RIC - Ecuador and the ground reconnaissance of IMU, the most accurate maps of the region were produced, correcting false information contained in previous maps prepared by IERAC. Additionally, the local communities were aided by the demarcation of the national park because in some cases land conflicts were resolved, and since some communities had not yet completed the surveying of their own boundaries, they received assistance which will allow them to acquire permanent land titles. What is crucial in any planning effort to establish national parks is to recognize the demographic situation around the proposed park to ensure that the pressure exerted by agricultural colonists does not outweigh the costs of protection, while at the same time respecting indigenous resource use systems. Further studies are needed in this area because now five years later, the legal size of the park has been reduced to 13,885 hectares, or roughly a third of the park has been appropriated by the surrounding communities.

In the Napo - Galeras case, it was vital to understand the nature of deforestation that was impending on the area by direct ground reconnaissance. Since it was largely in-migration and the expansion of existing farms causing further deforestation, steps were taken to curtail these trends with the enforcement of the physical boundary line, suggestions for alternative sources of income such as ecotourism, and the introduction of new permaculture techniques based on a more sustainable method of farming; however, there needs to be more investigation into the feasibility of these methods as alternative income-generating strategies.

The Napo - Galeras case demonstrates that the strengthening of primary grassroots organizations by intermediary GSOs facilitates connections with the public sector, and may effect short-term gains for conservation planning. Poor and landless colonists seeking plots will be discouraged from settling in the Napo - Galeras park region because of the informal social controls of the existing communities and the coercive conservation efforts of the park guardians. More effort and planning needs to be conducted with the colonists who have already settled around the region to devise alternative subsistence strategies that do not lead to further encroachment into the national park.

The qualified success of Napo - Galeras National Park derives from a working base at the grassroots where agreements were made with local communities to establish official park boundaries. This case demonstrates the rationale for preserving Napo - Galeras under the supervision of its ancestral caretakers, especially since government agencies were incapable of

assuming this responsibility. The rise of IMU, while leading to greater disunity in the larger representative federation, demonstrates the perseverance of Runa cultural traditions to function as a potentially unifying force in the face of oppressive state-directed oil development policies which have taken a turn for the worse in regards to indigenous lowland peoples.

NOTES

¹ Runa is Quichua for "people" just as many other tribes throughout the Americas use the name of the tribe and the word for people synonymously and refer to themselves by this name.

² The major second level organizations of the Napo Runa of the Napo Province are: the Federation of Union Communes of Ecuadorian Amazon Natives (FCUNAE); the Federation of Organizations of Napo Indians (FOIN); the Federation of Indian and Campesino Organizations of the Napo (FOCIN); and the Association of Evangelical Indians of the Napo (AIEN) (Uquillas and Davis 1992:98). In the literature these organizations are considered Second Level Organizations (OSGs) because they aggregate cooperatives and economic enterprises on a regional basis (Bebbington *et al.* 1992:70). The third level federation on the regional level is the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon (CONFENIAE), and on the national level, it is the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE).

³ IERAC, the body which provided legal land titles to colonists, was dissolved three years ago and its duties have been assumed by INDA (National Institute of Agrarian Development).

⁴ The law which forces colonists to clear the forest leads to impractical land-use strategies which disrupts the traditional land fallowing scheme. Productive farming without fallowing is impossible in the Amazon. Such lands are only productive for about three years, after which time they must lie fallow for ten to twelve years. For effects of IERAC policies on land use patterns among lowland Quichua see T. Macdonald (1981); (see also Southgate and Whitaker 1992:796).

⁵ Uquillas (1984:262) defines directed colonization as a "populating process by groups from outside the region that includes prior planning and technical and economic assistance from a public entity." This is contrasted with spontaneous colonization which occurs as a result of independent actions by colonists or migrants. Individualistic spontaneous settlement predominates in the Oriente.

⁶ Izhu Mangallpa Urcu are Quichua words which translate as "the Puma in the mountain at the end of the world." The mountain refers to the Galeras massif which is the sacred ancestral territory of the Mamallactas and serves as a source of myth for the Napo Runa as well as the Huaorani to the north.

⁷ In 1964, the Shuar formed the Federación de Centros Shuar, the first indigenous organization in South America. The Shuar have been the subject of a number of anthropological studies, notably Karsten (1935) and Harner (1972). The Huaorani received international attention when they attacked and killed missionaries from the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the early 1960s. More recently they have been recognized by environmentalists for their struggles against international oil companies (Kimerling 1991; see also Kane 1995). The Runa, specifically the Puyo Runa, have received the most attention in anthropological studies by Whitten (1976, 1985). Because the Runa have adopted many of the trappings of Western culture, outsiders oftentimes do not consider them to be defending their age-old traditions, like some of the more traditional groups. This also has a lot to do with what Graham and Conklin (1995) call the eco-politics of Amazonian indigenous peoples who employ cultural identity markers such as traditional adornments in order to win the attention of conservation NGOs. The Runa have not been nearly as successful in these strategies as they have undergone centuries of subordination and no longer live as some Huaorani and Achuar continue to live today. Such "wild" peoples are considered "Auca" or savages by Runa who use this pejorative term in juxtaposition to their own perceived modern, civilized status.

⁸ Varajuj tiempo (times of indigenous authorities) was a system which began with the Jesuits and was used as a method to access indigenous labor through native officers (Muratorio 1991:122). The period lasted roughly from the return of the Jesuits in the 1870s until the 1920s.

⁹ The peach palm (*Bactris gasipaes*), like the manioc tuber, is a staple food item for many Quichua. It is mashed and used to make chicha, the popular fermented beverage. Also, the wood of the palm is used for the construction of houses.

¹⁰ Recognizing the importance of their cultural heritage, Elias Mamallacta, the eldest son of Don Casimiro has spent considerable time collecting his fathers stories and narratives on cassette tapes in Quichua in the attempt to preserve this rich oral history.

¹¹ The *Yumbos* is another name for the Runa or jungle Quichua used commonly by the Josephine clergy (Spiller 1974). The term was used originally to refer to a small group of highland Indians near the volcano Pichincha during the colonial era, but the term has now been glossed to refer to the Runa Indians, despite efforts by various scholars to correct this misnomer (Hudelson 1985). *Chahuamangos* is an allusion to the tropical bird, *canora chahuamango*.

¹² From my interviews I learned that leaders of the Rucullacta cooperative (a FOIN-affiliated organization) have sought to expropriate lands from eight members of the Tunay family in Tambayacu because its members have claimed plots of more than 50 hectares each. As Southgate and Whitaker (1994:26) observe, "small fortunes have been made organizing such invasions and subsequently dividing up holdings extorted from the previous owners."

¹³ The ban on logging concessions imposed in 1982 has caused the forest products industry to become wholly dependent on agricultural colonists (Southgate and Whitaker 1992:797). It is estimated that as much as 25% of standing commercial timber is rendered unusable as a consequence of the poor transport and handling techniques of colonists (Southgate and Whitaker 1994:92).

¹⁴ Another situation which complicated the demarcation of forest patrimony were land claims by two communities for lands inside the protected area. Asociación Galeras claimed 2500 hectares as part of the forest reserve of two of its member communities. The conflicting land claims and the inaccurate maps produced by IERAC placed the responsibility of coordination, technical assistance, and accurate map-making squarely on the shoulders of IMU, CIBT, and INEFAN to create a permanent boundary of various species of palms around the legally declared national park and to resettle the colonists.

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