

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA CRUZ

Beyond the Duality of *Sumak Kawsay*: Living Well amongst the Waorani

A Senior Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

BACHELOR OF ARTS

in

PSYCHOLOGY

by

Alejandra Aviah Zeiger

April 2019

ADVISORS:

Heather Bullock, Psychology: _____

Flora Lu, Environmental Studies: _____

Abstract

The expansion of oil exploration in the Ecuadorian Amazon is synonymous with the deontologization of nature, where supposedly empty, unproductive lands and the people who have lived there for millennia must be transformed in the pursuit of development and capitalistic gains. Yet decades of oil extraction in Ecuador brought more inequality, indebtedness, environmental degradation, suffering, and social mobilization against neoliberal policies and leaders. President Rafael Correa put forth a platform of neo-extractivism, in which oil exploitation would no longer be for the benefit of corporations but instead for achieving *sumak kawsay*, an Indigenous concept synonymous with good living. Despite Correa's pledges to protect and improve the quality of life of Indigenous peoples and the rights of nature encapsulated in the 2008 Constitution and various policies, I argue that the government's underlying "developmentalist" agenda misconstrues Waorani notions of good living, dismissing subsistence livelihoods and equating modernization with urbanization and market integration. I examine changes in Waorani perceptions of quality of life between 2014 and 2018 through surveys and qualitative interviews. Data analyses reveal a suite of responses that underscore the detrimental implications of living in a community that is in transition between two realities, one centered around traditional ways of subsisting, and the other, riddled with aspects of modernization. This work speaks to the importance of understanding the *in situ* and *ex situ* implications of neo-extractivism and political discourse on the realizations of "good living."

KEYWORDS: Political economy, development, *sumak kawsay*, neo-extractivism, oil, environmental degradation, social change, Waorani, Amazon, Ecuador

I dedicate this thesis to the Waorani community of Garenó for allowing me into their homes and lives, and for all of the wisdom they are willing to share with the rest of the world, and to Ayewe, whose memory as a strong leader will live on.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES | VI |
| PREFACE..... | VII |
| INTRODUCTION..... | 1 |
| The Neo-Extractivist Agenda of Ecuador’s National Polity..... | 2 |
| The Contradictory Nature of <i>Sumak Kawsay</i> | 4 |
| An Exploration of Well-being..... | 6 |
| PART I: The Resurgence of the “Second Nomos”..... | 9 |
| The Deontology of Nature and the “Second Nomos” | 10 |
| A Progressive Constitution..... | 13 |
| Paradoxical Actualizations of <i>Sumak Kawsay</i> | 15 |
| Decolonizing <i>Sumak Kawsay</i> | 18 |
| PART II: The Political Economy of Oil in Ecuador..... | 21 |
| Environmental Transformations: The Role of Crude..... | 22 |
| The Curse of Crude: Extractivism in Amazonia..... | 25 |
| Yasuní and the ITT Initiative..... | 28 |
| The Reconstitution of “Impoverished” Livelihoods..... | 30 |
| The Case of the Waorani..... | 33 |
| “Living Well” Amidst the Exploitation..... | 35 |
| PART III: Waorani Experiences of the <i>Revolución Ciudadana</i> | 38 |
| Methodology..... | 39 |
| Institutional Review Board Approval..... | 39 |
| Fieldwork..... | 40 |
| Additional Methodologies..... | 41 |
| QOL Questionnaire..... | 42 |
| Focus Group..... | 43 |
| Analyses..... | 44 |
| Findings from Quantitative Analyses..... | 46 |

| | |
|---|----|
| Descriptive Analysis of 2014 and 2018 Data..... | 47 |
| Relationship between Community and Natural Environment..... | 47 |
| Relationship between Community and Physical Health..... | 48 |
| Relationship between Community and Mental Health..... | 50 |
| Relationship between Community and Governmental Branches..... | 51 |
| Relationship between Community and Access to Services..... | 53 |
| Relationship between Community and Assets..... | 55 |
| Relationship between Community Members and Life Satisfaction..... | 56 |
| Correlation Tables for 2014 and 2018 Data..... | 59 |
| Findings from Qualitative Analyses..... | 61 |
| Relationship between Community and Natural Environment..... | 61 |
| Relationship between Community and Physical Health..... | 62 |
| Relationship between Community and Mental Health..... | 63 |
| Relationship between Community and Governmental Branches..... | 64 |
| Relationship between Community and Access to Services..... | 65 |
| Relationship between Community and Assets..... | 66 |
| Relationship between Community Members and Life Satisfaction..... | 66 |
| Waorani Identity and Well-being: An Oral History..... | 68 |
| DISCUSSION..... | 71 |
| Implications of “Developmentalism” on Health..... | 71 |
| Implications of “Developmentalism” on Governmental Functions..... | 73 |
| Implications of “Developmentalism” on Resource Stability and Life Satisfaction..... | 74 |
| Limitations and Strengths..... | 76 |
| CONCLUSION..... | 79 |
| REFERENCES..... | 83 |
| APPENDIX A..... | 89 |
| APPENDIX B..... | 92 |
| APPENDIX C..... | 93 |

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

TABLES

| | |
|--|----|
| 1. 2014 Correlations Among Anchor Item and other Constructs..... | 59 |
| 2. 2018 Correlations Among Anchor Item and other Constructs..... | 60 |

FIGURES

| | |
|---|----|
| 1. Organization of Thesis..... | 7 |
| 2. Perceptions of Community Environmental Health in 2014 and 2018..... | 47 |
| 3. Perceptions of Healthy Food Access in 2014 and 2018..... | 48 |
| 4. Frequency of Physical Pain in 2014 and 2018..... | 49 |
| 5. Average Scores of Health Satisfaction in 2014 and 2018..... | 49 |
| 6. Frequency of Self-Reported Depression, Anxiousness, Sadness in 2014 and 2018..... | 50 |
| 7. Frequency of Self-Reported Happiness, Calmness, Satisfaction in 2014 and 2018..... | 51 |
| 8. Perceived Satisfaction with Local Government Support in 2014 and 2018..... | 52 |
| 9. Perceived Satisfaction with National Government Support in 2014 and 2018..... | 52 |
| 10. Perceived Satisfaction with Oil Company Support in 2014 and 2018..... | 53 |
| 11. Perceived Satisfaction with Health Service Access in 2014 and 2018..... | 54 |
| 12. Perceived Satisfaction with Education in 2014 and 2018..... | 54 |
| 13. Perceptions of Financial Security in 2014 and 2018..... | 55 |
| 14. Perceptions About Access to Necessities in 2014 and 2018..... | 56 |
| 15. Perceived Life Enjoyment in 2014 and 2018..... | 57 |
| 16. Perceptions About the Meaningfulness of Life in 2014 and 2018..... | 57 |
| 17. Perceived Quality of Life in 2014 and 2018..... | 58 |

Preface

The anamnesis of Ayewe's warrior chant rings in my ears as I venture into Waorani territory, melodies I remember from video footage I edited before his death. As we approach the community of Gareno, we encounter the PetroAmazonas EP check-point that must be traversed in order to enter, comprised of a pronounced green and white sign "welcoming" those entering the oil block, ironic given the interrogation by on-duty guards for the purpose of one's visit. Kati, an Ecuadorian anthropologist who has collaborated extensively with the Waorani, navigates the questions and we drive the remaining 15 minutes or so on the rough road to the entrance of the community. My footfall is cushioned by mud as I step out of the hardy truck that we contracted by in the provincial capital of Tena. As I catch my balance, I immediately notice the handful of children eagerly lined up by the sodden road. They are expecting visitors, and are ready to discover the purpose of our arrival.

My inquisitive eyes scan the surrounding scenery. A handful of houses border the oil road, most of which resemble small shacks. They do not have running water, nor reliable access to electricity. Remnants of the forest are scattered along the periphery of the community, and a bird calling to its mate can be heard in the distance. My bulky rain boots lead me to where the crowd has gathered, and somewhat nervously, I introduce myself. I am greeted with a chorus of "welcomes," supplemented by a few perplexed stares.

Despite the awkwardness of my arrival, I feel as if I already know many residents of the community of Gareno, as I have been working with video interview footage of the community's residents for the better part of my undergraduate career. Their songs, habits, aspirations, and sources of strife constitute a fragment of my "virtual" understanding of Waorani culture. As an Ecuadorian American, I had visited the Amazon with my family, but I had never, until this

moment, had the privilege of interacting with the Waorani. I had only heard their language, *waotededo*, over a computer screen; had only seen the tusks of a *sajino* (peccary) in a photograph; and had only read about the spiritual significance of the all-powerful jaguar in a compilation of literature. But now, arriving in the community, situated in the oil concession *Bloque 21*, I knew that I would soon acquire an entirely new perspective and appreciation for this Amazonian socio-ecological system.

My interest in environmental conservation, food security and resiliency has led me to pursue projects involving the protection of the extraordinary cultural and ecological diversity of the Amazon. I feel compelled to do so. I consider Ecuador to be my second home and have grown up with the privilege of traveling between the United States and Ecuador, although saying goodbye to my relatives at the end of each visit to Quito has yet to become easier. The ties that I have to this nation, equivalent in size to the state of Nevada but with an outsized political and environmental impact, have only strengthened after my week with the Waorani. This experience has vastly expanded my comprehension of how Waorani ways of life, including cultural practices and languages, are transitioning due to the reconstitution of Latin American landscapes.

In speaking to an array of community members, I heard first-hand accounts of how environmental and ecological changes, primarily brought on by the oil sector, have adversely affected livelihoods and well-being. Waorani land is illustrative of the integration of neoliberal policies into Latin American economies. Although oil drilling is synonymous with prosperity and modernization, for many the opposite is more accurate: a destructive process inextricable from colonialism, the pillaging of land and lives for the benefit of the powerful. As I discuss in this thesis, the political economy of Ecuador—from neoliberal to post-neoliberal (and back again under current President Lenin Moreno)—is covered in oil: economic crises linked to a volatile

commodity, structural adjustment and austerity programs, and widespread poverty and suffering (Acosta, 2013), especially among marginalized populations in sites of extraction and refining. In Gareno, I witnessed not only how crude catalyzes ecological and societal changes, but also how attempts of governmental “social compensation” programs, poorly conceived and implemented, can propagate negative consequences.

The decision to apply a psychological and anthropological lens to topics such as environmental degradation, poverty, and Waorani well-being feels like a natural progression in my collegiate journey. Since my first year as an undergraduate student at the University of California, Santa Cruz, I have been assisting Dr. Flora Lu, Provost of Colleges Nine and Ten and professor of environmental studies, on her longitudinal research with Indigenous groups in Ecuador’s Amazon region. When I was first accepted into UCSC and into College Nine, I instantly knew that I needed to connect with Dr. Lu. Her research spoke to me, not only because of my Ecuadorian heritage, but because of my interests in environmental sustainability, public health, and cultural anthropology. Further, my previous visit to Yasuní National Park peaked my interest in preserving rainforest biodiversity.

I could not have been more delighted when the opportunity to begin working with Dr. Lu presented itself. I started as a volunteer, transcribing and translating video interview footage that her team had recorded in the Waorani community of Gareno during the summer of 2014. This progressed to working closely with Dr. Lu’s research assistant, Sherine Ebadi, through an independent study in which I assisted with data analysis and dissemination. Together, we completed numerous field reports related to quality of life in three different Waorani communities, tracing patterns of hunting, food intake and health.

These two experiences resulted in my Provost's Sustainability Internship at the Amah Mutsun Relearning Program (AMRP) at the UCSC Arboretum. As an intern working with Rick Flores, Steward of the AMRP, I created a documentary for the Waorani-Amah Mutsun communication project. The goal was to connect the Waorani and the Amah Mutsun Tribal Band, two groups of Indigenous peoples living on different sides of the world, to allow them to share their stories of colonization and how they are combatting the loss of traditional ecological knowledge.

These research experiences enabled me to produce a poster about changes in Indigenous food security among the Waorani that I presented in March 2018 at a conference organized by Colleges Nine and Ten entitled, Dig In: Cultivating Inclusive Approaches to Food Justice. The conference ultimately led me to my decision to take on a thesis; there were additional questions I wanted to answer, and I was eager to undertake additional research. Furthermore, the virtual connection that I had created with the community members of Gareno motivating me to visit the Amazon in pursuit of establishing interpersonal relationships and learning more about oil extraction. Ahead of my departure, I honed my thesis objectives, prepared my interview questionnaires, received approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB), and collected research supplies as well as gifts for the community. Prior to delving into my field experiences and findings, I would like to express my gratitude for the many individuals whom this project would not have been possible without.

I thank Dr. Lu for anticipating my passion for research and believing in me since the day I walked into College Nine for the first time. Being trusted with contributions to anthropological literature has been an absolute dream, and I would not be where I am today in my academic career without her mentorship. Dr. Heather Bullock, professor of psychology and director of the

UCSC Blum Center has been an inspiring mentor to me this past year. To be named a scholar and student ambassador for the Blum Center by Dr. Bullock has been an honor, and working with her on community-engaged projects related to poverty alleviation has likewise been a pleasure. Dr. Guillermo Delgado-P. of the Anthropology Department has been a wonderful source of support throughout my writing process. I have gained a heightened appreciation for the world of Latin American ethnographies after having taken his classes, and have learned a great deal of anthropological theory and ontological dualisms through our weekly office hour conversations.

My field work would not have been successful without the help of Ecuadorian anthropologist Kati Álvarez who accompanied me to Gareno. Her familiarity with the region and expertise on ethnohistory, human rights, and Waorani cultural practices greatly enhanced my research. Her affinity for ethnography and her passion for community-based participatory research will continually inspire me to be an engaged and informed researcher. I would like to thank Sherine Ebadi and Rick Flores for working so closely with me in my early college years, and providing the foundation for further projects. Psychology graduate students Desiree Ryan and Melina Singh have guided me in the process of data analysis, and have been so kind as to let me work alongside them in their Blum Center office.

My family has likewise been immensely supportive of all of my academic endeavors. Without the encouragement of my parents, I would not have developed the confidence to take on such research ventures. Not only has my mother, Josefina Coloma, been an inspiration to me as a scientist and researcher, but her excitement to accompany me into the field demonstrated her support of my own research interests. Having her with me as a source of support made me feel all the more confident, and affirmed that I can in fact be successful when I am outside of my

comfort zone I would also like to thank my aunt, Luz Elena Coloma for all of the opportunities she has given me to experience the breadth of Ecuador's beauty. She has opened my eyes to the diversity of landscapes and peoples, and has shown me how true leaders can serve their countries as public servants. Lastly, I thank the Blum Center (Blum Scholar Award), the Latin American and Latino Studies Department (Joel Frankel Award), and College Nine (Student Project Funds) for assisting me with resources to conduct my fieldwork.

INTRODUCTION

I felt her diminutive fingers pull tautly at my shoelace as a way of securing my undivided attention. Once I looked down, she pointed at her sequined-blue dress, indicating that one of the embroidered flowers had become loose. As I crouched on the wood floor to get a closer look, she abruptly placed her ruby-colored headband atop my tangled hair, giggling as she tried to perfect its position. Playing dress-up with the four-year-old Waorani girl was energy-consuming and high spirited. Not only were we chasing each other around her home, trying on different clothing items and hair bows, but her spirited dog had joined in on the fun, barking at us in excitement.

This moment, a fun-filled afternoon consisting of imaginary play, is complicated by the poverty, environmental degradation, and exploitation plaguing this community. This young girl's family home is located on what could be considered the outskirts of Gareno, at the end of a long dirt road that neighbors a river. It is at least a ten-minute walk from the majority of the other houses in the community. Insects and snakes frequent the path, rendering it imperative to be cognizant of every step. I observe the intricacy of the traditional Waorani huts during my walk to the girl's house. The artistry of their woven frameworks is unmistakable, however, they were overshadowed by the litter that covers the earth on which they are built.

The shiny wrappers of processed foodstuffs are stepped on by those crossing the road, and the children of the community are playing with empty plastic water bottles. Their "soccer" matches take place within a decrepit concrete stadium, whose tin roof is becoming increasingly dented as a result of the tropical rains. I call in to question the assurances of the billboard in the center of the community proclaiming that "oil improves your community" (*El petroleo mejora tu comunidad*) (Goff, 2014; see Appendix A).

I arrive at the house, noticing that it is elevated to deter animals from entering and to prevent rain water from damaging the flooring. The entirety of the structure is composed of wooden planks, aside from the roof which is made of metal panels. Behind the house there is a *chacra*, or a garden plot, where *yuca* has been planted. Suco, the lanky dog, loves to dart between the palm leaves and jump over the gnarled roots of the trees. Inside, a tattered hammock swings in a corner, and an assortment of shirts are suspended on a clothing line to dry amidst the humidity. A handful of plastic toys are scattered across the perimeter of the structure, the majority of which appear to be building blocks. There is not much more than meets the eye, yet five individuals live here. The youngest daughter, the one with the new blue dress gifted by Dr. Lu, was born with a developmental disorder. A generation ago, a Waorani child afflicted by such a condition would likely have not survived.

Our game of dress-up followed the one-one-one interview I had conducted with her mother, a tape recorder tucked away by my side, a digital camera resting on my lap. “¿Cómo calificaría su calidad de vida?” (“How would you qualify your quality of life?”), I began by asking. This was the first time of the eight times that I would pose this question during my week in Gareno, in the hopes of learning about Indigenous well-being and how it is being shaped by neo-extractivism.

The Neo-Extractivist Agenda of Ecuador’s National Polity

The concept of neo-extractivism refers to a contemporary version of extractivism or “developmentalism,” and its associated processes are frequently enacted by Latin American governments. Neo-extractivism “perpetuates the appropriation of Nature on a massive scale, the enclave economies and subordinated involvement in global markets...which promotes and

legitimises mining or oil industry projects as necessary to sustain welfare benefits or cash payments to the poorest sectors of society” (Gudynas, 2013, p. 25). Ecuador’s abundance of crude oil, and its government’s decision to engage in extractivist projects for monetary gain (to finance social reforms) and foreign investment opportunities, exemplifies this supposed form of progress, modernization and potential path to modernity (Acosta, 2013).

This thesis examines the ramifications of environmental degradation and poverty on well-being among the Waorani, an Indigenous group inhabiting the northern Ecuadorian Amazon. Waorani territory, defended for generations, is one of the last frontiers of oil exploitation in Ecuador. I argue that despite the Ecuadorian government’s neo-extractivist assertions that oil is the key to bringing about prosperity for the nation, for the Waorani such extraction perpetuates poverty, manifested through environmental degradation, loss of land, and changes in livelihoods and culture. My work does not aim to paint Indigenous perceptions about oil in a black and white lens. Instead, it seeks to explore the myriad ways in which the concept of *sumak kawsay*—an Indigenous concept invoked and appropriated by the Correa administration—is defined, implemented and contested by the Ecuadorian government, the international community, and the Waorani themselves. Further, I aim to analyze how an Indigenous cosmology has been transformed into a central concept used to justify a neo-extractivist agenda in a petro-state, and how this plays out in terms of the ways in which people think about their own lives.

The ancient Andean philosophy of *sumak kawsay*, the Kichwa word for *buen vivir* or good living, entails harmony with one’s proximal environment and respect for *Pachamama*, Mother Earth. Indigenous peoples inhabiting various regions across South America have been known to embody and exemplify *sumak kawsay* within their daily lifestyle practices (Hidalgo-Capitán & Cubillo-Guevara, 2017). Soon after taking power in 2007, President Correa called a

constitutional referendum, and the following year Ecuador's 20th constitution, called the Constitution of Montecristi, was ratified. The 2007 Constitution became the foundation of the Correa administration's policy platform, *La Revolución Ciudadana* or the Citizen's Revolution, which touted its commitment to social justice, economic stability and equality (Becker, 2011). *La Revolución Ciudadana* was synonymous with the promotion of *sumak kawsay*, connecting the government with the cosmology and culture of Ecuador's diverse Indigenous population. Although *sumak kawsay* "has a long history within Andean Indigenous discourse in Ecuador...in the 2008 Constitution it refers to an economic system that replaces the goal of making profit with that of human welfare" (Lu et al., 2017, p. 86). The lofty goals of the early Correa administration, prioritizing social and environmental justice in a plurinational state, were championed as a victory for progressive politics in Ecuador.

The Contradictory Nature of *Sumak Kawsay*

However, the government's interpretation of the term became rather antithetical to the tenets of the Indigenous cosmology, as it advocated for the betterment of national well-being, including Indigenous well-being, through the implementation of extractive projects. This reasoning asserted that oil extraction in the Amazon would bring forth economic prosperity, alleviating the poverty afflicting Indigenous groups. In numerous public addresses, Correa declared that "oil is a blessing, not a curse," and that Indigenous peoples would be able to "leave misery" with the profits gained from natural resources (Lu et al., 2017, p. 134). Further, the administration claimed that the oil drilling would not be environmentally detrimental, as it would be carried out in only a small region of the rainforest, and the necessary measures needed to contain any contamination would be taken.

As will be demonstrated throughout this thesis, neo-extractivism is not tantamount to good living, improved well-being, or poverty alleviation. The extraction of natural resources is inevitably invasive and destructive, and in the case of the Ecuadorian Amazon, its scope has been much more far reaching than was originally pledged. Moreover, President Correa's rhetoric surrounding the inherent impoverishment of Indigenous peoples is problematic for numerous reasons, as it imposes a capitalistic framework on their ways of living and subsisting and assumes a teleological pathway of progress and modernity.

While the notion of *sumak kawsay* can be perceived as being either cosmological and Indigenous or neo-extractivist and "developmentalist," it is critical to recognize that good living is a complex concept that captures multiple facets of well-being. It is likewise important to acknowledge that the philosophical elements of *sumak kawsay* are not inherently encompassed in the daily experiences or discourses of all individuals or social groups. In fact, *sumak kawsay* is a Kichwa term, not native to the Waorani language or culture. Their notions of good living differ from other Indigenous nations in Ecuador, and differ among and between Waorani communities. Thus the government's application of this concept in a homogeneous way and invoking it as both a way to benefit from Indigenous cultural capital as well as justify a suite of policies and programs are potentially problematic and need to be examined.

Present-day Waorani communities are experiencing the effects of oil extraction. Despite proposals like the Yasuní-ITT Initiative intended to conserve some remaining forests from extraction (which will be touched on later in this thesis) and the establishment of the Tagaeri-Taromenane Intangible Zone (ZITT) to protect peoples in voluntary isolation, Ecuador's pace of resource exploitation in the Amazon has continued unabated, even accelerated. The Yasuní-ITT Initiative failed in 2013, and the ZITT hardly serves as a refuge for vulnerable peoples. Clearly,

the costs and benefits of oil extraction are unevenly dispersed across social classes, ethnic groups, and regions within the country. The Waorani, who are the last remaining Indigenous group in Ecuador contending with resource exploitation due to generations of hostilities with the outside world, represent a compelling case study through which to explore the implications of extractivism on quality of life. A focus on Gareno, a Waorani community along an oil road, cannot be extrapolated to other villages which are more remote and removed from oil activities, and certainly cannot represent groups of Waorani like the Tagaeri and Taromenane, who refuse contact with the outside world. For these diverse populations, the scale and nature of external pressures and the range of coping strategies, vary significantly. With these caveats in mind, this thesis focuses on the construction and expression of Indigenous well-being at various scaled, from the conceptual/structural level to the level of individual experiences and perceptions.

An Exploration of Well-being

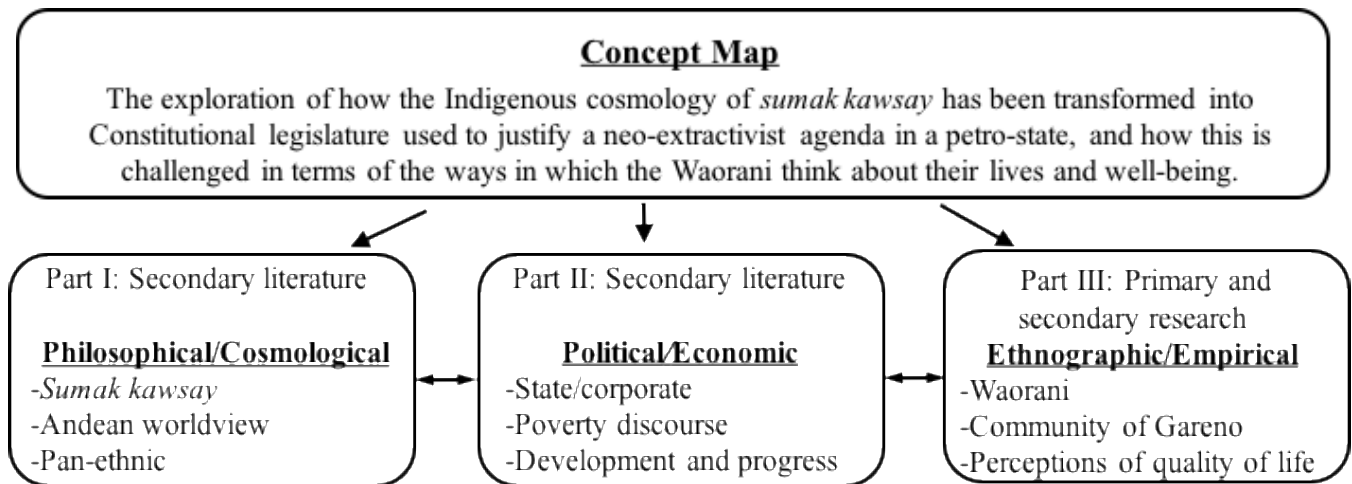
Notions of well-being are complicated, as they are highly subjective and contextually specific. I aim to broaden the definition of *sumak kawsay* and Indigenous well-being in this thesis, exploring their many facets during this contemporary moment of transition among the Waorani. To analyze such patterns of change, a socio-political-ecological understanding of the Ecuadorian Amazon is necessary before a more focused exploration of one particular community. This thesis is organized into three parts (Figure 1).

Part I: The exploration of *sumak kawsay*, an Indigenous cosmology and philosophy related to good living and relations between humans and non-humans.

Part II: The analysis of the political economy of the Correa administration and the strategic incorporation of the concept of *sumak kawsay* in a larger neo-extractivist agenda during the *Revolución Ciudadana*.

Part III: How these concepts and policies are enacted locally, and how Waorani perceptions and opinions challenge the notions of “good living” and poverty that come from the perspectives captured in Parts I and II.

Figure 1: Organization of the Thesis



This thesis is organized as follows. Part I details the consequences of the Constitutional amendments that codified the rights of nature and the collective rights of Indigenous communities, and explains how development or progress (through the deontology of nature and the Eurocentric idea of the “second nomos”) is synonymous with destruction. Part II describes the history of oil in Ecuador, and how the “resource curse” is changing the lives and livelihoods of Indigenous peoples inhabiting differing regions of the Amazon. I describe Correa’s operationalization of *sumak kawsay* into goods, services, and the infusion of resources in conjunction with the drilling of oil. Furthermore, Part II illustrates how discourses of “poverty”

and the promise of economic mobility and improvement are used by the national government to justify extractivist agendas in Indigenous territories and communities. Finally, Part III reports quantitative and qualitative research conducted in Gareno between 2014 and 2018, and provides insight into how oil extraction and the implementation of the *Revolución Ciudadana* towards the realization of *sumak kawsay* are experienced and perceived by Waorani households. I examine whether subjective and objective measures of quality of life for a subset of women of Gareno have changed between 2014 and 2018. Such measures are related to physical, mental and environmental health, and are likewise associated with governmental transitions and access to services and resources.

Utilization of data collected by Dr. Lu and her collaborators in 2014 enabled me to take more of a longitudinal examination of patterns of well-being in Gareno both during the Correa administration and right after Correa left office, when one would think that if his plan of *buen vivir* was successful, the lives of the Waorani would have changed for the better. As will be demonstrated, many Waorani have contested various facets of his extractivist projects, and have shared that their quality of life has decreased.

While the data that I have is imperfect, it attempts to fill the gaps in the literature, and points to what should be done in the future. It is important to learn about the sentiments and aspirations of Waorani individuals, and how they might measure the quality of their lives and that of future generations. For many Waorani, a good quality of life does not mean living how their ancestors once lived, or adapting to “developmentalist” projects. A good life, or *sumak kawsay*, can be realized in a multitude of ways.

PART I: The Resurgence of the “Second Nomos”

The *Revolución Ciudadana* of the Correa administration centered the ideal of *sumak kawsay* (an Andean cosmology representative of living well and harmoniously with nature) as a way to talk about its goals for the country. I argue that use of this concept is problematic on multiple fronts given the government's neo-extractivist agenda. In this section of this thesis, I explain my critique through the concept of the "second nomos," or the implementation of colonial and appropriative attitudes, which is rooted in Columbian times, yet it continues today, as exemplified by neo-extractivism in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Ecuador's constitutional legislature reflects this ethos, as it paradoxically deontologizes nature (deprecating its agency) through "developmentalist" policies despite recognition of the rights of nature and a national plan of living well. Bringing to light the voices of the Indigenous peoples and movements that are reclaiming the definition of *sumak kawsay* through projects of de-noming (the nullification of the "second nomos"), is important, as they are advocating for how Mother Earth should be respected rather than "enclosed," while contesting the centrality of Western thinking.

The Deontology of Nature and the "Second Nomos"

Globalization has promoted a new model of capitalist accumulation by dispossession in Latin America. It can be posited that the onset of capitalism commenced at the time of the Columbian Encounter and Exchange, and its harmful repercussions have been perpetuated through the actualization of the "second nomos." This phenomenon has not only transformed class structures, political systems and cultural conventions, but it has had environmental ramifications, as it has engendered the deontology of nature. Deontologizing nature, or removing the agency and autonomy of nature, and referring to what the land produces naturally as solely a "resource" is but a common practice, and parallels what occurred in Hispaniola and in other

localities of Columbian conquest. Further, by enclosing and commoditizing nature, it becomes “agency-less and de-spirited,” as do the humans and non-humans that inhabit its supposedly empty regions (Apfell-Marglin, 2012, p. 100).

Neoliberalism can be defined as the “reorganization of capitalism to facilitate free markets, strong private property rights, increased privatization, the creation of new markets, and the intensification of resource extraction; and in the recent decades, Latin America has been in a neoliberal alignment toward the commoditization and marketization of natural resources (McDonell, 2014, p. 114). To analyze contemporary transformations and deontologizations that were initiated at the outset of the Conquest in the 16th century, it is imperative to delineate the concept known as “the nomos of the Earth” as it has shifted across numerous domains.

The term nomos, a “law, convention, or custom governing human conduct” can be used to describe social and economic order, and can be more specifically applied to the concepts of appropriation, distribution, and production (Mignolo, 2015 p. VII). The “first nomos” depicts a plurality of cultures and working civilizations and states that the regions of the planet are not constrained by ownership or enclosures. However, it was destroyed 500 years ago, “when the great oceans of the world were opened up, the earth was circumnavigated; America a completely new, unknown, not even suspected continent was discovered” (Mignolo, 2015 p. VIII).

Political theorist Schmitt (1950) describes the “discovery” of the New World with what is now thought of as the “second nomos.” This law or custom governing human contact carves “a European global order” and implies “unlimited free space for overseas land-appropriation” and consists of a total disregard of Abya-Yala (Luisetti, Kaiser, & Pickles, 2015, p. 2). The “first nomos in Schmitt’s narrative disappeared” with the invention of America, and was absorbed into a growing European narrative (Mignolo, 2015 p. IX). While Indigenous peoples inhabiting the

Americas “had no hesitation in realizing they were the prime victims of the Encounter,” the benefactors “consider it perhaps as the most important event in the working out of Manifest Destiny of western Civilization” (Crosby, 1989, p. 668). The usurping of resources and the implementation of hegemonic regulations did not stop at the Encounter or at the Exchange. In fact, “the full effects of the Encounter have not materialized yet,” though reiteratively, a multitude are in practice in Latin America today (Crosby, 1989, p. 667). Neoliberalism is a robust example of a manifestation of the “second nomos” or of colonizing attitudes by core powers in the world system, as well as of the cultural and environmental consequences of 1492.

The deontology of nature and the ubiquity of the “second nomos” are manifested through the proliferation of oil extraction and unjust treatment of Indigenous groups. It is evident that the value placed on the natural world itself is decreasing, and that the value of human and non-human lives decreases when profit or the commodification of resources is at stake (Apfell-Marglin, 2012). To confute the deontology of nature, in *How Forests Think: Toward an Anthropology Beyond the Human*, Kohn (2013) expresses that trees and other non-human beings can produce and convey thought. Unraveling this reality helps humans to reevaluate the trivial perception of the world in which they live, and determines what it truly means to be human as well as non-human.

Using semiotics, Kohn elucidates the cognizance of nature as presenting a version that ontologizes it. He explains that “the world beyond the human is not a meaningless one made meaningful by humans,” and that forests have a loci of meanings, many of which relate to their abilities of “thinking and feeling” (Kohn, 2013, p. 72). He further argues that nature’s production and interpretation of signs, such as through evolutionary adaptations, are often

ignored by humans. This is to say that humans disregard the signs and natural processes that trees engage in, and instead exploit them for their market value.

The Runa people of Ecuador's Upper Amazon, with whom Kohn conducted an ethnographic study, exemplify this ecological understanding, and use perspectivism (the notion that all sentient beings see themselves as persons) and hylozoism (the doctrine that believes nature to be alive) when talking about their environment. They do not objectify nature, nor do they disrespect it. The perspective that non-humans and other than humans can think and are indeed alive is similar to the argument put forth by Apfell-Marglin (2012), who likewise posits that "the political forces that rendered hylozoism to be the abject other were in part the ones that unleashed the enclosure of common lands, the privatization of agricultural lands and the enclosure of the body's with the creation of labor as a commodity" (p. 103). Such contestations of the "second nomos" are conveyed by many if not all Indigenous groups inhabiting the Amazon Basin, through their engagement in pre-capitalist commons and reciprocity rather than enclosures, and through their understanding of the sanctity of nature.

A Progressive Constitution

In the year 2008, the Ecuadorian Constituent Assembly held a referendum to ratify the Constitution that had been drafted the year prior. The living document was approved by the majority of voters, thus signaling the birth of an exceptionally progressive shift in policy. Its contents underscored an anti-neoliberalist stance, one reflecting President Rafael Correa's support of what he called 21st Century socialism. The Constitution was the basis of *La Revolución Ciudadana*, the Citizen's Revolution, the Correa administration's policy platform that underscored social justice and equality. Furthermore, *La Revolución Ciudadana* coincided

with the advocacy of *sumak kawsay*, connecting the government with the Indigenous cosmology associated with many Indigenous Ecuadorian groups.

The ancient Andean philosophy of *sumak kawsay*, which translates to *buen vivir* or a good life, encompasses living harmoniously with nature while respecting *Pachamama*. *Sumak kawsay* is likewise manifested through a non-dualistic relationship with nature, and its essence can be further described using the four principles of the Andean cross (*chakana*): “reciprocity (*ranti-ranti*), oneness (*pura*), complementarity (*yananti*) and connectedness (*tinkuy*)” (Luis, García, & Guazha, 2014, p. 37). Generosity and community are additional ideological tenets. Such non-dualistic behaviors do not exploit nature or non-humans, and can be thought of as part of “pachasophy,” or environmental ethics. An additional pillar of *sumak kawsay* is plurinationality, the coexistence of multiple groups within a polity, and this element of the cosmology is at best being realized through its Constitutional interpretation.

The principles of *sumak kawsay* were adopted by President Correa. He frequently implemented the concept in discourse describing prospective social developments across Ecuador. Correa’s *sabatinas* and *enlaces ciudadanos*, or weekly speeches delivered by radio and television, aptly broadcasted Ecuador’s transition to *buen vivir*. Moreover, *sumak kawsay* was featured prominently in the 2008 Constitution itself. The legislation of *sumak kawsay* (Article #275) is demonstrative of the supposed prioritization of human and environmental concerns over economic ones (“Ecuador’s Constitution of 2008,” n.d.). Moreover, the 2008 Constitution aims to denounce the “monetary” drive integral to the project of modernity, and Article #72 in fact grants nature itself the right to restoration (“Ecuador’s Constitution of 2008,” n.d.).

Article #57 of the Constitution not only publicizes the rights of nature, but also the collective rights for Indigenous communities, organizations and nationalities, including protected

rights to occupy ancestral territories, and to maintain collective control over the use and conservation of land resources (“Ecuador’s Constitution of 2008,” n.d.). Initial excitement about such amendments and the state-wide progressive change seemed substantiated, as the legislature now delineates a more democratic, participatory and pluralist government. The international community likewise acknowledged these shifts in a positive manner (particularly the codification of the rights of nature), and President Correa rode this wave of global adulation.

Paradoxical Actualizations of *Sumak Kawsay*

Between 1820 and 1930, over 50 million Europeans voyaged to the Americas, to what they incorrectly believed to be *terra nullius*, heightening the earlier and initial Columbian Exchange. As mentioned previously, this usurpation of land altered the course of history altogether, and related appropriative processes are continuing to be reproduced in modern times. In fact, until recently, the principle of *terra nullius* (land that is legally deemed to be unoccupied) was often used in international law to claim possession of a territory. Ecuadorian law incorporated this doctrine prior to the outset of oil exploration, heightening the denial of property and political rights to Indigenous peoples. Kimerling (2013) argues that this precept is:

based on the racist presumption that even though they lived on the land at the time of colonization, they were “savages” who were incapable of exercising political sovereignty or owning their lands, and their political economies were so “underdeveloped” that their very existence as self-governing societies, in possession of their lands, could be denied (2013, p. 48-49).

It was not until the end of the 20th century in Ecuador, through an Inter-American Commission on Human Rights report, that the treatment of lands and Indigenous peoples based

on a *terra nullius* mindset was repudiated (Kimerling, 2013). However, by this point in time, oil extraction and “internal colonization” had already expelled the Waorani from their territories, and continued to limit their ability to manage and conserve resources since “nature” in the Ecuadorian Constitution and its subsoil “belongs” to the state (Kimerling, 2013). In 2008, significant progress was made regarding the Ecuadorian Constitution, through ratification by referendum (as will subsequently be explained in further detail). The rights of nature established *Pachamama* (Mother Earth) as a legitimate entity (Berros, 2015). Articles 71 through 74 of the seventh chapter of the 2008 Constitution strengthened the land and self-determination rights of Indigenous peoples, and acknowledged the violations that past governments had permitted (“Rights of Nature,” n.d.).

Despite these progressive Constitutional ideologies, there has been much critique regarding the disjuncture between discourse and practice in terms of the Correa administration’s pledges to respect and protect nature and Indigenous peoples. In fact, it can be illustrated that under Correa’s government, the implementation of policies under *sumak kawsay* were contradictory to the tenets of *buen vivir*. For instance, the term “development” in political rhetoric was often replaced with the term “good living.” This “developmentalist” agenda, elucidated by programs aimed at generating economic capital, would simultaneously generate “a good life” according to Correa. Albeit petroleum drilling “funded the national life project of modernity and of modernization, at the same time, the inception of industrialized oil extraction wrought social and ecological harm for residents of Ecuadorian Amazonia” (Lu et al., 2017, p. 72). Seemingly, the already prevalent issue of oil drilling was being exacerbated, through forms of constitutional backing.

The contradictory nature of development or progress is one that political ecologists and advocates of degrowth have inveighed for decades (Escobar, 2015). Correspondingly, conflating development and *buen vivir* raises concern about the “universalization of development as something desired by all regardless of social difference, though the projects of development may themselves reify forms of social difference” (Lu et al., 2017, p. 88). Development in this case can be exemplified by private sector-led extractivist economic projects, such as oil drilling in the Amazon basin. Seemingly, activities such as these pose immense ramifications for the environment, as well as for the Indigenous peoples that inhabit it. Further, such invasive projects demonstrate the synonymy between progress (modernity) and destruction, and emphasize Schmitt’s “second nomos”.

Neo-extractivism, in fact, precipitates the impoverishment of Indigenous peoples. They are directly affected by the extractive activities taking place in the Amazon and face the immediate effects of a neo-extractivist agenda brought forth by a skewed interpretation of *buen vivir*. This is a paradox in it of itself, and the case of the Waorani community of Gareno is used to analyze this contradiction, as its community members are enmeshed in a cycle of poverty, propagated by the deteriorating health and food insecurity fueled by the oil industry and its extractive processes.

As the 2008 Constitution furtively twists “the original meaning of good living by filling it with Western concepts that are foreign to the Andean world view,” it is imperative that the ideologies and attitudes of those contesting this modernized definition are promulgated (Hidalgo-Capitan & Cubillo-Guevara, 2017, p. 29). Latin American “indigenist” intellectuals and activists: propose recreating, in the twenty-first century, the harmonious living conditions of the Indigenous peoples of Abya Yala (Latin America) ...and propose doing so by making the

so-called Andean world view... (and other Indigenous world views) the main cultural reference of Latin American societies in order to recover the ancestral identity that has been lost, and propitiate civilised change (Hidalgo-Capitán & Cubillo-Guevara, 2017, p. 27).

Further, supporters of the “Pachamamist” conceptualization believe that one must live life to the fullest while rejecting “the idea that modern development constitutes social aspiration...countering that, in fact, it is merely another form of colonisation” (Hidalgo-Capitán & Cubillo-Guevara, 2017, p. 27).

Decolonizing *Sumak Kawsay*

A Westernized and neo-extractivist conceptualization of *sumak kawsay* generated by the Citizen’s Revolution “relegate[s] [Indigenous] identity and sustainability goals to the back burner” (Hidalgo-Capitán & Cubillo-Guevara, 2017, p. 28). This so-called model of development, whose core tenant is reiteratively fused with the notion of *buen vivir*, is driven by extractivism. Thus, it is apropos that a number of the individuals and larger movements that are against the development of oil drilling sites have actively protested their operation. According to Jameson (2010), the Ecuadorian Indigenous movement, represented by the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), has been of the most successful social movements in Latin America since the 1980s. Consisting of 14 Indigenous nationalities, CONAIE is Ecuador’s largest Indigenous organization, and over the past few decades, it has “emerged as the leading force behind street mobilizations that repeatedly pulled down neoliberal governments” (Becker, 2011, p. 48).

Although the movement has evolved since its onset, the notion of plurinationalism as well as control over Indigenous territories, remain its core motives (Jameson, 2010). CONAIE has affected change on both regional and national levels in the recent decades, with social mobilizations and uprisings bringing actors together from different localities across the nation. Kichwa activist and intellectual, Luis Macas, one of CONAIE's founders argues that maintaining a mobilized social force aids in the realization of social change (Becker, 2011). The work of other Ecuadorian Indigenous intellectuals, such as Nina Pacari and Luis Maldonado, further challenge the economic exploitation, political oppression, and racism frequently experienced by Indigenous peoples (Fernández, 2017). Collectively, they have denounced internal colonialism, which is seemingly heightened by the external colonialism faced by the entirety of the nation, due to poverty (Fernández, 2017).

Pachamama Alliance and Yasunidos are additional organizations that partner with Indigenous peoples and advocate for their empowerment. For example, when the Yasuní-ITT initiative was ultimately recalled by President Correa in 2013 (as will be detailed in Part II), the organizations vocalized their dissent. Moreover, Yasunidos directed an open letter to the manager of PetroAmazonas EP in response to a 15,700-barrel oil spill in the Aguarico River, as both the company and the Ecuadorian Ministry of the Environment were absent in the aftermath (Tapia, Berrazueta, & Rivadeneira, 2014).

The neoliberal policies implemented by governments and corporations, in addition to any associated environmental ramifications, do not come without resistance by Indigenous peoples. Further, they have made the “oil transnationals more accountable [while making] their way of life and model of development more obvious and explicit to the rest of the world” (Martínez-Domníguez, 2008, p. 21). These actions illustrate the process of “de-naming,” or “erasing the

regulation of the second nomos” and “[demanding] the resurgence of knowledge and forms of life” (Mignolo, 2015, p. XII-XIII). CONAIE is in fact an exemplary representation of the denoming process, as well as of opposition to the effects of “accumulation by dispossession.” Denoming can likewise be pursued through the analysis and dissemination of the effects of oil exploitation, and through the exploration of how the nominal declaration of *sumak kawsay* pertains to the perception of quality of life. Decolonizing *sumak kawsay* in this way, and realizing that it is understood and enacted in multiple ways, is imperative for the well-being of *Pachamama* and its people.

PART II: The Political Economy of Oil in Ecuador

As a country heavily reliant upon oil, Ecuador's dependence on extraction alters the lives of its citizens, especially Indigenous peoples living in petroleum production zones. Similar processes are taking place in other regions of the world that are rich in natural resources. Compared to previous administrations who used oil to promote a neoliberal development agenda, under the Correa administration, resource extraction has been promoted as being the catalyst to achieving *sumak kawsay* through revenue generation to undertake worthy projects like health, education and infrastructure. Simultaneously, neo-extractivism would bring Indigenous communities employment opportunities, thereby alleviating Indigenous poverty.

The underlying assumption of Rafael Correa's Citizen's Revolution is that "Ecuadorian society is still underdeveloped and unprepared" (Lu et al., 2017, p. 13). According to his administration, one way in which to counter this dilemma is through urbanization and market integration in the Amazon. This vision, however, indicates that more commonly than not, the natural world is primarily perceived in terms of its monetary value. This attitude not only deontologizes nature, but invalidates the identities of those inhabiting the "resource rich" Amazon, and discounts their diverse interpretations and realities of *sumak kawsay*. In this section of this thesis, I illustrate how the case of the Waorani, as they are living in a contestation of nomos in that they are now confronted with development and modernization, can help us understand how governmental discourse surrounding their perceived impoverishment is detrimental, and how neo-extractivism is undermining quality of life.

Environmental Transformations: The Role of Crude

Crude oil has been a coveted resource within the last century, with "one-sixth of the entire global economy is dedicated to the staggering effort of harvesting oil from its uneven

accumulations within the earth's crust" (Shah, 2006, p. VII). Such a neoliberal form of extraction as well as its associated consequences are taking place globally, a prime example being the case of Nigeria; one of many OPEC nations that has experienced environmental disasters associated with the engagement of extractive activities. Paradoxically, Nigeria "has been subverted by the very thing that gave it promise—oil, which accounts for 95 percent of the country's export earnings and 80 percent of its revenue" (O'Neill, 2016, p. 1). The most massive industry and generator of gross domestic product (GDP) in Nigeria is petroleum extraction, with the most productive region of crude being the Niger Delta Basin which contains 78 of the country's 159 oil fields ("Oil Extraction and Health," 2009).

A very significant amount of damage is caused by the exploration and extraction of this resource-turned-commodity. Long term pollution "results from pipeline leaks and oil spills, waste dumping and blowouts, all exacerbated by the neglect of proper maintenance and management" ("Oil Extraction and Health," 2009, 174-175). Devastatingly, over 500 million gallons of oil have been spilled within the Niger Delta in the recent decades, and the large presence of petroleum firms in the country as well as a lack of governmental regulations can be named as culpable factors (Lu, 2012). The involvement and manipulation in this sector by multinational firms has but accentuated these problems. Shell is the "biggest oil producer in Nigeria with the longest history, dominating the industry for as long as oil has been produced and in the early days enjoying a monopoly and a privileged relationship with government" (Manby, Nanyenya-Takirambudde, McClintock, & Tayler, 1999, p. 12).

As stated in a Human Rights Watch report, it has not been uncommon for oil companies to make "no effort to learn what was done in their name by abusive local security forces seeking to keep oil flowing in the face of local objections" (Manby et al., 1999, p. 3). Further,

corporations “often justify their presence by arguing that their operations will enhance respect for rights, but then adopt no substantive measures to achieve that end” (Manby et al., 1999, p. 3). An additional pertinent issue regarding oil extraction surrounds the treatment of the Ogoni people, one of the many Indigenous groups that reside in southeast Nigeria. In the 1990s, the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) successfully mobilized over 10,000 Ogonis to protest the policies implemented by the federal government, the actions of Shell, as well as the environmental damage occurring on their land (Manby, 1999). Unfortunately, this resulted in the detainment, beating, and killing of thousands of Ogonis by a military task force instated to suppress the uprisings.

While Ecuador has not endured petro-violence and human rights violations to the same degree as to which Nigeria has, the two countries’ relationships with oil can be put into conversation, as their respective citizens have witnessed how oil “simultaneously elevates and expands the centrality of the nation-state as a vehicle for modernity, progress, civilization, and at the same time produce[s] conditions that directly challenge and question those very same tenets of development” (Watts, 2001, p. 208). Furthermore, resistance movements have stemmed from both nations, in contestation of the environmental strife brought forth by unregulated extractive processes.

As Ecuador continues to experience friction surrounding protection of the rights of those facing the first-hand effects of oil extraction, it can be stated that this South American nation is likewise plagued by oil, or what OPEC-cofounder Juan Pablo Perez Alfonso referred to as the “devil’s excrement” (Lu, 2012). Furthermore, when the debt crisis hit in the mid 1980s, Ecuador adopted a new economic framework model, surrounding the implementation of neoliberal policies and structural adjustments in order to achieve optimal involvement in the global market

(Rival, 2009). This directly translated into the increased economic specialization by means of extraction of natural resources, particularly that of oil (Rival, 2009).

In subsequent years, foreign investment increased the expansion of oil exploration in the Amazon Basin and thus oil exports. The development of new oil fields inevitably resulted in environmental degradation. Further, the pervasiveness of extractive activities in Indigenous territories, which are widespread within the Ecuadorian Amazon, impact the livelihoods of Indigenous populations whose subsistence is still highly dependent on the forests and rivers. In fact, extractive processes can “potentially represent a major transformation of the social, economic and environmental context, including the introduction of private land tenure and the expansion of incipient local market economies” (Bozigar et al., 2016, p. 3). Such legal and economic alterations are increasingly intensified when oil companies, national or international, offer Indigenous communities employment opportunities and varying forms of benefits (which tend to be short-term) and services as to facilitate their work.

The Curse of Crude: Extractivism in Amazonia

In the Amazon Basin, as well as in other parts of the world, the large-scale extraction of natural resources is encroaching upon Indigenous Ecuadorian groups. A multitude of unsustainable human activities, including mining, agricultural expansion, road construction, and even hunting and illegal logging, are of significant concern to the global community due to their detrimental environmental consequences and destruction of Indigenous peoples and their modalities of life. Repeatedly, one of the most prominent challenges facing the Western region of the Amazon is oil exploitation. This has deleterious implications for the quality of life of Indigenous communities inhabiting the area, some of which remain in voluntary isolation to this

day. Extraction by multiple petroleum industries have affected environmental health and resource availability as well as the socioeconomic status of the people “entangled” in its complexities. Further, “Indigenous peoples remain at an enormous disadvantage when interacting with oil companies and allied state bodies” (Carr, Gray, & Bilsborrow, 2016, p. 2).

With 6.51 billion barrels of crude oil reserves, Ecuador’s Amazonian petroleum accounts for approximately half of the country’s export revenues (Lu, 2012). Supported by national policies, advanced extraction technologies, and the depletion of traditional resources, the extraction of fossil fuels by both national and transnational corporations continues to expand on a global scale. Transformational consequences of such extraction are associated with the development of infrastructure used to transfer extraction resources and supplies, as well as the removal of flora, and accordingly, the influx of toxins. To erect and administer this framework, laborers are necessary, most of which are contracted from foreign localities.

In the 1960s, Texaco Petroleum began oil operation in Ecuador after signing a contract with Petroecuador, the nation’s state-run petroleum industry during which over 300 oil wells were operated (Lu, 2012). In 2001, Texaco and Chevron merged, not long before the notorious Aguinda vs. Chevron court case was filed. The Indigenous people of Ecuador “brought suit against Texaco...for alleged environmental damage and resulting increased in cancer and other illnesses in the region” (Payne, 2014, p. 1067). While the source of contamination was in question, and the national and international corporations were intensely disputing their liability (or lack thereof), the prevalence of environmental contamination in Ecuador’s northern Amazon region due to unsustainable practices was undeniable. Texaco’s (Chevron’s) litigants argued for extreme levels of Total Petroleum Hydrocarbon (TPH), reaching over 900 times the Ecuadorian standard (Payne, 2014). Moreover, numerous unlined pits, which leaked toxins, had supposedly

been exploited and subsequently abandoned, generating a myriad of palpable health consequences.

Although Ecuador was compensated for environmental damages, this was not the last time its Amazon have faced irreversible environmental destruction. An additional impetus to Ecuador's oil extraction and exportation rates can be attributed to the mid-1980s financial crisis that occurred in response to the decline in the international price of petroleum. Likewise, due to external debt the country was "forced to adopt a series of drastic policies and reforms in order to stabilise the economy, induce structural adjustments, and cope with foreign exchange scarcity" (Rival, 2009, p. 2). Neoliberal policies and reform hastened structural changes to the oil sector.

Though it remains the smallest member Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in terms of production, Ecuador maintains the third largest oil reserves in the entirety of Latin America, pumping nearly 520,000 barrels per day (U.S. EIA, 2014; Reuters, 2013). While one third of its oil exports are expended by the United States, China is increasingly involved in the extraction process, thus Asian markets are being pledged crude oil. China has been financing Ecuadorian petroleum extraction for nearly a decade, and has been promised 90% of the exports in exchange for billions of dollars in foreign investment (Reuters, 2013).

In 2000, "the government decided to promote the further expansion of oil exports through increased direct foreign investment" (Rival, 2009, p. 3). More explicitly, Ecuador has committed its oil to a lender (China) due to having defaulted on loans unsettled with various core powers. Likewise, companies such as Perenco and PetroAmazonas have joined the OPEC narrative, and have continued to disrupt the rainforest. Such realities can be in part attributed to the failed Yasuní-ITT initiative. In 2007, Ecuador pledged to refrain from drilling in Yasuní National Park, in exchange for compensation from the international community.

Yasuní and the ITT Initiative

Yasuní National Park is home to an estimated 846 million barrels of crude oil (20% of Ecuador's reserves) in the Ishpingo-Tiputini-Tambococha (ITT) oil fields (Larrea & Warners, 2009). To preserve the park's extraordinary biodiversity and its myriad endemic species, the Ecuadorian government was urged by scientists, European governments, and environmentalists to leave these resources untapped. This would also reduce climate change as the amount of untapped oil equates to the atmospheric release of 410 million metric tons of carbon dioxide (Finer et al., 2009). Correspondingly, Rafael Correa, the nation's president at the time, launched the Yasuní-ITT program (Larrea & Warnars, 2009).

The initiative promised to leave the park, a United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO) Man and Biosphere Reserve, undisturbed in exchange for compensation from the global community. Ideally, the government would fundraise the equivalent to half of the profits that it would receive if it were to use or exploit the oil reserves. Collectively, it hoped that \$3.6 billion would be raised over a period of 12 years. The program was likewise a component of Ecuador's National development plan for good living (discussed in Part I). The initiative received support from internationally recognized individuals and organizations as well as from Indigenous organizations and ecological groups (Larrea & Warnars, 2009).

In 2013, President Correa established a commission to evaluate the progress of the initiative. It was insufficient given that \$336 million had been pledged, yet only \$13.3 million had been delivered (Martin, 2015). Later that year, the plan was nullified because there was not enough support from the international community. Drilling began in 2016, in blocks 31 and 43 of the ITT, with the acquired revenue being invested in social mobility projects (Finer et al., 2009).

According to Correa, most of the park remains untouched, affecting only 0.001 of its area and leaving 99.99% of the park intact (Martin, 2015).

However, according to environmentalists and geologists who are against oil drilling in Yasuní, the total area impacted goes beyond just surface deforestation, and includes noise, fumes, roads, totaling 145,000 hectares of which 117,000 are in the park (Martin, 2015). This is over 100 times more than what the government claims. More importantly, the area impacts the northern edge of the park, which has the largest biodiversity and is home to two uncontacted Indigenous groups. Ecuador's current president, Lenin Moreno, is subject to heavy criticism because drilling by PetroAmaonas in the Yasuní has continued. Not only does this contradict his recent pledge to the United Nations to protect the Amazon Basin, it also contradicts the Ecuadorian Constitution, which recognizes the rights of *Pachamama* (detailed in Part I; Berros, 2015).

Public discontent has been vocalized via protests organized by advocacy groups such as Amazon Watch and Yasunidos. Indigenous groups from different Amazonian localities have made their opposition known through resistance movements, and Indigenous scholars have written about the implications of resource extraction in the Amazon. Alberto Acosta, Ecuador's former Minister of Energy and Mines and one of the founder of the Yasuní-ITT proposal, describes the detriments caused by the exploitation. A translation of his perception of Chevron's ill practices and how they resemble a corporate genocide is as follows:

TEXACO bears as much responsibility for the extinction of original peoples such as the Tetete and Sansahuari as it does for the economic, social and cultural damage to Indigenous persons of the Siona, Secoya, Cofán, Quichua and Huaorani peoples, and also to settlers (Martínez-Domínguez, 2008, p. 7).

The Reconstitution of “Impoverished” Livelihoods

The “paradox of the plenty,” often referred to as the “resource curse,” aptly describes the socioeconomic situation confronted by Ecuador, in relation to its abundance of untapped oil reserves (Karl, 1997). This paradigm is illustrated by a 1995 study conducted by economists Sachs and Warner, in which they describe the historical negative correlation between resource abundance and economic growth. Numerous explanations for this perplexing relationship have been proposed including the Dutch disease model. This economic model explains the causality between the increase in economic development of a one sector, such as the natural resource sector, and a decline in another, such as that of manufacturing (Sachs & Warner, 1995). A corollary to this process can be a positive resource shock such as oil extraction which alters the economy by increasing the:

returns to resource-related activities, increasing the returns to non-tradable sectors such as housing, increasing government revenues through taxes on extraction, and inflating prices relative to unaffected areas (Bozigar et al., 2016, p. 4).

In fact, this framework is “the most relevant predictive theory for the social impacts of oil,” and can be applied to local economies such as that of an Indigenous community (Bozigar et al., 2016, p. 3).

Seemingly, disproportionate amounts of money shared between classes is resultant of the “resource curse,” which further engenders inequality, and adequately describes one reason for why Ecuador struggles to become a more developed nation. According to Sachs (2017), several “poverty traps” explain why countries fail to achieve economic growth. Examples such as fiscal traps, government failures, and geopolitics can be used to supplement the causality of Ecuador’s reluctant economic mobility. As mentioned previously, countries that are heavily reliant on the

exportation of crude oil often struggle with human rights, and this is especially true of the subaltern groups that are most immediately affected by extractive processes. Indigenous peoples inhabiting the Amazon are susceptible to a “petroleum paradox,” which is exacerbated by an unethical appropriation of land.

To execute “economic mobility” projects in Ecuador, in 2011, the state created *Ecuador Estratégico*. This “‘public’ firm with administrative and financial autonomy committed to improving the living conditions of peoples historically abandoned by the state is tasked with planning, prioritizing, and executing local and infrastructural development projects in 11 provinces, which include approximately...85 counties” (Lu et al., 2017, p. 112). The funds disbursed to this program equated to “12 percent of the profits and surplus of oil and mining companies, funds dedicated to ‘local development and infrastructure’ in zones influenced by ‘strategic sector’ projects, to alleviate the burdens suffered by peoples negatively influenced by these sectors (Lu et al., 2017, p. 112).

Ecuador Estratégico in part epitomizes the contradictory nature of Correa’s *Revolución Ciudadana*. While the 2008 Constitution bolstered shared governance and “financial and political decentralization allowing subnational-scale governments to design and invest in local development and the well-being of their citizens, *Ecuador Estratégico* functions as recentralization of the governance of resource–state–citizenship relations in areas affected by strategic sectors” (Lu et al., 2017 p. 112). Analogously, Correa’s rhetoric regarding the supposed impoverished state in which Indigenous peoples live demonstrates that the *Revolución* is a “project of subordination,” as it manages parts of the national population while administering policies and (Lu et al., 2017 p. 123). Moreover, the *Revolución* ultimately turns marginalized

individuals, including Indigenous peoples, into economically contributing members of society (Lu et al., 2017).

The changing lifestyles of the Waorani thoroughly exemplify the discourse and projects of oil exploitation and are indicative of the consequences of extractive processes on poverty and quality of life, as will be demonstrated throughout the remainder of this thesis. There is a consensus by certain Waorani individuals (those living in the community of Gareno) that both the benefits of oil and the quality of environmental safety regulations have decreased since Petroecuador's subsidiary, PetroAmazonas EP, gained control of the oil blocks corresponding with their territory. Lu and Silva explain that

Although more than 600,000 hectares of Waorani lands are protected under the communal legal title they were granted in 1990, they do not control subsoil resource and mineral rights, all of which are the property of the Ecuadorian state (2015, p. 443).

The inability to claim legal right to the oil, in addition to the substantive extraction taking place, has led to the diminished control and regulation of vital resources, including forests, rivers and game (Lu & Silva, 2015).

Undoubtedly, exposure to oil contamination presents alarming risks for human health, and there have been significant increases in skin and respiratory ailments, developmental disorders, and malnutrition across numerous Indigenous populations since the onset of petroleum extraction (Cepek, 2012). Additional indirect exposures to oil extraction are likewise affecting the physical health of contemporary Waorani. For example, market integration is making an impression on food systems, as processed and packaged foods are becoming increasingly incorporated into the everyday diet. Mental health is also being negatively affected, due to the amalgamation of recent lifestyle transformations (Lu et al., 2017).

The work of anthropologist Mintz (1987) speaks to the correlation between the structural violence shaping the colonizing history of sugar and continual colonization of the body through psychosomatic functions, and this connection juxtaposes said history with the addictive properties of sugar as it colonizes the internal body of consumers, specifically marginalized populations. The effects of oil exploration on Waorani quality of life and health can be read as comparable to Mintz's take on sugar. Oil has provoked the de-structuring of Waorani society exposing new generations of Waorani to the radical shift of their worldviews, trapped between decaying self-sufficiency and the consumption of processed foods, and a not-fully comprehended process of proletarianization based on the ability to sell labor to the market.

The case of the Xavante of Brazil parallels that of the Waorani, in that government-sponsored economic projects have likewise restructured traditional systems of food production. As studied by Graham (2005), the implementation of mechanized rice farming to all Xavante reserves during the late 1970s generated a virtually exclusive dependency on white rice as a food staple in lieu of the traditional reliance on *yuca*. As a result, much knowledge about nutritious traditional foods has been lost, and dietary changes have manifested themselves in increased instances of diabetes and obesity (Graham, 2005). Both health detriments are in fact "aggravated by the recently acquired taste for refined sugar, a dietary novelty, and in some areas by alcohol, particularly in communities that are located close to Brazilian towns" (Graham, 2005, p. 628).

The Case of the Waorani

The Huaorani, also spelled Waorani, are the tribal group most recently affected by extractive activities and are also considered to be the least integrated into the market economy

(Lu, 2012). Moreover, they are the Native Amazonians with the most recent history of sustained contact, only going back to the late 1950s. A few Waorani families remaining in voluntary isolation. In 1955, a group of five American evangelical missionaries sought to make contact with the *aucas*, the Kichwa term for “savages,” in the hope of introducing Christianity to their culture of violence (Cardoso et al., 2012). Their initial contact consisted of distributing gifts by way of an airplane. The missionaries (or *kowodi*, meaning outsiders and cannibals) eventually made their way onto Waorani soil, and unfortunately, were attacked with spears and killed. Determined to actualize their hopes of converting the members of this Amazonian tribe, other missionaries returned in 1958. They were not alone, however. Accompanied by Dayuma, a Waorani woman who had fled her community several years prior, the first peaceful contact was successfully made with one of the four Waorani groups (Shiripuno, 2016).

The present day Waorani population is estimated at 3,500 individuals distributed among approximately five dozen villages in Waorani Territory (6,786 km²) and the Yasuní National Park (6,797 km²; Lu, 2012). Villages vary in their accessibility; some are alongside roads or navigable rivers, others more distant and best reached by small plane. The total number of villages, however, is dependent on their semi-nomadic pattern of settlement. Currently, most communities consist of nuclear families “living in a nucleated settlement pattern, characterized by dwellings centered on a school and perhaps a landing strip” (Lu, 2012, p. 76). Members of the extended family tend to live in close proximity to each other, as opposed to within the same dwelling.

The native Waorani language of *waotededo* is considered a linguistic isolate, unique in its linguistic construction. Furthermore, no congeners for the Waorani language have been discovered (Shiripuno, 2016; Lu & Wirth, 2011). The term “Waorani” translates to “we people”

(Rival, 1993). Before sustained contact, the Waorani lived through hunting, horticulture, gathering and some fishing. The majority of Waorani subsistence continues to be based on “manioc slash-and-mulch agriculture, with the starchy tuber consumed many times a day as a premasticated drink called *tepae*” (Lu, 2012, p. 76). Additional important cultigens for the Waorani are plantain, corn, sweet potato and peach palm (Lu & Wirth, 2011). The hunting of terrestrial mammals such as peccaries and woolly monkeys is actualized by way of spears and shotguns, and that of toucans and other arboreal game typically using blowguns (Lu & Wirth, 2011). *Barbasco*, a poison derived from plants, aids in the procurement of fish. The foraging of fruits and nuts provides nutrients into the Waorani diet.

Due to oil extraction and market integration, subsistence activities are being undermined. Shifting food systems are resulting in the adoption of processed and packaged foods and beverages into the Waorani dietary regimen. Moreover, because of contact with the outside world and an influx of material goods, there is no longer a sense of economic equality across all Waorani households. This is a fluctuation from the traditional Waorani society, which is egalitarian and individualistic, its community members being perceived as free agents (Robarchek & Robarchek, 2005). Further, no one is traditionally born into a position of power, and both genders are valued equally (Lu, 2012). This deviation from past patterns, including cultural customs, correlates with missionary influence, colonization, and impacts of oil company policies and activities.

“Living Well” Amidst the Exploitation

Present-day Waorani societies are experiencing the negative effects of oil exploitation. With the intensification of extractive activities comes the pervasiveness of poverty (in terms of

both socioeconomic well-being and environmental resource scarcity), health detriments (both physical and mental), food system changes, and a shift away from traditional practices (culturally and technologically). The Waorani community of Gareno, which was founded in 1996, embodies such lifestyle shifts, and its inhabitants are reaping the consequences. Located along an oil road, Gareno consists of 23 households, totaling approximately 130 people. While the community is dominated by Waorani individuals, two Kichwa families live there as well, some of the individuals within the two groups having intermarried (Doughty, Lu, & Sorensen 2010). The languages spoken in Gareno include *waotededo* as well as Spanish.

Many “of the current residents [of Gareno] moved to the small village from deep in the rainforest [in communities known as Quehueiri-ono and Huentaro], mainly from along the Shiripuno River” (Doughty, Lu, & Sorensen, 2010, p. 21). In accordance with “informants who chose to stay in the Shiripuno River communities, Gareno drew some Huarani like a magnet, with visions of petroleum company handouts, employment and bounty” (Lu, 2012, p. 84). Perenco, the French oil company, did just this. It provided infrastructure and numerous services to Gareno. However, in 2009, PetroAmazonas, “a subsidiary of Ecuador’s state-owned oil company Petroecuador, took over crude oil production” (Lu, 2012, p. 85). The current residents of Gareno, as will be described in Part III, claim that they preferred the services and employment opportunities provided by Perenco, and are generally more dissatisfied with the management of PetroAmazonas, and the environmental degradation it has caused.

Further, an additional issue that has arisen since the establishment of the oil companies in Gareno corresponds with the notion of individual autonomy and the ways in which it can trump collective concerns about the community (Lu & Wirth, 2011). In example, some Waorani individuals have approved large-scale extractive projects without the consent of their fellow

community members, only becoming aware of their repercussions once the activities were underway (Lu & Wirth, 2011). Illegal logging and mining also takes place within the community, with outsiders making their way in and appropriating resources. The “tragedy of the commons” and the notion of enclosures can be applied to the aforementioned dilemma, which are apparent shifts away from prior modes of resource management (Lu & Wirth, 2011).

Empirical research can provide insight into the material and psychological consequences of the strategic incorporation of *sumak kawsay* in a larger neo-extractivist agenda during the *Revolución Ciudadana*. Furthermore, analyzing the myriad definitions and reflections of *sumak kawsay* can foster a greater understanding of the lifestyle shifts being experienced in the Waorani community of Gareno.

PART III: Waorani Experiences of the *Revolución Ciudadana*

Methodology

To address Indigenous well-being, perceived quality of life, and the myriad definitions of *sumak kawsay*, this thesis integrates my fieldwork and data collection with ethnographic research conducted by Dr. Flora Lu and her team four years prior. My methodology encompassed participant observation, a survey about health and well-being, and a focus group.

Institutional Review Board Approval

A prerequisite to conducting field research and analyzing data was applying for human participants research approval by the University of California Santa Cruz Institutional Review Board (Protocol #HS3169) in compliance with the Federal Policy for the Protection of Human Subjects (“Common Rule”). My proposal specified that the residents of the Waorani community of Gareno would be briefed about my research prior to my arrival in Ecuador and during my visit. I utilized verbal consent because some Waorani are not literate and most have limited knowledge of Spanish. Outsiders, such as oil companies, have taken advantage of Waorani who were made to sign contracts that they did not understand. As a result, the process of taking out a document and asking for a signature is potentially fraught. My research presented minimal risks to participants. This voluntary study posed no imminent physical or social risks to those involved. The potential emotional risks were low and were outweighed by a greater understanding of Waorani people. Additional benefits included an opportunity for self-reflection and self-expression as a participant. The results of this study will be written in an accessible manner, translated into Spanish, and returned to the community of Gareno.

Fieldwork

The qualitative and quantitative analyses of this study followed the fieldwork that I conducted in the Ecuadorian Amazon. In July 2018, I spent seven days in the community of Gareno during which I conducted one-on-one semi-structured interviews with a subset of women, in addition to a focus group with approximately 20 members of the community (both women and men; see Appendix C). Participant observation supplemented these methodologies. Although a large percentage of my time was dedicated to the interview process, I also engaged in a variety of community-based activities to establish rapport with community members such as preparing meals, cleaning, playing games and exploring the river with the young children, celebrating a birthday, recollecting traditional songs and dances with the elders, and giving and trading items (brought from the United States) for handmade crafts woven by the women of Gareno.

I was fortunate to take part in two additional activities that were very meaningful to me. I participated in an event to honor the late community leader, Ayewe. Although Ayewe passed away three years ago, his legacy as a fierce leader and advocate for cultural resilience remains strong among the residents of Gareno, many of whom are his extended family. Because I have worked on several projects to preserve the community's oral history and included video interview footage of Ayewe (as will be expanded on at the end of Part III), they invited me to visit his final resting place. Located near the property of his eldest son, the lush greenery of the secluded area was defined by a grave marker. To feel his presence, his kin often visit the burial site.

I also showed community members the film that I created and this helped strengthen our relationship. This film, a compilation of video interviews conducted by Dr. Lu's team during a

2014 visit to Gareno, honors Ayewe's memory. I completed the transcription and translation of these interviews and the film in 2015. Despite never meeting Ayewe, I feel like I know him. His knowledge of Waorani culture and traditions, lived experience of the period of missionization, and sentiments about the destruction of Indigenous territories by the oil companies are permanently documented.

Over the entirety of the week, observing and engaging myself in activities as ordinary as household tasks and games of soccer provided me with valuable insight surrounding quality of life. Observation, even from a distance, helped me to "fill in the gaps," complementing the information I learned through more quantitative methods of data collection. Moreover, it allowed me to visualize how the daily routines of the people of Gareno have been modified due to the influence of the petroleum sector. My background in psychology facilitated my observations. Being both physically and mentally engaged with the community members was transformational, and allowed me to recognize the pressures invoked by Westernization and neo-extractivism, such as resource depletion and market integration.

Additional Methodologies

This thesis compares two datasets: information I collected in July 2018 and Dr. Lu's 2014 data from a project funded by the National Science Foundation (BCS-1258852). Two methodologies were employed to assess the quality of life of the Gareno community and definitions of *sumak kawsay*. The first method consisted of measuring perceptions of quality of life (QOL). QOL was determined through the administration of an abbreviated version of the World Health Organization Quality of Life (WHOQOL) questionnaire in 2014, and I utilized the same instrument in 2018. The second methodology, a focus group, drew on open-ended

questions designed to foster dialogue related to the changing environment and strategies for adapting to the challenges brought on by those shifts.

Upon my arrival to Gareno and prior to the onset the interviews, I convened a community meeting. This is customary with the arrival of outsiders and provides an opportunity to explain the purpose of their visit. This meeting was also a chance for families to come together, made more pleasant by the food that I provided. After my introduction to the community, I asked people who had gathered if they would be willing to participate in a focus group later in the week. Additionally, I approached women individually and confirmed their interest and availability. Participant observation, which was performed throughout the entirety of the week, supplemented these two methods of inquiry.

QOL Questionnaire. Perceptions of quality of life in the Waorani community of Gareno were assessed using 31 semi-structured and open-ended questions (see Appendix A). The QOL instrument was obtained from Dr. Lu's research, and was implemented to assure that the data was compatible. This included items assessing the following: perceptions of quality of life and self-reported health; inter-household variation in responses to oil company and government programs; and how Indigenous residents of Gareno think about how they are regarded by the larger Ecuadorian society, especially in terms of economics. Interviews took place in the participant's' home community, either within their home or in another location, and were conducted in a casual and conversational manner. They lasted anywhere from 15-30 minutes, depending on the participant's enthusiasm and availability. Participants responded to the questions on a five point Likert scale, with "1" representing negative responses including "not at all," "very poor," and "very dissatisfied." Conversely, a rating of "5" represented positive responses such as "completely," "very good," and "very satisfied." These quantitative responses

were supplemented by verbal elaborations which were recorded using an audio tape recorder. Participants were provided with the opportunity to expand on their questionnaire responses through conversation, however, not all did.

Women over the age of 18 who had resided in the community for a number of years were selected as the study population, a subset of 8 women successfully completing these materials. The ages of the participants spanned from 22 years to about 50 years, the majority of women having moved to Gareno soon after it was established as a community. Working with longstanding community members allowed for comparative analyses based on longitudinal data gathered by Dr. Lu, and focusing on women was more feasible given my own positionality and identity, and increased the likelihood of more rapport. Furthermore, interpretations of *sumak kawsay* cannot be understood nor decolonized without properly understanding and deconstructing of the role of women in society.

Focus Group. General perceptions surrounding quality of life were discussed during the focus group, which was held in the community's most centralized location, the *cancha cubierta* (stadium). Prior to the start of the one-hour long group interview, we engaged the participants by conversing about what they had done that day and by asking them to stretch to prime their attentiveness. Twenty questions that I developed regarding perceived quality of life were posed. The questions ranged in complexity, with some focusing on the physical and environmental effects of the oil companies and others on psychological implications of development and strategies for adapting to ensuing challenges (see Appendix B).

Approximately 20 adults participated. The focus group lasted approximately 60 minutes. During the gathering, women weaved *shigras* (satchels woven from plant fibers), an activity that most engaged in daily. Due to this larger than expected crowd, I was assisted with administering

questions by Kati Álvarez. Although I had anticipated working with a much smaller group, I consider it successful. After the focus group ended, several community members continued discussing community-wide issues (i.e., exploitation by the oil companies, loss of culture). These issues were sparked by our earlier conversations and their deliberation resulted in the conceptualization of potential solutions. To show my appreciation for their time and engagement, I handed out small loaves of bread to the participants which were accepted with gratitude.

Analyses

Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected as part of this study, and that different techniques were used to analyze this information. With respect to the qualitative data, eight individual quality of life interviews and focus group were transcribed using a Web application called oTranscribe. Audio recordings ranged in length from 30 minutes to 60 minutes. The interviews were subsequently translated from Spanish to English. Participants were assigned identification numbers to keep their identities anonymous. Once transcribed and translated, the QOL questions were entered into IBM SPSS, a software program with statistical analysis capabilities.

Quantitative data from the QOL protocol was transferred to a Microsoft Excel Spreadsheet to obtain a cleaner, more organized understanding of the participant responses. A subset of the 31 interview questions were deemed pertinent to this analysis and were imputed into SPSS. The selected items were then grouped into seven broader categories: environment; physical health; mental health; government; services; assets; and life satisfaction. Before running frequencies and descriptives (i.e., means and standard deviations), I cross referenced the 2014 data (UCSC IRB #HS1987) to ensure that same eight participants responded to the same

questions during their QOL interviews. While only seven of the participants were included in the 2014 study, I ultimately went ahead to compare the two samples, as they were proximal in size.

Bivariate correlations measured against the “standard” quality of life question (see Appendix C, question 1) were run to assess statistical significance (Person’s r). This method of analysis was likewise applied to the 2014 data. Responses from the focus group were used to supplement the frequencies, descriptives and correlations, and were sorted within the seven broader QOL question groups. The elaborations provided by the individual interview participants were also supplemental to the numerical information. Comparing the two bodies of data longitudinally allowed for shifts and trends in perceived quality of life to be noted. Further, they assisted in identifying how the Waorani of Garenó interpret the definitions of *sumak kawsay* within their daily lives.

Findings from Quantitative Analyses

In the past decade, the Waorani community of Gareno has experienced a multitude of changes as the result of oil extraction. The effects of oil drilling include deforestation, habitat loss, contamination and resource depletion, which have undermined Indigenous livelihoods. Here I report quantitative findings regarding perceived quality of life from a cohort of seven female community members in 2014 and eight women in 2018. Seven of the same women participated in 2014 and 2018.

To assess quality of life and how it pertains to the definitions of *sumak kawsay*, responses culled from the WHOQOL questionnaire were grouped into overarching themes essential to quality of life and poverty (see Appendix A). The following seven categories were examined: environment; physical health; mental health; government, services; assets; and life satisfaction. Two to four questions within each category (i.e., those deemed as most contextually substantive) were evaluated.

It is important to note that each data set was analyzed individually. Graphic representations for each WHOQOL question are presented to compare 2014 and 2018 responses. Means and standard deviations of the Likert scale responses are reported. Correlation matrices demonstrate the correlations coefficients for all WHOQOL questions with an “anchor question,” the first question of the WHOQOL questionnaire, which pertains to classification of quality of life.

Descriptive Analysis of 2014 and 2018 Data

Relationship between community and natural environment. Two questions assessed people's relationship with the natural environment. The first item (WHOQOL question 10) examined the general environmental health of the community and the second question (WHOQOL question 16) assessed accessibility of “gathered” fruits and vegetables. In 2014, when asked about the health of Gareno's environment ($M = 3.29$, $SD = 0.13$), 28.6% of participants maintained that the environment was “extremely healthy,” which equates to a Likert scale rating of 5. In 2018, when asked the same question ($M = 3.13$, $SD = 0.83$), 0% of participants provided a rating of 5. Accordingly, the percent of individuals who reported an “extremely” healthy environment decreased by 100%, indicating the most dramatic percent change across Likert scale responses (see Figure 2).

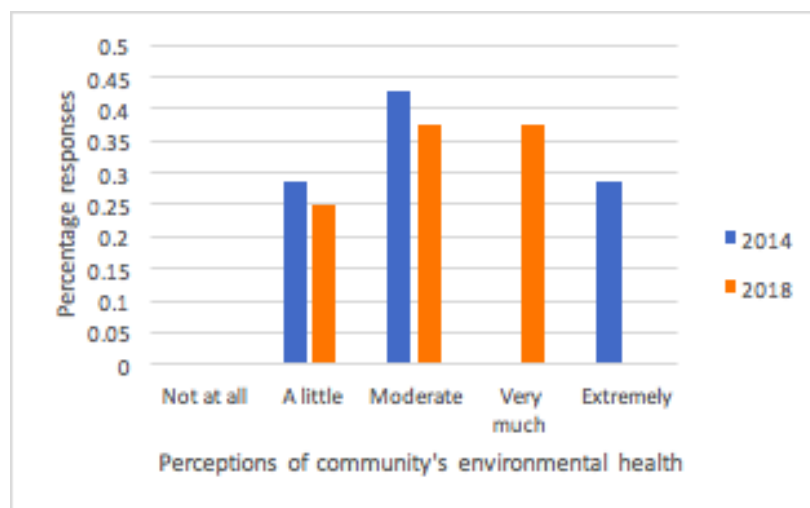


Figure 2: Perceptions of community environmental health in 2014 and 2018

Another noticeable change occurred in the “very much” (Likert scale rating of 4) category in regards to “gathered” or healthy food access. In 2014 ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 1.51$), zero respondents stated that they had “very much access,” while in 2018 ($M = 4.0$, $SD = 0.53$), 75% of respondents did (see Figure 3).

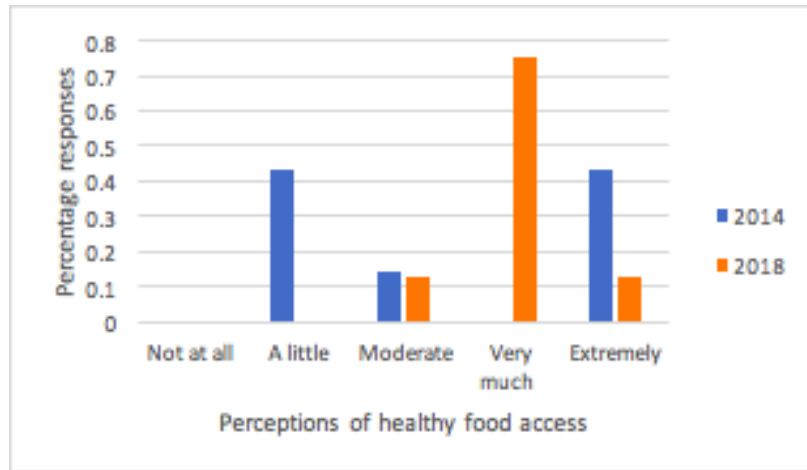


Figure 3: Perceptions of healthy food access in 2014 and 2018

Relationship between community and physical health. Two questions evaluated the physical health of community members. The first question (WHOQOL question 3) examined the frequency of physical pain in 2014 ($M = 3.57$, $SD = 1.40$) and in 2018 ($M = 2.63$, $SD = 1.30$). In both the “moderate” (Likert scale rating of 3) and “very much” (Likert scale rating of 4) categories of each question, a percent change of -56.3% in physical pain was identified (see Figure 4).

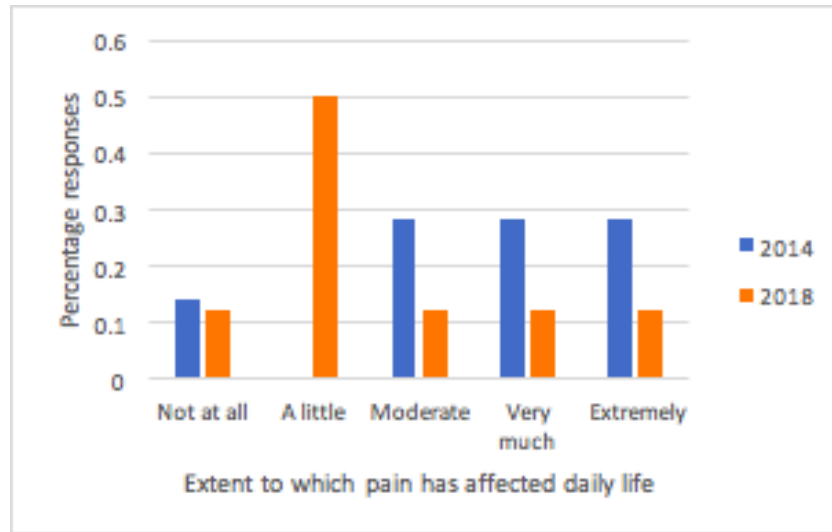


Figure 4: Frequency of physical pain in 2014 and 2018

The second question (WHOQOL question 2), which examined the overall satisfaction of community members' health, indicated a 41.7% decrease in "satisfaction" (Likert scale rating of 4) between 2014 ($M = 3.71$, $SD = 1.38$) and 2018 ($M = 3.50$, $SD = 1.60$). This is to say that in 2014, 42.9% of participants shared that they were "satisfied," while 25% did so in 2018 (see Figure 5).

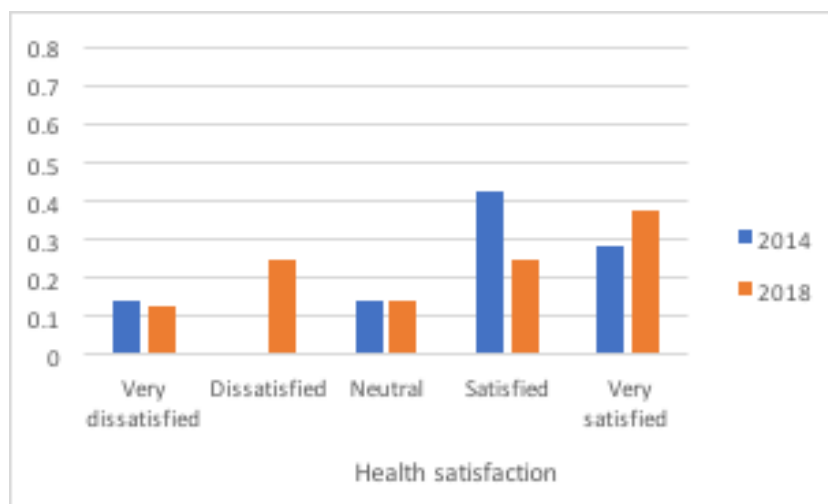


Figure 5: Average scores of health satisfaction in 2014 and 2018

Relationship between community and mental health. Two questions gauged perceived mental health in Garenjo. The first question (WHOQOL question 30), which relates to frequency of depression or sadness, indicated that in 2014 ($M = 3.29$, $SD = 0.76$), 14.3% participants were “often” (Likert scale rating of 2) depressed or sad. In 2018 ($M = 3.38$, $SD = 1.19$), this was the case for 37.5% of participants, which is indicative of a percent change of +162.24% (see Figure 6).

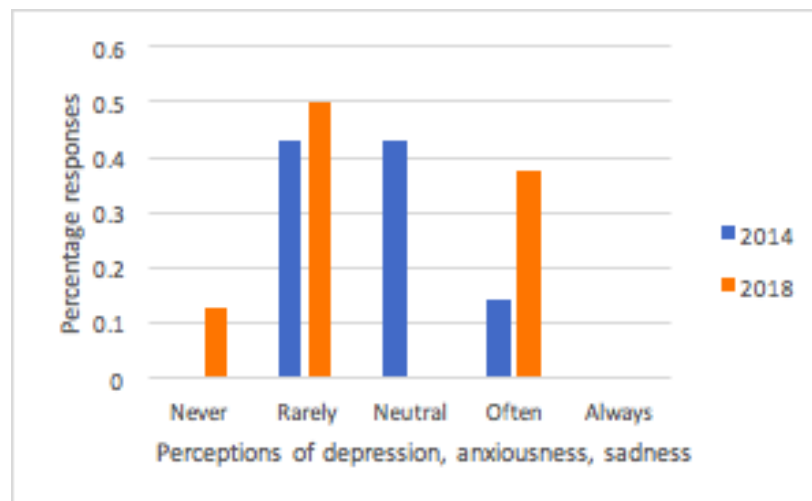


Figure 6: Frequency of self-reported depression, anxiousness, sadness in 2014 and 2018

In terms of frequency of happiness and calmness (WHOQOL question 31), 14.3% of participants “rarely” (Likert scale rating of 4) felt this way in 2014 ($M = 3.86$, $SD = 1.07$). In 2018 ($M = 3.13$, $SD = 0.83$), 25% of participants “rarely” felt happy, reflecting a percent change of +74.8% in this category (see Figure 7).

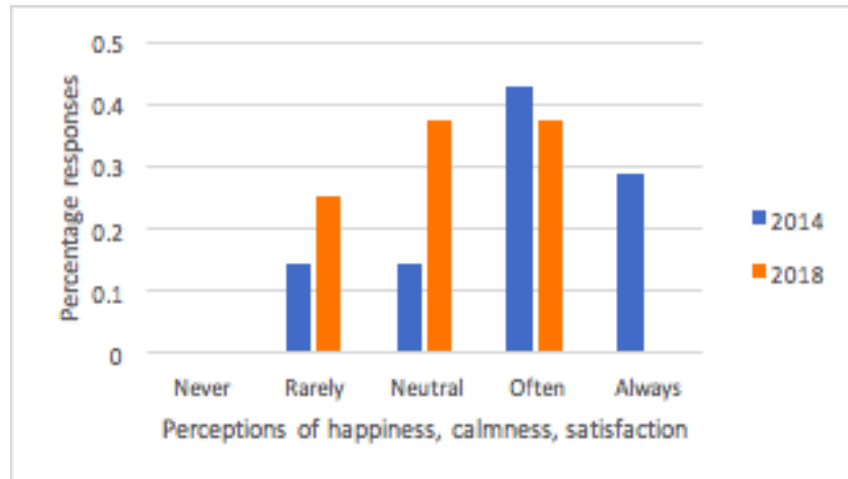


Figure 7: Frequency of self-reported happiness, calmness, satisfaction in 2014 and 2018

Relationship between community and governmental branches. Four questions assessed community satisfaction with different levels of the Ecuadorian government. The first governmental level (WHOQOL question 26), that of the Waorani Federation (NAWE), is not represented graphically as there is only data available from 2018 ($M = 2.38$, $SD = 1.06$). Seventy-five percent of the respondents were “dissatisfied” (Likert scale rating of 2) with the support received from NAWE, while only 25% were “satisfied” (Likert scale rating of 4). In terms of satisfaction towards the local branch of government (WHOQOL question 27), in 2014 ($M = 2.57$, $SD = 1.27$), 42.9% of participants were “dissatisfied” (Likert scale response of 2), while in 2018 ($M = 2.57$, $SD = 1.27$), 75% responded in this manner. A percent change of +74.8% in “dissatisfaction” can be noted between 2014 and 2018. Conversely, there was a 100% response decrease in the “very satisfied” category (see Figure 8).

Attitudes toward the support received from the national government (WHOQOL question 28) varied in that 14.3% of responses in 2014 ($M = 2.86$, $SD = 1.57$) were “dissatisfied” (Likert scale rating of 2), while 75% of responses did in 2018 ($M = 2.5$, $SD = 0.93$). Approximately 29%

of participants were “satisfied” (Likert scale rating of 4) with the support received in 2014, while only 25% were “satisfied” in 2018 (see Figure 9).

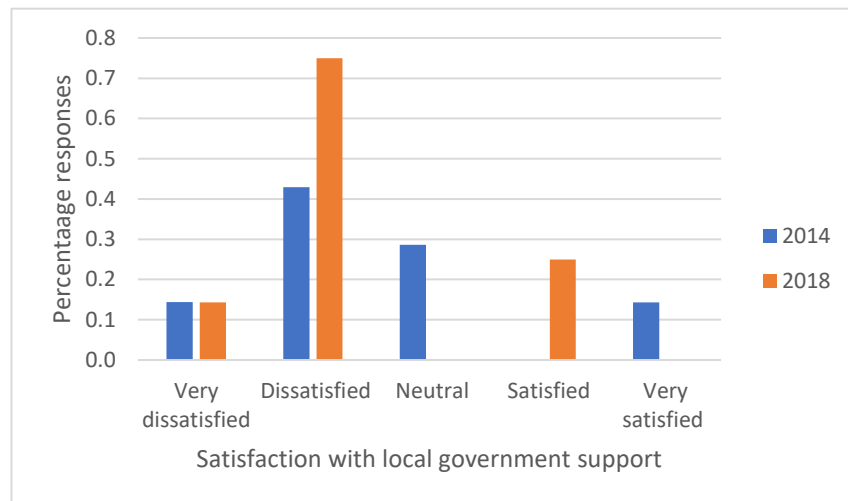


Figure 8: Perceived satisfaction with local government support in 2014 and 2018

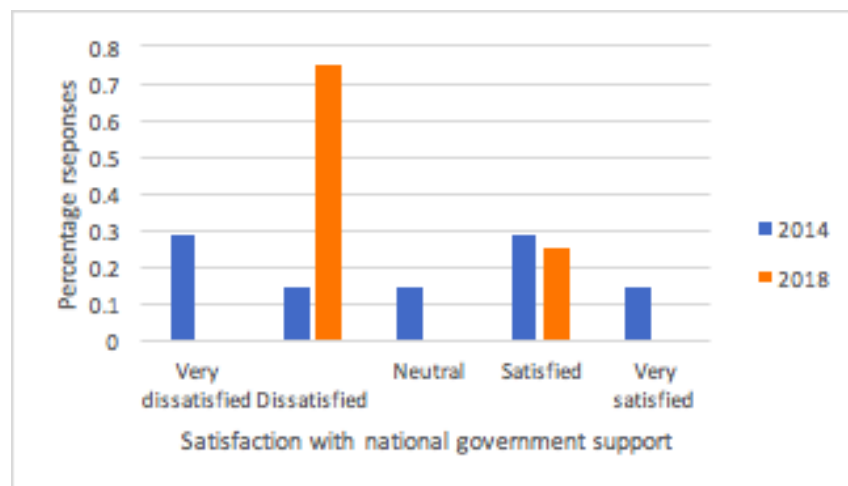


Figure 9: Perceived satisfaction with national government support in 2014 and 2018

Attitudes toward the support provided by the state oil company (WHOQOL question 29) was grouped under the relationship between the community and the government because it is a state-run corporation. In 2014 ($M = 2.43$, $SD = 0.96$), 42.9% of participants were “dissatisfied” (Likert scale rating of 2). In 2018 ($M = 2.30$, $SD = 0.71$), 87.5% were “dissatisfied,” which indicates a percent change of +103.96%. Comparatively, a decrease of 12.6% was noted regarding “satisfaction” (Likert scale rating of 4) (see Figure 10).

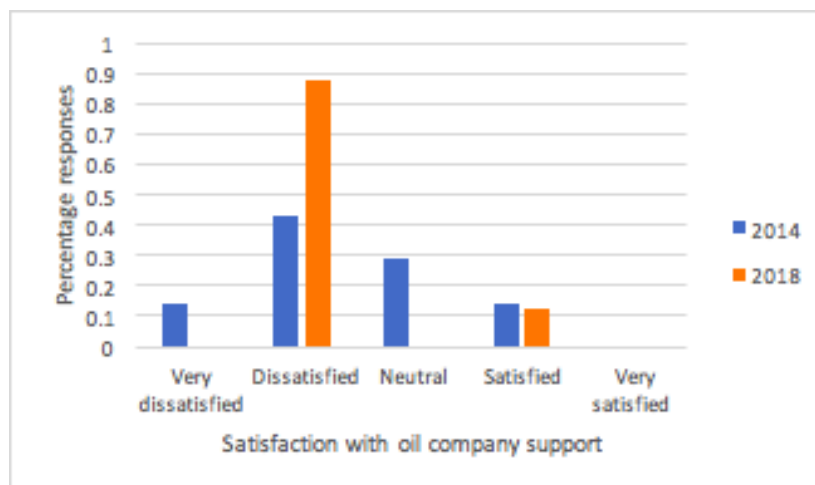


Figure 10: Perceived satisfaction with oil company support in 2014 and 2018

Relationship between community and access to services. Two questions evaluated community satisfaction in terms of access to services. In 2014 ($M = 3.86$, $SD = 1.21$), 14.3% of participants were “satisfied” (Likert scale rating of 4) with access to health services (WHOQOL question 21), while in 2018 ($M = 3.75$, $SD = 0.71$), 87.5% were. This reflects a percent change of +511.89% (see Figure 11).

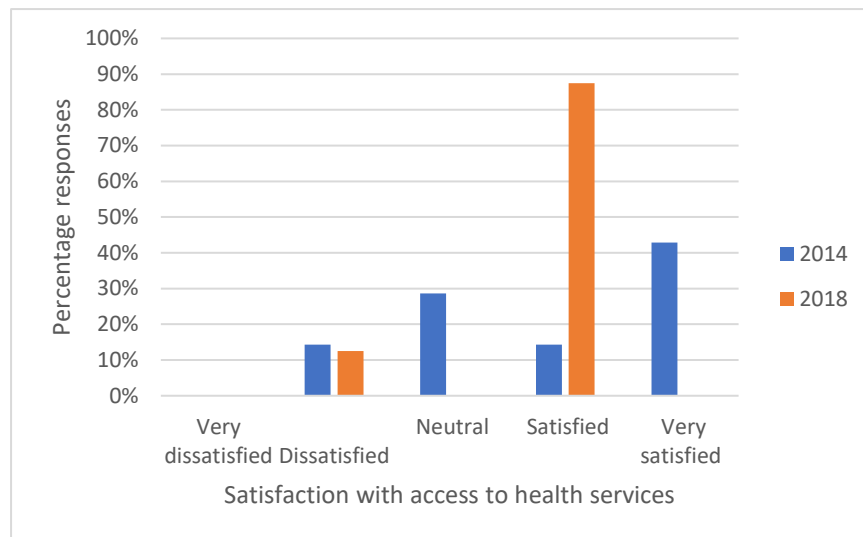


Figure 11: Perceived satisfaction with health service access in 2014 and 2018

In 2014 ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 1.27$), 14.3% of respondents were “satisfied” (Likert scale rating of 4) with quality of education (WHOQOL question 23), while 75% were satisfied in 2018 ($M = 4.00$, $SD = 0.53$). Thus, a dramatic percent change of 424.48% is demonstrated (see Figure 12).

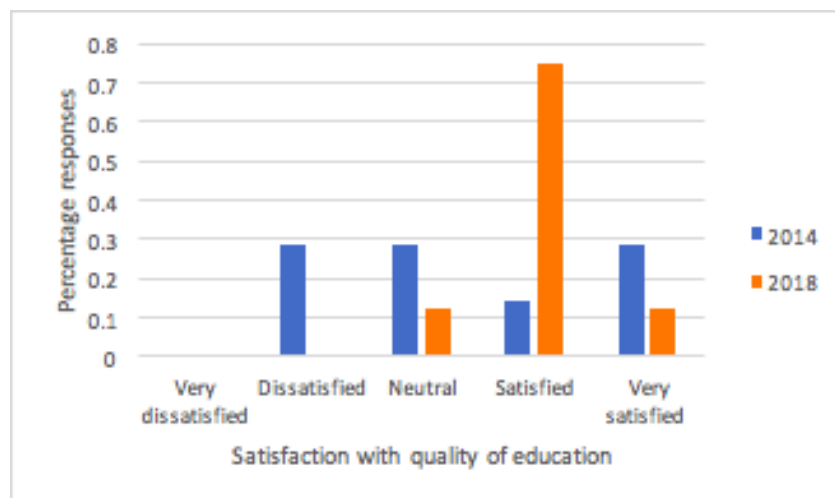


Figure 12: Perceived satisfaction with education in 2014 and 2018

Relationship between community and assets. Three questions were evaluated relationships between community members and their financial security/the amount of assets they possess. The first question (WHOQOL question 17), which concerns access to credit or a bank account, is not represented graphically data was only available from 2018 ($M = 1.25$, $SD = 0.46$). Twenty-five percent of respondents had access to “a little” (Likert scale rating of 2) credit, while 75% had no access at all (Likert scale rating of 1). The second question (WHOQOL question 12) pertains to having enough money to cover necessities. In 2014 ($M = 2.43$, $SD = 0.79$), 14.3% of participants said that they were “very much” (Likert scale rating of 4) secure in this regard. In 2018 ($M = 2.25$, $SD = 1.16$), this was similar of 25% of participants (see Figure 13).

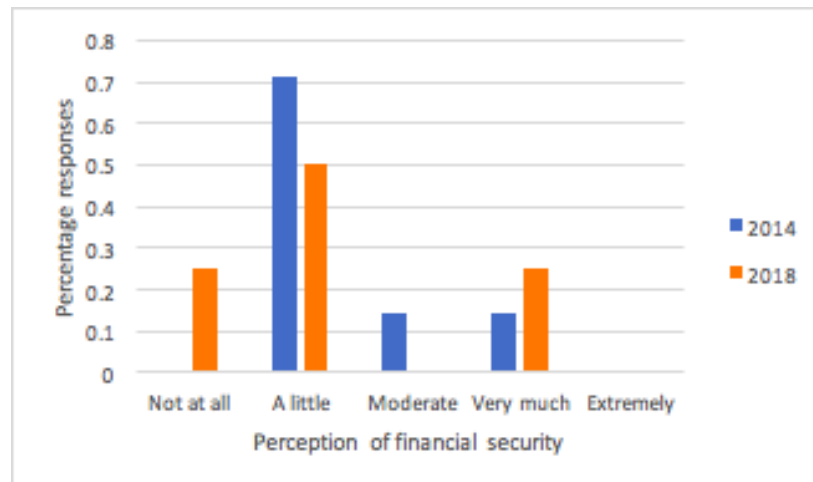


Figure 13: Perceptions of financial security in 2014 and 2018

Thirdly, when inquired about how easy it is to obtain things needed for everyday life (WHOQOL question 18), 14.3% of participants said it was “a little” easy (Likert scale rating of 2) in 2014 ($M = 2.86$, $SD = 1.57$). In 2018 ($M = 3.00$, $SD = 0.93$), 37.5% of participants said it was a “little easy.” Accordingly, a percent change of +162.24% occurred (see Figure 14).

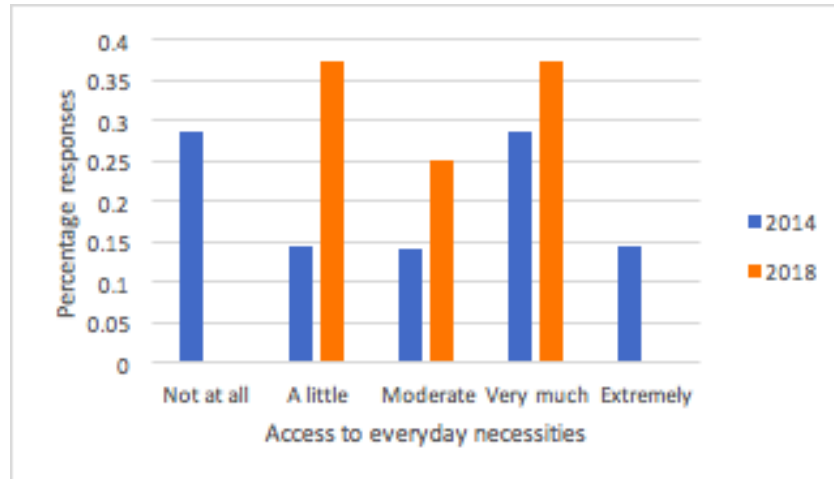


Figure 14: Perceptions about access to necessities in 2014 and 2018

Relationship between community members and life satisfaction. Three questions assessed the relationship between community members and their perception of life in Gareno. The first question (WHOQOL question 5) relates to how much community members enjoy life in Gareno. In 2014 ($M = 3.14$, $SD = 1.46$), 14.3% of participants shared that they enjoy life “a little” (Likert scale rating of 2). In 2018 ($M = 2.50$, $SD = 0.93$), 75% said this; therefore, a percent change of + 424.48% took place in the “a little” enjoyment response category. A percent change of -12.6% likewise occurred in the “extremely” category (see Figure 15).

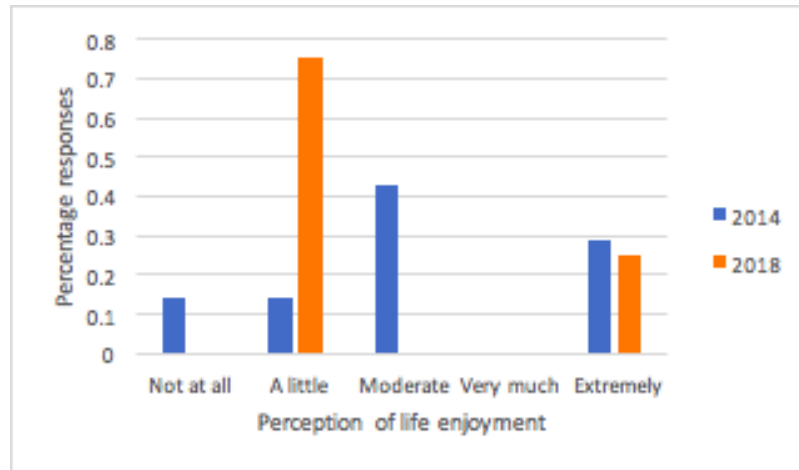


Figure 15: Perceived life enjoyment in 2014 and 2018

Another question in this cluster surrounds whether community members feel as if their lives have meaning (WHOQOL question 6). In 2014 ($M = 3.00$, $SD = 0.58$), 14.3% of participants felt as if their lives had “very much” (Likert scale rating of 4) meaning, while in 2018 ($M = 3.63$, $SD = 0.74$), 75% of participants responded in this way. This is indicative of a percent change of +424.48% (see Figure 16).

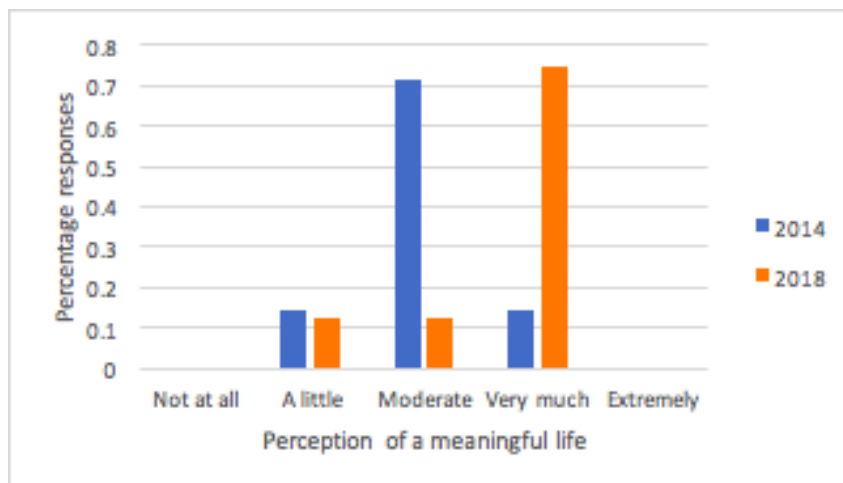


Figure 16: Perceptions about the meaningfulness of life in 2014 and 2018

The final question asked how exactly community members would classify quality of life (QOL) in Gareno (WHOQOL question 1). In 2014 ($M = 3.90$, $SD = 0.38$), zero respondents classified QOL as “poor,” while 25% did so in 2018 ($M = 3.63$, $SD = 1.06$). Moreover, 85.7% of respondents in 2014 classified QOL as “good,” while in 2018 62.5% considered it to be “good,” and 12.5% considered it to be “very good” (see Figure 17).

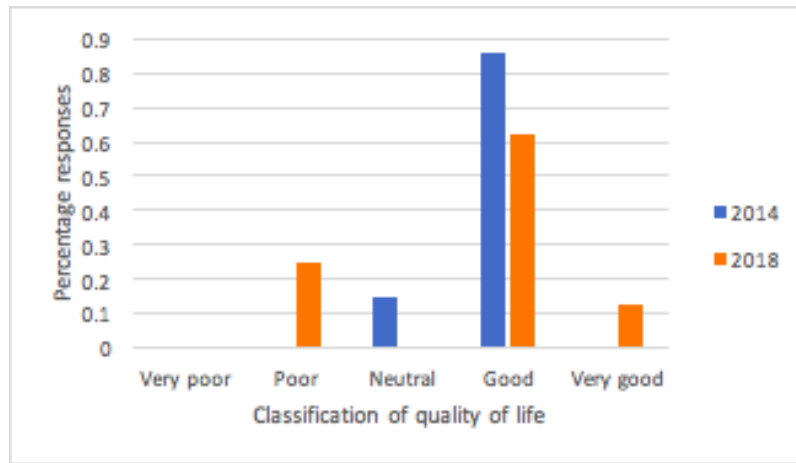


Figure 17: Perceived quality of life in 2014 and 2018

Correlation Tables for 2014 and 2018 Data

To assess the relationship between the seven broad categories regarding well-being with my main construct of interest (i.e. my “anchor item”), a series of correlations were computed (see correlation tables below). The anchor item asks participants how they would classify their quality of life on a five point Likert scale. A “1” on this scale represents a response of “very bad,” while a “5” represents a response of “very good” (see Appendix A). Question 2 ($p = 0.02$) and question 23 ($p = 0.03$) of the 2018 data sample are statistically significant (as they have probability values of less than five percent). Due to the small sample sizes, not much statistical significance was observed overall. However, this does not signify that the shifts in questionnaire responses did not have powerful impacts on the lives of the community members of Gareno.

Table 1. Correlations among anchor item (self-classification of quality of life) and other constructs.

| WHOQOL & Survey Categories (2014) | Question | Correlation coefficient |
|-----------------------------------|----------|-------------------------|
| Environmental Health | 10 | 0.45 |
| | 16 | -0.46 |
| Physical Health | 3 | -0.14 |
| | 2 | 0.23 |
| Mental Health | 30 | -0.42 |
| | 31 | -0.59 |
| Government | 26 | N/A |
| | 27 | 0.20 |
| | 28 | 0.52 |
| | 29 | 0.65 |
| Services | 21 | 0.67 |
| | 23 | -0.20 |
| Assets | 17 | N/A |
| | 12 | 0.24 |
| | 18 | -0.32 |
| Life Satisfaction | 5 | 0.65 |
| | 6 | 0.00 |

* $p < .05$

Table 2. Correlations among anchor item (self-classification of quality of life) and other constructs.

| WHOQOL & Survey Categories (2018) | Question | Correlation coefficient |
|--|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| Environmental Health | 10 | -0.10 |
| | 16 | -0.76 |
| Physical Health | 3 | 0.09 |
| | 2 | 0.80* |
| Mental Health | 30 | 0.47 |
| | 31 | 0.38 |
| Government | 26 | -0.49 |
| | 27 | 0.52 |
| | 28 | 0.22 |
| | 29 | -0.62 |
| Services | 21 | -0.14 |
| | 23 | -0.76* |
| Assets | 17 | -0.73 |
| | 12 | -0.15 |
| | 18 | 0.15 |
| Life Satisfaction | 5 | -0.36 |
| | 6 | -0.20 |

*p <.05

Findings from Qualitative Analyses

The 2018 quantitative survey data about quality of life presented in the previous section are contextualized here by drawing on individual interviews and a focus group with community members of Gareno. The quotes shared have been translated from Spanish to English.

Qualitative responses have been clustered to align with the broader quality of life categories (i.e., environment, physical health, mental health, government, services, assets, and life satisfaction) and are included to highlight community attitudes and experiences. Observations and field notes are also integrated to better illustrate the primary research findings. Pseudonyms were assigned to protect the identities of all interview and focus group participants.

Relationship between Community and Natural Environment

There was a consensus among participants about the prevalence of contamination in Gareno. One participant, Anita, described the abundance of litter outside of her home and emissions from vehicles as two main sources of contamination. She was echoed by Beatriz, who shared that the noise pollution from cars is bothersome, and by Margarita, who said, “While I do live with trees and with nature, I still feel that there is pollution. So overall [the environment] is not healthy.” Water contamination and deforestation were also identified as pressing issues. Carla shared that “when there is no logging, that is when the animals come closer which is good.” In respect to access to healthy foods procured within the environment, the interviewees agreed that *yuca*, plantains, bananas and papayas are still frequently planted in *chacras* (garden plots) and consumed on a regular basis.

Focus group participants expressed various sentiments with respect to the health and well-being of the environment. Mauricio said that the community “smelled like petroleum when

we first came here. It made us dizzy and gave us headaches.” Further, when asked about which natural resources community members need but do not have, one interviewee stated that “plants” are disappearing, while another was more specific in saying that *chambira* (palm used as a fiber crop) is not as commonly found anymore.

Relationship between Community and Physical Health

When asked about physical health, several participants explained that they suffer from physical pain, some of which is chronic. Maria shared that three years ago, she was bitten by a venomous viper (*Bothrops atrox*) and nearly died. She is still unable to carry heavy weight or put pressure on her foot (which is where she suffered the injury) as it continues to swell regularly. Correspondingly, when asked if she was satisfied with her health in the past four weeks, she expressed dissatisfaction. She considers herself to still be in recovery, with her husband and cousin supporting during her healing process. Beatriz explained that both her head and back have been in pain, and when one is not hurting, the other is. She has also been diagnosed by a doctor with anemia. Further, heart pain was an additional health issue brought up by two community members, and according to Fernanda, many people in Gareno have been sick with the flu.

The focus group also provided information regarding the kinds of foods that remain readily available through hunting and gathering, “Here in Waorani territory we live from *chacra*, from crafts, and from hunting and fishing. This is what sustains the community. There are fish, like catfish, beardfish, and *bocachico*. When people go hunting, they bring back food that will last for a few weeks, and that is what they share. This is what the community lives off of. However, when there is not enough to eat, people go out to the market to buy canned tuna and sardines. We buy soda too.” This statement is indicative of how resource depletion and market

integration are undermining the health of the community members of Gareno. As evidenced by past longitudinal studies conducted by Dr. Lu and her colleagues (Lu et al., 2017), the expansion of markets into isolated communities leads to changes in diets and subsistence practices. Increased intakes of processed and packaged foods, most of which contain simple carbohydrates, are reconstituting the bodies of community members, both physically and psychologically.

Relationship between Community and Mental Health

Due to the psychological repercussions of living within a society that is subjected to transformative processes precipitated by a loss of land and natural resources, I thought it would be appropriate to measure perceptions of depression, anxiousness and sadness. Luz explained that she feels “sad a lot, especially when there is not enough money to pay for necessities.” Isabel shared that she gets “sad sometimes. But this is not due to violence, my husband does not hit me. I know that some people’s husbands do hit them though. My sister’s husband hits her.” When asked about feeling happy, calm or satisfied, the most elaborative answer provided by one of the community members was “when I do not have pain in my feet, then I am happy. My joints hurt, and I have a fracture. I have a lot of work to do.”

During the focus group interview, after having conversed about confronting challenges, I was assisted by Kati in probing about the notion of suicide. Throughout the past decade, Gareno has unfortunately lost community members to suicide, and “sometimes it is due to love, which is why having a strong heart is important.” I recently learned that there was a case of attempted suicide about a month after I had left Gareno. Fortunately, this individual is now stable, but this is a challenging event for the community.

Relationship between the Community and Governmental Branches

Inquiring about the community's perceptions of and relationships to four different governmental branches elicited numerous unfavorable opinions. In regard to the leadership of NAWA, Isabel explained that "when it was first elected, they said that they would help the community and the families. But the fact of the matter is that they forgot about the communities. That is why we as a community want to improve the relationship with the leaders, and tell them that they should be helping us. They say that they will, but when they leave the community, they forget about us and do not do anything." When asked about the support received from the local government, Beatriz shared that "here in the communities, we always say that a leader is managing the community. At first, the newly elected president was doing well, but he is no longer worrying about the community. He only works for his own self-interest."

Other respondents shared their perceptions of the national government and President Lenin Moreno. Fernanda explained, "As women, we are in agreement. Every time I go to a meeting, they always say that the president wants to support us, and that he wants to support the young children and their nutritional development. Until we are doing well within the communities, he wants to support the zone." Fernanda did not explain, however, whether she thought that this project is being actualized. By the same token, assessing perceived support from the current oil company was ostensibly a critical aspect of this research.

Most respondents shared that they were dissatisfied with the role of PetroAmazonas, as they continue "to live poorly and work by [themselves]." Maria's response supported this sentiment, "Last year and this year, the oil company has not been supporting us at all. When Perenco was working here, there was support. Us women would make crafts, and the person in charge of community relations would bring in people from the outside so that they would buy

what we made. Now with PetroAmazonas, no one comes to visit. Since no one visits, no one buys anything.”

Further dissatisfaction was expressed during the focus group. Mauricio asserted that the petroleum companies have taken advantage of the people of Gareno over the recent years and that they were previously unaware of the environmental effects of the industry. The contamination of the rivers and land is certainly unwanted as community members want to live in harmony with nature. Another disadvantage associated with the presence of oil is that “the companies only hire experienced workers who do not know how to operate machinery” which worsens contamination. Raul further explained that “an elder knows this territory very well. Before, the petroleum industries would hire them, because the industries would get lost in the forest. Now, the industries look for people specialized in machinery.” Lastly, a few individuals agreed that if the oil companies had never entered Gareno, not only would there be less resource depletion, but tourists would have more of an incentive to come in and provide economic support.

Relationship between Community and Access to Services

During a discussion about the types of services or programs available to Gareno and its people, Anita shared that she is satisfied with the quality of education. She lives close to the school and this makes her happy because she can send her children there to learn. Education is very important to many community members, and it was explained that some forms of education can play a role in the protection of “Waorani identity.” During the focus group, however, it was voiced by some that there is a deficit of teachers “from the outside,” and that to receive a proper or more advanced education, it is in fact necessary to leave the community; the same is true of

finding employment opportunities. In terms of health services, one community member was content with the care she has received from the doctors working in the health clinic.

Relationship between Community and Assets

When asked if she has enough money to cover necessities, Margarita explained, “I have a little bit, because I work with the ministry, and I make money. With that money I buy all of my children’s necessities, and I pay for the electricity. But I still do not have enough.” When asked how manageable it is to obtain necessities required for daily life, one woman shared that she can obtain food for her family by selling crafts, and another said that while she is able to access food regularly, it is more difficult to attain clothes for her children.

A notable question that explored whether community members want to be a part of this “new economy” revealed that Raul “no longer like(s) the petroleum industry, because it is asking too much” of the community members. Moreover, when asked what poverty means to community members, Alonzo replied by saying “I think that the true Waoranis are not poor, as they have a global territory. They take, and plant, and when they have produced, they start the process over again. The Waorani live from nature.” This perception evidently differs from those of many of the women living in Gareno, as well as from the viewpoints of those promoting and partaking in neo-extractivist processes.

Relationship between Community Members and Life Satisfaction

In terms of whether life in Gareno is meaningful, Carla explained that “my children and my husband need me. I need to be healthy for them. I have a garden with plantains, bananas, *yuca*, sweet potato, and corn. My parents live close by, and they are coming to visit soon. I like

that.” Seemingly, Carla values family and enjoys having events to look forward to. Interestingly, multiple women shared that they only enjoy life a little, but feel as if it has a lot of meaning. Finally, when asked to classify overall quality of life, the majority of answers swayed towards it being “good,” though a few women did express that it is in fact “poor.” Those that shared unfavorable ratings attributed their negative sentiments to their recent illnesses.

The focus group similarly revealed that older community members are more capable of adapting to the challenging conditions that life often brings forth: “the elders are very strong, and they have overcome difficult situations. The youth are not as strong, because they are changing. The elders were jaguars, but the youth are no longer. With civilization, some are leaving their wisdom behind, but some still remember.” Overcoming such struggles can be difficult, but “nature, the jungle, the jaguar, protect the Waorani.” Ultimately, a few community members explained that they are hopeful about the future of Gareno, and that “in a year there will be changes. We will get older, wiser, and the economy will change.” To them, the “concept of being Waorani is important,” thus it seems that maintaining traditional Waorani values and customs will make more endurable any further societal transitions brought forth by landscape alterations and oil extraction.

Waorani Identity and Well-being: An Oral History

For the Waorani, “the forest is a vital space they call *monito òmè*, ‘our land’” (Rival, 2012, p. 133). However, there are no words in *waotededo* “to say ‘nature’, ‘ecology’... ‘animals’, or ‘plants’” (Rival, 2012, p. 133). Furthermore, as the Andean term *sumak kawsay* is not represented by their language, it was not explicitly probed during the individual and focus group interviews. Nonetheless, well-being, quality of life, and interactions with humans and non-humans were described during the conversations had in Gareno, as were demonstrated in the preceding components of Part III. Community members likewise detailed perceptions of living well, most of which contested the publicized Constitutional interpretation.

While the outside forces that are attempting to define and implement *sumak kawsay* through “developmentalist” and extractivist projects are redefining the ways in which Waorani individuals subsist, they are not diminishing their ability to determine what living well truly means for them. Ayewe, Gareno’s late leader, is remembered as someone who was proud of his Waorani identity and confident in his perception of living well. For Ayewe, this pertained to the protection of his community’s territory from all enemies (including the oil companies), and ensuring that customs and practices, such as legends and songs, are passed down between generations.

In the summer of 2014, Dr. Lu’s team conducted what would be the last interviews Ayewe would partake in. I was fortunate enough to get to transcribe and translate these video interviews, and watch his final thoughts and lived experiences as captured on camera. I ultimately assembled a short film to preserve and honor the memory of Ayewe, and during my own 2018 fieldwork experience in Gareno, I showed the film to many of his family members. Everyone was delighted to hear his voice and watch how he described the importance of living “like a Waorani should.” I

also gave all of his relatives' digital copies of the film, so that they could listen to his teachings whenever they felt compelled to. What follows are interview excerpts demonstrating how Ayewe's perceptions of living well contest those of the neo-extractivist agenda.

Ayewe was adamant in explaining how the oil companies were negatively altering Waorani ways of life, and that he did not want them to continue contaminating the Amazon. He shared that the companies "come in and throw chemicals in the rivers. Fish die. Now it looks like they are going to enter Waorani territory. They already made a road. They should leave it there, they should not come in any more, so that we can protect our life of water, our clean water." In regards Waorani culture, Ayewe said that the younger community members "do not get close to their grandparents, to ask them to teach them about history, traditions, or how to make crafts. They do not go to their homes. Some are already adults but they have little knowledge about the ancestral culture. They do not teach their children."

Seemingly, more needs to be done in terms of cultural preservation, because "in many homes, the majority know about the culture but do not practice it, which is why sometimes when they want to sing songs they are unable to. There are times when they are scared to express themselves because they do not feel our culture." Focusing on Waorani traditions, such as songs and dances within the educational system is one approach to mitigating this issue according to Ayewe. Since "the ancient warriors were the ones that defended the territory since a long time ago, in order to protect it for the future" our children and the younger generations need to do their part "to maintain our culture."

Ayewe wanted "the name Waorani, as well as the Waorani community and nationality to be remembered." He wanted the government to take a heightened stance in protecting what ancestrally belongs to the Waorani. Hopefully, Ayewe's descendants are able to use his words as

encouragement, not only to challenge the national government's invasive and extractivist projects, but also to ensure that their Waorani identity is maintained, as well as their sense of how they can lead fulfilling lives. A good and meaningful life does not need to equate to that ascribed by the Correa administration, nor does it need to constitute reverting back to exactly how the Waorani lived generations ago. There are many ways to live well, and such a process can begin by merely reflecting on what other Waorani individuals, such as Aweye, have thought to be important characteristics and values to maintain.

DISCUSSION

The Waorani community of Gareno face a multitude of challenges, and are navigating between ways of life that have sustained them for generations and the pressures of modernity and capitalism. While the Waorani may recognize who they are in terms of their ancestry and through their personal interpretations of well-being and living well, these ways of knowing are being challenged by the state, as it attempts to impose upon them a fixed definition of quality of life that, while couched in terms of *sumak kawsay*, seems more aligned with neoliberal policies supportive of unfettered oil extraction. The Ecuadorian government expects the Waorani to accommodate the exploitation of oil as it will allegedly generate local and national prosperity. Both the quantitative and qualitative findings from this study and comparisons of 2014 and 2018 data demonstrate that Gareno maintains strong beliefs about the impact of oil extraction on their quality of life. More specifically, they disagree with the supposition that extractive processes and “modern” interpretations of *sumak kawsay* generate prosperity and improved living conditions and livelihoods. In fact, the achievement of “harmonious living with nature” cannot necessarily be taught, nor can it be enforced by outside entities.

Implications of “Developmentalism” on Health

As is evidenced by the neo-extractivist projects that have been imposed on Gareno since its establishment in 1996, and as is discussed by Crosby (1989), the processes of modernity and modernization are not synchronous. The community of Gareno is enmeshed in a process of transition and is no longer able to solely subsist from traditional hunting and gathering practices, due to a suite of factors that stem from oil drilling. Collectively, environmental degradation, resource depletion, and an influx of processed foods from outside sources are redetermining what is traditionally found in the rainforest, and are affecting varying aspects of quality of life and

Indigenous health. Correspondingly, community members explained that contamination and cases of deforestation have been encountered, and that while female heads of households are able to maintain gardens and cultivate fruits, men are no longer able to hunt as frequently as they once could. This decline in accessible mammals and fish can be attributed to ecological and noise pollution.

Seemingly, the value of the environment is perceived differently by those who “purpose” it in different ways. In his refute of the deontology of nature, Kohn (2013) expounds the detrimental implications of exploiting trees for their market value. In Gareno, market integration is likewise a characterization of exploitation, as it is undermining the traditional dietary patterns of community members through the introduction of processed and packaged foods. While dissatisfaction with health was not necessarily attributed to this “dietary deviation” (and instead was associated with being sick and having bodily aches), academic literature and recent studies are in fact indicative of the ways in which the increased intake “unnatural” food, particularly sugar, is adversely affecting health (Lu et al., 2017).

During an interview, one female respondent disclosed that she suffers from anemia. If there is a correlation between this red blood cell deficiency and the way in which she is nourishing her body, then the colonizing history of sugar may be affecting Gareno and reconstituting the “traditional” body (Mintz, 1987). Concomitant to physical health changes, longitudinal data analysis revealed that shifts in mental health are taking place. Although community members may not be cognizant of the mental pressures they are experiencing, it would be neglectful not to consider the impact of societal and environmental stressors. As community members voiced their unhappiness and anxiousness in 2018 (and not many expressed that they are truly happy), it is difficult to ignore the implications of oil exploitation, resource

depletion and poverty reproduction on psychological well-being. The amalgamation of a neo-extractivist agenda, processes of development, and fiscal poverty are engendering environmental scarcities and health worries, and lamentably, the Ecuadorian government is not doing much to better this altered quality of life.

Implications of “Developmentalism” on Governmental Functions

Community members were especially dissatisfied with the support they receive from both NAWA and their provincial branch of government because they do not believe they are being provided with the assistance they were initially pledged. The role of the national government (previously that of Rafael Correa and now that led by President Lenin Moreno) has provoked differing impressions upon the people of Garenó. Findings from the quality of life interviews indicate that while some individuals believe that the previous and current administrations have protected Waorani territory from exploitation and the negative consequences of oil extraction, more community members were not convinced of the supposed correlation between oil and *buen vivir*.

A prevailing motif of President Correa’s *sabatinas* (weekly broadcasted speeches) is that oil is a “blessing rather than a curse,” and that social mobility and prosperity are corollary to extraction; however, the focus group revealed Garenó’s skepticism of this rhetoric. The ecological threats posed by PetroAmazonas entirely invalidate the alleged oratorical parallels, and further deontologize the natural world in which the Waorani live. Though there exist indications of how this company formerly attempted to compensate Garenó in terms of infrastructure, the physical condition in which the “amenities” are currently in confirm that nothing has been done to ensure that they remain functional. The zinc roofing of the *cancha cubierta* (stadium) is corrugated, the isolated communal toilets do not flush, and the signs painted in company colors are worn.

The shift from transnational oil companies to state-owned PetroAmazonas has seemingly been accompanied by abated remediation requirements, and a reduction in the local benefits of oil. These sentiments directly challenge the framework of the Citizen's Revolution, and the adopted tenets of *sumak kawsay* (as was posited in Parts II and III of this thesis). Beyond Gareno, Indigenous discontent regarding developmental projects has auspiciously been vocalized. CONAIE has expressed that the Citizen's Revolution has reinforced colonial ideologies and oppressed the histories of Indigenous nationalities. To counter this discourse and modern form of colonialism, Indigenous intellectuals such as Nina Pacari and Laura Santillán have expressed the gravity of collective control over land and natural resources in both writing and in public appeals (Becker, 2011).

Additional cases of Indigenous organizing include marching into Ecuador's capital, Quito, to demonstrate collective discontent over the neo-extractivist position of the national government. This has been done on numerous occasions in protest of many different environmental issues. Comparatively, Yasunidos has challenged PetroAmazonas in respect to environmental contamination such as oil spills. Through open letters and social media campaigns, this organization vocalizes the irremediable mark that the oil company has left on the Amazon. Ethnographers such as Kimerling (2013) likewise fight for the rights of those affected by exposure to oil exploitation by disseminating these realities through their writing.

Implications of “Developmentalism” on Resource Stability and Life Satisfaction

The urbanization of the northern Ecuadorian Amazon mirrors many pressing and still unaddressed obstacles in terms of deficient social and medical services. Furthermore, promises of progress and an escape from poverty have fallen short, especially in Gareno. During the

individual interviews, contentment toward the services offered by the *subcentro de salud* or health center (which operates in partnership with the Ministry of Health) was expressed, as was accessibility to “outside” forms of medication in certain circumstances. Nonetheless, the fact of the matter is that the *subcentro* has limited staffing and hours of operation, and does not have the capacity to treat critical illnesses. If community members are facing a more serious health complication, they must travel to Tena, the capital of the Napo Province and the nearest major city. Considering that transportation services out of Gareno are limited, and that community members very rarely have access to health insurance, this can be problematic.

As was expressed in both the quality of life interviews and in the focus group, the people of Gareno are struggling to make ends meet. Community members are not financially stable and have very limited access to credit. Many women explained that it can be difficult to attain food and other daily necessities for their children, and men shared that they do not like the new economy that the national government and PetroAmazonas have enforced. Although residents are occasionally hired by the state oil company, their contracts are short-lived, spanning three months at most. It is not uncommon for them to only be hired for a few days or weeks. Paradoxically, community members are being socialized into becoming wage workers rather than traditional agriculturalists in a hunter-gatherer society, despite there not being enough employment or livelihood opportunities. The negative correlation between resource abundance and economic growth articulated by Sachs (1995) aptly describes the quandary in which Gareno is implicated.

Limitations and Strengths

The current study is limited and additional research is needed to further explore the implications of oil exploitation on perceptions of living well. For instance, only interviewing women over the age of 18 limited the perspectives that were considered. Although the sample was purposefully selected (in that the cohort of individuals interviewed needed to be constant between 2014 and 2018), conversing with men beyond the focus group would have provided further information regarding their engagement with PetroAmazonas. Further probing on my part during the conversations would have likewise resulted in more detailed responses.

One of the challenges in all forms of interviews and questionnaires is response bias, the tendency of participants to answer questions inaccurately or falsely. Participants may feel as if they need to respond in a socially desirable manner (social desirability bias) or in a way that “pleases” the researcher. Perhaps some of the respondents in this study provided answers during the one-on-one interviews that they thought I wanted to hear. What I presume to have had a greater effect, however, is that in some cases, the husbands of the interviewees were sitting beside them during the interview, mainly for translation purposes. This could have altered their responses. Not wanting to describe their honest perception of quality of life in front of their husbands, due to concern for what they might think, is quite possible.

The small sample size of the current study also limits generalizability. More variability in responses could have been noted had I worked with a larger community, or multiple Waorani communities for that matter, rather than exclusively Gareno. An additional limitation relates to the amount of time I spent in the field. Although I was obtained meaningful findings, if my visit had been longer, my relationship with the community members may have been stronger. Had

they been more comfortable with me, an American visitor, as well as with my research, perhaps they would have responded to the interview questions in a different manner.

Another constraint of this project pertains to the interview questions themselves. I suspect that some of the WHOQOL questions were difficult for community members to understand. Although I adapted the wording of the questions to make them more conversational, some of the underlying concepts are just not translatable or commonly used into *waotededo*. For instance, although the question “Do you feel like your life has meaning?” ultimately generated discussion, it took time to define the word “meaning” and demonstrate its applicability to life in Gareno. In the focus group, the question “How are you doing today compared to one year ago?” posed a challenge, as the concept of time is not necessarily understood in a linear fashion by the Waorani.

Nevertheless, I believe that the insights gained during my time in Gareno outweigh these limitations. The quality of life interviews provided community members with the opportunity to express their feelings, a rarity in Waorani culture. As I had hoped, spending one-on-one time with women during the interviews allowed for the establishment of meaningful rapport and closeness. Likewise, I believe that my role as a “listener” and engaged ethnographer validated their feelings, and gave them hope for the future as they were cognizant that these research questions had a profound purpose, and that their implications would hopefully affect a degree of change once returned to Gareno.

An unexpected finding pertains to the extent to which various community members are motivated to pursue projects regarding traditional Waorani culture. For example, one male leader demonstrated his passion for preserving traditional ecological knowledge and the teachings of late community members, and proposed the idea of establishing a museum or cultural center

within the community. I was also disheartened but not necessarily surprised by the amount of depression and sadness present in people who superficially seemed to be in high spirits.

Analogously, I was amazed by the happiness and optimism of two young children. After having interacted with them on numerous occasions, I learned that they are orphans. Their parents passed away tragically, and they were recently taken in by relatives. Their demeanor and the way in which they communicated and played with other children did not present any indication of their personal struggles, but rather demonstrated their resiliency.

The justification of extractivism in the Amazon by invoking how neo-extractivist projects improve lifestyles and alleviate poverty among Indigenous peoples is distorted. The intimate connection between economy, environmental health, and physical well-being is visible in Gareno, as community members are predominantly dissatisfied with their quality of life. The Waorani face enormous pressures from outside developers and other forces of modernization, and as an engaged and informed researcher, I argue that the core identity of Gareno is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain, due to the fact that the government's promotion and interpretation of good living opposes the Waorani's. Instrumental rationality (i.e. the Ecuadorian government's "developmentalist" mentality) perceives nature as an artifact and the "unexplored" regions of the Americas as solely a source of wealth. Accordingly, the ramifications of resource extraction in the Amazon are neglected, and the "resource curse" only begets further anomie.

CONCLUSION

Globalization, modernization and neo-extractivism are spilling into Indigenous Amazonian communities at alarming rates. Their detrimental social and environmental characteristics are clouded by a “developmentalist” discourse promising an improved quality of life and economic prosperity, not only for Ecuador, but for the populations that reside amidst the crude. The national government and the extractive sector have likewise pledged comprehensive infrastructural progress, however, its benefits rarely reach marginalized communities. Apocryphal constitutional rhetoric and abandoned projects of conservation, such as the Yasuní ITT, are further indications of how monetary gains take precedence over the lives and well-being of countless humans and non-humans. Indigenous communities, such as that of Gareno, are awaiting systemic change, all the while being challenged by the processes of modernity and modernization that are now redefining their livelihoods.

Sumak kawsay, or good living, is implicated in Ecuador’s ratified Constitution, and while harmonious living and respect for *Pachamama* and its biodiversity are declared, they are shrouded or conflated by the notion of development. According to government officials, the extraction of oil in moderation and with the appropriate precautions taken, will result in improved lifestyles. Nonetheless, the Indigenous peoples who are directly affected by the extractive processes and analogous environmental stressors oppose these attitudes and exploitative endeavors, with some individuals and communities having the ability to voice their dissent through forms of protest. Although the Waorani community of Gareno does not believe that oil will generate good living, due to its small size, impoverishment and positionality, it is not frequently acknowledged by broader society.

This study explored how the “second nomos” and Western thinking are continually permeating into marginalized populations, engendering processes of transition. The community members of Gareno are undoubtedly shifting away from traditional practices of subsistence, due to the by-products of oil drilling, such as deforestation, resource depletion and market integration. The major findings that triangulate each other and have emerged from primary and secondary research pertain to ecological, bodily, and economic transformations. Further, all three themes of alterations oppose the foundational tenets of the appropriated version of *sumak kawsay*, and evidence the deontologization of nature that is becoming increasingly prevalent in Waorani territory. This is to say that since the onset of oil exploration and the shift to PetroAmazonas, community members’ perception of quality of life has been altered on numerous fronts.

Gareno is in a flux of internal and external tension. If it does not adapt to the projects of modernization that is being imposed on it, such as the sporadic employment opportunities presented by PetroAmazonas, then it is at risk of being overwhelmed by outsiders that are willing to work. However, if it does adapt, then it is vulnerable to the loss of habitudes integral to the Waorani way of life, as it becomes overwhelmed by foreign practices and technologies. These pressures epitomize the jurisdiction that multiple entities have on this Amazonian community, all of which are shaping its identity. The Ecuadorian Amazon is no longer solely perceived as a region rich in flora, fauna, and culture by those cognizant of the effects of neo-extractivism. Instead, Indigenous populations, such as the Waorani, are experiencing unfavorable shifts in their physical and mental well-being that are attributable to irrevocable environmental “developments.”

Despite the hardships faced by the residents of Gareno, they demonstrate resilience as well as a sense of agency over their livelihoods, and this is even exemplified by children. As was illustrated in Part III of this thesis, the two orphaned brothers persevere without being consumed by adversity or grief. While they are aware of the struggles they face, this does not deter them from playing. Moreover, they were overjoyed and appreciative when I presented them with toys and clothes as gifts, promising to take good care of them and to use them regularly. Agency and determination was demonstrated by the community members that vowed to pursue projects intending to preserve Waorani culture. Inviting tourists to the community to sell them handcrafted goods is one way in which this could be achieved, while generating necessary income.

Education is likewise important to community members, which is why they would like for their children to learn more about traditional customs and values, such as Waorani dances and songs, while in school. Assisting the residents of Gareno with projects and programs such as these is imperative, as they may contribute to the reclaiming of Waorani identity. Moreover, although it is uncertain what the future holds for this community, both economically and ecologically, it is critical that it receives recognition and support from outside entities in order to attain increased and improved rights. Substantive support from varying Ecuadorian governmental branches is necessary as well, as it could potentially redefine Gareno's relationship with PetroAmazonas.

Engaging in processes of de-naming, or diminishing the prevalence of the "second nomos," corresponds with revealing the indisputable consequences of neo-extractivism. The emic and etic works realized by anthropologists and environmentalists alike are influential contributions, as they are assisting in the dissemination of the intrinsic value of the ontology of

nature, and as well as that of living well. Indigenous activists and intellectuals must also continue to reclaim *sumak kawsay* and thus the first nomos, and pave the way for the marginalized communities whose voices have yet to be heard.

Unraveling the implications of oil extraction is equally as important as discerning the characterizations of *sumak kawsay* or good living. The notion of living well seemingly falls on a spectrum, in that it is realized by individuals and communities in a numerous, ranging manners. For entities or polities to impose their definition of good living onto others is detrimental, and can result in a loss of aspects of natural resources and traditional knowledge, among other things. As the term *sumak kawsay* is not endemic to the Waorani language, for outside forces to state that the Waorani will be able to achieve good living as a result of oil extraction is misconstrued. Many residents of Gareno shared that living well does not necessarily mean living in the same ways in which their ancestors once did, or even as other Waorani communities do, but rather, in sustainable ways that will preserve their environment, resources, and culture. As was proclaimed by Ayewe, living well can likewise mean protecting one's territory, sharing traditions with family members, and most importantly, being proud to identify as Waorani.

References

- Acosta, A. (2013). Extractivism and neoextractivism: two sides of the same curse In M. Lang & D. Mokrani (Eds.), *Beyond Development: Alternative visions for Latin America* (pp. 61-86). Quito, EC: Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.
- Apffel-Marglin, F. (2012). *Subversive spiritualities: How rituals enact the world*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Becker, M. (2010). Correa, Indigenous movements, and the writing of a new constitution in Ecuador. *Latin American Perspectives*, 38(1), 47-62. doi:10.1177/0094582x10384209
- Berros, M. V. (2015). *The constitution of the Republic of Ecuador: Pachamama has rights*. Retrieved from <http://www.environmentandsociety.org/arcadia/constitution-republic-ecuador-pachamama-has-rights>
- Bozigar, M., Gray, C. L., & Bilsborrow, R. E. (2016). Oil extraction and Indigenous livelihoods in the Northern Ecuadorian Amazon. *World Development*, 78(2), 125-135. doi:10.1016/j.worlddev.2015.10.035
- Cardoso, S., Alfonso-Sánchez, M. A., Valverde, L., Sánchez, D., Zarrabeitia, M. T., Odriozola, A., Martínez-Jarreta, & Pancorbo, M. M. (2012). Genetic uniqueness of the Waorani tribe from the Ecuadorian Amazon. *Heredity*, 108(6), 609-615. doi:10.1038/hdy.2011.131
- Carta abierta de YASunidos a PetroAmazonas EP. (2014, July 15). *La Línea de Fuego*. Retrieved from <https://lalineadefuego.info/2014/07/16/carta-abierta-de-yasunidos-a-petroamazonas-ep/>
- Cepek, M. (2012). The loss of oil: Constituting disaster in Amazonian Ecuador. *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, 17(3), 393-412. doi:10.1111/j.1935-4940.2012.01250.x

- Crosby, A. W. (1989). Reassessing 1492. *American Quarterly*, 41(4), 661.
doi:10.2307/2713097
- Doughty, C., Lu, F., & Sorensen, M. (2010). Crude, cash and culture change: The Huaorani of Amazonian Ecuador. *Consilience: The Journal of Sustainable Development*, 4(1), 18-32.
10.7916/D8R78FK9
- Ecuador's Constitution of 2008 (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://constituteproject.org/>
- Escobar, A. (2015). Degrowth, postdevelopment, and transitions: a preliminary conversation. *Sustainability Science*, 10(3), 451-462. doi:10.1007/s11625-015-0297-5
- Fernández, B. S. (2017). Indigenous intellectuals in contemporary Ecuador: Encounters with “seven erroneous theses about Latin America.” *Latin American Perspectives*, 45(2), 190-204. doi:10.1177/0094582x17747314
- Finer, M., Vijay, V., Ponce, F., Jenkins, C. N., & Kahn, T. R. (2009). Ecuador's Yasuní Biosphere Reserve: A brief modern history and conservation challenges. *Environmental Research Letters*, 4(3), 034005. doi:10.1088/1748-9326/4/3/034005
- Goff, M. (2014). A dispatch from Gareno. Unpublished Report.
- Graham, L. R. (2005). Image and instrumentality in a Xavante politics of existential recognition: The public outreach work of Étenhiritipa Pimentel Barbosa. *American Ethnologist*, 32(4), 622-641. doi:10.1525/ae.2005.32.4.62
- Gudynas, E. (2013). Debates on development and its alternatives in Latin America: a brief heterodox guide In M. Lang & D. Mokrani (Eds.), *Beyond Development: Alternative visions for Latin America* (pp. 15-39). Quito, EC: Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.
- Hidalgo-Capitán, A. L., & Cubillo-Guevara, A. P. (2017). Deconstruction and genealogy of

- Latin American good living (buen vivir). The (triune) good living and its diverse intellectual wellsprings. *Alternative Pathways to Sustainable Development: Lessons from Latin America* (pp. 23-50). doi:10.1163/9789004351677_004
- Jameson, K. P. (2010). The Indigenous movement in Ecuador. *Latin American Perspectives*, 38(1), 63-73. doi:10.1177/0094582x10384210
- Karl, T. L. (1997). *The paradox of plenty: Oil booms and petro-states*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press
- Kimerling, J. (2013). Oil, contact, and conservation in the Amazon: Indigenous Huaorani, Chevron, and Yasuni. *Colorado Journal of International Environmental Law and Policy*, 24(1), 2013. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2332782>
- Kohn, E. (2015). *How forests think: Toward an anthropology beyond the human*. Berkeley & Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Larrea, C., & Warnars, L. (2009). Ecuador's Yasuni-ITT Initiative: Avoiding emissions by keeping petroleum underground. *Energy for Sustainable Development*, 13(3), 219-223. doi:10.1016/j.esd.2009.08.003
- Lu, F. (2012). Petroleum extraction, Indigenous people and environmental injustice in the Ecuadorian Amazon. In F. Gordon & G. Freeland. (Eds.), *International Environmental Justice: Competing Claims and Perspectives* (pp. 71-95). Thousand Oakes, CA: ILM Publishers.
- Lu, F., & Silva, N. (2015). Imagined borders: (Un)bounded spaces of oil extraction and Indigenous sociality in “post-neoliberal” Ecuador. *Social Sciences*, 4(2), 434-458. doi:10.3390/socsci4020434
- Lu, F., Valdivia, G., & Silva N. L., (2017). *Oil, revolution and Indigenous citizenship in*

- Ecuadorian Amazonia*. New York, NY: Palgrave.
- Lu, F., & Wirth, C. (2011). Conservation perceptions, common property, and cultural polarization among the Waorani of Ecuador's Amazon. *Human Organization*, 70(3), 233-243. doi:10.17730/humo.70.3.l3504v21wrgt2607
- Luis, H. C., García, A. G., & Guazha, N. D. (2014). *Sumak Kawsay Yuyay: Antología del pensamiento indigenista ecuatoriano sobre Sumak Kawsay*. Centro de Investigación en Migraciones, Universidad de Huelva.
- Luisetti, F., Pickles, J., Kaiser, W., Mignolo, W., & Mezzadra, S. (2015). *The anomie of the earth: Philosophy, politics, and autonomy in Europe and the Americas*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Manby, B., Nanyenya-Takirambudde, P., McClintock, M., & Tayler, W. (1999). *The price of oil: Corporate responsibility and human rights violations in Nigeria's oil producing communities*. New York, NY: Human Rights Watch.
- Martin, P. L. (2015). Leaving oil under the Amazon: The Yasuní-ITT Initiative as a postpetroleum model? In Princen, T., Manno, J., & Martin, P. (Eds.), *Ending the fossil fuel era* (pp. 119-144). MIT Press.
- Martínez-Domínguez, M. T., (2008). Oil politics in the Amazon: From ethnocide to resistance and survival. *Social Engagement, Empowerment and Change*, (4), 1-24.
- McDonell, E. (2014). The co-institution of neoliberalism, extractive industries, and indigeneity: Anti-mining protests in Puno, Peru. *The Extractive Industries and Society*, 2(1), 112-123. doi:10.1016/j.exis.2014.10.002
- Mignolo, W. D. (2015). Anomie, resurgences, and de-noming In *The anomie of the earth:*

- Philosophy, politics, and autonomy in Europe and the Americas* (pp. VII-XVI). Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Mintz, S. W. (1987). *Sweetness and power: The place of sugar in modern history*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.
- Oil Extraction and Health in the Niger Delta. (2009). *Global Health Watch 2: An Alternative World Health Report*. 170-184. Global Health Watch. Retrieved from <https://www.ghwatch.org/sites/www.ghwatch.org/files/c6.pdf>
- O'Neill, T. (2007, February). Nigerian oil: Curse of the black gold. *National Geographic Magazine*, 88-117. National Geographic Society.
- Partridge, T (2019). The commons as organizing infrastructure: Indigenous collaborations and post-neoliberal visions in Ecuador. In E. Apostolopoulou, & J. A Cortes-Vazquez (Ed.), *The Right to Nature: Social Movements, Environmental Justice and Neoliberal Natures* (pp. 251-262). NY, New York; Routledge.
- Payne, K. (2012). Aguinda v. Chevron: The potential rise or fall of mass toxic tort claims against U.S. companies. *The International Lawyer*, 46(4), 1067-1077. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23643952>
- Rival, L. (1993). The growth of family trees: Understanding Huaorani perceptions of the forest. *Man*, 28(4), 635-652. doi:10.2307/2803990
- Rival, L. (2009). *The Yasuni-ITT Initiative: Oil development and alternative forms of wealth making in the Ecuadorian Amazon*. Queen Elizabeth House: University of Oxford, QEH Working Papers.
- Rival, L. (2012). The materiality of life: Revisiting the anthropology of nature in Amazonia.

- Indiana*, 29, 127-143. Retrieved from https://www.iai.spk-berlin.de/fileadmin/dokumentenbibliothek/Indiana/Indiana_29/IND_29_2012_127-143_Rival.pdf
- Robarchek, C. A., & Robarchek, C. J. (1998). Reciprocities and realities: World views, peacefulness, and violence among Semai and Waorani. *Aggressive Behavior*, 24(2), 123-133. doi:10.1002/(sici)1098-2337(1998)24:23.0.co;2-n
- Sachs, J. (2005). *The end of poverty: How we can make it happen in our lifetime*. New York, NY: Penguin.
- Sachs, J., & Warner, A. (1995). Natural resource abundance and economic growth. *Journal of Development Economics*, 59(1), 43-76. doi:10.3386/w5398
- Schneyer, J. & Medina Mora Perez, N. (2013). Special report: How China took control of an OPEC country's oil. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-ecuador-oil-special-report/special-report-how-china-took-control-of-an-opec-countrys-oil-idUSBRE9AP0HX20131126>
- Shah, S. (2006). *Crude: The story of oil*. New York, NY: Seven Stories.
- U.S. Energy Information Administration - EIA - Independent Statistics and Analysis. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis.php?iso=ECU>
- Vaca, F. (n.d.). *Waorani people*. Retrieved from <http://www.shiripunoresearch.org/waoraniPeople.html>
- Watts, M. (2001). Petro-violence: Community, extraction, and political ecology of a mythic commodity. In N. L. Peluso & M. Watts (Eds.), *Violent Environments* (pp. 189-212). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Appendix A: Quality of Life Questionnaire

The following questions are about your perception of quality of life. I will read you each question and response option. Please select the most appropriate response.

| I. In regards to your dreams, wishes and worries during the past four weeks: | | | | | | |
|---|--|-------------------|--------------|----------|-----------|----------------|
| | | Very bad | Bad | Neutral | Good | Very good |
| 1 | How would you classify your quality of life? <i>*Anchor question</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | Very dissatisfied | Dissatisfied | Neutral | Satisfied | Very satisfied |
| 2 | How satisfied are you with your health? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| II. The following questions are in regards to your experiences during the past four weeks: | | | | | | |
| | | Not at all | A little | Moderate | Very much | Extremely |
| 3 | To what extent has physical pain affected your ability to complete a task/activity in your daily life? | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 4 | How much medicine (traditional or from outside the community) do you need to complete your daily activities? | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 5 | How much do you enjoy your life? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6 | Do you feel like your life has meaning? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7 | Are you able to concentrate? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8 | How safe do you feel walking around your neighborhood? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9 | How safe do you feel walking around the city/community in general? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10 | How healthy is your community's environment? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| III. The following questions are in regards to whether you were able to complete certain activities during the past four weeks: | | | | | | |
|--|--|-------------------|--------------|----------|-----------|----------------|
| | | None | A little | Moderate | Very much | Extremely |
| 11 | Did you have enough energy to complete all your daily activities? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 12 | Do you have enough money to cover your necessities? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 13 | Do you have enough time for rest and recreation? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14 | Did you have enough time to complete all of your daily obligations? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 15 | Do you have the ability to mobilize yourself easily within your community? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| IV. The following questions are in regards to your daily satisfaction: | | | | | | |
| | | Not at all | A little | Moderate | Very much | Extremely |
| 16 | Do you have access to healthy foods? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 17 | Do you have access to credit? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 18 | Do you have an easy time obtaining the things you need for your daily life? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 19 | Do you have an easy time obtaining electronic devices (plasma television, computer, tablets etc.)? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | Very dissatisfied | Dissatisfied | Neutral | Satisfied | Very satisfied |
| 20 | How satisfied are you with the general conditions of the place in which you live? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 21 | How satisfied are you with the access to health services? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 22 | How satisfied are you with the access to transportation services? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | | | | | |
|--|--|-------------------|--------------|---------|-----------|----------------|
| 23 | How satisfied are you with the quality of education? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | | Very dissatisfied | Dissatisfied | Neutral | Satisfied | Very satisfied |
| 24 | How satisfied are you with your personal relationships? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 25 | How satisfied are you with the support you receive from your community? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 26 | How satisfied are you with the leadership of the Waorani federation? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 27 | How satisfied are you with the support you receive from your local government? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 28 | How satisfied are you with the support you receive from the national government? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 29 | How satisfied are you with the support you receive from the oil company? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| V. The following questions are in regards to how you felt during the past four weeks: | | | | | | |
| | | Never | Rarely | Neutral | Often | Always |
| 30 | How often do you feel depressed, anxious, or sad? | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 31 | How often do you feel happy, calm or satisfied? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Appendix B: Focus Group Questions

1. What are the benefits/advantages of living in Gareno? Which aspects do you enjoy?
2. Does the presence of the oil companies make it more or less difficult to make use of such advantages?
3. What are the disadvantages of living in Gareno? What worries you?
4. Does the presence of the oil companies improve or worsen the disadvantages?
5. What programs/incentives do the oil companies provide the community? Do you use/participate in those programs?
6. What are the resources that you need and don't have?
7. Has there been exploitation of labor? Of land?
8. Do you want to be a part of this new economy?
9. How would Gareno be different if there were no oil companies?
10. How are you doing today compared to one year ago?
11. What is the biggest struggle you have in your life right now?
12. How do you overcome these struggles? Do you feel stronger when you overcome them?
13. Do you feel like you can adapt under challenging conditions? Do you feel like you will be able to overcome other obstacles in the future?
14. How does it make you feel when you see others confronting challenges and being strong?
15. What do you think about the way outsiders talk about this community? Do you think this is right?
16. What does poverty mean to you?
17. What opportunities are there in your community?
18. Do you feel connected to your community?

Appendix C: Ethnographic Fieldwork Photography



The PetroAmazonas checkpoint that must be crossed before entering the community of Gareno. Waorani individuals and visitors alike must identify themselves to the guards who are constantly monitoring the site.



A resident of Gareno and PetroAmazonas employee standing in front of a billboard stating that “oil improves your community.”



A welcome sign placed in a centralized location within the community. Behind it is the primary school that many of the children attend.



A traditional Waorani house built by community members. It is constructed primarily of palm leaves, and wooden beams support the structure internally.



A community leader sits with her granddaughter. She is wearing a dress gifted by Dr. Lu.



An elder selling *artesanias* and holding her pet parrot inside her home.



Alejandra playing dress-up with a young girl.



The home of a family with four children. Clothes hang to dry.



QOL interview conducted by the researchers in the home of a family.



Focus group interview led by the researchers in the *cancha cubierta*.



A group of women partaking in *trueque*, a trading process. In exchange for lipsticks and eye pencils brought to the community by the researchers, the women traded hand-made jewelry, purses, and hammocks.



Community members watching the video of Ayewe to commemorate his legacy.