THE SERPENT WITHOUT SHAME:

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE

IN THE AFRO-ECUADORIAN COMMUNITIES OF NORTHWESTERN ESMERALDAS

By

PETER REDVERS-LEE

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Approved:

Professor William L. Partridge

Professor Edward F. Fischer

Professor Paul W. Speer

Professor James E. Foster

Professor Holly J. McCammon

Professor James C. Fraser

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To my two Bronwyns,
To Shirley
and
To the memory of Mark Robert Lunn

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGD	*Agencia de Garantía de Depósitos* Deposit Guarantee Agency
ANCUPA	National Association of African Palm Cultivators Asociación Nacional de Cultivadores de Palma Africana
CANE	Comarca Afroecuatoriana del Norte de Esmeraldas
CBOs	Community-based organizations
C-CONDEM	*Coordinadora Nacional Para la Defensa del Ecosistema Manglar* National Coordinator for the Defense of Mangrove Ecosystems
CEDHU	*Comision Ecumenica de Derechos Humanos* Ecumenical Commission for Human Rights
CEPAL	*Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe* Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
CNA	Confederacion Nacional Afroecuatoriano
COFENAE	*Confederación Nacional Amazónica de Ecuador* National Amazonia Confederation of Ecuador
CONAIE	*Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador* Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador
CONAMUNE	*Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Negras del Ecuador* National Coordinator for the Black Women of Ecuador
CONDAE	Consejo Nacional de Desarrollo Afroeciatoriano National Advisory Board for Afro-Ecuadorian Development
FEDERPOM	*Federacion de Artesanos Afroecuatorianos Recolectores de Productos Bioacuaticos* Federation of Artisans and Collectors of Bio-aquatic Products
FEDERPROBIM	*Federacion Artesenal de Recolectores de Productos Bio Acuaticos del Manglar* Federation of Artisans and Collectors of Bio-aquatic Products of the Mangroves
FEPALHUM	*Federacion Palenque los Humedales* Federation of Palenques of the Forests
FEPP	*Fondo Ecuatoriano Populorum Progressio* Ecuadorian Fund for People's Development
FODERUMA	*Fondo de Desarrollo Rural Marginal* The Marginal Rural Development Fund
GSOs	Grassroots support organizations
IADB	Inter-American Development Bank
IERAC	*Instituto Ecuatoriano de Reforma Agraria y Colonización* Ecuadorian Institute for Agrarian Reform and Colonization

IMF	International Monetary Fund
INDA	National Institute of Agricultural Development Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo Agropecuario
INEFAN	Ecuadorian Institute for Forestry, Natural Areas, and Wild Areas *Instituto Ecuatoriano Forestal y de Areas Naturales y Vida Silvestre*
MSOs	Membership support organizations
MUPP-NP	*Movimiento Unidad Plurinacional Pachakútik - Nuevo País* Unity Movement of the New Country's National Pluri-National Awakening
NIB	*Necesidades Basicas Insatisfechas* Basic Unsatisfied Needs
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OXY	Occidental
PRODEPINE	*Proyecto de Desarrollo de las Poblaciones Indígenas y Afroecuatorianos* Indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian Peoples Development Project
REMACAM	*La Reserva Ecológica de Manglares Cayapas Mataje* Ecological Mangrove Reserve Cayapas-Mataje
SUBIR	Sustainable Use of Biological Reserves
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WTO	World Trade Organization

CUENTO

Toda mi esperanza, mi palito de trapo. Todo mi alelí mi cuerpo de lombriz. Todo mi consuelo mi vara de anzuelo, aquí te amarro en una estaca para que amarres tu vaca. Qué estaca y qué barraca rabadilla de puerca flaca. Un palo viejo se hizo alelí donde estará mi amante llorando por mí.

Este era un hombre casado con la mujer. Era una reina casada con el rey. Ellos tenían una sola hija llamada "Elinguante." Él tenía 100 peones pero de todos los peones había un negrito, negrito que le decían el "Serigneldo." La hija no se enamoró de otro, habiendo mejores como se enamoró del negrito. El padre no dijo nada sino que dijo sí mi hija quiere pues. . . . Pero él siempre guachimaneaba [vigilar] la cama. Ella fue un día y dijo: "Papacito, no ha venido hoy día la peonada, voy a ir a visitarlos." El negrito había estado enfermo, el Serigneldo. Ella caminó de aquí más allá y él caminó de allá más acá y se pararon. Pero el Serigneldo no se hallaba en ánimos de ver esa buena señorita, bien nacida y él tan negrito. Le tenía respeto.

Entonces ella le dio ánimos y le dijo: "Serigneldo, Serigneldo, padre del rey más querido en mi cama yo quisiera parar dos horas contigo."

Le contestó Serigneldo: "Señora como su esclavo, está en chanza usted conmigo?"

Le contestó vuelta ella: "No te miento Serigneldo, es verdad lo que te digo." Entonces ella le dijo: "Serigneldo, a las tres se acuesta mi padre a reposar. A las cuatro él está dormido; a las cinco de la mañana es que mi padre ya está en camino." Para que él fuera a la casa.

Entonces él anduvo por ahí, subió a las cuatro y él ya estaba dormido, perdido de sueño. A las cinco de la mañana que el rey se levantó, él tenía la costumbre con la espada alzar la cama. Él que estaba ahí dejando a Serigneldo lo traspasaba, pero llegó y era Serigneldo. Ahí llegó por el medio de los dos metió la espada, calladito que no sintieran y se fue a su palacio.

Y cuando ella se levanta le dice: "Ay, levántate Serigneldo que mal sueño hemos tenido, que la espada de mi padre en el medio ha amanecido." Se levantó Serigneldo blanco, descolorido, cogió la espada en la mano y siguió para el castigo; el del rey para que lo matara. Entonces llegó allá el rey y cuando lo miró se rió y le dijo: "Serigneldo, Serigneldo, no me mientas que con Elinguante has dormido." Le contestó Serigneldo: "¿Y el dormir con Elinguante mi rey qué delito yo les he cometido?" "Ninguno que ella sea tu mujer y tú seas el marido".

" Y si no tengo dinero," le dijo Serigneldo, "mi rey, para comprarle vestido."

"¿Y cómo estaban abrazados como mujer con marido?"

From interview 2006031010h00, Maldonado, Esmeraldas.

PROLOGUE

Of all the stories I wrote as young journalist in South Africa in the mid 1980s, the one I remember most clearly was a story that was never published. It was to be the genesis of my own particular nausea (in Sartre's sense of the word). Port Elizabeth in 1985 was a seething city of anti-apartheid activity. That opposition was met with brutal violence, imprisonment, torture, and death by those courageous enough to stand up for their rights and dignity.

The story I wrote was nothing much. It had the banality of numbers. There was nothing in it like the humor in the snippet about the four boys who pushed the apartheid-supporting mayor's outhouse over. . . while the mayor was in it. They, children not yet 16, were charged with political violence. I always wondered what happened to them. The security police played a game with us naive young reporters. Political cases would appear on one courtroom's docket, but the cases would then be heard by another municipal judge, sometimes in a courthouse across town. We were taught to follow up our cases. But I never found out the final sentences of those four boys. And only years later, with the publication of Antjie Krog's *Country of My Skull* (2000), did I learn of the absolute vicious cruelty of the security police major who gently teased us as we tried to track the hearings down.

Instead of following up on the boys, I walked down the passage past the stream of urine that flowed out from under the holding cell doors, to a courtroom at the corner of the building. There, in the bright courtroom facing the bench, sat rows and rows of black South Africans. One by one they were brought before the judge and sentenced to a week

or a few months in jail. Their offenses: they had not had the requisite documentation on them when they were arrested for curfew violations. Black South Africans were required to carry on them at all times "pass books." The small documents detailed in which areas of the country they were allowed to live and travel. Failure to have the correct documentation meant arrest and imprisonment.

In that courtroom that day the number of cases seemed endless. It was the length of the court docket that morning that had attracted me. For each accused, from the time the charge was read to the sentencing, only a few minutes passed. Anyone who tried to offer an explanation (often through the court interpreter as most of the victims were Xhosa), was told in Afrikaans to keep quiet. For some, for whom the injustice particularly stung, this was an impossible task. A steady stream of victims flowed in front of the judge. I timed the cases, I counted the cases, I tried to write what I could hear of the victims' accounts. A child left behind here, a visit to a friend, a desperate quest for work . . . I wrote and filed my story. But it never appeared.

My spiked story (our journalists' lingo for a not-to-be published piece) betrayed a different banality — that of the structural violence of apartheid. This was not something our newspaper was interested in publishing. I was beginning to realize an awful reality. As cadet journalists we were being taught to be objective: get the facts, check the facts, get every side of the story. Follow up on cases in order to do right by those convicted and those found innocent. Objectivity was but a slogan. Our editors in their cowardliness and complicity were giving in to the security police's demands.[1] What was in the paper had

[1] See Mike Loewe's testimony to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (http://www.doj.gov.za/trc/special/media/media03.htm).

very little to do with what was happening in the streets and cells and courtrooms throughout Port Elizabeth. Some of us cadet reporters learned fast, some slowly. Others didn't care. So it seems to be with life. And so it seems to be with academia. To be inert and complacent is to be complicit.

While this dissertation is to satisfy the dictates of the academy, objectivity be damned. To paraphrase Randy Stoecker: this dissertation is not about objectivity but it does have the overarching goal of accuracy (2007).

We are guided, supposedly, by discipline-specific theories in academia. But our fetish with theory makes us neglect larger issues. Should we not perhaps be guided by a more overarching framework, a heuristic space where we are cognizant of larger ontological, ethical, and epistemological issues? I believe this framework is necessary. Thus, this dissertation has another and more important function outside of the hoops, goals, and pigeonholing of the academy. It is an appendage (albatross) to a larger quest to find a philosophical bedrock, temporary though it might be, in which to anchor a growing relationship between praxis and research. That relationship might be one that bridges the chasm between research and action, the wonderful Cartesian false dichotomy that pervades Western thought. That sorry dichotomy reveals itself in many disciplines. But in the anthropological approach to economic development it is particularly troubling. There the split described by Jeffrey Cohen and Norbert Dannhaeuser (2002) between practicing anthropologists who work in development and those who critique development is but a Rubicon ready to stumble or skip across. Participatory action research offers the nudge.

The research for this dissertation prompted numerous participatory action research projects over the period 2004 to 2010. These projects are central to my life. And, while

the projects appear as but appendices here, the research and ideas on these pages are shaped by and shape praxis.

This dissertation is ultimately my tribute to those who work tirelessly for change like the Craddock Four, Juan García Salazar, and my friend Inés Morales Lastra. As an outsider looking in, I hope I have done some justice in telling a small part of the story of the African descendants of the cantons of Eloy Alfaro and San Lorenzo Ecuador.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In northwestern Ecuador, in the mangrove swamps and Chóco forests along the border with Colombia, sits a collection of towns and villages inhabited by mostly African-descendent people. Within both of these distinct ecosystems, the everyday lives of the villagers are changing rapidly. In the mangroves, subsistence through aquaculture becomes more difficult as fish and shellfish resources decline and the war and drug trade from Colombia bleeds over into Ecuador. In the forest villages, the construction of roads, and the resultant increase in logging and the spread of African palm plantations, have lead to conflict over land. Afro-Ecuadorian villagers are no longer able to maintain their subsistence practices and they are pressured to sell their land and become wage laborers for the palm plantations. The changes in both the mangrove and forest villages have lead to a deteriorating wellbeing for the communities.

Theoretical Approach

Serpents Without Shame asks a central question: What are the collective responses of the Afro-descendent communities of northwestern Ecuador to these changes? To answer the question, the study uses a structure-agency framework wherein structure is seen as those factors that govern, constrain, facilitate, or enable individual and collective agency. Agency, in turn, is seen as the ability of individuals and groups to achieve

desired goals through action. The study takes as a given the assumption that understanding agency is only possible if the constraints and opportunities of structure are understood at the local, national, and international level. Using this perspective, *Serpents Without Shame* draws on previous theoretical constructs to suggest a new understanding of the structure-agency debate within political economy. In this regard, *Serpents Without Shame* is *not* an attempt to proffer empirical evidence to previous theorizing. It is, rather, a study that uses grounded theory to rethink earlier work and to offer a new interpretation using empirical evidence from northwestern Ecuador.

Two conceptualizations central to the theoretical framework are the notions of space and collective intentionality. *Serpents Without Shame* brings together selective elements from the works of Henri Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1991) and Karl Polanyi (Polanyi, 1985) to form a new synthesis of the structures within which Afro-Ecuadorians must exercise their agency. Lefebvre has a tripartite conceptualization of space in the notions of created, perceived, and lived space. The contention in this study is that the prevailing mode of production shapes and is shaped by created space. That is, our ways of producing, distributing and consuming are what shape and are shaped by our environment. Perceived space is that space of everyday life that is culture, belief, myth, and ritual. It is what John Searle calls our mind-to-world fit (Searle, 1995, 2004). It is the shape or interpretation we give to created space. Lived space is where everyday action occurs. But everyday action does not happen outside of created or perceived space. The understanding here is that these "spaces" are not isolated vortexes but that they are symbiotic. Perceived space is influenced by created space while created space shapes the perceived. Everyday practice (lived space) is shaped in turn by both perceived and

created space. This is the embeddedness of economic practices — the way people produce, distribute, and consume; their cultural practices and beliefs around these modes of production; and how they go about their ways of doing these things. Thus, this is the limited use of Polanyi and Mark Granovetter's notions of embeddedness. In order to understand embedded action, this study turns to the work of John Searle on Background and individual and collective intentionality.

The everyday practices that derive from Lefebvre's triumvirate are not those of blind action, nor can they be understood through an information, cost-benefit understanding of rationality. John Searle's work on individual and collective intentionality (consciousness thought directed at the world), is used to analyze agency. Agency, both individual and collective, is understood as propelled by conscious thought, that is by intentional thought. Intentionality, however, is not an independent and isolated state of consciousness. Background, as proposed by John Searle, informs intentionality. Background consists of sets of beliefs and ideas not immediately held in conscious thought but which are nevertheless drawn upon to inform our intentional states and thus our action. Background, in this study, is taken to be those socio-cultural webs of belief that are shared and that have their antecedents in history and socialization. Background is the "network" that fills perceived space, that is informed by created space, and that informs lived space. It is, as Searle points out, somewhat akin to Pierre Bourdieu's dispositions or *habitus*.

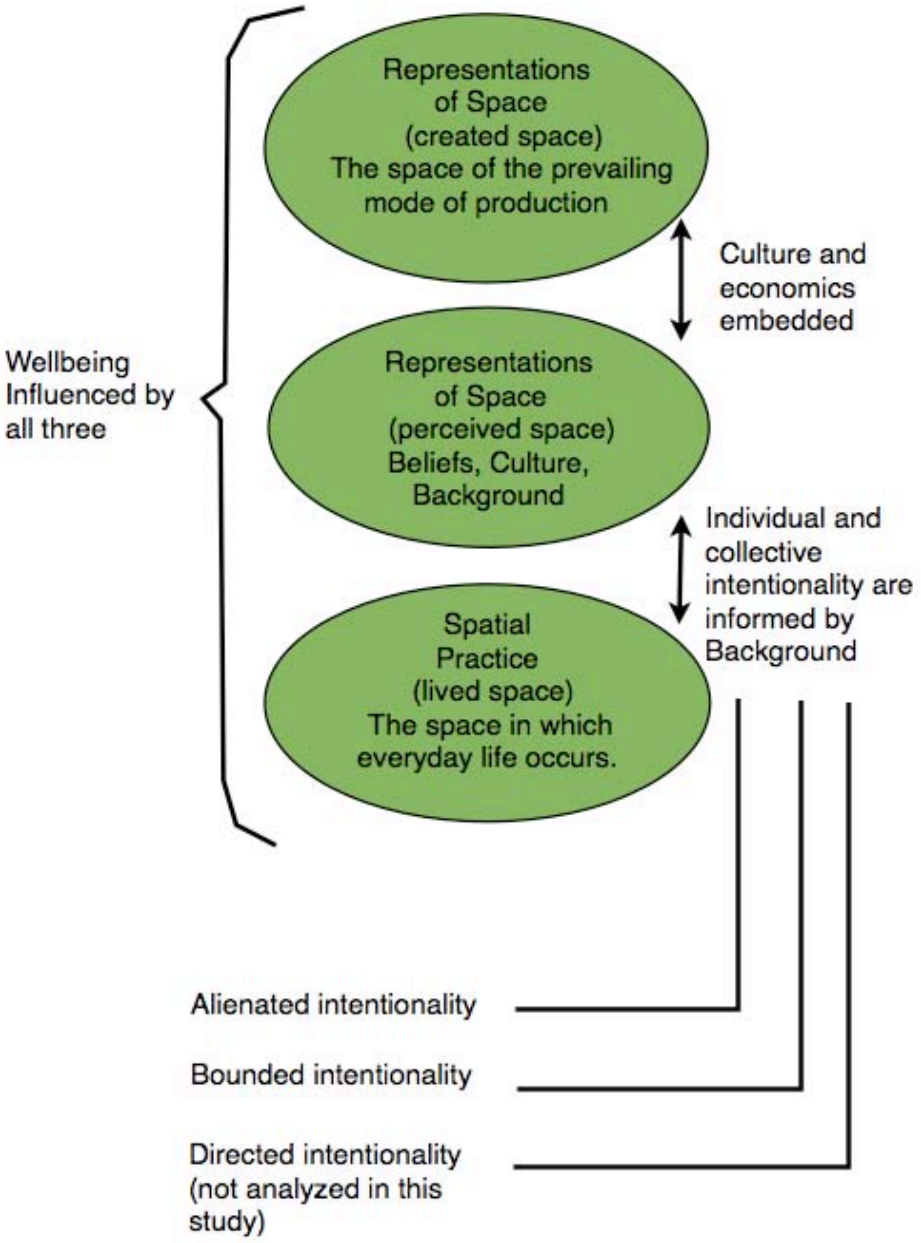

Figure 1. The relationships of created, perceived, and lived space to wellbeing and intentionality.

The argument, therefore, of this study is: shifts in created space (in the mangroves due to pressures on resource extraction and in the forests due to the clear cutting of timber and the palm plantations) have created disjunctures for Afro-Ecuadorian communities to the extent that perceived space no longer aligns with created space. In response, the people of the mangrove and forest communities have acted individually and collectively. In doing so their actions have been propelled by particular types of intentionality: bounded and alienated intentionality. Their intentionality is bounded in that the communities have worked collectively to maintain livelihoods (a mix of subsistence agriculture and aquaculture with some work in the cash economy) that they believe are true to their identities as Afro-Ecuadorians. Their intentionality is alienated in that their agency to effect change is limited by obstacles, the existence of which they are very well aware.

Deborah Yasher's conceptualization of associational space is used to describe the areas and avenues through which Afro-Ecuadorian communities can mobilize to effect change. Yasher describes it as "the political opportunity to organize" (Yasher, 2005). Associational space, as interpreted here, is that niche within lived space in which collectives or organizations can coalesce, make alliances, and affect structural impediments to individual and collective agency. Through associational space groups are able to make changes to minimize the constraints they face and maximize their opportunities. (The theoretical material is covered in Chapter V, Bounded, Alienated Intentionality, of Part Three, Structure-Agency Relationships.) For the Afro-Ecuadorians of northwestern Ecuador, making change through associational space has proven difficult. The communities have been unable to advance their agendas and their collective wellbeing has suffered.

Contributions

The study here is in essence a constructivist approach to political economy, one that approaches the field from a multidisciplinary perspective but one that is anchored in economic anthropology. The contributions are thus to these fields. In this regard, one contribution is to understanding collective responses to changes in the political economy, in particular to contexts where communities face pressure on resources due to conditions that have their origins outside of their communities, or to communities where members are being drawn into wage labor for capital-intensive forms of production. In this sense, the approach allows for the limited generalizability to situations outside of the African descendent communities of Ecuador. The approach may have some relevance to the changes affecting the San people of Botswana, various groups in Papua New Guinea, and to pastoralists and others currently being disposed of their land in parts of Africa.

The study also offers an alternative interpretation to formalist and substantivist positions, an interpretation in which the distinctive positions are drawn a little closer together. The notions of space and embeddedness address the substantivist interpretation of how people go about production, distribution and consumption of goods. Intentionality gives credence to elements of the formalist position in that it allows for an understanding of action as decisions that have some utility. What draws these two positions together is that actions, even those driven by the conscious thought of intentionality, are anchored in Background. The study adds to the understanding of intentionality through the conceptualizations of alienated and bounded intentionality. Alienated and bounded intentionality avoid the development anthropology trap of seeing communities as purely

victims or agents as it allows for a more nuanced interpretation. The Afro-Ecuadorian communities of northwestern Ecuador have collective agency. It is not always effective agency as they face numerous obstacles. But theirs is not a passive and static process as the history of African descendent people in Latin America demonstrates. Structural impediments and opportunities create new strategies and tactics for collective agency. This study, therefore, presents a theoretical framework while allowing for context-specific understandings of the evolving interplay between structure and agency.

Methods Used

The empirical evidence is drawn from a mixed methodology which is explained in full in Chapter VIII. The methods included participant observation for various lengths of time and between the years 2004 and 2011. Numerous interviews were conducted both formally and informally, and these were supplemented by focus groups. In addition, 291 households were surveyed, the businesses of San Lorenzo were surveyed, and government health and census data was drawn upon. Of importance to understanding the conflict over land, case studies and data were obtained from the relevant government offices. These were all supplemented with geographical information systems data.

The Layout of the Study

The three chapters of Part II present the historical data, some of the statistical findings, and an analysis of the findings. Chapter II, Development as "Unfreedom," lays

out the geography of the region, the essential element to shaping agricultural and aquacultural practices and the ideal conditions for the growth of the African palm tree. The chapter describes Afro-Ecuadorian settlement, history, and relative position within the larger Ecuadorian political economy. It ends with a contemporary statistical description of the households based on the findings of the survey. Chapter III, The Unintended Freedom of Democracy, examines historical, political and economic development within Ecuador and how associational space was shaped throughout these processes. The chapter examines land reform, a crucial element for those marginalized or excluded by these processes from the time of the Spanish conquest to contemporary Ecuador. The chapter ends with an analysis of structural adjustment's role within the Ecuadorian political economy. Chapter IV, The Organizational Agency of Neo-Liberalism, examines the organizational changes that coincide with the last two decades of the twentieth century in Ecuador. The chapter ends with a consideration of Afro-Ecuadorian organizations.

Part III, The Agency in Structure (Chapter V), lays out the development of the structural conditions that prevail and the ability or lack thereof for collective action. Part III, Structure-Agency Relationships, is a consideration of the implications of structure and agency and the section acts as the theoretical link between Part II and Part IV.

Part IV, The Structure in Agency, gives the empirical data for the villages of the mangroves and the forests. Chapter VI, "To Us This is Rich," describes the mangroves; a composite mangrove village; the production, consumption, and distribution of goods in the village; daily economic life, the collective responses of villagers to the challenges they face; and the understandings villagers have of a change in their overall wellbeing.

These responses are analyzed in terms of a bounded and alienated intentionality. Chapter VII, Drums, Canoes, and Forest, describes the everyday economic lives of a forest village, the transformation of that village into a *comuna*, and the struggles the village faces as timber is cut and palm plantations take the place of forest. The struggle over land rights is described using a new analysis of government data. The change in the welfare of villagers due to the arrival of the palm plantations is discussed.

The Empirical Findings

Associational space within the changing political economy of Ecuador allowed for the formation of organizations and, like other groups, the Afro-Ecuadorian communities of northwestern Esmeraldas province took up the opportunities the changes created. The shifts in the Ecuadorian political economy coincided with structural adjustment policies initiated in the international area. These changes lead to the growth in the number of non-governmental organizations operating in Ecuador and to shifts in the way many non-governmental organizations functioned. Both developments created opportunities for alliances. As a parallel stream, many of these organizations and social movements in Ecuador were coalescing around identity politics. The shifting understanding of race, and what it meant to be an African descendent in Ecuador, gave Afro-Ecuadorians pause to examine their history and their continued marginalization within the country. The community-level organizations of the mangroves and forests drew on this sense of identity to coalesce around race and around livelihoods and everyday life in the forests and mangroves. Through this shared identity, and in

collaboration with outside organizations, the communities made great strides in pushing forward agendas that opened up new opportunities.

The mangrove communities and their allies had considerable success in declaring the area a reserve. Development-oriented organizations worked with the communities to chart out and guarantee equitable and sustainable uses of aquatic resources. In the forest communities, the opportunities created by the 1998 constitution allowed Afro-Ecuadorians space to gain communal land rights. These successes were achieved through cooperation with external organizations and despite obstacles such as the prevailing deep-seated racism within Ecuador. The pressure on resources within the mangrove communities, however, has proven difficult to navigate. These conditions are exacerbated by the war in Colombia and the spillover of the conflict and the associated drug trade into Ecuador. Many villagers have abandoned their traditional means of livelihood while others continue despite dwindling resources. For the forest communities, communal land ownership has been of little benefit. The construction of roads opened up the area to a quickening exploitation of the forests for lumber, a process in which the communities themselves were involved. With clear cutting came African palm plantations. The communal territories, once they were surrounded by palm plantations, had little ability to resist selling land, often through illegal transactions. The communities too suffer from the effects of the chemicals used as fertilizers, pesticides, and herbicides. Their wellbeing is deteriorating.

Both mangrove and forest villages have approached these changes in similar ways. Some continue to resist change, others are co-opted, and yet others adapt, maintaining as much of what they see as their traditional livelihoods as possible while

moving more closely into the wage-labor market and the cash-based economy. Many, however, have become alienated whatever their responses. And they are bounded in that they continue to face impediments to their agency.

Action Research Outcomes

As a research project anchored in an action research paradigm it would be remiss not to discuss the uses to which much of this research is being put. A number of action research projects have their origins in the data presented here.

The longest running and most established project is one that involves educating children of *comuna* villages. Each year three adolescents are funded for their high school fees, books and supplies, and clothing. Students must be from *comunas*, they must have acceptable grades, and they are from disadvantaged families. A number are orphans or have one parent unable to support them. The conditions of the scholarships are that students maintain good grades and that, once graduated from high school, they give back to their communities. Currently, three students are funded. Future plans for this scholarship program are to seek funding for more students and to support students through tertiary or higher education. The program has been in effect since 2005 and one of the longest-funded students will graduate in 2011.

A mangrove project is in development from ideas generated by community members. A number of species have been in rapid decline in the mangroves over the last few decades. These include two species of crocodile and three species of turtle. Community

members identified these species as good prospects for reintroduction into the mangroves, using areas once devastated by illegal shrimp farms. The five species will be reintroduced in a managed way in controlled farms that will ultimately supplement the livelihoods of villagers. Funding is currently being sought for this project and collaborations with other institutions are in discussion.

Comuna village leaders are eager to bolster productive activities that enable villagers to resist selling off land to the palm plantations. There are some villagers who still farm their allotments, with the most common crop being cocoa. A proposal for a small loan and agricultural education project has been written and funding is being sought to build the capacity of these small-scale farmers and to perhaps encourage others to follow suit.

The final project is a plan to develop and implement trauma-recovery interventions for Colombian refugee children and adolescents in the town of San Lorenzo. Many Colombian refugee families have been driven south by violent evictions from their homes and land by paramilitary groups and drug gangs. Once in Ecuador these children and adolescents receive little help in dealing with the effects of their traumatization. This project is being designed in conjunction with a priest of the San Lorenzo Catholic church and in collaboration with other organizations.

PART II

THE AGENCY IN STRUCTURE

In structure-agency arguments, environment is often neglected as an enabling or limiting factor. For those whose livelihoods depend mostly on subsistence economies, the environment is a controlling factor. For the Afro-Ecuadorian communities of northwestern Ecuador it is an important shaping element in their everyday lives. The forests and mangroves gave escaped slaves sanctuary and the climate, vegetation, and fauna provided rich resources. These same factors, along with the geological makeup of the region, would later prove to be attractive to the agribusinesses of the African palm plantations. The soil, the rainfall, and the climate in general, are perfect for the growth of this tree. Chapter II describes the fauna, flora, geography, and climate of the two northern cantons of Esmeraldas. The chapter ends by describing the history of *homo sapiens sapiens* and, in particular, the history of the African-descendent people who live there. Afro-Ecuadorians and their current status within the area and within the larger Ecuadorian context is described. A detailed description is given of the households in San Lorenzo and Eloy Alfaro cantons using the survey conducted for this study.

Chapter III locates the northwestern communities within the larger political economy of Ecuador. The nature or shape of political and collective activity for many groups in Ecuador has been determined by economic and political changes at the national level and, in turn, by changes globally. This has held true for Afro-Ecuadorians despite

their isolation and negation through racism. The military dictatorships, and then the democratically elected governments, had allowed for groups to associate and these associations had taken on political elements. The chapter introduces Deborah Yashar's notion of associational space explain how the changing political economy, from dictatorship through to the structural adjustment policies of the 1980s, shaped collective political activity throughout Ecuador.

It is through grassroots organizations, social movements, and NGOs that collective action finds its expression. Chapter IV looks at the development of new sets of organizations through the confluence of an expanded associational space and the changes brought about by structural adjustment. As in many other countries, Ecuador witnessed a growth in non-government organizations as well as an expansion of the role of these organizations. The chapter examines how these organizations developed and how they operate within the Ecuadorian context. The chapter ends with a description of the development of Afro-Ecuadorian organizations, organizations that prove vital to the successes the mangrove and forest communities achieve in the 1990s.

CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT AS “UNFREEDOM”

Between La Tola and Limones,
from Limones to Borbón,
there's a black goat walking
and his title is Esquire. . .

How many poor unfortunates
have paid their lives away,
the wretches have lost their shirts
to this serpent without shame

From "The Black Goat," a *decima* recorded and retold by Juan García Salazar (Salazar, 1994)

For some people development is not freedom. Rather, with development comes dispossession and a deterioration of wellbeing. Those once free to choose their daily labor become shackled to wages, or victims of the vicissitudes of changing socio-political circumstances. Such would appear to be the lot of the Afro-Ecuadorian communities that dot the mangroves, rivers, and forests in the northern parts of Esmeraldas province, Ecuador. These would be trying circumstances for most communities. But for Afro-

Ecuadorians, long believing themselves the progeny of proud and fierce runaway slaves, this would be a pathetic irony. Yet it is not. Things are changing at a rapid pace in the cantons of Eloy Alfaro and San Lorenzo. And that change has come along the road down the mountains from Ibarra, up the coastal road from the provincial capital of Esmeraldas, and blown ominously across the border from Columbia. Like the railway before them, built in the late 1950s, the roads have brought the promise of economic development.

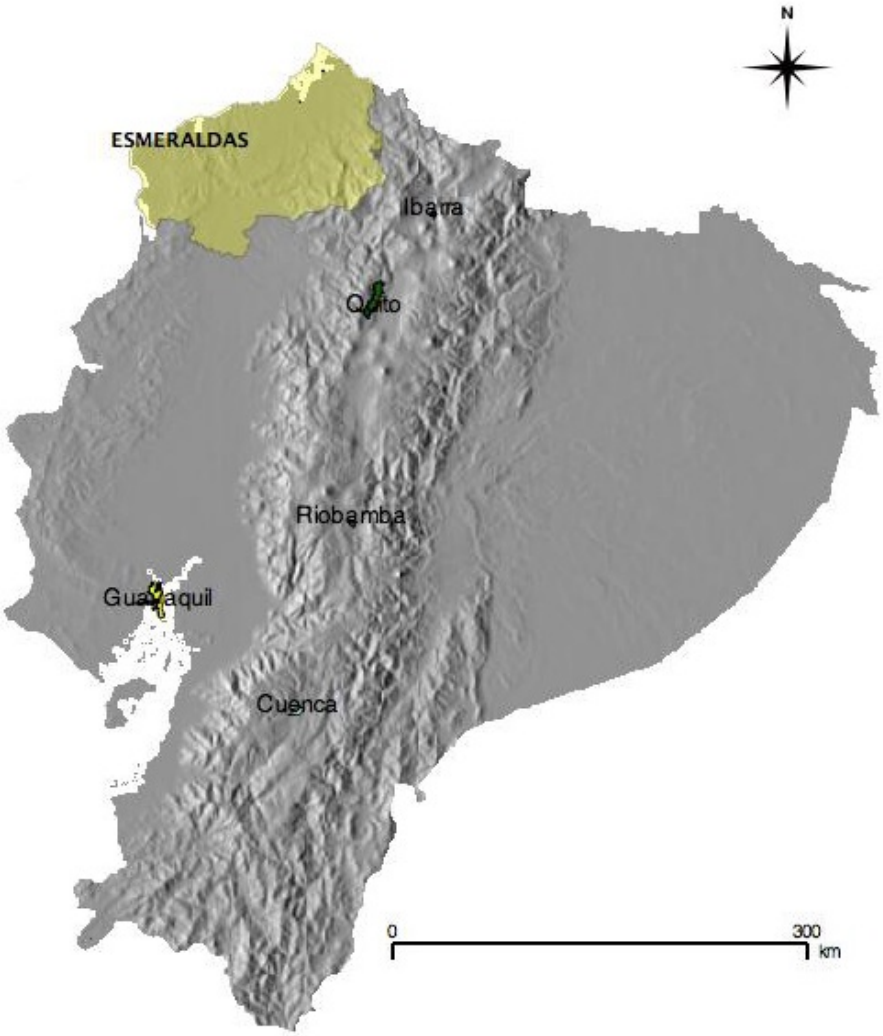

Figure 2. Ecuador with Esmeraldas highlighted.

Geography, Geology, and Climate [2]

The road from Ibarra drops swiftly down through the Andes to the province of Esmeraldas, running roughly northwest through a series of different types of vegetation, from desert-type scrub and cacti to dense forest where the clouds hug the mountains to open grass growing up the steep sides of the Andes. The forest remains mainly untouched where the slopes are the steepest, but in accessible areas the cutting of trees is frequently in evidence. At this point the road's journey down the Andes is a twisted one with rock slides, of boulders the size of the buses and trucks that ply the route, a frequent inconvenience and danger.

Figure 3. A rock fall on the road to San Lorenzo, August 2007.

[2] The following information is gleaned from various maps and other publications of the Oficina de Planifacación, Ministerio de Agricultura y Ganaderia, except where specifically cited.

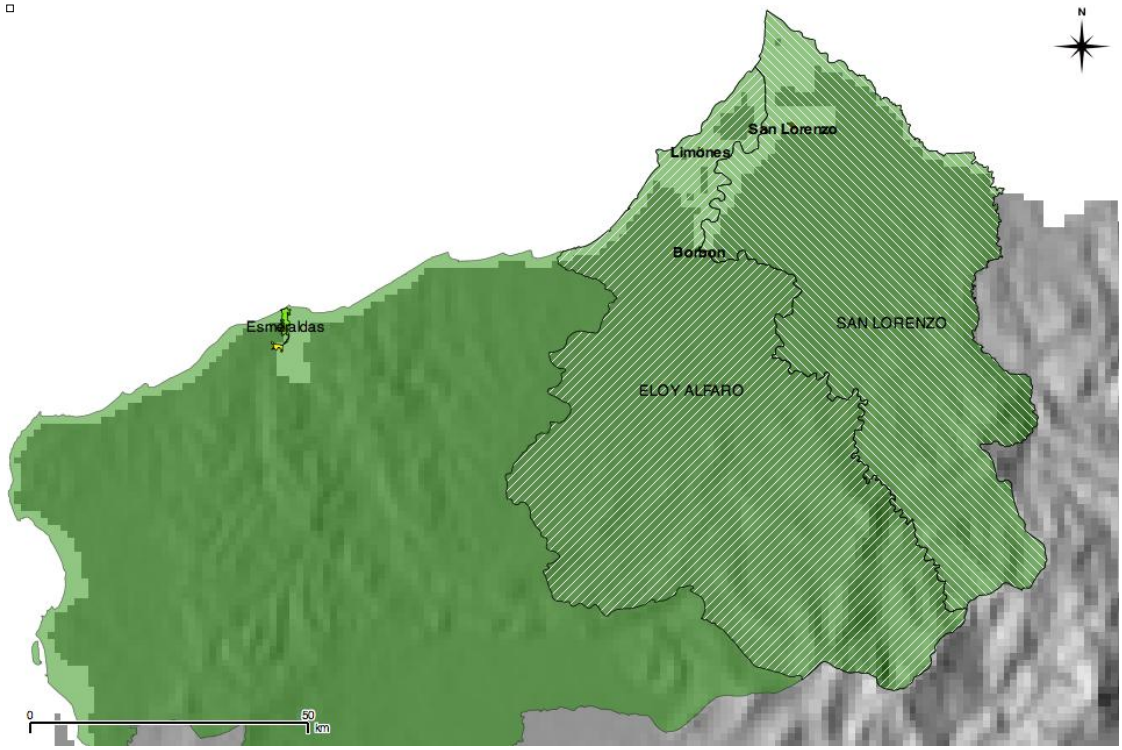

Figure 4. The northern cantons of Esmeraldas.

Not far from Alto Tambo, the first village across the provincial line, the air changes texture, enough so that any sleeping traveler is awakened by the shift from cool, thin Andean air to the more oxygen-laden thickness of the forest and coast. The yearly average temperature is 24 to 26°C in San Lorenzo, the largest town in northwestern Esmeraldas, but in the foothills of Alto Tambo it hovers between 22 to 24 °C.

The descent is swift from the mountains and at Alto Tambo the road is at an elevation of about 750 meters. Just to the south of Alto Tambo a few peaks reach between 2,000 m to 3,000 m, especially along the line that divides Esmeraldas province from Imbabura and again to the northwest in the province of Carchi. By the time the road, now running almost straight, reaches Tulubi and La Florida and the junction with another paved road from the city of Esmeraldas to the south, the elevation has reached a mere 40

meters above sea level. Now the traveler is no longer in danger of falling rock. Yet the road remains perilous from the frequent mudslides that cover the asphalt or from the large potholes, dug out by the frequent rain. By the time the road reaches San Lorenzo the elevation is a mere five meters above sea level.

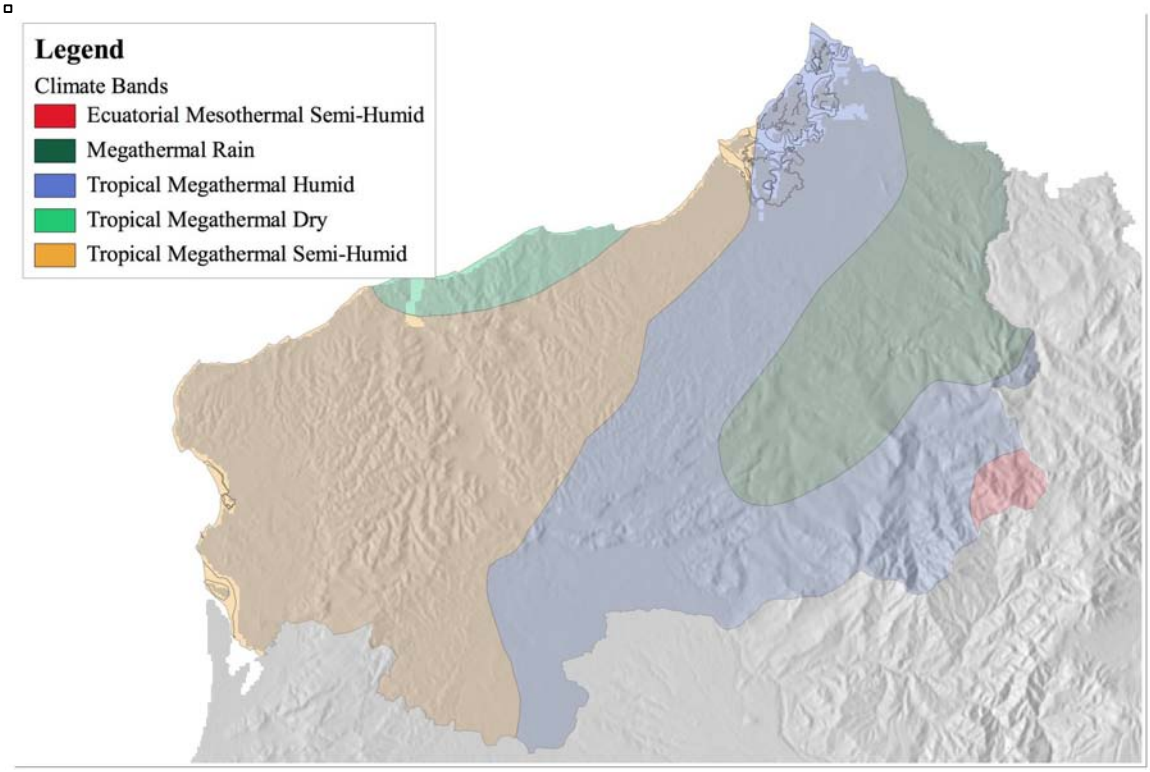

Figure 5. Climatic bands of northern Esmeraldas province.

The rainfall in the two cantons depends on the steep rise in gradient from the coast to the Andes; as the wind drives up against the mountains, clouds form and precipitation occurs. The climate falls into three bands of the tropical, megathermal category — rainy, humid, and semi humid. Most of the rain falls in March, April, and May, but rainfall remains fairly steady throughout the year. At the highest point in the Andes section, to

the east of the two cantons, the average yearly rainfall is in the region of 1,700 mm a year. This increases in almost symmetrical bands until the mid section of San Lorenzo canton where it is about 7,000 mm a year. From the center of the canton and down through Eloy Alfaro it then drops back down to about 1,500 mm a year. The bountiful rain wrecks havoc on the roads and some sections of the center of San Lorenzo canton are susceptible to flooding, especially along the banks of the Rio Santiago and Rio Huimbi and from the southwest of Carondelet to the canton line with Eloy Alfaro.

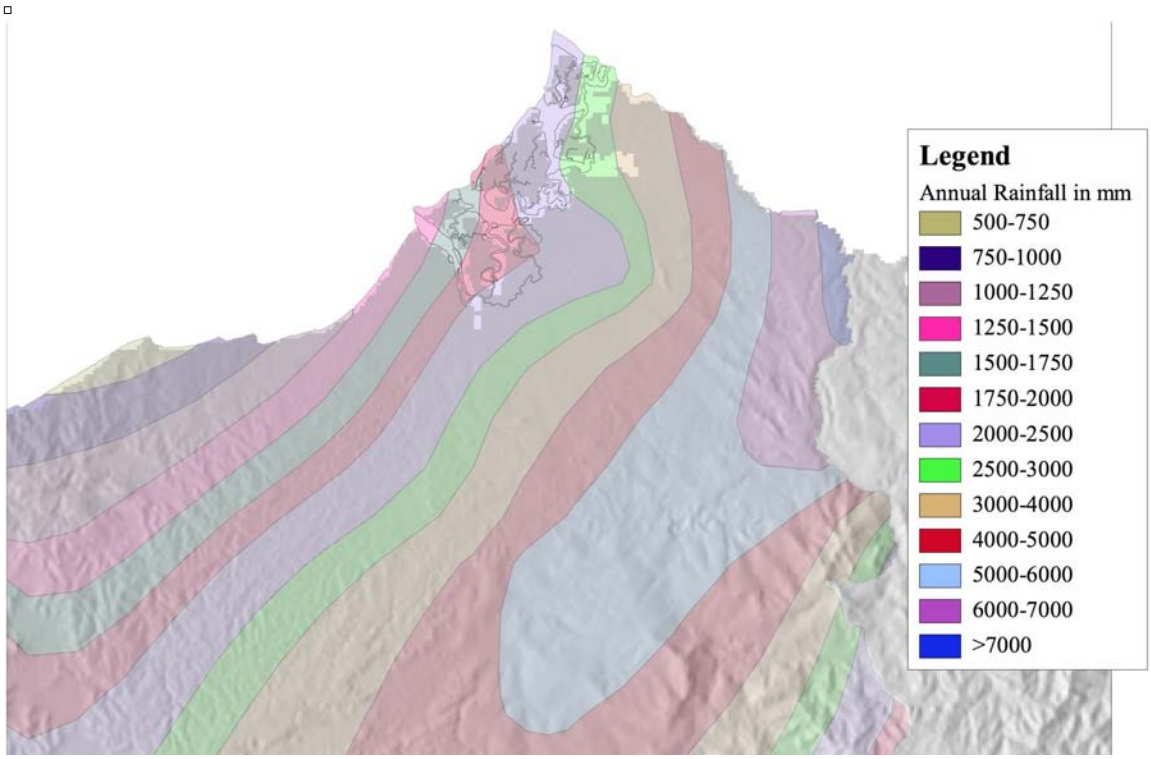

Figure 6. Annual average precipitation in mm.

Numerous rivers flow down from the higher elevations, but three key waterways are of note. The Mataje, to the north, forms the border with Colombia and flows directly into the mangrove swamps along the coast. The Rio Santiago River meets the Rio

Cayapas opposite the town of Borbón, the second largest town in the two cantons after the town of San Lorenzo. The road from the city of Esmeraldas cuts back from the coast just as it crosses the Eloy Alfaro canton line and makes an arc to Borbón. The same road crosses the Cayapas and crosses the Santiago near Maldonado. The Cayapas broadens considerably at Bordón and flows past the village of La Tola down to the sea.

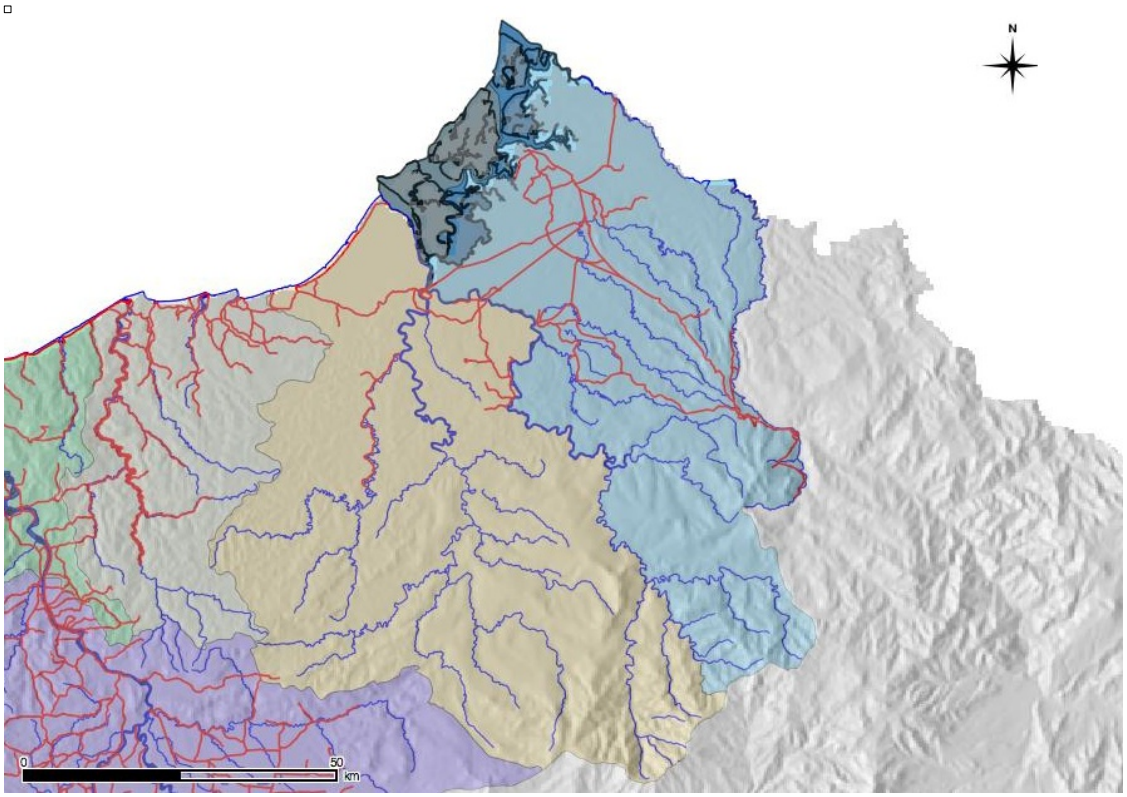

Figure 7. The major roads and rivers of the region.

The Humbolt Current controls much of the rain as it moves its cold water northward to push into the Panama Current moving down from the north, and both then move west and away from the South American coastline (Dodson & Gentry, 1991). The flow of the currents ensures that the coast stays a little drier while the Andean foothills get more precipitation. The fluctuations of El Niño ensure things are never just simple

patterns and rains can stay away or dump down on the area, washing roads and rail lines away. The last two El Niño events occurred in 1982-1983 and in 1997-1998, resulting in significant damage to Ecuador's infrastructure and economy (Jørgensen & León-Yánez, 1999).

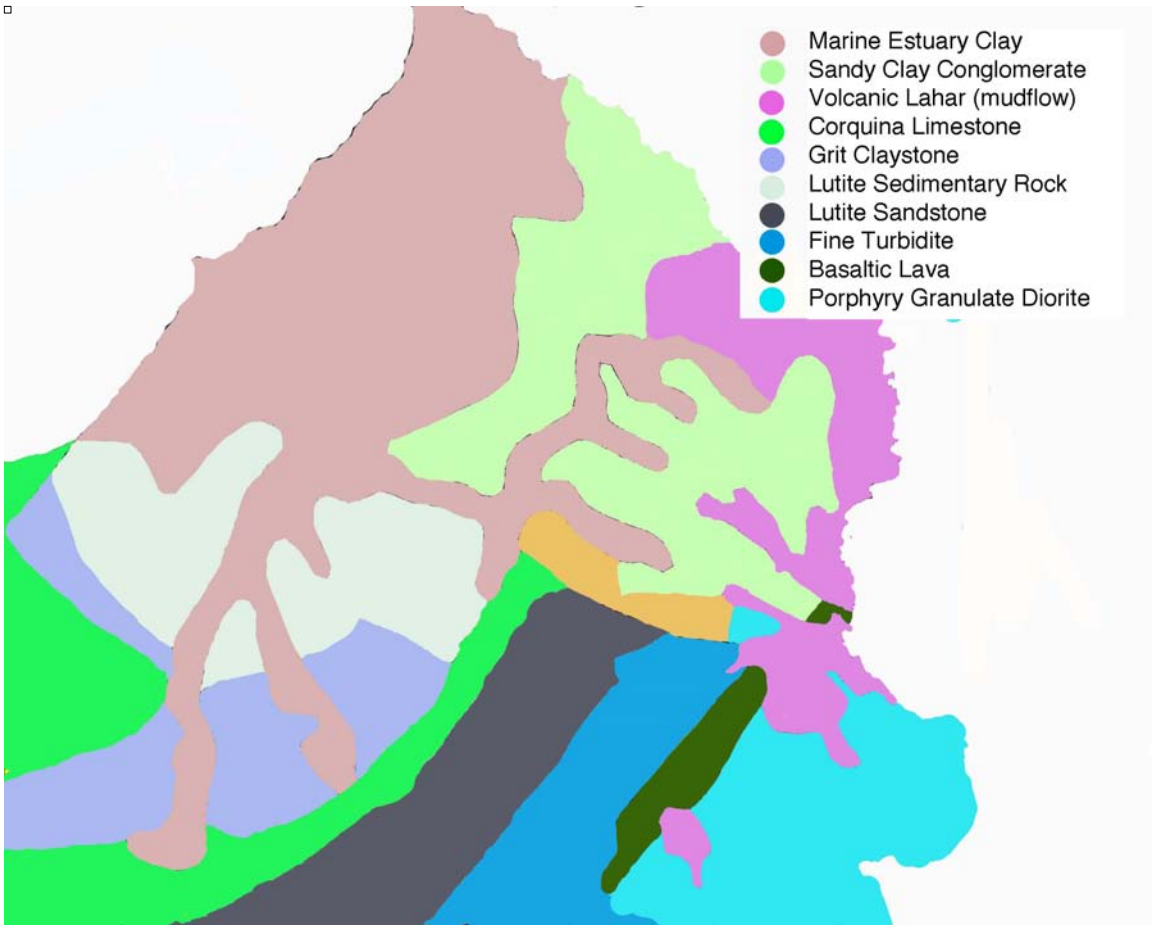

Figure 8. Geological formations of the northwestern cantons of Esmeraldas.

The geological portrait is a varied one with fan-shaped volcanic mudflows of the San Tadeo formation, dating from the Quaternary Period, wrapping in a curve along the northeastern border with Carchi Province and Colombia. A hand-like formation (a sandstone-clay conglomerate of the Canoa formation, Pliocene Age) points northwest

along the San Lorenzo-Ibarra road. Stretching from the coast, and through the fingers of the hand, is marine estuary sediment. Running from the center of Eloy Alfaro southward are strips and pockets of chalkstone of the Borbón formation, also dating from the Pliocene. From Colombia, and following the road north-south, is another section of the sandstone clay conglomerate (Feinnger & Bristow, 1980; Oficina de Planificación Odelplan, 2002). It is along this section of the Mataje-Maldonado roads, however, that the richest soil for cultivation exists alongside water resources and more gentle elevations. It is along this corridor that African palm plantations have sprung up over the last decade.

From the mangrove swamps in the northwest corner to the Andes in the southwest, the two cantons contain an extraordinary and disappearing plant and animal life. Although the Galápagos Islands are some hundreds of miles west of San Lorenzo and Eloy Alfaro, the collection of species is just as peculiar in this corner of Ecuador. The two cantons lie within one of the world's few bio hotspots, the Tumbes-Chocó-Magdalena Hotspot, which stretches from Panama down through Colombia and Ecuador, to northern Peru (Critical Ecosystem Partnership Fund, 2007; Myers, 1988.). A hotspot is so named because of the number of endemic species it contains. Ecuador has 25 out of 100 existing life zones — diverse ecosystems — in the world and two of the world's hotspots for biodiversity (Wunder, 2000). There are 12 life zones in the Tumbes-Chocó-Magdalena Hotspot, but these are probably more fragmented than previously thought and this might be why so many endemic species are found there (Dodson & Gentry, 1991).

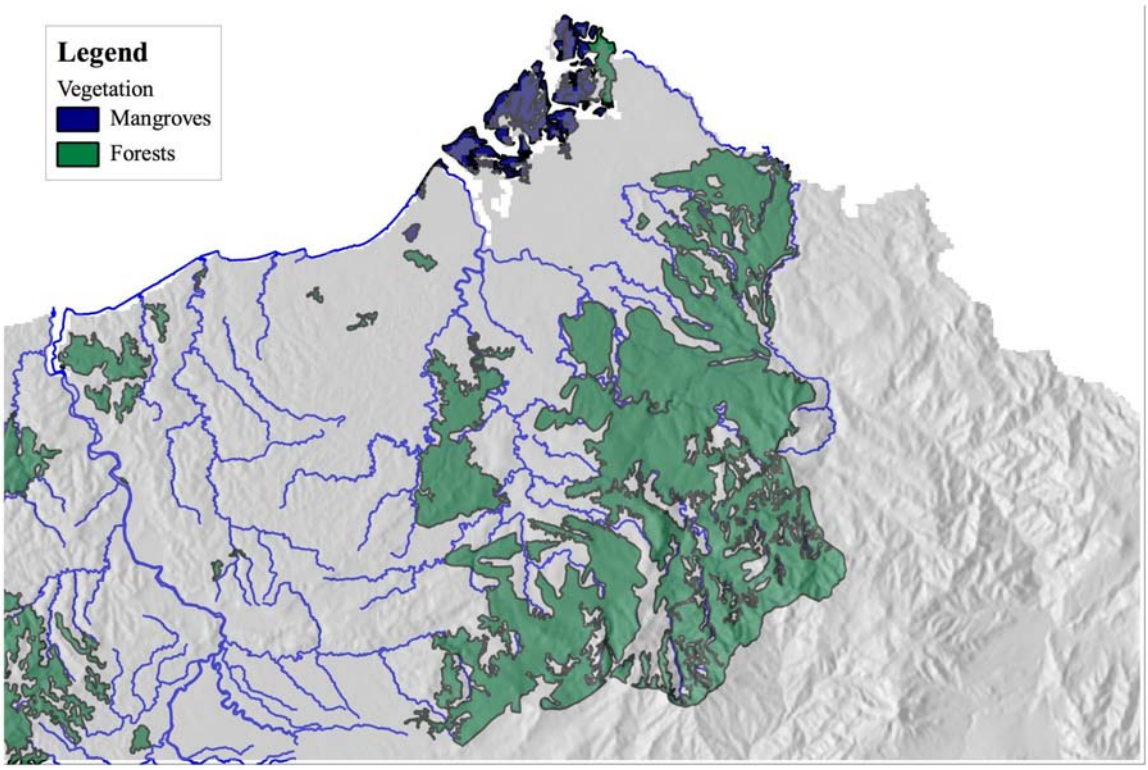

Figure 9. Northern Esmeraldas contains two special features — the mangrove swamp and some of the last remaining forest of the Chocó.

The shoreline was modified about 2,000 years ago, possibly by a tsunami-type event, when the mangrove coast was created (DeBoer, 1996). The mangroves, which grow in the soft soil and shallow water of the lower Rio Santiago River, run northward into Colombia. The water runs through sedge marshes, peat lands, and brackish sections where the fresh water from the east meets the saltwater tides. A number of different mangrove species have evolved to live in this soupy tidal environment, with root systems that let the plants stand above the water while their aerial roots extract the salt from the water. The mangrove ecosystem relies on the tides for nutrients and on what is brought down from the hills by the rivers (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2007). There are

six species of mangrove in the area: the dominant stands are of red mangroves (*Rhizophora harrisonii* and *Rhizophora mangle*); towards the east and more solid land are stands of black mangroves (*Avicennia germinans*), white mangroves (*Laguncularia racemosa*), and button mangroves (*Conocarpus erectus*). *Pelliciera rhizophorae*, mangle piñuelo in Spanish, is more dominant to the north (Jørgensen & León-Yánez, 1999; (Ramirez, Molina, Granadoes, Armenta, & Acosta, 2000).

Within their mats of roots, the mangroves are a perfect habitat for phytoplankton, fish, crustaceans, and countless other species. There are nearly 70 species of fish, 22 different types of reptile, close to 150 species of bird, and 53 of mammals ("Annotated Ramsar List," 2009). Fish include mullet, pampano, perch, bonito, sea bass, and albacore. Turtles, iguanas, and snakes also abound (Whitten, 1974).

Figure 10. Mangrove stands between San Lorenzo and Limones.

The mangrove swamps now form part of the approximately 50,000 hectare Reserva Ecologica Cayapas Mataje, legislated in 1996 by the Ecuadorian government ("Annotated Ramsar List," 2009). [3] A separate reserve is situated at the opposite end of the two cantons. The Reserva Ecologica Cotacachi Cayapas, first protected in August 1968, consists of about 200,000 hectares of forest, some of the last of its kind. Ecuador's deforestation is one of the highest in the world at about 2.4 percent per year (2000). The coastal region, however, fairs much worse. While it has only 13 percent of the forest cover in the country (the eastern part of Ecuador is Amazon) it produces 48 per cent of the timber (Wunder, 2000). The deforestation of the Chocó has been estimated at about 15,000 hectares a year between the years 1983 and 1993 (Wunder, 2000). From 1993 to 2003, estimates have put deforestation in Ecuador at about 150,000 hectares a year, of which the Province of Esmeraldas accounts for 15 to 20% — 22,500 to 30,000 hectares a year. Sixty percent of this (13,500 to 18,000 hectares per year) is estimated to come from the northern cantons (Minda Batallas, 2004). This was before roads were built into northern Esmeraldas. The forests are now one of the most threatened areas of the world and the "biological extinction in this region may have been massive" (Dodson & Gentry, 1991, p. 273).

The forests are of a number of types. In the north, the lowland pluvial forest only just crosses the border from Colombia. The premontane wet forest stretches to the Peruvian border while parts of the coastline not under mangrove swamp are tropical dry forest. Tropical moist forest runs down through the center of the two cantons and tropical wet forest and premontane pluvial forest can be found up to the 900 meters mark of the

[3] In late 2005 two of the largest mangroves in the world died. El bosque del Majahual esta desprotegido. (2006, March 1). *El Comercio*.

Andes (Dodson & Gentry, 1991). Within these forests and swamps are 6,300 species of which 1,250 are endemic (Dodson & Gentry, 1991). There are 650 bird species in western Ecuador (Dodson & Gentry, 1991) and there are 30 species of edible fish and 15 taxa of crustaceans (DeBoer, 1996). The tauga tree (*Pytelephas aequatorialis*), once a source of income for many in the area back when the nut was used to make buttons, is now used for thatch and house construction (DeBoer, 1996) or shipped to the Andes where it is used to carve into chess pieces and other trinkets and sold in the tourist shops of Quito, Otavalo, and other destinations.

Figure 11. The still-forested banks of the Rio Cayapas.

Warren DeBoer describes the forest strata that line the Cayapas and Santiago rivers thus: The upper stratum is at about 30 meters and consists of chanul trees (*Humiriastrum*

procerum) and red barked sande (*Brosimum utile*), the type of tree usually used for making canoes. Other trees in this strata are cavrá (*Huberodendron patinoi*), chalviande (*Virola sp*), damajagua (*Poulsonia armata*), ceiba (*Ceiba pentandra*), cedro (*Cedrela odorata*), guayacán (*Tabebuia guayacan*), *Humiriastrum procerum*, *Dacryodes cupularis*, *Nectandra guadaripo*, *Virola dixonii*, and *Otoba novogranatensis* (DeBoer, 1996; Jørgensen & León-Yánez, 1999). The second strata is at about 10 meters and consists of palms (with *Wettinia quinaria* predominant) and smaller trunk trees such as pambil (*Socretea sp*), gualitó (*Wettiria utilis*), milpeso (*Jessenia polycarpa*) and tugua (DeBoer, 1996; Jørgensen & León-Yánez, 1999). The third strata is made up of shrubs, vines, and ferns (DeBoer, 1996).

Animal life is equally rich and peccary, paca, tapir, deer, ocelot, jaguar, and many other disappearing species can be found, though often only at the upper altitudes of the reserve. But, even at its most pristine, the presence of homo sapiens is evident (DeBoer, 1996).

Homo Sapiens Sapiens

Even with the destruction of the forests, the vegetation in San Lorenzo and Eloy Alfaro is dense and along the river banks the inclines are steep. However, writes Warren DeBoer of his archaeological explorations of the area: "even in the most remote and apparently tractless areas the flora always included anthropogenic relicts" (1996, p. 9). Islands of firmer ground in the mangrove swamps also show signs of early occupation. These early settlers of northwestern Ecuador maintain a hold on the popular imagination.

A site at La Tolita has yielded a number of gold artifacts, some of which crown collections of museums in Quito, and the rumor (possibly true) that gold flakes abound in the areas around the sites is common. But La Tolita was fleeting, lasting from about 300 B.C. to about 350 A.D., a square mile of territory that was probably not occupied continuously (DeBoer, 1996). DeBoer has described the early settlements of northwestern Esmeraldas province as a patchwork with a shared material culture. Although different, these settlers were interconnected and their settlements alternated between prosperity and decline, a fact reflected in their pottery. By the time of the Spanish Conquest, however, the demographics had changed.

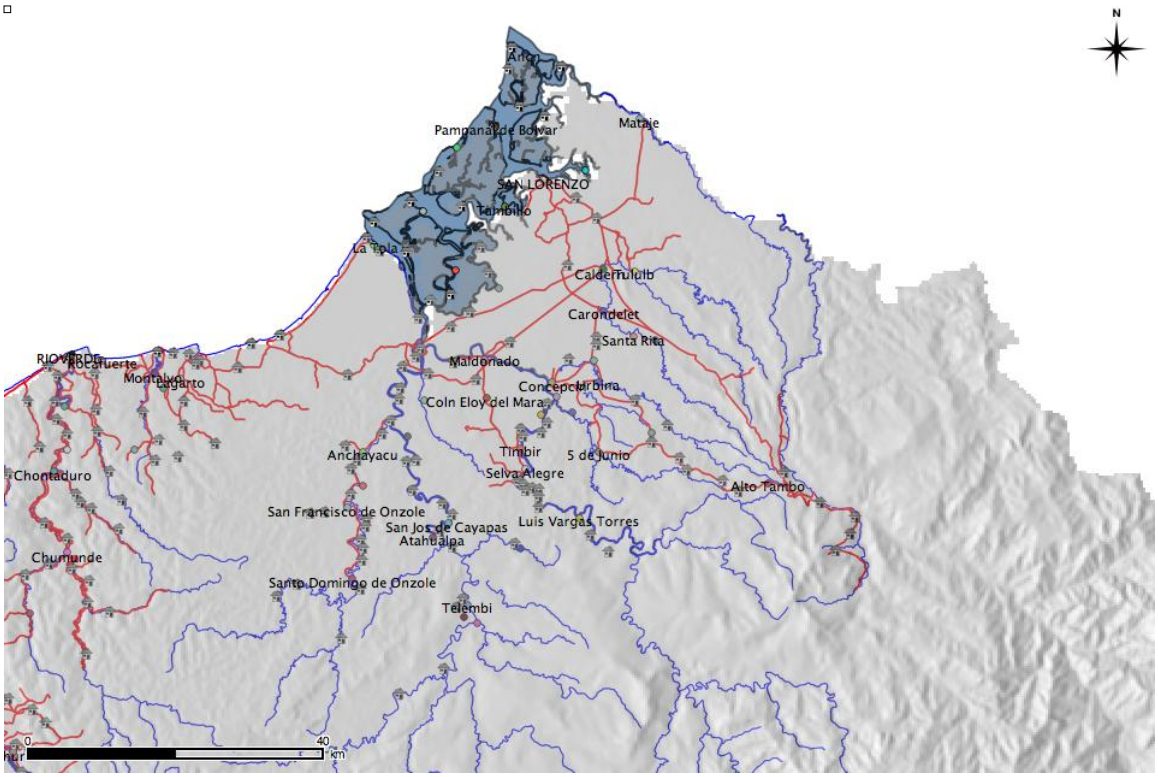

Figure 12. The villages and towns of Eloy Alfaro and San Lorenzo.

The Chachi, who came down from the Andes, probably to escape the Inca and the growing Spanish Conquest, displaced and possibly exterminated the earlier settlers. Their first encounter with the Spanish was in 1597 and it appears that the Chachi were moving into the Cayapas River Basin area by the 18th Century (DeBoer, 1996). Today the Chachi number about 3,000 people (*Comite de Coordinacion Interinstitucional de la Region Norte de Esmeraldas*, 2003-2008). Writes DeBoer: "If one had to give a thumbnail sketch of the Chachi ethnography, one should emphasize that they are river people, equally at home in a dugout canoe as on land, that they tend to live in single-house settlements dispersed along rivers, that plantains and fish are staples of their diet, and that they speak a language related to the Colorado and Kwaiker" (1996, p. 176). The earlier settlers, whom the Chachi refer to as *Indios Bravos*, still hold some sway over the Chachi. Smoke from the hills is seen as evidence of the *Indios Bravos* continued existence (Hazlewood, 2004). Other recent settlers to the area are the Awá and Epera. Three generations of Awá have lived in Ecuador having settled there from Colombia. There are about 4,000 Awá in the region and about 400 Epera, also recent transplants from Colombia. Many of the Epera live across the river from Borbón in Eloy Alfaro (Encalada, Garcia, & Ivarsdotter, 1999).

A more constant and visible presence, however, are their current neighbors — Afro-Ecuadorians — a source of both cooperation and conflict. Along the banks of the same rivers live communities of Afro-Ecuadorians, who probably arrived in the area at about the same time as the Chachi. Norman Whitten describes the movement of Afro-Ecuadorians down from the mines in Colombia to present day northern Esmeraldas; recent research by Ecuadorian and Colombian historians has filled in more detail of this

movement (Savoia, 1988, 1990; Whitten, 1965). Whitten describes a number of waves of settlement. With the arrival of the Spanish came slaves, some of the earliest of whom had been through the grinder in Spain, and many of whom spoke Spanish and had converted to Christianity. Later, as the Conquest grew along with the plunder and mining of gold, so the importation of slaves moved to those shipped through the Caribbean or directly from Africa. (Jean Kapenda's short, but very interesting work traces many of the current last names of Afro-Ecuadoreans to names common in Angola and the Congo (2001)).

Shipments of slaves arrived on the northwestern coast of South America at Cartagena in present day Colombia. By the 1550s, there were also a number of plantations taking hold in the Andean Highlands, north of Quito. These Jesuit plantations, along with the Colombian mines at Barbacaos, which were well underway by the 1650s, were worked by African slave labor (Kapenda, 2001; Whitten, 1965). In what was a complex and fluid system, slaves were often able to buy their freedom after working for some time in the mines. Others escaped from both the mines and the plantations, some of the escapees from the mines making their way south to what is now northern Esmeraldas province, Ecuador, and those from the plantations making their way down the slopes of the Andes to the forests and coast below. In the 1780s, a little more than a decade after the Jesuits were expelled from Latin America, there were 1,324 slaves working on the eight sugarcane haciendas in the Chota Valley (Kapenda, 2001). These communities, as well as those in Esmeraldas, were further populated in the early 19th Century when the liberation armies of Simon Bolivar, with their many black recruits, swept through northern South America in pursuit of the Spanish. (A 1825 census showed that only 2,799 people lived in the populated areas of Esmeraldas.) By 1821 slaves were no longer

imported and those who were resident had their children born free (Kapenda, 2001). In 1851 slavery was abolished.

When Whitten did his work in the 1960s, he could write that Afro-Ecuadorians had not drawn from this rich history a shared myth of their arrival in the area. Much has changed since then. Central to current Afro-Ecuadorian identity is a story that Whitten and many others have recounted (Kapenda, 2001; Miranda, 2005; Network of Educators on the Americas, 1993; Rueda Novoa, 2001; Whitten, 1965). This is the story of Alonso de Illescas. Born in Cape Verde, he was taken to Spain at the age of 7. At 25 he and a number of other slaves were part of the cargo of a Spanish ship heading for the coast of Peru (Network of Educators on the Americas, 1993). Depending on the accounts, the ship either wrecked or stopped off the shores of Esmeraldas for supplies. There Illescas and 17 black men and 6 black women escaped. They intermarried with the indigenous people of the area and, through Illescas' leadership, formed an independent republic that drew in other escaped slaves. (Many of these descriptions draw on a contemporary account, circa 1580s, of Illescas by Miguel Cabello de Balboa (Miranda, 2005; (Estupinan Tello, 1967; Rueda Novoa, 2001).) These are the maroons or *cimarrónes*, the independent African descendants who lived in stockades known as *palenques* (Franco, 1973). A second icon to contemporary Afro-Ecuadorians is Mangaches, another escaped slave who founded a society that was destroyed by the Spanish in 1584 (Network of Educators on the Americas, 1993). The settlement of escaped slaves, the Zambo Republic, however, continued to have contact with the Spanish and the settlements grew as more slaves were brought to South America (and more sought freedom) as Spanish colonization quickened (Rueda Novoa, 2001). At one point, in 1598, the Spanish even negotiated with the

runaway slaves (Network of Educators on the Americas, 1993) and for much of the time the freed people along the coast lived in relative autonomy under democratic leadership (Whitten, 1965). “Not only did *cimarrónes* (as escaped slaves were called) revolt and resist, they also initiated counter attacks on mines, plantations, and shipping routes, acquiring capital, goods, skills, and more manpower" (Whitten, 1965, p. 44). For the most part, however, the communities were in remote areas where the settlers learned to survive with the help of indigenous populations (M. Sánchez & Franklin, 1996).

The Negation of *Homo Sapiens Sapiens*

Figure 13. The restaurant chain Menestras del Negro's logo.

“Do you think we are all brutes?” asks a man in his 40s as he heaves a large railroad tie across the no-longer functioning tracks. He is working for an African palm plantation that sits up alongside his communal village and he and his gang of laborers convert the rail bridge into a bridge suitable for the heavy trucks. For him it is a rhetorical question. In Quito a chain of fast food restaurants has as its logo a beaming cartoon

countenance that smacks of overt racism. The chain, Menestras del Negro, serves what is purported to be the typical food of Ecuador's African descendents — fish with beans, fried plantain, and rice. Supplemental school material, printed on single sheet paper with colorful drawings, suggests the same base characterizations. A quote from one, a page on the peoples of Ecuador, describes Afro-Ecuadorians as such: “They are very noisy and cheerful, and very much in demand for hard labor as they can resist the sun and bad climates” ("Origen del hombre Ecuatoriano y las razas del Ecuador," 2000).

Figure 14. Local employees of a palm plantation turn an unused rail bridge into a bridge that will carry the heavy trucks that transport palm oil fruit to the local refinery. July 2007.

On the surface, a lot has changed in Ecuador. Afro-Ecuadorians make up about ten percent of the population and many of their rights are now protected through various constitutional means. In 1962, Ecuador signed the International Labor Organization's Convention 111 which deals with discrimination in the workplace. In 1969, Ecuador signed the United Nation's Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and, since military rule ended in 1979, a number of articles and laws have been promulgated to protect other rights. These include Article 83 of the 1998 Constitution, which recognizes the existence of Afro-Ecuadorians, and Article 84, recognizing collective, territorial, and cultural rights for both the indigenous and African descendent people of Ecuador (*Constitucion politica del estado Ecuatoriano*, 1998). A 1998 decree put in place the Council for Afro-Ecuadorian Development (*Race report: Constitutional provisions and legal actions related to discrimination and Afro-descendant populations in Latin America*, 2004). A significant constitutional change also took place in 1998. Indigenous and black leaders challenged the notion that Ecuador was a "sovereign, independent, democratic, and unitary state" which the 1984 Constitution had stipulated (Halpern & Twine, 2000, p. 27). At the 1998 Constituent Assembly, brought together to reform the Constitution, black leaders joined with indigenous groups to press their demands. The Assembly, however, while it "did not acknowledge Ecuador as a pluricultural nation, it did include new sections concerning culture and the collective rights of indigenous and Black Ecuadorian peoples" (Halpern & Twine, 2000, p. 27). Yet, the symbols and manifestations of racism remain and an Afro-Ecuadorian from Esmeraldas can state: "We continue to be seen as pack mules" (interview 20060418-17h30).

While it has been argued that racial terms and definitions have not been stable nor

universal (Appelbaum, Macpherson, & Rosemblatt, 2003), resistance to slavery, discrimination, and negation started with the first African descendant to get off the boat. In the sixteenth century, Illescas overpowered his owners. In eighteenth-century New Grenada, slaves used "corporate action and a corporate identity" to challenge their owners through the courts (Soulodre-LaFrance, 2006). Those battles have marked the history of African descendants in northwestern Latin America. Nancy Appelbaum, Anne Macpherson, and Karin Rosemblatt argue with some validity that the historical transformation of concepts of race come from the interactions between the elite and the rest, and the subjugated use this discourse to further their own agency (Appelbaum, et al., 2003). But during the latter half of the 20th Century, particular and peculiar forces have shaped the collective responses of Afro-Ecuadorians, especially the partial space allowed the communities with the advent of democracy. Jonathan Ritter writes that the resistance to racism in the 1950s and '60s can be seen as a self-conscious response, often through written expression. In the 1970s this creation of Afro-Ecuadorian identity was often through music that communicated to the larger African-American population through marimba performances that emphasized such themes as slavery, racism, and resistance (Ritter, 1999). In the 1980s and 1990s, two particular allied developments took place: there was a growing intellectual appreciation of Afro-Ecuadorian history at the same time that Afro-Ecuadorians social movements and community organizations began to explore the political opportunities enabled by a return to democracy. In addition, structural adjustment economic policies forced and created both new challenges and unexpected opportunities. On the intellectual front, a number of historical analyses were written that explore Afro-Ecuadorian antecedents (Kapenda, 2001; Miranda, 2005; Rueda Novoa,

2001; Savoia, 1990). This work has been fed back into the popular Afro-Ecuadorian discourse through community organizations and social movements.[4] Adam Halpern and France Winddance Twine write: "Black Ecuadorians have drawn from the Haitian concept of 'blackness'. . . . this concept, which challenges nationalist discourse of *mestizaje* and *blanqueamiento*, stresses the positive features of blackness and Black culture. . ." (2000, p. 26).

Outside the Constitution, but within the larger mechanics of the state, there is recognition of this racism. A government sponsored publication in 2006 recognized that Afro-Ecuadorian communities have not received adequate attention (Sistema Integrado de Indicadores Sociales del Ecuador & Frente Social, 2006). As far as the state was concerned, Afro-Ecuadorians were invisible, stigmatized, and frequently contrasted with *mestizos* and whites in a negative and inferior way.[5]

Racism in the everyday life of Afro-Ecuadorians in particular contexts is well documented in four studies. Emily Walmsley's ethnography looks at black descendants in Esmeraldas (the city, not the province) and concludes: "Esmeraldans. . . frequently deny that racism informs their social relations, and they often talk ambiguously about their own racial identity. Very few Esmeraldans support the incipient black solidarity movements that are now challenging racial discrimination at the local and national level" (2004). Other studies have looked at the concealed racism in Ibarra (Carrillo & Salgado, 2002) while another looks at how racism makes Afro-Ecuadorians non-citizens in the

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[4] A number of workbooks, aimed at younger readers, recount this history. Interestingly, many of these popularly accessible histories have been funded by development agencies. For example, *Construyendo mí identidad: lectura sobre cultura e historia Afro-Ecuatoriana,* was published with funds from the European Union.

[5] *Mestizos* are the largest "ethnic" group in Ecuador, drawing their lineage from indigenous people and the Conquistadors.

capital city, Quito (de la Torre, 2002a). A study of 1970s-era San Lorenzo, Esmeraldas, examines the dynamic of racism as *mestizos*, who moved into the town after the railway was constructed, gained economic ascendency (Schubert, 1981).

Figure 15. A girl plays with her doll in the streets of San Lorenzo.

The deconstruction and reconstruction of Afro-Ecuadorian identity, as a response to the environment of racism in Ecuador, is an active, positive process against this negation. One interviewee put it thus: "The process of recreating the Afro-Ecuadorian community is moving forward. We are advancing from where we were negated by the state because of the color of our skin. Ecuador for us was one of the most racist places on the face of

the earth. We were forced to learn the history of white peoples' wars and to learn about other people and their glories" (Interview 20060418-17h30). The interviewee, a senior member of the northern Esmeraldas social movement, continues: "What we have is a fusion, the new with the old, with the ancestral." This is a process not without its problems and a process that takes time, according to the interviewee. When identity and history have been shaped by others, and it is written on the basis of lies, "then this is very difficult to decode, to explain to our children, to our youth" (Interview 20060418-17h30).

The numbers, though, do not lie. The 2001 Census yields the following profile: There are 604,000 Ecuadorians of African descent. Most Afro-Ecuadorians live on the coast (78%) while 40% live in the major cities of Ecuador — Guayaquil, Esmeraldas, Quito — and a further 40% live in rural communities in Esmeraldas province (Guerrero, 2004).

How racism has been manifest structurally is evident from the following figures: Poverty rates for whites are 40.5%, the total national poverty rate is 61%, while 70.6% Afro-Ecuadorians live in poverty. In Eloy Elfaro and San Lorenzo, some *parroquias* (the subdivisions of cantons) have levels of 100% of the population living below the poverty level. Illiteracy is at 10% while the number of years of schooling is at 6.1 years (7.2 nationally). Unemployment is at 12% and there are 48.3 deaths per 1,000 for children under five while the national death rate in this category is 42.3 per 1,000 (Guerrero, 2004). In a household survey of Eloy Alfaro and San Lorenzo, done for this study in June 2006, confirm these levels of poverty.

The Afro-Ecuadorian Households of Eloy Alfaro and San Lorenzo

The household survey, which was set up to be used in future research as panel data, included 391 households for a total of 2,032 household members. A household was defined as a living space (living under the same roof) shared by members of a family or group, and where the household members cook and eat meals in common.

The survey covered a number of broad areas — characteristics of the building, general household demographics, household income and employment, issues of migration, education, and access to social programs. Although the World Bank's *Poverty Manual (World Bank Institute, 2005)* lists a number of methodological approaches to analyzing poverty, the method used here for classifying poverty is Necesidades Básicas Insatisfechas (NIB), recommended by the Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL), a United Nations organization. NIB takes into consideration the following: housing, sanitation, access to education, and economic capacity. The household sample was broken down into a number of broad categories which included the areas in which the households were located — mangrove swamp settlements, households in forest or former forest areas, and households in the major towns of both cantons. The data was also analyzed for differences in households headed by an African descendant and for households headed by males and females. Race was determined by the respondent's self-definition. There were 152 African descendant households surveyed in Eloy Alfaro (47.4% of the survey) and 169 African descendant households in the canton of San Lorenzo (52.6%). Of the households, 170 (53%) were in rural areas and 151 (47%) in urban areas. The urban/rural distinction used was that of the Ecuadorian

census tracts. A full discussion of the approach, sampling frame, and other methodological considerations is given in Chapter 7, with population and frame calculations reproduced in the Appendix. For this study, the distinctions between major town, mangrove and forest areas are of more pertinence, and it is these distinctions that are used in the following chapters. Appendix A includes the survey questionnaire. The data from the household survey is used throughout the study and a full description of the methodology of data collection and analysis is given in Chapter 7. As suggested by Philippa Bevan, the data presented in this section are in raw form (unweighted descriptive results only) as a means to a hermeneutical understanding of the African descendants of Eloy Alfaro and San Lorenzo cantons (Bevan, 2006).

Three hundred and twenty of the households were headed by an Afro-Ecuadorian — 82% of all the households surveyed. Of those households, 92 (28.7%) were headed by a female and 229 (71.3%) by a male. Almost 80% of the homes were owned by the head of household, although this particular parameter has a very open interpretation in an area of Ecuador where most land remains untitled. The mean household had 5.11 members with a range of one to 14. The mean number of rooms per household was 2.84 rooms with 18% (58 households) having only one room; 72% (83) households had three or fewer rooms, and 9.4% (30) had no room exclusively for sleeping. Eight percent listed their homes as improvised or shacks. Thirty percent had no kitchen facilities in their homes, but most cooked with gas (90.6%), and just under four percent still used firewood as their primary method of cooking. Drinking water for a significant number of households still came from a source close but outside the home (15%), while another 48 households (also 15%) got drinking water from a nearby river. These are significant

findings considering the European Union's development project to provide communities in the region with potable water. More significantly, economic and politically driven activity in the region has resulted in large amounts of chemicals being dumped on the land. Pesticides, herbicides, and fertilizer are used extensively on the palm plantations and herbicides are sprayed from the air on the Colombian side of the border to kill off the illegal coca crops. These chemicals run off into the region's waterways.

% Without	Households Without	Item
32%	103	Have no books in the household
44.7%	143	Have no refrigerator
6.9%	22	Have no kitchen appliances
26.9%	86	Have no TV
83.4%	267	Have no radio
96.9%	310	Have no computer
75%	240	Have no cell phone
80%	256	Have no bicycle
98.4%	315	Have no motorbike
98.8%	316	Have no car
87.2%	279	Have no canoe
100%	320	Have no boat

Table 1. The lack of “essential” consumer goods.

Households are almost evenly split between males (48.8%) and females (51.2%). The mean age was 23.54 (s.e. 0.487; s.d. 19.717), 17 was the median, and 7 the mode. Ages ranged from a few days old to 100. There are a number of anomalies in the age distributions, specifically drop-offs in the distributions for specific age groups, and these can be attributed to the unfolding of economic development in the area. These anomalies, a drop-off in the distribution in the later teenage years and then again in 30- to 40-year-old age groups, suggest out migration by working age adults to seek employment.

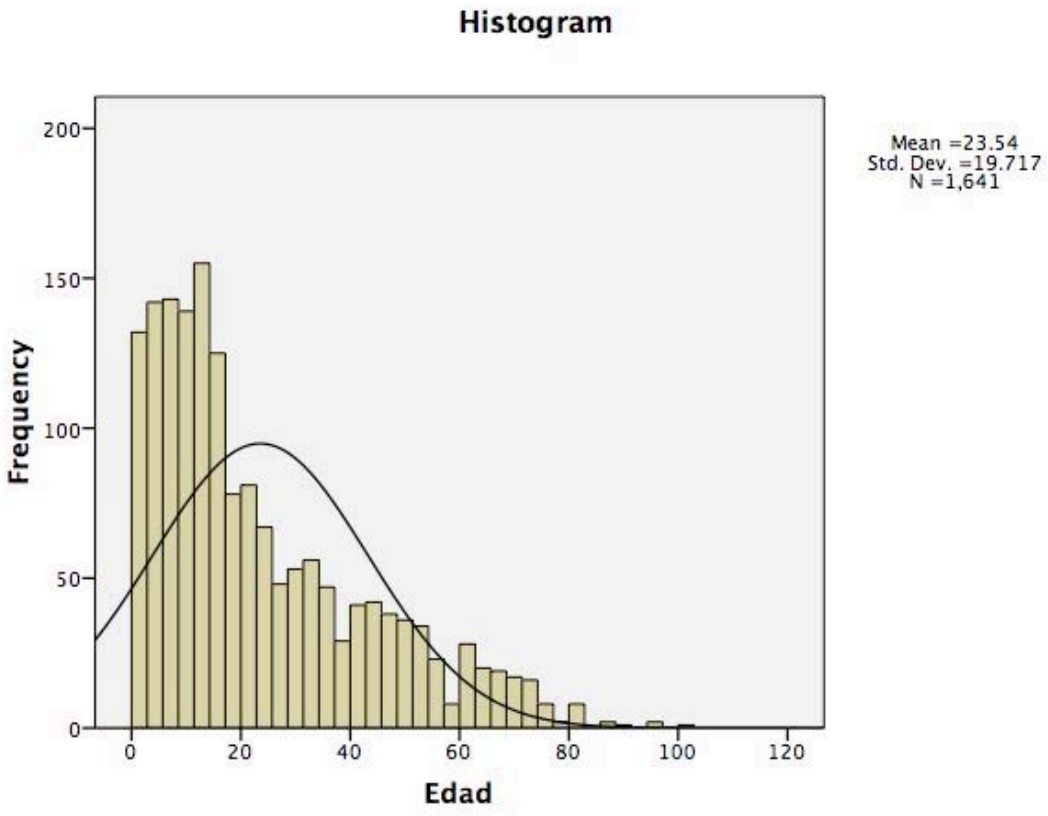

Figure 16. The age distribution in the survey's households.

Twelve percent of household members are partners to the head of the household. There were 112 heads of household who did not have partners — 35% of households.

Children make up 42.8% of households and an additional 9.6% are grandchildren. Other relatives make up just over 9% of the household and non-relatives account for another 6.3%. Ninety-five household members (5.8%) have a cognitive, sensory, or locomotive disability. All household members spoke Spanish.

There were 841 household members 17 or older. Nearly 16 percent (15.7%; 132 people) were illiterate, a figure considerably higher than other reports[6]. Eighty people (9.5%) had had no education at all; 4 (1.5%) had basic adult education, 15 (1.8%) had completed primary education; 374 (44.5%) had completed some secondary schooling; 217 (25.8%) had some technical education, and only 38 (4.4%) had any post-secondary education. Response rates for nearly all the variables in the questionnaire were close to or at 100%. The non-response rate to questions on education, however, were high. There were 113 missing responses to this section with a number of possible explanations, one of which might be the stigma attached to illiteracy and to a lack of educational attainment. Interviews done in 2004 (see Appendix B) underscored the importance of education and educational attainment to Afro-Ecuadorians in the two cantons.

In the 5- to 17-year-old age bracket (604 in total), 38 (6.3%) of the children were not in school. Of those in school, 33 (5.6%) were repeating a year. For those out of school, 21 cited costs as a factor keeping them out of the classroom. Ecuadorian schoolchildren must pay a yearly matriculation fee once in secondary school, as well as purchase school uniforms and books and supplies. Thus, for those in dire poverty, schooling is out of the question. One of the children was pregnant, four were not

[6] James Foster's notion of functional household literacy — the ability of a household to function in a literate world with one member acting as "interpreter" — would be worth considering here (Personal communication).

interested in school, one had given up, and nine had aged out of their respective grades and could no longer attend.

The International Labor Organization's categories were used to define the occurrence of child labor (Chaubey, Perisic, Perrault, Laryea-Adjei, & Khan, 2007). In the 5- to 11-year-old category, six children out of 324 worked and all of them worked for more than an hour in the week preceding the survey. They all, therefore, can be categorized as child laborers. In the 12- to 14-year-old group, 15 children worked out of 140 total, and 10 of those worked more than 14 hours in the previous week and are also classifiable as child laborers. In the 15- to 17-year-old group, 19 worked and eight of those fell into the child labor category (more than 43 hours of economic work a week).

The following picture emerged for the adults' patterns of employment. There were 841 household members over 17. Of those, 349 had no employment for various reasons. Twenty-nine (8.1%) of this group were looking for work; 58 (16.2%) were students; 204 (56.8%) worked in the home; and 31 (8.6%) intended to look for work in the near future. Three were formerly involved in aquaculture but declining stocks had forced them out of this line of work. Those employed included 482 household members. Ten (2.1%) worked for no pay (in subsistence activities). Nearly 42 percent (202) were self employed, a category that included subsistence agriculturalists and fishermen as well as business owners and street vendors. The hiring practices of the palm plantations had some plantation workers including themselves in this category. The plantations do not directly hire most laborers. Rather, they subcontract through individuals who hire and supervise teams of laborers. The explanation for this practice, according to the workers, is that it enables the plantations to skirt Ecuador's labor laws. Also employed mostly on the

plantations were one hundred (20.7%) household members who worked as day laborers. Seventy people (14.5%) were public employees, 68 (14.1%) were private sector employees, and 13 (2.7%) were private sector workers. The mean number of days worked was 5.31 (s.e. 0.069, s.d. 1.516), with a median of 6 and a mode of 6. The range of days worked was 0 to 7. It is important to note that laborers on the palm plantations do not work when it rains; they also do not get paid for days they do not work. The week preceding the survey appears to have been a rare week in northern Esmeraldas province when it did not rain. The mean of hours worked was 8.12 (s.e. 0.166, s.d. 3.634), the median 8, and the mode 8.

Two hundred and one laborers reported their wages for the month preceding the survey. The mean was $86.32 (s.e. 5.468, s.d. 118.051), median of 50, and a mode of 30, with the range running from 0 to $500. All of the above were significant at alpha = 0.05 on one sample t-tests and on sigma squared tests. Wages were separated out from salaries but all sources of cash income were included under household income, a variable calculated from the other data after the survey was completed.

Household income, the once standard measure for assessing poverty rates, presents an equally bleak picture. Household incomes were calculated for 297 households. Missing data excluded 23 households. The mean monthly income was $182.50 (s.e. of 11.09). (Ecuador uses the United States dollar, having dollarized in 2000.) The median income was $130 and the mode $100. The range went from 0 (one household) to 1,550 (one household). There was one outlier, a mayor from a relatively large Colombian town who had just moved to Eloy Alfaro as a refugee. That income, once converted from Colombia pesos to dollars, fell within the upper range of the Ecuadorian incomes.

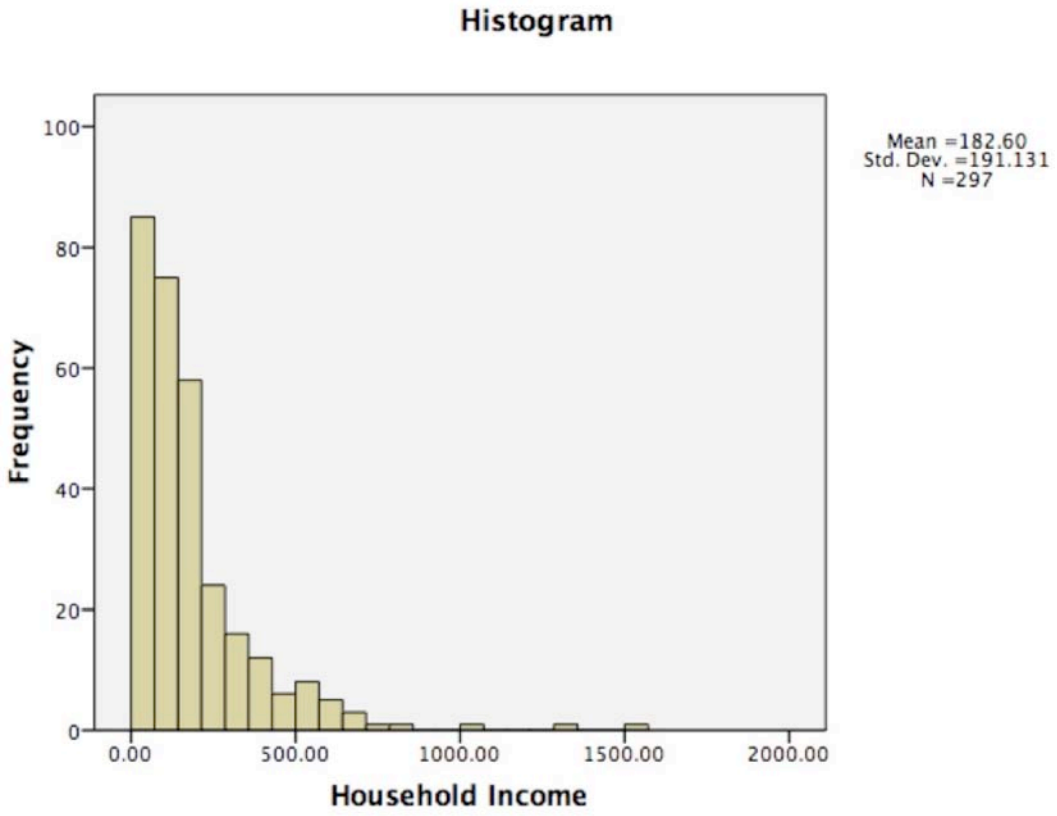

Figure 17. A histogram for the incomes of Afro-Ecuadorian headed households, June 2006.

A closer examination of the distribution of household incomes reveals the starkness of the economic lives of Afro-Ecuadorians in northern Esmeraldas province, at least in terms of cash income. Nearly a quarter of households (23.9%) survive on less than $50 a month; 34% live on less than $80; 40% live on less than $100, and 70% live on less than $200. These are extraordinary numbers when considering the common rough-and-ready yardsticks of a dollar and two dollars a day. With a mean of about five members per household, there are by any back-of-the-envelope calculation, a large number of people surviving on less than 33 cents a day. In an area where many still live on subsistence

aqua- and agriculture, and where those resources are exponentially diminishing, these numbers take on a harsher and greater complexity. One source of coping is for the household to become an extended source of economic activity. Seventy-one households (22.2%) use a section of their homes for commercial activity, often a window of the home acting as a store font. For other households, livelihoods consist of a mix of wage income and subsistence activity, much as Norman Whitten described in his ethnographic work of the 1960s (Whitten, 1965, 1974). However, a lot has changed in terms of economic development since Whitten conducted his research. Democracy has come to Ecuador, and roads and development have come to northern Esmeraldas. The following chapters analyze that change.

CHAPTER III

THE UNINTENDED FREEDOM OF DEMOCRACY

Afro-Ecuadorians have negotiated and contested the space in which they and their communities survive since the first slave ships sailed along the coast. Navigating within changing political economies over time has involved adaptation and the use of multiple strategies — resisting by force and flight, surviving by populating spaces where contact is minimal, surviving through alliances and negotiation, or even by seeking the protection of the law. In 21st century Ecuador, Afro-Ecuadorians face an equally complex, oftentimes contradictory political economy through which they must navigate. Contradictions and paradoxes abound in democratic Ecuador, but it is often the contradictions that give the Afro-Ecuadorian communities of northern Esmeraldas the space to exercise and expand their agency. It is also the space in which their lives can take on new dimensions of circumscription.

Isolation and negation through racism does not mean isolation from the larger political economy. Political instability, the weakness of the state apparatus, conflicting policies, and attempts to partially remedy the past negation of indigenous and African descendant peoples have all created a particular set of conditions in which development takes place. Changes in the wider spectrum of Ecuador, and the country's links to the global economic structure, have consequences for the communities of northern Esmeraldas. Specifically, while mobilization through ethnicity has enabled Afro-Ecuadorians to participate to some extent in development, it has also brought particular

constraints so that development is sometimes far from successful, and it has led some communities to shun specific development projects altogether. The same conditions that create this space also allow for the exploitation and subjugation of both the environment and of people.

As in other developing Latin American nations, space has opened for expanded ethnic collective action, and for non-governmental and other organizations to take on development functions once the responsibility of the state (Arcos Cabrera & Palomeque Vallejo, 1997; Bretón Solo de Zaldivar, 2003; de la Torre, 2006; Lewis, 2002). NGOs have occupied an important vacuum created by often fluctuating and contradictory state policies and their relationship to community organizations and wider ethnic social movements has given development work a particular dynamic (Anthony Bebbington & Thiele, 1993; Lewis, 2002; Uquillas & van Nieuwkoop, 2004). Multilateral and unilateral development agencies, since the 1990s, have latched on to this developmental approach, accepting a paradigm that allows for development to be channeled through both grassroots and non-governmental organizations (See Linn Hammergren's essay for an overview of some of this literature (Hammergren, 1999) and Anthony Bebbington's collection of Latin American case studies (Anthony Bebbington & Thiele, 1993)). How this works out to the benefit and disadvantage of Afro-Ecuadorian communities, and how they respond to these contexts, are the subjects of the following chapters. However, it is important to understand how the unfolding of the Ecuadorian political economy made space for agency through extra-parliamentary organizations in order to understand the implications at the community level.

The political history of 20th century Ecuador can be seen as the struggle between

competing global (or occidental) ideals of development. In the grand themes of development — center-periphery, import-substitution-industrialization, dependency, market liberalization, participation, and ethno-development — Ecuador could possibly be seen as the exemplar case study. The orientations of the unfolding political economy, however, have equally important contextual consequences for how this dynamic manifests itself in turn-of-the-century everyday lives of Afro-Ecuadorians in northern Esmeraldas and in the organizational structures in which their lives are embedded. These dynamics stem from an orientation towards development initiated by the military dictatorship in the 1960s and the 1970s and the opposition to this statist approach by those who supported a neoliberal design. This split in orientation has often played out in the political life of Ecuador, sometimes in conjunction with the political-geographical split between the Coast and the Sierra (the Andes region), a split too that has historical antecedents in the separate economic trajectories of both regions. Esmeraldas province has danced on the edges of this process and the counties of San Lorenzo and Eloy Alfaro even more so. But now that a number of significant commodities (cocaine, palm oil, timber, and seafood) come from or through the region, headed for consumption in Ecuador and the rest of the world, San Lorenzo and Eloy Alfaro are no longer immune. Norman Whitten's earlier work found that Afro-Ecuadorians in San Lorenzo were able to move fluidly between subsistence activities and a wage economy (Whitten, 1965). Turn-of-the-century Ecuador, and its position in the world, has put an end to that.

Political and Economic Development from World War II until the Advent of Democracy

Post-World War II Ecuador saw the transformation from a traditional agricultural export-based economy (from whence the state drew much of its tax revenues) to an economy where the tax regime privileged industry (Whitaker & Greene, 1990). Galo Plaza Lasso, president from 1948 to 1952, began to modernize Ecuador through central planning (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005), even while agricultural production stagnated and export income remained a victim of the vicissitudes of international commodity prices (Whitaker & Colyer, 1990). However, from 1965 until the oil boom in 1973, agricultural products still made up nearly 99% of all exports (Whitaker & Greene, 1990). (Agriculture accounted for 25% of GDP in 1965 but only 12.1% in 2000 (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2002).)

The ascendancy of export agriculture through the early 20th century had entailed a corresponding shift in political and economic power from the Sierra landowners (those who owned the haciendas) to agricultural exporters on the coast (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005) and those who bankrolled them. In the early 1970s, this was followed by a significant contribution of oil revenues to state coffers and then a contraction in those contributions when the oil boom came to an end in the late 1970s. Robert Andolina has described these years as a period of modernizing pre-capitalist relations (Andolina, 2003). Economic transformation, however, did not mean that political stability followed (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005) and the military ruled Ecuador from 1963 to 1966 and then again from 1972 until 1979.

The military had by the late 1960s and early 1970s developed a specific agenda for

social and economic development. Anita Isaacs explains this as a three-fold agenda of nationalism, reform, and development (Isaacs, 1996). It was an agenda not without precedent. Since the 1930s Ecuador had gone through cycles of *velasquismo* (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005), the name given to the brand of populism enacted by José Velasco Ibarra, who had ruled Ecuador five times (and had been overthrown four times) between the 1930s and the 1960s. Ibarra promoted the inclusion of previously ignored sections of the population but, for the most part, he concentrated his patronage on the urban population (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005).

Influenced in part by the populism of Ibarra, partly by a fear of growing influence of the left in Latin America, and by the prevailing paradigm of import-substitution-industrialization, government policy regarding development under the military was one of state direction and control. The ability of sectors to fall into monopoly was encouraged by the state (Andolina, 2003) and the military too became a significant owner of certain industries. The Ecuadorian military, says Anita Isaacs, had a "vast and diverse economic empire, the holdings of which range from textile manufacturing, agricultural exports, munitions plants, a merchant fleet, and oil tankers to banks, airlines, travel agencies, and hotels" (Isaacs, 1996, p. 52). To industrialization plans the military added a social development agenda and, in the 1970s, Ecuador's oil greatly helped the dictatorship pay for the programs. But civilian opposition was growing (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005): the statist trends of the military were seen with increasing concern by business interests (Isaacs, 1993), import-substitution-industrialization had not put an end to imports, and agricultural modernization and industrialization had not absorbed a labor force displaced from the land (Andolina, 2003). Landowners and agricultural exporters,

whose economic power had been growing along with their increasing share of exports, joined the opposition and by the late 1970s the military was ready to hand Ecuador back to civilian rule. The military, however, was to continue to play an important part in both Ecuadorian politics and the development debate throughout the next three decades.

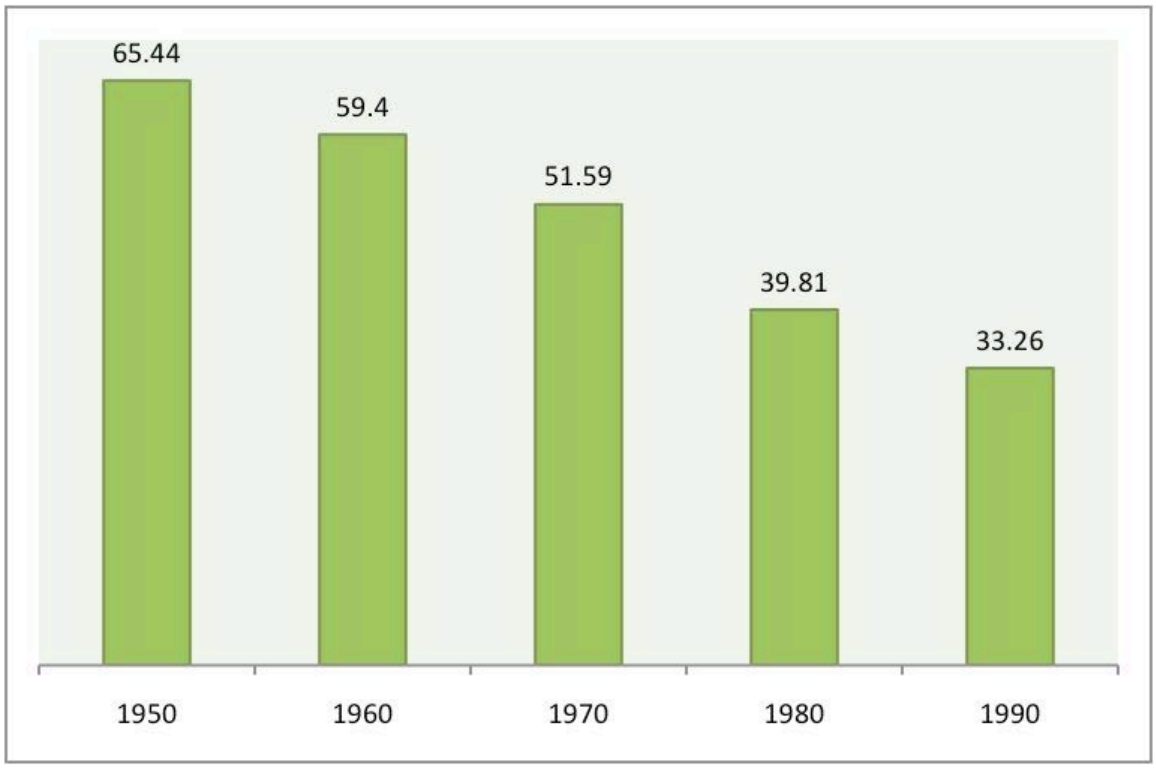

Figure 17. The declining percentage of the population involved in agricultural production. Source: Bureau of Statistics, International Labour Office. (1996). *Economically active population: 1950-2010*. Geneva: Bureau of Statistics, International Labour Office.

Democratic Development

Initially democracy did not bring about change as anticipated. In fact, the return to democracy aggravated some problems and created new ones (Pachano, 2008). Anita Isaacs writes: "politics in the post transition era bears an uncanny resemblance to the political status quo ante. Institutions remain fragile, conflicts continue to plague executive-legislative relations, and the country's poor and indigenous communities are still effectively excluded from the political process" (Isaacs, 1996, p. 44). Two economic factions have dominated Ecuadorian politics since the 1830s (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 1998), with both often using populist appeals to rule through a *caudillo*. Plantation owners from the Sierra long controlled the nation's politics and remained ascendant in the capital Quito even as the power of the plantations waned. With the growth of agricultural exports on the coast (bananas, coffee, and cocoa), a class of merchants, exporters, and financiers from the Guayaquil and coastal region came to prominence. That Coastal-Sierra split has continued and now frequently manifests itself as those who pursue a neo-liberal agenda (supported predominantly by those from the Coast) versus a state regulated and controlled developmentalist approach (with Sierra supporters). These are crude orientations, however, and only partly explain how development has unfolded for the poor in Ecuador. Of equal importance are the constitutional avenues through which powerful factions exercise power, and how these constitutional avenues have either been manipulated or blocked to marginalized groups. In addition, the paradox of Ecuador's political and economic development is that the advent of democracy created extra-parliamentary openings for the collective agency of previously marginalized groups.

Simón Pachano has written that a return to democracy had sought to end a number of issues but these soon became abiding contradictions that ensured political stability would not be achieved (Pachano, 2008). The return to democracy had sought to end populism and *caudillismo* (in Ecuador's case as it has been manifest through *velasquismo*). The constitution intended for there to be strong political parties with legislators elected through a system of proportional representation in the belief that this would end populism and the appeal of the *caudillo* (Pachano, 2008). However, political parties have remained weak and proportional representation has ensured that there is a proliferation of parties. Parties are used solely as electoral vehicles (Isaacs, 1996) and it is not uncommon for those elected to jump ship once seated in Congress. The result is that representation is often fragmented with platform-based political organizations and consensus largely absent (Dent, 2000; Isaacs, 1996; Pachano, 2008). Parties have come to represent specific interests or geographical areas. Clientelism, particularism, and corporatism, the very factors democratic institutions were meant to stifle, have prevailed (Pachano, 2008).

While political actors have proliferated, many, especially those once excluded from the political process, find their political agency through extra-parliamentary organizations. While little to no space was granted to indigenous groups in Ecuadorian party politics, and indigenous groups were at first wary of party politics (Yashar, 2005), the developing political framework has still allowed for their political action. Jorge León Trujillo says that the state has privileged dialogue over repression because of regionalism and because of the fragmentation of Ecuador's elites (de la Torre, 2006; León Trujillo, 2003). Deborah Yashar has called this political associational space (Yashar, 2005), the

space outside of the formal structure where collective agency has flourished. Yashar describes this as a situation in which the "state does not trample on the capacity to associate and to speak out" (Yashar, 2005, p. 76).

In writing about social movements, Marco Giugni emphasizes the crucial role of the broader political context (the environment in which movements operate) for both mobilization and outcome (Giugni, 1998). Doug McAdam, John McCarthy, and Mayer Zald gave three key factors — political opportunities, mobilizing structures, and framing processes — for the development and emergence of social movements (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996). These were later refined to a framework, somewhat similar to that espoused by Isaac Prilleltensky and Geoffrey Nelson for community psychology (G. B. Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002), that includes the dynamic relationships between the environment and cognition (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2001). John Campbell, in a chapter in an edited work that draws social movement research closer to organizational theory, has reconceptualized these factors as environmental, cognitive, and relational mechanisms (Campbell, 2005). Movements arise and take shape when new political opportunities appear (the environmental dynamic) and when constraints to collective action are removed or modified. Sidney Tarrow explains the cycle thus: "people engage in contentious politics when patterns of political opportunities and constraints change and then, by strategically employing a repertoire of collective action, create new opportunities, which are used by others in widening cycles of contention" (Tarrow, 1998, p. 19). It is within these patterns of opportunity and constraint that Ecuador's political economy allowed for the development of an associational political space in which groups coalesced around ethnicity. Associational

space, says Yashar, allowed indigenous groups, including Afro-Ecuadorians, to organize and make political claims on the state (Yashar, 2005). As successive democratic governments appeared to be moving from exclusion to inclusion, and as the early demands on the state by indigenous movements were mostly cultural, these developments were not seen as a threat (Selverston, 1994). However, over time, political associational space has allowed for the coalescing and elevation of issues of importance to indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian groups to the national agenda and there those demands, articulated frequently in demonstrations and protests, have challenged the status quo. *La Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador* (CONAIE, Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador), along with other organizations, has mobilized and protested, using extra-parliamentary tactics at least eight times since 1990: July 1990, April 1992, June 1994, January 1997, February 1997, January 2000, January 2001 (de la Torre, 2006), and April 2005.

Avenues for collective agency have often been aided by another structural weakness in the democratic political framework. From the first iteration of the constitution in the 1970s, through constitutional reform in 1997-1998, until the vote for constitutional change in 2009, a constant push and pull has existed between the legislature and the executive, with the judiciary off to the sidelines, too corrupt and ineffectual to do much. The Supreme Court has long been politicized and, as with the other two branches of government, the judiciary has faced numerous attempts at reform, from constitutional mandates to the removal of judges from the bench. In July 1998, 31 supreme court judges were dismissed because of popular pressure (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 1998). In 2005, Lucio Gutiérrez and Congress came to blows over the

court and this contributed, along with a string of other factors, to Gutiérrez being forced from office (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2006). Conflict between the branches of government has been exacerbated by the fact that elections for the legislature fall midway between presidential terms. Presidents, elected for four years, have often been elected alongside a supportive Congress only to have that support disappear two years later with mid-term elections. Pachano says that the dynamic between the various branches of government results in changes being made for short-term gain to the detriment of the long-term good of the institutions. The relationships between these political institutions have not been safeguarded and not even a modicum of equilibrium exists (Pachano, 2008). Conflict and political trial replace debate and concessions are considered surrender (Isaacs, 1996). In fact, between 1997 and 2000, Ecuador has had five administrations (and one junta) with two presidents being forced from office (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005). Between 2000 and 2009, Ecuador has had four presidents, one of whom, Lucio Gutiérrez, was forced out.

In this unstable political environment, presidents have at times appealed to extra-parliamentary forces and social movements have been able sometimes to exploit the opportunities. In 1996, Abdalá Bucaram, a populist president who tried to straddle the fence between economic groups and social movements in what has been regarded as a divide-and-rule strategy (C. E. Walsh, 2002), failed to maintain the balancing act by becoming overly authoritarian (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005) and by allowing corruption to run rampant. *Movimiento Unidad Plurinacional Pachakútik - Nuevo País*, (MUPP-NP, the Unity Movement of the New Country's National Pluri-National Awakening), an umbrella political party formed in 1995 to represent many of the

indigenous groups in their opposition to neo-liberal reforms, had taken part in national elections for the first time in 1996. In early February 1997 CONAIE, the national organization of many of the country's indigenous groups, and others led protests in the streets of Quito over the economic situation and the corruption of Bucaram's government. Bucaram was removed by Congress through a simple majority vote (rather than the constitutionally mandated two-thirds) on the grounds he was mentally unfit to govern (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005; The Economist Intelligence Unit, 1998). MUPP-NP was able to capitalize on the confusion and demanded a constituent assembly to reevaluate Ecuador's constitution (Van Cott, 2002). With ten percent of the seats in the National Congress, MUPP-NP was well positioned to press its demands in the Assembly. It was also, writes Donna Lee Van Cott, "one of few actors to enter the assembly with a concrete, comprehensive reform proposal" (Van Cott, 2002, p. 59). Those demands were to center principally around notions of citizenship and over the question of land, long-standing contentious issues for indigenous groups and a growing area of concern for Afro-Ecuadorians in northern Esmeraldas.

The 1998 Constitution, which grew out of the Constituent Assembly's work, recognized a number of significant demands made on the state by both Afro-Ecuadorians and indigenous groups. Collective rights were given to self-identifying indigenous and black groups (Uquillas & van Nieuwkoop, 2004) although these were couched in vague terms (Van Cott, 2002). Writes Van Cott: "the constitution's language is ambiguous with respect to whether ethnic territorial circumscriptions are a separate level of government, whether they correspond to a specific sub-national level, or whether they may correspond to multiple levels" (Van Cott, 2002, pp. 60-61). The ambiguity is particularly important

with regard to territorial claims, and this complication was to manifest itself soon enough for Afro-Ecuadorians in San Lorenzo and Eloy Alfaro as palm plantations swallowed up land that Afro-Ecuadorian communities regarded as ancestral territory.

The military, always a possibility as a tool to suppress protest, played a behind-the-scenes role and then sat aside during the February 1997 protests and then again while Bucaram was voted out of office. In the next few years, the military's role was to increase in importance as was a revived and transformed relationship between the military and indigenous groups. In 2000, the alliance between the military and indigenous groups was most evident with the ouster of President Mahuad (Yashar, 2005). Middle ranking officers, along with CONAIE, seized Congress and formed a triumvirate consisting of a general, a Supreme Court justice, and the president of CONAIE (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2001). While the triumvirate only lasted a few days before it was replaced, this was a powerful demonstration of the relationship that existed between the military and indigenous groups. That relationship was supposedly brought to maturity when Lucio Gutiérrez was elected to office in 2002. Gutiérrez, a military officer, courted the indigenous movement during the elections and brought the indigenous party, *Movimiento Unidad Plurinacional Pachakútik*, successor to MUPP-NP, into his government. The shortcomings of electoral politics as an avenue for indigenous collective agency was, however, soon made apparent. The alliance was short-lived when Pachakútik discontent grew with Gutiérrez's overnight conversion to neo-liberalism and by Gutiérrez's stinginess in assigning cabinet posts to indigenous leaders, even though their support had assured him of electoral success. By August 2003 the indigenous party had been dismissed by the president.

Figure 19. Indigenous protestors, Quito, June 2004.

The extra-parliamentary and ambiguous relationship between the military, in particular the Ecuadorian Army, and indigenous sections of society dates back to the dictatorship. While the abuses by the military, particularly over issues of land tenure, are often cited as cause for conflict and differences (Yashar, 2005), a long-standing relationship has nonetheless endured. Since 1990, the military had actively sought to strengthen those ties (Selverston, 1994) and the "deinstitutionalization" of groups has allowed the military to strengthen its role as arbitrator (de la Torre, 2002b). Often the military has been the only state institution to respond to indigenous demands, and development assistance has often been provided to poor and indigenous communities by the military (Isaacs, 1996). Anita Isaacs writes that the military, in the early years of democratic transition, kept alive the debate that both poverty and injustice threatened

Ecuador's security (Isaacs, 1996). Since the return to democracy, the military had been weary of economic reform, particularly when their many business interests were up for privatization and they shared this opposition with indigenous groups who strongly opposed structural adjustment policies (de la Torre, 2006; Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005). Indigenous opposition to economic reform stems from centuries of neglect and marginalization. The related issue of land reform, an undertaking promised, tried, and failed in Ecuador for decades, alongside deteriorating socio-economic conditions, spurred their political agency in the new democracy, albeit mostly outside of the formal structure.

Afro-Ecuadorians have not stood outside any of these processes. As with indigenous groups, they have found the space to maneuver in the extra-parliamentary realm both apart from and alongside indigenous groups. Land reform, pushed by both Afro-Ecuadorians and indigenous groups at the Constitutional Convention, became a central issue for the 1998 Constitution. Afro-Ecuadorians were able to gain some ground, at least on the level of a formal constitutional framework if not in practice, in gaining rights and recognitions. Democracy had allowed for social protest even if not full representation. It also allowed for alliances between different ethnicities. Economic reforms that privatized state functions and reduced state services, and the issue of land tenure, gave those collaborations a nudge as common issues around which to mobilize. However, even in the peculiar spaces created for collective political action in Ecuadorian democracy, racism remained a block to more effective agency for black Ecuadorians, and this is examined in more detail in Chapter IV.

Development and Land Reform

Afro-Ecuadorians of San Lorenzo and Eloy Alfaro trace their origins in part to slaves and former slaves who made it down the Andes to the Esmeraldas Coast from the plantations of the Sierra. While those settlers formed subsistence communities in the mangroves and along the rivers of the forests, the haciendas of the Sierra, through various permutations, maintained a system of serfdom until the middle of the twentieth century. That history met up again with the Afro-Ecuadorian communities of northern Esmeraldas in the 1990s when land tenure, a long simmering issue of contest for indigenous groups, moved to the forefront as Afro-Ecuadorian communities began to be displaced by palm plantations. The historical processes since colonization and, in particular, the reforms, attempted reforms, and reversals of reforms during the course of the 20th century, presaged and laid the groundwork for some of the central issues indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian organizations contested as the century drew to an end.

Since the 1600s landowners, generally those descended from the Spanish, had forced indigenous peoples into relationships of tribute labor on plantations. A system evolved where indigenous communities were forced off the best land and, in order to gain access to less fertile spots along the hillsides, they were required to offer service as *huasipungueros* to the hacienda as payment (A. K. Clark & Becker, 2007). This was a system that remained largely unchanged until the 1940s and 1950s when agriculture began to modernize and the haciendas were transformed into farms.

Figure 20. Farmland in Riobamba Province, with fertile and irrigated fields closer to the river while other, less-productive fields stretch to the mountain crests.

In 1937 the *Ley de Comunas* (*Ley de Organización y Régimen de las Comunas*, Law for the Organization and Regulation of Comunas) gave recognition to some of the freehold indigenous communities (Korovkin, 2001) in reform efforts that were geared towards incorporating communities more fully into the state structure (Yashar, 2005). Deborah Yashar writes that this was an attempt to build a "corporate citizenship regime" and comunas were set up to be the smallest administrative units of the state, made up of about 50 residents, and run by a committee. "The law, therefore, granted an alternative

form of community organizing, authority, and electoral process but maintained the state's right to regulate community choices" (Yashar, 2005, p. 89). Communities, however, continued to be dominated by hacienda operations, the church, and their political appointees. In 1954, one percent of the farms controlled 57% of the land (Redclift, 1978). Although the law was seen as offering some rights to indigenous communities in protecting their land, it did little to change the system of tribute and exploitation that existed between indigenous communities and *mestizo* and *blanco* elites (Korovkin, 2001). The potential for the 1937 law to effect change in the rural Sierra only became possible with two further attempts at reform in 1964 and again in 1973 (Yashar, 2005).

Both sets of reform were instituted by the military dictatorships, influenced in part by the Economic Commission on Latin America (a United Nation's organization), and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), both of which called for a transformation of agricultural practices and rural labor relations in Ecuador (Yashar, 2005). While the overall advances in agricultural technology increased social differentiation (Redclift, 1978), the 1964 laws had one important component; the *hausipunguero* system of tribute was made illegal and some small-holders were granted property rights (Korovkin, 1997). It was also during this period that *Instituto Ecuatoriano de Reforma Agraria y Colonización* (IERAC, Ecuadorian Institute for Agrarian Reform and Colonization) was formed, a governmental organization set up to aid in reforming agriculture and in redistributing land. The law had put a ceiling on the size of landholdings, but this was never enforced and landlords continued their abuses of tenant labor aided now by IERAC personnel (Redclift, 1978). Although education, health, and social programs were also instituted, the success of land reform was limited and in many

areas very little land actually changed hands. The landlords' power had "emasculated the tentative reforms" (Redclift, 1978, p. 6). Tanya Korovkin found that only three percent was transferred to the poor in Chimborazo province (1997). "Although for the majority of the indigenous peasantry the 1964 land reform was an economic defeat, it was a clear victory in political-organizational terms. The collapse of the semi-feudal hacienda order was followed by a rapid growth of indigenous community organizations" (Korovkin, 1997, p. 29). Indigenous communities turned to the 1937 law to organize and the new leaders of these communities looked for allies in their political struggles and found a willing partner in the Catholic Church (Korovkin, 1997; Yashar, 2005), recently primed by liberation theology and its preference for the poor.

In 1973, the military government of General Guillermo Rodríguez Lara coupled rural reform, mostly in the Andes provinces, with across-the-board development programs (Yashar, 2005). Again, the reforms prompted communities to seek legal recognition as only through properly constituted comunas could communities get access to land and credit. However, large landholders still controlled 39% of cultivated land and, in many instances, only marginal land was redistributed to indigenous groups (Andolina, 2003). Robert Andolina has described the process as more of a program of evictions from large landholdings that turned the evicted into wage laborers. Small farmers were forced onto marginal land that was then made worse by modern farming practices (Andolina, 2003). These small farmers then fell into new sets of dependencies, as they became locked into revolving credit cycles with state agricultural agencies (Redclift, 1978). However, these sets of reforms, which were meant to transform and control rural communities and box them into identities as Ecuadorian citizens, had unexpected results.

Instead of gaining land, by turning to the 1937 Law of Comunas indigenous communities found greater autonomy and a strengthened sense of identity. Yarrow writes: "In this regard, the corporatist citizenship regime unwittingly institutionalized indigenous communities just as the state was seeking to privilege peasant and national identities" (Yashar, 2005). Within the communities, ethnic identity prevailed over that of class (de la Torre, 2006).

By the late 1970s, land reform attempts ended as the military dictatorship, under pressure across the board for its developmentalist approach, gave in to the interests of large landowners. These changes did not go unopposed, however, and excluded groups called continually for reform that a now-more-modernized agricultural sector opposed and tried to limit (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005). Large agricultural interests were successful in 1979 when the Law of Agricultural Promotion put a halt to land reform. The government was now more interested in working with the World Bank on infrastructure and service projects (Korovkin, 1997). *Fondo de Desarrollo Rural Marginal* (FODERUMA, The Marginal Rural Development Fund) was instituted in 1978 to help support rural populations. But it was underfunded, bureaucratic, and unsuccessful in reaching its intended goals (Korovkin, 1997). Social programs were reduced or eliminated and the discrimination of the past returned to the rural Sierra (Yashar, 2005).

By the 1980s and 1990s there was little respite for poor rural communities. The struggle for land rights was intensifying as was the call for improved rural infrastructure and for the cultural rights of indigenous groups (Korovkin, 1997). By the late 1980s there was an upsurge in land claims. IERAC, constituted in the 1964 reforms, underfunded and beset with bureaucratic problems, failed as mediator (Korovkin, 1997). Worse yet,

IERAC often took the side of large landowners and, when it ruled in favor of indigenous groups, those administrative rulings were overturned by the courts, corrupt and open to political influence as ever. Most troubling, however, was the fact that the 1970s land reforms were followed by years of violence. Between 1985 and 1998, *Comision Ecumenica de Derechos Humanos* (CEDHU, the Ecumenical Commission for Human Rights), reported 389 deaths at the hands of armed groups (usually the police, military, and private security employees) (North, Kit, & Koep, 2003). Others suffered from arbitrary arrests, denial of access to legal representation, and worse. Violence had become institutionalized (North, et al., 2003) when democratically elected president Jaime Roldós put into effect the 1979 Law of Agricultural Promotion which facilitated collaboration between landowners and police (Korovkin, 1997) (Yashar, 2005). Indigenous communities had often responded to land claims by invasions. The law now legitimized the use of violence against invaders and added to a string of laws that already controlled internal displacement and migration. The mechanics of these laws played out differently in the Sierra, the Coastal region, and the Amazon. While indigenous groups in the Sierra were controlled in their ability to access land, *mestizo* immigrants from the highlands were facilitated in their movements onto indigenous lands in the Amazon and later onto lands in the coastal region. "The state passed several laws to oversee the migration of highland peasants to the Amazon (including the 1964 Law of Agrarian Reform and Colonization; the 1973 New Agrarian Reform Law; the 1977 Law of Colonization of the Amazon Region; and the 1981 Law of Forestry and Natural Areas and Wildlife Conservation)" (Yashar, 2005, p. 113). The end result was a continual displacement of indigenous groups from their land, mostly to the benefit of large

landholders and then palm plantations. Oil fields soon added to the woes of indigenous peoples in the Amazon.

The turning point for the collective political agency for indigenous groups came with the proposed 1994 Agrarian Development Law. The umbrella organization CONAIE opposed the legislation and the government was forced to backtrack. The legislation, which favored export oriented agriculture, aimed to end land redistribution and allowed for the sale of inalienable indigenous lands (Yashar, 2005). Through nearly 60 years of land reform efforts, little by way of land redistribution had happened. In 1994, 3.9% of farms occupied 55.1% of the land (Lefeber, 2003). The battle over land, however, had other far-reaching consequences. The 1994 efforts to stop the legislation promoted CONAIE, now the umbrella group for most of the indigenous groups of Ecuador, to enter the formal political arena. The long process had galvanized the indigenous people of Ecuador. By the 1990s, indigenous groups could no longer be seen as individual communities battling locally over land issues (Yashar, 2005). Concerns, while still centered on land, had morphed and the issues now included demands for the control of infrastructure (Korovkin, 1997). The earlier land reforms had given communities the ability to organize — the political associational space — and church organizations, particularly the Catholic Church's *Fondo Ecuatoriano Populorum Progressio*, (FEPP, Ecuadorian Fund for People's Development), and other organizations (including unions), provided frameworks through which groups could network (Yashar, 2005). Liberation theology was helping the rural poor organize.

Indigenous identities had been forged in the process and Ecuador was now a "nation" which harbored differing concepts of citizenship and nationality (Selverston,

1994). “The demand for multicultural recognition is the first step toward making claims that indigenous cultures cannot be reduced to individual identities and rights, as liberal theory and neoliberal citizenship regimes would have it, but in fact also rest on primary and collective sets of identities, organizations, and rights, as communitarians would presume. Accordingly, indigenous movements have challenged the effort to homogenize and individualize the appropriate unit of political representation and interest intermediation. They want to be recognized as individuals and collectivities” (Yashar, 2005, p. 290).

The structural patterns that had engendered these changes were mirrored within the Afro-Ecuadorian communities who allied with the indigenous groups in the 1990s. However, land invasion, land title, and political associational space took on a different complexion for the Afro-Ecuadorian communities of northwestern Ecuador. Writing in the late 1970s, Michael Redclift described the Ecuadorian coastal region as the agricultural frontier (1978). By the 1990s, the far northern cantons of the costal region were now the frontier both in terms of agricultural commodities and in terms of narcotrafficking and the political violence of Colombia. And the structural oddities of the state, honed elsewhere in Ecuador on other minority groups, had been perfected by the time they seeped into the cantons of northern Esmeraldas. To some extent, Afro-Ecuadorian communities mirrored the organizational responses of indigenous groups. In other ways, they differed considerably as the following chapters attest. However, as with all groups and communities of Ecuador, the economic structural changes that accompanied democratization are equally as important to understanding the changes that were taking place in these communities.

Economic Development and Structural Adjustment

Economic reforms since the return to democracy in 1979 have followed a twisted path in Ecuador, with contradictory pressures both internally and externally pushing for either liberalization or a return to state interventions. On the one hand, business interests, including large-scale export agricultural operations, have consistently pushed for the liberalization of markets, aided in their quest by International Monetary Fund (IMF) mandated structural changes. Indigenous groups, left wing political parties, and unions, on the other hand, have sought a return as much as possible of the social programs of the dictatorship and earlier. Presidents, reliant on or victims of their own populist appeals, have equivocated, frequently to their peril. And political institutions have lacked the strength to ensure even partial economic policy success, whether it be developmental or neo-liberal policy.

The first years of the democracy were characterized by a lack of investment from overseas, a precipitous drop in oil prices, and flat or declining prices in agricultural goods. The first president, Jaime Roldós (1979-1981), followed by Oswaldo Hurtado (1981-1984) when Roldós was killed in a plane crash, pursued a development agenda to some extent (if issues of land reform are excluded), but both were blocked much of the time by parties to the right (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005). León Cordero (1984 to 1988) changed the agenda by cutting government spending and improving the balance of payments (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 1997). Cordero also lifted price controls which hit the agricultural sector hard, especially small-scale farmers, as the price of farming inputs skyrocketed (Yashar, 2005).

Cordero's liberalizing efforts continued under the Rodrigo Borja presidency (1988 to 1992), but it was under Sixto Durán Ballén (1992 to 1996) that the major macroeconomic reforms got underway (Lefeber, 2003; Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005). Under Durán import tariffs were eased, the labor code was modified in favor of business, the bureaucracy modernized, the financial sector deregulated, and the Sucre (then Ecuador's currency) was pegged. An IMF Stand-By Agreement was signed, Ecuador joined the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the foreign debt was restructured. Privatization of some state sectors was also started. These rapid-fire changes sparked off conflict between the government on one hand, and trade unions and indigenous groups, in particular CONAIE, on the other. In this instance, the Catholic Church acted as the mediator (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005) but within a few years the armed forces were to take over this political role.

The presidency of Abdalá Bucaram followed Durán but only for a brief six months before Bucaram was succeeded by interim president Fabián Alarcón (1997-1998). Alarcón put into place a number of stabilizing economic policies but instituted no major structural changes. Both administrations were widely viewed as corrupt and by August 1998, when Jamil Mahuad assumed the presidency, Ecuador was on its way to financial crisis. Jamil Mahuad (1998-2000) began his presidency by solving the border issues with Peru, with whom Ecuador had had a brief war (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005). But, by late 1998, Ecuador was in financial crisis. Bank after bank collapsed and the government entity, set up to resolve the matter, acted hand-in-glove with financial institutions to bleed the country dry in a manner that appeared to most Ecuadorians to be government sanctioned theft. The *Agencia de Garantía de Depósitos* (AGD, Deposit

Guarantee Agency) had been set up to facilitate the management of insolvent banks. Instead: "The lax rules, along with the incapacity and complicity of the financial regulators, compounded the crisis and engulfed an ever-growing number of institutions" (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005, p. 131). The president froze deposits, but Ecuadorians with money in the bank lost about 80% of their savings (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005). There was a default on payments on international debt and the currency was devalued. By 1999, 55% of the country was living in poverty (Uquillas & van Nieuwkoop, 2004) and the electorate turned on Mahuad, blaming him for letting the bankers rob the country (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005). Mahuad's solution was to start the process of scrapping the Sucre and adopting the US dollar. But indigenous groups, with the military's support (in particular junior ranking officers), were protesting in Quito by January 2000. On January 20, the military entered the halls of Congress while thousands of protestors, many of them indigenous people from throughout Ecuador, surrounded the building.

After a few days of alternating sets of leaders, civilian rule returned with vice president Noboa assuming the presidency. "Civilian democracy's narrow escape also appears to have helped to concentrate minds in Congress, and in little more than a month Mr Noboa had succeeded in pushing [through] a major reform package, the Ley de Transformación Económica (Economic Transformation Law, or Trole I)" (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2001, p. 27). By April 2000, a Stand-By Agreement had been reached with the IMF for US$304m in loans (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2002, 2003). As per the IMF's standard *modus operandi*, the loans were conditional on a set of structural reforms, all safely within the prevailing Washington Consensus

paradigm. Among the many conditions were a renewed call for a reduction in subsidies on cooking gas, an important part of the everyday lives of most Ecuadorians.[7] The conditions also included continued privatization of state-run organizations and changes to regulations regarding foreign investment. Legislation to further reform the labor markets was proposed but then changed by Congress. And unrest percolated over the increase in cooking gas prices. The IMF had also called for changes in the tax structure and the government attempted to increase tax revenue by upping the value added tax by two percent. This was voted to be unconstitutional by the Congress (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2001). Ecuador was now falling behind in IMF agreed payments and indigenous groups were pressuring the government over social reforms. Structural adjustment changes were further cut short when public sector employees were given a 40% pay raise and concessions were made to powerful Guayaquil businesses (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2001). The Ley Orgánica de Responsibilidad, Estabilización y Transparencia Fiscal (the Fiscal Responsibility Law) was adopted in 2002, a measure through which 70% of oil windfall profits were to go to servicing the external debt with the remainder to go to social programs (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2004). The legislation was short-lived and the funds were diverted to other uses.

Against this backdrop, former military officer Lucio Gutiérrez, with the backing of indigenous groups, became the surprise winner of the presidential run-off election. He took office in January 2003 and immediately tried to put into effect the free market economic reforms he had criticized during his campaign. His alliance with indigenous groups fell apart especially as he tried to implement a March 2003 set of IMF austerity

[7] See the number of Afro-Ecuadorian households reliant on gas for cooking in the concluding section of Chapter One.

measures for a new US$205 Stand-By Agreement (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005; The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2003). The agreement expired in April 2004 when goals, which included public sector reform, privatization, and bank liquidation, were not met. While most of the funds were not disbursed (only $84 million was received by Ecuador (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005)), it is important to note that the IMF agreements allowed Ecuador to access program funds from other multilateral banks (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2004), particularly the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, both of which had instituted important programs aimed at the poor during the late 1990s, early 2000s. One of those programs, *Proyecto de Desarrollo de las Poblaciones Indígenas y Afroecuatorianos* (PRODEPINE, Indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian Peoples Development Project), was specifically aimed at Indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian communities. The PRODEPINE project, the culmination of years of struggle by a faction within the World Bank who wished to aim development specifically at indigenous groups (W. Partridge, Uquillas, & Johns, 1996; Uquillas & Van Nieuwkoop, 2006), was to become highly popular with Afro-Ecuadorians.

President Lucio Gutiérrez, like so many presidents before him, was not to last. He had alienated CONAIE and, in particular, *Confederación Nacional Amazónica de Ecuador* (COFENAE, National Amazonia Confederation of Ecuador) when, in 2003, US$34 million slated for already-promised projects went to servicing the international debt (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005). Gutiérrez turned to the traditional parties for support. In the process he made a number of concessions to the parties "in order to satisfy their regionalist and clientelistic demands. Not only had they secured membership

of the new cabinet back in December [2004], but they also subsequently gained important positions in state-owned companies and regulatory agencies" (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2005, p. 8). By April 2005 protestors were back out on the streets and Congress removed the president from office. The vice president, Alfredo Palacio, was sworn in as his successor.

In what is called the Lost Decade for Latin America, Ecuador fared as badly as anywhere else. However, for Ecuador, that malaise stretched through the 1980s into the 1990s, as economic changes wrought political conflict, conflict already cloaked in centuries of history. The Washington Consensus saw years of hyperinflation, the selloff of government sectors, and the elimination of barriers and rationalization of international trade. However, writes Russell Crandall, Ecuador did not have the political institutions to make fundamental economic transformations viable (2005). While some writers suggest that structural adjustment did not overcome economic stagnation (Rivera Vélez & Ramírez Gallegos, 2005), gross domestic product for Ecuador has shown a steady increase since 1979 and, while per capita GDP remained flat through the 1980s, it has shown a steady increase since the mid 1990s.

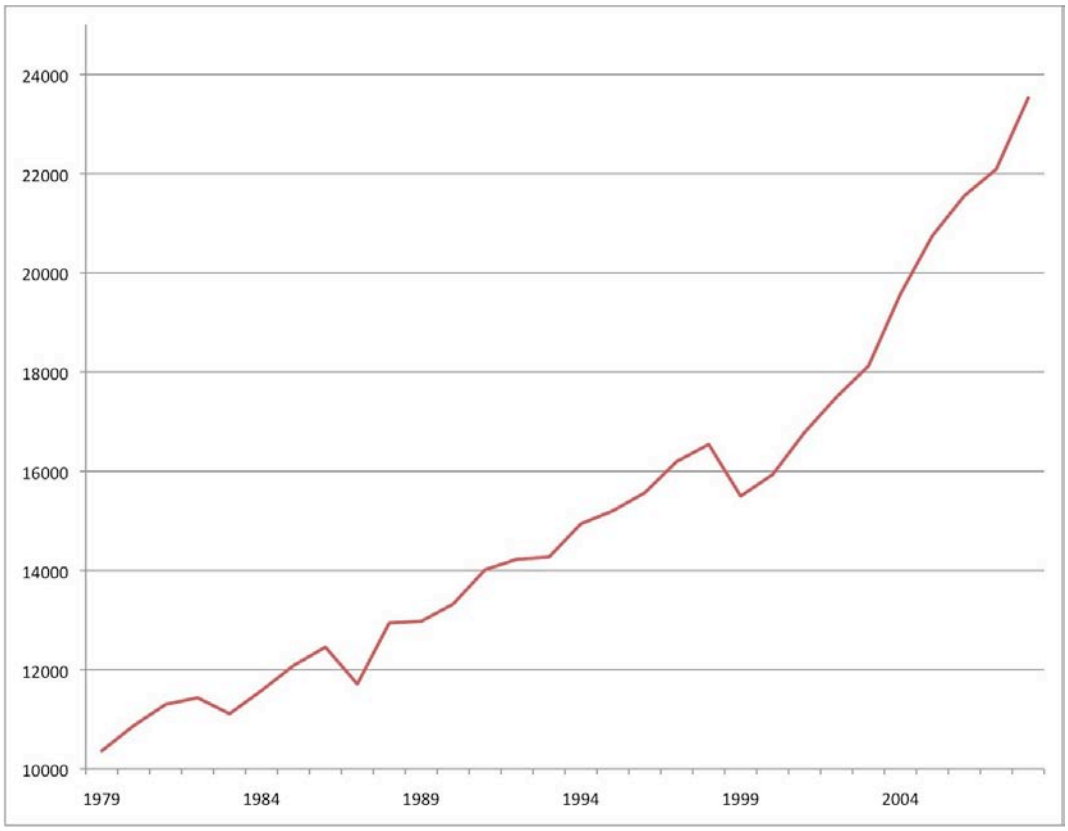

Figure 21. Gross Domestic Product — 1979 to 2008. Figures are in millions of dollars, at 2000 prices. Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean using official Ecuadorian government figures. (www.eclac.cl)

Social indicators, where available, give a mixed and incomplete picture. Before dollarization, Ecuador suffered from high inflation and this was tamed somewhat by converting from the Sucre to the dollar. Unemployment was just under six percent in 1980 and slightly over that in 2008. But unemployment figures give a false picture as large sections of the population are underemployed or employed in the informal sector and these jobs do not figure in official statistics. Indicators for inequality show growth in the unequal distribution of wealth. The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean reported a Gini Coefficient for Ecuador's urban population of 0.461 in 1990

and this had risen to 0.52 in 2007 (http://www.eclac.org/estadisticas/bases/). The World Bank reported that in 1987, 12.16% of the population lived on less than a dollar a day and 29.24% lived on less than two dollars a day. By 2007, these figures had dropped significantly — 4.69% lived on less than a dollar a day and 18.45% lived on less than two dollars a day (http://go.worldbank.org/NT2A1XUWP0). Ecuador's National Poverty Line was at 46% of the population in 1998 and 45.2% in 2001 (World Bank, 2008).

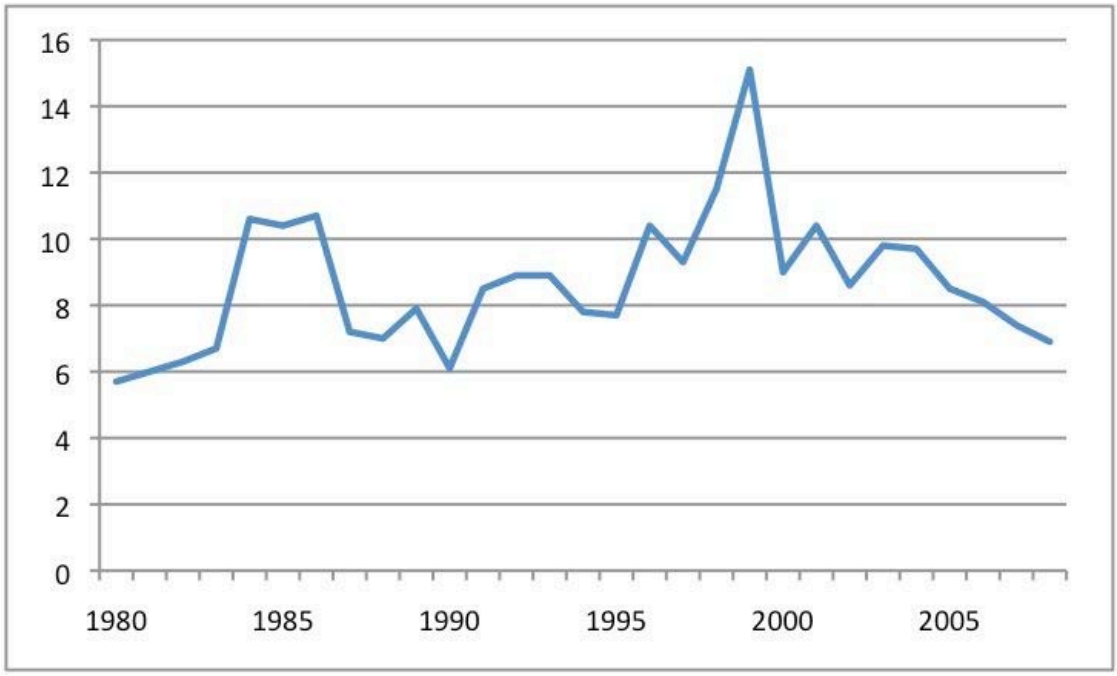

Figure 22. The unemployment rate — 1980 to 2008. Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean: Economic Development Division. (www.eclac.cl)

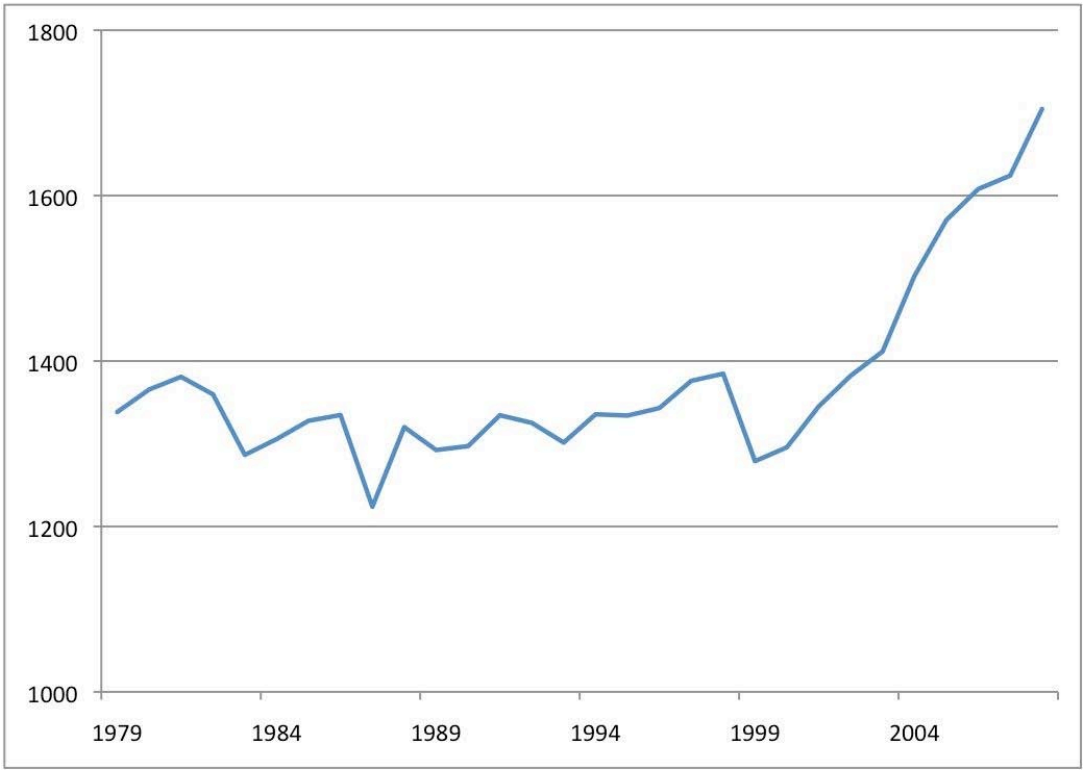

Figure 23. Per capital gross domestic product — 1979 to 2008. Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean: Economic Development Division. (www.eclac.cl)

Looking at gross national aggregations of statistical data, however, gives a very incomplete picture of shifts within a country. Ecuador, with its three distinct geographical zones (excluding the Galapagos) and its multiple ethnicities, defies simple statistical aggregation. Of more relevance is community level data and those statistical aggregations are explored further in the coming chapters. What is of non-statistical significance, however, are the spaces created in the shifting political economy of Ecuador. The structural upshot of both democratic change and economic reform is the unintended agency these have given to a subset of organizations. Those changes gave political associational space to Indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian communities through which they

could mobilize at the community and then at the national level, even while constitutionally mandated avenues remained mostly blocked. The nature of the change in the political economy of Ecuador ensured that political action by these organizations would be extra-parliamentary action and that the organizations would find unlikely allies in the military (especially the army), the liberationist sections of the Catholic Church, and at times with the office of the president. Economic change also allowed a new set of actors to enter the fray. Democratic, market-aligned Ecuador saw the growth of non-governmental organizations, a set of national and international actors who would play an increasingly important role in development attempts in the cantons of Eloy Alfaro and San Lorenzo.

1990
Reform of Tariff Law: import quotas, permits, and subsidies are eliminated.
Labor code amended to restrict union activity.

1992
Import tariffs are reduced.
The following laws reduce the size of the state: Law of Modernization of the State. Law of Institutions of National Financial System, and the Law of Reorganizing Public Finances

1994
Financial sector deregulated.
No tariffs on Andean Pact country imports.
May: Stand-by agreement with the IMF.
December: Currency exchange rate system converted to crawling-peg.

1995
Private banks take over import/export registration.
January: Ecuador joins World Trade Organization.
February: Brady Plan debt-restructuring agreement completed. Ecuador now has international credit lines reestablished.
August: Approval by Congress of sale of 35% of the state-owned telecommunications company.
1997
September: State telecommunications split into two companies.

November: Auction of the telecommunications companies fails because of a lack of interest.

1998
Reforms of 1998 enabled government to shift responsibility for roads and ports, telecommunications, water, electricity, and public services to private sector.
January: Two telecommunications companies are sold on the stock exchange. Financial meltdown starts.
September: Banco de Préstamos fails.
October: La Previsora acquired by Filanbanco.
December: The Central Bank provides US$167m to Filanbanco but it collapses.
December: Agencia de Garantía de Depósitos (AGD, Deposit Guarantee Agency) formed.
December: Banco Tunguragua fails.

1999
January: Banco del Azuay, Financorp, and Finagro, close or fail.
February: Financiera América fails.
March: Banco del Occidente closes. Government institutes five-day bank holiday, and yearlong deposit freeze to try and stanch the flow. Banco del Progreso closes.
April: Bancomex closes.
May: All 35 remaining banks audited by foreign audit firms.
July: Banco Unión, Solbanco, and Banco de Crédito fail. Government intervenes with Banco del Pacifico, Banco Popular, Previsora, and Cofiec.
September: Banco Popular collapses.
September: State subsidies on electricity and domestic gas are abolished.

2000
Some import surcharges are lifted on specific items.
January: Mahuad announces dollarization.
March: Ley de Transformación Económica (Economic Transformation Law) institutes more provisions for privatization of state enterprises.

2002
IMF negotiations. One of the IMF's conditions is the removal of cooking gas subsidies.
Fund instituted to channel oil windfalls to social spending: Ley Orgánica de Responsibilidad, Estabilización y Transparencia Fiscal.
March: Import surcharges removed.

2003
Tariffs lifted by Noboa government are re-imposed.
March: IMF approves US$205m Stand-By Arrangement. IMF terms: reform banking sector, privatize state commercial banks, and reform the tax regime.
August: the president dismisses Pachakútik after continual disagreements over economic policy.

2004
Talks with US over free trade agreement.
April: IMF agreement expires. Most funding was never dispersed. New talks delayed because of Ecuador's failures to implement all of the IMF's previous requirements.
July: Gutierrez unable to get Hydrocarbons Law enacted. The law would have allowed for private sector participation in the state-owned oil interests.

2006
May: Ecuador annuls the contract with Occidental (Oxy), a U.S. oil company. US responds by suspending free-trade agreement negotiations.
November: Rafael Correa, an U.S. trained economist who opposes neoliberal agenda, wins the presidential run-off election.

Table 2. Structural Adjustment legislation and other economic landmarks from 1990 to 2006. The above list was compiled from The Economist Intelligence Unit's *Country Profile: Ecuador*, editions 1996 through 2007, along with information from Rivera Vélez, F., & Ramírez Gallegos, F. (2005). *Ecuador: Democracy and Economy in Crisis*. In R. Crandall, G. Paz & R. Roett (Eds.), *The Andes in Focus: Security, Democracy, and Economic Reform*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner.

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATIONAL AGENCY OF NEO-LIBERALISM

While social movements and community organizations found their agency in the unintended space that opened for them as the political economy unfolded, a separate set of institutions also found succor in democratic and liberalized Ecuador. When community and social movement organizations pressed their claims and resource demands on the state, they were joined by a proliferation of non-governmental agencies that sprouted in post-dictatorship Ecuador, a set of organizations that acted as beneficiaries, initiators and mediators, and perhaps agents of obfuscation, in the development processes involving Ecuadorian communities, the state, and the international vortex. Community and economic development became a matrix, universe, or perhaps black hole in which multitudes of organizations compete, collude, or collaborate, supposedly for the betterment of the living conditions of the poor. In this development Ecuador was not alone.

In the introduction to Thomas Carroll's *Intermediary NGOs: the supporting link in grassroots development*, Charles Reilly has written that the development establishment discovered NGOs much as Columbus supposedly discovered America (Carroll, 1992, p. p. x). The simile is not as distorted as it would first seem. It didn't take the Conquistadors long to discover the utility of indigenous organizations as conduits through which to extract taxes and labor tribute. And, like Columbus and his *compañeros*, the evolving expectation was for NGOs to find the developmental El Dorado. In this process, NGOs

became the “darlings of donor agencies” (Anthony Bebbington & Thiele, 1993, p. 1).

Non-Governmental Organizations and Civil Society

The functions non-governmental organizations have assumed are not new phenomena. As David Lewis writes, groups of people who get together to help out others predate both the market and the state (Lewis, 2002). The term non-governmental organization, however, derives from post World War II and from Article 71 of the United Nations Charter which dealt with non-governmental organizations and their involvement with the United Nations (Lewis, 2002). Their growth throughout the world since the 1980s has been considerable. In 1980, 1,600 NGOs were registered with the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). By 1993, 3,000 were registered, and by 1999 *The Economist* reported 29,000 international NGOs (Chant, 2008; Lewis, 2002).

Paradoxically, the structural adjustment changes that international organizations called for in the 1980s left many countries with social service delivery agencies too weak to function in a development role. In areas where the state and religious structures (long the champions of the poor and indigent) were absent or hobbled, NGOs took up the slack, aided and abetted by multilateral and unilateral development agencies. Those agencies view many structurally-adjusted governments as inefficient, unable to meet the challenges of development (Anthony Bebbington & Thiele, 1993; Green & Haines, 2007), and often times too corrupt to deliver (North, et al., 2003). More cynically, some have written, NGOs were needed “to gain legitimacy for the new neoliberal paradigm”

(North, et al., 2003, p. 1751). NGOs were seen as a viable alternative to the state apparatus as their small size made them more flexible and efficient than governments. NGOs had lower costs and often more relevant technologies than state institutions (Anthony Bebbington & Thiele, 1993). The "advantages of NGOs, such as flexibility, informality, commitment, and participatory style, outweighed their disadvantages and made them especially well suited for the complex task of rural development projects aimed at alleviating poverty, in which physical capital is combined with human and organizational resources" (Carroll, 1992, p. 1).

The 1980s also saw the rise in interest of international agencies in civil society, the "institutional space between state, market and household in which citizens can organize and represent their interests" (Lewis, 2002, p. 373). NGOs were regarded as the quickest conduits for development projects within that arena (Lewis, 2002). Within civil society, however, they are regarded as just one sub-set of many sets of organizations. The Division of State, Governance and Civil Society section of the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) made the following distinction between civil society organizations and NGOs: "NGOs could be characterized by private, volunteer, nonprofit groups and organizations usually devoted to public interest causes. Civil society organizations should be considered a broader concept, encompassing all of the organizations and associations that exist outside the state and the market" (Office of Evaluation and Oversight, 2003, pp. 2, footnote). NGOs were, therefore, a subset of civil society organization and could be characterized by the following: they are not governmental or quasi-governmental organizations, but they are not-for-profit, independent organizations with funding from outside sources. They are also not purely

voluntary and they are engaged in "development, advocacy, research, and service" (Office of Evaluation and Oversight, 2003, p. 2).

Many organizations, however, were not apolitical. In the 1960s and 1970s, NGOs were moving away from acting solely as dispensers of relief and welfare to organizations that mobilized and were motivated by a certain activism (Carroll, 1992). Other organizations had found their genesis and succor as opponents of the military and of dictatorships; they already espoused transformational designs. Indigenous organizations "were making important contributions to political resistance, social welfare and grassroots action" (Anthony Bebbington & Thiele, 1993, p. 1). By the 1980s, however, they were the dominant "vehicles of development, democracy, and empowerment at the grassroots" (Anthony Bebbington & Thiele, 1993, p. 1). These grassroots organizations were not exempt from the shift in focus as community-based organizations of the poor were also seen as attractive vehicles for the development process (Devine, 2006).

Making neat divisions between forms of collective agency that run from informal grassroots organizations to large Northern NGOs (with budgets that compete with those of some developing states), is a difficult task that ranks alongside that of disentangling the "slipperiness" of civil society. Those tasks are, perhaps, heuristic at best.

Civil society shares with its twin intellectual constructs of social capital and empowerment, a genetic structure of amorphousness. Both the definition offered earlier, that of institutional space that stands outside of the state and market, and those proffered by other writers as the space for "the expression of collective will" (Fischer, 2009, p. 2), allow for a multitude of expressions of human association, associations that include religious and spiritual organizations, those held together by affective bonds, as well as

those of a more pointed political nature, be they affective or supposedly rational. The neat division of market, state, and civil society, however, quickly becomes untidy on closer examination. Edward Fischer has written that civil society offers a structure through which social capital operates with regard to political and economic ends (Fischer, 2009). The triadic division thus hides the fact that some supposedly civil organizations also serve economic or market interests, while others, also supposedly in the civil realm, enact the policies of sometimes decidedly uncivil states. Human collective expressions are often not that easily sliced and diced.

An additional problem lies in two other understandings of civil society, one as a space within which homo sapiens have the freedom to develop their capabilities (Sen, 1999), and the other as a Gramscian hegemonic battlefield, albeit one that allows for processes of cooperation and inclusion or resistance and forced collusion (Fischer, 2009; Mitlin, Hickey, & Bebbington, 2007). Civil society in this guise ignores homo sapiens occasional propensity to compromise, to assume collective neutrality, or to be excluded from the game altogether. Civil society's relationship to the state is equally problematic. In this complex relationship "it is the state that guarantees its [civil society's] autonomy" (Fischer, 2009, p. 2). Others have written that civil society acts "as a potential challenge to the state, especially authoritarian regimes" (Chant, 2008, p. 295). For those writers who partially recognize the structural-agency duality within civil and uncivil society, an alternative framework is suggested here.

Power is not always manifest in terms of either Gramsci or Foucault's conceptualizations. Civil society can be seen as the space between the state and the market, a space embedded in socio-political and historical forces, one in which the

exercise of, reaction to, or negation of power is shaped by socio-historical context. That space is made up of formal and informal organizations that act, react, or try to take cover from these processes. The organizations within this space are shaped and may possibly shape these forces, just as the market and the state might do. At the very least, these organizations or associations are vehicles for collective human agency, whether this is effective agency or merely desperate efforts at survival. These organizations may collude with capital or be vehicles or agents absorbing outside notions of transformational change. As is the case of many northern NGOs, they might be promoting agendas from outside the boundaries of the states in which they express their interventionist goals. Civil society here, then, is that associational arena of collective spatial practice, made up of disparate forms of organization with different and shifting ends, that remains embedded to various degrees in the wider modes of history. These notions are the subjects of further scrutiny in chapter 4. What follows here is an examination of organizational forms relevant to the chimera of development and particularly to development in the Afro-Ecuadorian communities of northwestern Ecuador.

The taxonomic task of sorting non-governmental organizations or civil society organizations is as perplexing as is ascribing meaning to the term civil society. Efforts towards such pigeonholing include classifications by size, structure, geographical location, capacity, function, goal, political philosophy, religious persuasion, membership or even type of leadership (Anthony Bebbington & Thiele, 1993; Lewis, 2002). They can be more neatly divided by notions of activism (service or advocacy), by structure (professional vs. voluntary), or by philosophical orientation (instrumental vs. expressive) (Lewis, 2002).

Broader definitions include informal networks (neighborhood or kinship networks), community-based organizations (CBOs), and NGOs, attributing the common denominator to be organizations held together by relationships not managed by the state (Narayan, 2000). The distinction here between networks, NGOs, and CBOs is possibly the more salient division as the taxonomic division relates human organizations, albeit clandestinely, to notions of community rather than to the slipperiness of civil or uncivil society. Networks, although they may be informal and unstructured, are embedded within human activity in all its delightful and chaotic profusion. Likewise community-based organizations, taken here to be more structured and possibly more formal, have their taproots equally embedded in our everyday existence. NGOs, on the other hand, may be embedded within communities or they may loftily obtrude in the most well meaning of ways.

Of importance to this study are the "political" links, or lack thereof, between communities and their networks and organizations, and those that connect them to the wider political economy. The work of Thomas Carroll (Carroll, 1992) and Anthony Bebbington and Graham Thiele (Anthony Bebbington & Thiele, 1993), and the distinctions they make between primary grassroots groups and intermediary grassroots organizations, is of particular importance (Anthony Bebbington & Thiele, 1993; Carroll, 1992). For Carroll, primary groups are the lowest level of collective interest. These organizations work towards their own ends at the neighborhood, village, and cooperative level. Intermediaries consist of two types: grassroots support organizations (GSOs) and membership support organizations (MSOs). Carroll admits that these distinctions are blurred and that there is overlap. However, both involve reciprocity on some level and

they are not involved in charity or aid. GSOs operate at the national level and are professionally staffed. These organizations support local groups by acting as intermediaries between government and higher level organizations. MSOs rely more on membership for their staffing while still acting as a conduit between members and higher level organizations. They, unlike GSOs, are accountable to a membership base (Carroll, 1992).

The importance of characterizing "civil society" organizations in this way is to understand how these organizations function in relation to the wider political economy. In this regard, Gillian Hart's distinction between big D development and little d development places a contextual shroud around that functioning. Hart wrote that "a distinction that seems to me very useful: between 'big D' development defined as a post-second world war project of intervention in the 'third world' that emerged in the context of decolonization and the cold war, and 'little d' development or the development of capitalism as a geographically uneven, profoundly contradictory set of historical processes" (Hart, 2001, p. 650). NGOs, to Diana Mitlin, Sam Hickey, and Anthony Bebbington, are for the most part interventionist yet firmly embedded in their societies and political economies. While some NGOs have negotiated a space alongside political and social movements and do attempt alternative strategies for development, they are, however, still embedded. This embeddedness is problematic and NGOs pushing alternative strategies need to understand themselves and their interventions more in terms of little d development (Mitlin, et al., 2007). A less bipolar analysis would suggest that these organizations should be seen in terms of a continuum that runs from those that offer palliative interventions, perhaps in sync with the state and international institutions or

perhaps not, to those organizations and groups that push for the transformation of structural problems. Those acting to push programs and projects of social intervention would be concerned with issues and strategies of big D development; those concerned with structural or social change would be concerned with the "historical processes" of little d development. Two avenues held out as NGO contributions to structural change are increased accountability to those involved in the development process (Anthony Bebbington & Thiele, 1993) and increased citizen participation in development (Lewis, 2002). Both accountability and participation are frequently non-existent attributes of government agencies and accountability is frequently lacking in business firm behavior. As such, NGOs counter the developmental dysfunctions of the state and the market (Lewis, 2002), contributing perhaps (in the most optimistic analysis) to shifting the uneven and unequalizing processes of little d development to outcomes that are more socially just.

International institutions, however, have had reservations about the role of NGOs in the development process — both the processes of big D and little d development. The IADB recognized one significant problem area in an evaluation of the Bank's working relationships with NGOs. In supposedly democratic societies, non-governmental organizations pose a problem. Who exactly does the leadership of an NGO represent? Oftentimes leaders have not been elected and just how participatory NGOs are is open to question (Office of Evaluation and Oversight, 2003). There is also a question of how NGOs relate to the state. In Latin America, and in Ecuador in particular, some NGOs found both their genesis and impetus in opposing the state, many being formed during periods of dictatorship and espousing political philosophies at odds with capitalist market

economies. It is often assumed, writes Anthony Bebbington, that working with NGOs is a simple process and that NGOs, grassroots organizations, and governments have "like minds on social and development policy. Yet the history of tense and conflictive NGO-state relationships suggests otherwise, as does a whole series of contradictions that have to be faced by NGOs as they consider working with governments" (Anthony Bebbington & Thiele, 1993, p. 3). NGOs origins were often with people wishing to supply services to the disadvantaged in situations where these were not being provided by the free market or state agencies. NGOs were thus often working against, for, or to change the state (Najam, 1999).

These NGOs end games are clouded when further considering accountability. David Lewis writes that NGOs are sometimes accountable to multiple groups: sometimes their patrons, sometimes to their clients, and always to themselves. Lewis suggests that they tend to focus on their patrons, the source of their funds, and these conflicts lead to accountability problems (Lewis, 2002). When these relationships are between northern NGOs and southern NGOs, the unequal relationships can become strained and the charge that southern NGOs are mere lackeys to the greater designs of neoliberal capitalism is an easier one to make stick. Thus Wilder Robels can write: "neo-liberal governments counted on these foreign-funded community organizations to soften the social impact of their economic policies" (Robles, 2000, p. 672).

These limitations extend from accountability to presence in the community and to the participation of community members in the workings and outcomes of NGOs. Some investigations show NGOs to have only limited presence within communities (Narayan, 2000). The quality of that presence, however, is paramount. Community-based

organizations, totally embedded in their communities, can be important resources for survival. As long as they are not overstressed, neighborhood and kinship groups provide important support and resources to the poor (Narayan, 2000). The limitations to CBOs, however, are when they lack connections with other groups within and outside the community or when these connections are not effective (Narayan, 2000). Linkages are as important to NGOs as they are to CBOs. Without building trust and confidence with communities, NGOs are equally stymied (Narayan, 2000). NGO presence and responsiveness is seen as a strength (Narayan, 2000) that gives these organizations the ability to reach the poor and to understand local contexts (Chant, 2008).

Embeddedness and linkages, whether through accountability or participation, are thus the sharpened sides of the double-edge sword. Accountability may mean control, sometimes fashioned as a connivance with the dreaded processes of capitalism, and at other times as unwitting collaboration. Participation may mean effectiveness, but only when there are linkages within and outside communities. Embeddedness is nothingness unless organizations have a political function. In fact, organizations without a political function have a hard time overcoming marginalization (Thorp, Stewart, & Heyer, 2005). Part IV investigates this.

Political linkages appear to have been usurped in the development of NGOs in Ecuador. While the numbers of NGOs working in Ecuador have grown substantially since the 1970s, their political functions have morphed so that, as a number of authors suggest, their roles are nothing less than ambiguous (Bretón Solo de Zaldivar & García Pascual, 2003; de la Torre, 2006). Writing in the mid- to late-1990s, Carlos Arcos Cabrera and Edison Palomeque Vallejo noted that the number of NGOs registered with the state increased from 26 between 1900 and 1969, to 62 in 1979. By 1989 there were 199, and in 1995 there were 269 (Arcos Cabrera & Palomeque Vallejo, 1997). The reasons for the growth were the changing function of the state; the trajectory of Ecuador's socio-economic development; shifting ideologies, methods and practices of development; and a changing international context (Arcos Cabrera & Palomeque Vallejo, 1997). This growth can be seen as fitting closely to the continuum of little d and big D development: the changing overarching political economy would suggest a greater demand for interventionist organizations (big D development), while the uneven and fluctuating nature of the Ecuadorian integration into the wider world economic system would suggest differing approaches to little d development.

Figure 24. UNHCR advertises an education development project.

Arcos Cabrera gives three periods to NGO development in Ecuador, the first being the early 20th century, a period in which philanthropy and charity were the guiding motifs. By the '60s, the second period, NGO practices and goals were shaped more by political ideology, influenced frequently by the developmentalist agenda of CEPAL but also by U.S. and European development organizations. Much development work went into agricultural efforts, but human services, capacity building, health and education were also development agenda items. Organizations more allied with the left also concentrated on rural development, but popular education and communication were also important objectives. By the 1980s onwards, the third period Arcos Cabrera identifies, agendas included environmental issues, microfinance, children's issues, human rights, and gender. The multinationals were increasingly more influential as the number of partnerships

between multinational development organizations and local NGOs increased from six percent in the late 1970s to somewhere between 30 and 50 percent by the mid-1990s (Arcos Cabrera & Palomeque Vallejo, 1997). By this time Ecuador's economy had been liberalized (see Chapter 2) and the state had withdrawn from many of the social services it had previously run.

This history of NGOs in Ecuador betrays their increasing embeddedness within the political economy, one that includes linkages, albeit ambiguous linkages, to the wider world. It is these linkages that appear to have played a significant role in shaping the nature and function of these organizations. The associational space that allowed for the growth in community-based organizations (discussed in the previous chapter) was abetted by the space that the international political economy allowed for the growth of NGOs. The interplay of national, local, and international became one that shaped not only the claims (or lack thereof) that these organizations would make but also the functions they would perform within the communities in which they operate. While the space within which to make claims and stake out interventions expanded, so did the nature of the claims change. The demands on the state moved from being local claims, perhaps class based (de la Torre, 2006), to claims based around ethnicity that were shaped by indigenous political and intellectual leaders but also by the interplay between these organizations and external NGOs (Bretón Solo de Zaldivar, 2001a; de la Torre, 2006). It is this shift in claims around ethnicity that exorcizes Afro-Ecuadorians from the broader political process. In a number of studies, Victor Bretón Solo de Zaldivar has described the process as it played out among indigenous groups in the Andes. As NGOs have stepped in the development breach left by the state, so community claims have been

neutralized (Bretón Solo de Zaldivar, 2001b, 2003; Bretón Solo de Zaldivar & García Pascual, 2003). "It has generally been the external donor agencies (typically based in Europe and North America) that have imposed the themes, timelines, and approaches to development that NGOs working in the Andes have had to follow" (Bretón Solo de Zaldivar, 2003, p. 161). Less damning, but equally problematic, is the analysis of Jorge Uquillas and Martien van Nieuwkoop. For Uquillas and van Nieuwkoop, developmental efforts in Ecuador have not co-opted communities but have rather ignored both traditional structures and local knowledge. Development has been top down, participation has been non-existent, and NGOs in their roles as intermediaries have had no feedback with local groups (Uquillas & van Nieuwkoop, 2004).

From either perspective, NGOs and their alliances have not lead to successful development outcomes. Instead, according to Bretón Solar de Zaldivar, a technocratic indigenous leadership has benefitted and poverty has persisted. In some sections of the Andes, poverty rates have remained high and steady over time despite high concentrations of NGOs and their development projects (Bretón Solar de Zaldivar, 2002). In the case of Fondo Ecuatoriano Populorum Progressio (FEPP), Bretón Solar de Zaldivar makes the case that the organization slowly shifted from a liberation theology perspective to one that accommodated the neoliberal paradigm (Bretón Solo de Zaldivar, 2003). In doing this the organization moved from addressing little d development to being involved in big D development, development interventions that failed to challenge the uneven and inequitable structures that underlie much of the prevailing poverty. For Bretón Solar de Zaldivar, the diffuse goals and methods of NGOs challenged their ability to succeed. The prevailing lack of cooperation between NGOs and the competition for

resources that comes with "privatizing" development interventions lead to a "fragmentation of development apparatus" and an "absence of any holistic and integrated understanding of social reality" (Bretón Solo de Zaldivar, 2003, p. 162). For Afro-Ecuadorian communities, the political implications of the "ethnocization" of development would be problematic.

Afro-Ecuadorian Organizations

The invisibility of Afro-Ecuadorians stretches from their exclusion from the Ecuadorian political economy, to their invisibility within the loftier profiles of academic writing on civil society, through to their supposed invisibility to NGOs. "By neglecting the concerns of indigenous people of salient African ancestry, international NGOs participate in the political, economic and geographic erasures that have plagued Blacks since European colonization" (Halpern & Twine, 2000, p. 20). Afro-Ecuadorian organizational attempts to overcome this negation can easily be seen as following similar patterns of resistance and reaction to mestizo and white domination as those followed by indigenous communities in the Ecuadorian Andes and the Amazon (Korovkin, 1997). "The nationalist discourse of *meztizaje* and *blanqueamiento* devalues Indian and Black cultures and histories, essentially making Blacks and Indians disappear from Ecuadorian nationalist ideology" (Halpern & Twine, 2000, p. 20). Yet organizing as reaction to this invisibility only describes part of the picture.

Similarly, claims about Afro-Ecuadorian organizational efforts offer an incomplete

analysis. Claims have been made that Afro-Ecuadorians have been less organized than their fellow travelers, the indigenous groups of the Amazon and Andes, in the battle for recognition and rights in the supposedly shared confines of associational space in Ecuador. "The Afro-descendant population in Ecuador has less formal organization than the indigenous population. The main organization for most Afro-Ecuadorians is at the community or grassroots level (commune, compound, cooperative, committee, and peasant union), and only recently have they begun to form more complex organizations. The main features of grassroots organizations are a sense of belonging, a recognizable territoriality, and certain forms of celebrations. Grassroots organizations are formed more through real or ascribed family networks than as community societies" (Uquillas & van Nieuwkoop, 2004, p. 5). Claims such as these ignore the long history of slave and marginal existence and resistance of African descendants along the Pacific coast of South and Central America. They also ignore the present actuality of the black communities of northeastern Ecuador and the contexts within which these communities are embedded.

Juan Garcia Salazar and Catherine Walsh, writing in 2002 in a reflection on the Afro-Ecuadorian movement, demonstrate the centrality of an understanding of Afro-Ecuadorian history when they explain the claims made by the movement on the state. Those claims include demands for a physical and spiritual space in which to live in accordance with Afro-Ecuadorian customs and traditions. These claims are "a model of territorial, political, and ethnic organization, formed by local *palenques* and other Afro-Ecuadorian organizations" in which African descendent communities can administer their own development and natural resources (C. Walsh & Garcia, p. 6). The *palenques* refer to the stockades built by runaway slaves to protect their communities from the Spaniards

trying to recapture them. Afro-Ecuadorian organizations draw heavily on this imagined or re-imagined history while being bound in their actions to the complexities of contemporary Ecuador.

Figure 25. Juan Garcia Salazar facilitates a youth leadership workshop, San Lorenzo, July 2004.

In 2005 there were 317 Afro-Ecuadorian organizations registered with the state, and most of these organizations were in Esmeraldas province (J. A. Sánchez, 2007). These organizations, by and large, conform to the nation-wide requirements. Civil society organizations in Ecuador fall under the Civil Code, first enacted in 1861. Two broad types of organization are recognized in the code: membership organizations that offer services to members with shared interests, and organizations that offer services to third parties and that advocate for the public interest (International Center for Not-for-Profit Law, 2010)

Up until March 2008, organizations were required to register at one of three tiers — first, second, or third *grado*. Depending on the nature of the organization, the requirement was then to register with one of three ministries — the Ministry of Social Welfare, the Ministry of the Environment, or the Ministry of Agriculture and Farming. A publication of the forestry unit of the province of Esmeraldas, with a title that translates into English as *Why Legalize My Organization?*, explains the registration process to laypeople. Organizations form when two or more people work together in a structured way with a common aim or objective to create better conditions for a community. Base organizations, the fist level, are those organizations formed by members of a community to work on specific tasks. Second tier organizations are conglomerations of the smaller base organizations, usually at the canton or provincial level. Third tier organizations consist of a series of second tier organizations and also represent organizations at the canton or higher level (Unidad Coordinadora de Esmeraldas, 2003). Thus, by law, organizations were neatly divided by their functions and by their level of organization. In addition to these Civil Codes, Afro-Ecuadorian organizations, as with other civil society organizations, are subject to presidential decree.

Figure 26. The Center for the Formation of Leaders Martin Luther King, San Lorenzo, Ecuador.

Under Rafael Correa the presidential decree has become a useful weapon in which to constrict the associational space offered by the various levels of organization. Correa sees NGOs as a threat to his government and the state, accusing them of meddling in politics, promoting violence, and receiving funds to destabilize the state (Human Rights Watch, 2011). In March 2008, with Decree 982, Correa created a set of barriers to the associational space that was so instrumental in shaping the constitution of 1998. Decree 982 was aided by two events in placing restrictions on civil society organizations. In early 2007, the department of the Secretary of People, Social Movements, and Citizen Participation was created. In 2008, the Constitutional Court ruled that an earlier requirement that civil society organizations affiliate with chambers of commerce was unconstitutional. In March, 2008, Decree 982 proclaimed that any NGO could be shut

down by the state should they challenge the state, and that all NGOs must register with the newly created Secretary of People, Social Movements, and Citizen Participation. Besides the threat of closure, registration itself is restrictive. First tier organizations must pay $400 to register, while second and third tier organizations must pay deposits of $4,000. For organizations that represent the poor, these are onerous conditions. For Afro-Ecuadorians they are onerous too. But they are also more of the same.

John Antón Sánchez has charted the progress and formation of Afro-Ecuadorian organizations from the 1970s onward (J. A. Sánchez, 2007). One of the initial organizations, the Centro de Estudios Afroecuatorianos, got its impetus from a congress in Cali, Colombia, in 1977. Two Esmeraldans involved in these nascent organizations, Juan Garcia and Pablo de la Torre, were to play an important role in the future unfolding of organizational efforts in San Lorenzo in the 1990s and 2000s. By 1981, both the Movimiento Afroecuatoriano Conciencia and Centro Cultural Afroecuatoriano had been founded with the aid of the Comboni Missionaries. From these organizations, according to Sánchez, the base organizations grew, mostly around the issue of the formation of an ethnic identity and as vehicles for collective action against racism (J. A. Sánchez, 2007). In this they were influenced by the anti-colonial African movements, by the U.S. civil rights movement, and by the pan Africanism taking shape throughout the world as well as in Latin America (J. A. Sánchez, 2007). By the 1990s collective rights and political representation and participation were central parts of the agenda. By now ethnic identity was being fused with territorial rights and, again, a central influence came from Afro-Colombian organizations (personal conversations with organization leaders), especially organizations out of Tumaco, Colombia (J. A. Sánchez, 2007). At the national level, in

March, 1998, the Confederación Nacional Afroecuatoriano (CNA) was formed to coordinate organizations at the first and second grades. In September, 1999, Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Negras del Ecuador (CONAMUNE) was founded with a similar coordinating mandate — to strengthen black women's organizations at the national, neighborhood, and community level (Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Negras, 2007).

In 1988, organizational efforts around collective and territorial rights began to coalesce in the northern sections of Esmeraldas province, propelled mostly by a group of four teachers and under the facilitation of Juan Garcia Salazar (personal discussions with movement leaders). The group began to call for distinct Afro-Ecuadorian forms of organization, in particular for development that was not imposed from the outside (personal conversations; (Yépez, 2006). The emphasis in these growing discussions was for a reexamination of Afro-Ecuadorian historical roots and for ways and means to pass on this understanding of history to young Afro-Ecuadorians. “We created the model of the *palenques*, to commemorate the *palenques* of Don Alonso de Illescas, a caudillo, for us the greatest caudillo in America, for us Afro-Ecuadorians, especially of this area” (Interview 20060418-17h30). In 1989 and 1990 the discussions around forming the initial communal territories gained traction. “We managed to focus on a dream, an idea, to create a great organization, to be united, to speak with one voice, to arrive suddenly at the same place from many different avenues” (Interview 20060418-17h30).

By 1992, the group was meeting in earnest and these organizational efforts continued through 1995. There was an acute awareness of Afro-Ecuadorian invisibility. Fondo Ecuatoriano Populorum Progressio (FEPP), in one of the first publications to address

these issues, started the short booklet with the following quote: “We have been present in Ecuador, in northern Esmeraldas, for more than 300 years, but we don’t appear in any account or any book. Our presence does not count. . . .” (FEPP, 1995, p. 2). The booklet called for the application of the then-applicable Article 36 of the Agrarian Development Law. FEPP’s claim was on behalf of a number of Afro-Ecuadorian communities for the legalization of their claims to communal territory through the state-run land claims office INDA. By the time of the booklet’s publication, communal land claims were gaining in strength. A series of larger meetings took place throughout the area, starting in June 1996, in Telembí, a meeting in which a mandate was set for the call to create a *comarca*. By August, 1997, the first document was presented to the communities in Borbón. That proposal would call for the creation of a *comarca*, described as: “A model of territorial, political, ethno-communal organization, made up of local *palenques* and other Afro-Ecuadorian organizations, that seeks to achieve human development for the communities in their rightful territory. It is an administrative organization that manages in a sustainable way the natural resources of the ancestral territory” (Consejo Regional de Palenques, 1999, p. 5). The territorial claims were to be made for the rights to ancestral lands in the northern section of Esmeraldas province in the cantons or Rio Verde, San Lorenzo, and Eloy Alfaro. The *comarca* was to be made up of *palenques*, and recognition was given to the different customs and different forms of subsistence aquaculture and agriculture and everyday practice in the mangroves and in the forests. These proposals were presented to the Constituent Assembly in 1998, as well as to one of the few Afro-Ecuadorian national politicians, who was a member of the Roldosista political party, and who promptly turned them down, saying they were trying to create a state within a state with their proposal

(Personal communications with movement leaders; (Yépez, 2006)

The 1998 Constitution, however, gave some credence to Afro-Ecuadorian claims. The new constitution divided Ecuador into political units and administrative boundaries but, by and large, the Afro-Ecuadorian claim to communal territory through a *comarca* went unheard. Article 85 recognized indigenous communities but didn't fully recognize Afro-Ecuadorians (Halpern & Twine, 2000). Adam Halpern and France Winddance Twine wrote that: "in the 1998 Constitution, the Ecuadorian state has a long history of meting out differential treatment to Blacks and Indians. In Article 85 of the new Constitution, the state guarantees Blacks only those 'indigenous' rights that are 'applicable' to Black Ecuadorians. Exactly which rights are 'applicable' to Black Ecuadorians remains unclear, although the state's desire to distinguish between 'indigenous' and Black could not be more obvious." Articles 82, 83, and 84 gave some recognition to territorial and cultural rights and in this process some communities gained communal title to some of the land around their settlements. Afro-Ecuadorian collective rights were strengthened again in 2006 with the Law of the Collective Rights of Afro-Ecuadorians. In this legislation, allowance was made for ethnic-focused education but, most importantly, a national advisory board for Afro-Ecuadorian Development was set up — Consejo Nacional de Desarrollo Afroecuatoriano (CONDAE).

Afro-Ecuadorian movement leaders lay claim to institutional racism and a resulting lack of political access, racism demonstrated by both mestizos and by Afro-Ecuadorian's supposed allies in the various indigenous movements. Fischer has written that "there can also be a heavy-handedness of good intentions that can become oppressive, even racist, in visions of indigenous futures built on distant moral projects and romanticized dreams"

(Fischer, 2009, p. 4). The lack of political access can be understood as constricted political opportunity. Holly McCammon and co-authors have written of the gendered opportunity structures, along with resource mobilization, framing, and political opportunities, that allowed for the advancement of claims for women's movements in the United States (McCammon, Campbell, Granberg, & Mowery, 2001). In Ecuadorian terms, the political struggles of those of African descent, and the failure to advance their claims, could best be see as a racialized disopportunity structure.

John Antón Sánchez has written that conflicting identities, group interests, regional conditions, and which local elites prevail, have complicated matters for Afro-Ecuadorians. Differing degrees of independence, coordinating structures, and ideological foci have prevailed across the three levels of organization. Successes, however, were evident to some extent in Articles 83 and 84 of the 1998 Constitution and in the concessions made in the 2006 Ley de los Derechos Colectivos de los Pueblos Negros o Afroecuatorianos. These were genuine proposals for autonomy and ethnic development. Failures, writes Sánchez, can be ascribed largely to external factors, to a society that negates political participation by African descendants, and to a political culture of clientelism, corporatism, corruption, and dependency. These create difficulties between the "leadership, associations and the social base" (J. A. Sánchez, 2007, p. 242). Some of these failures are recognized by the organizations' leadership. Afro-Ecuadorians are painfully aware of their political "invisibility" and of the lack of trust between political leaders and communities "We have another weakness. We have very low participation by citizens in civil society. . . . I would say that one of the fundamental reasons for this is the distrust in the political class that has been generated in people. And that is the basic

cause of the lack of participation. People say: 'No, the politicians rob the public coffers, the politicians do not create employment. We cannot trust politicians, we cannot trust the political class'" (Interview 20060421-09h45). That political class may now include Afro-Ecuadorians. De la Torre has written that their exists a paradox in making claims against the state for inclusion (de la Torre, 2006). The paradox is that the leadership is included in the corporatist state and thus has the double-sided task of representing the excluded to the state and representing the state to the excluded. The danger here for Afro-Ecuadorian leaders, says de la Torre, is that without resources, making claims for the *comarca* may mean Afro-Ecuadorians end up administering their own poverty.

PART III

STRUCTURE AGENCY RELATIONSHIPS

Part III is the theoretical bridge between the previous chapters, and their description and analysis of structural constraints and opportunities facing Afro-Ecuadorians, and the remaining "evidence" chapters. The chapter argues that culture and economic activity are embedded within each other and that modes of production shape and are shaped by our environment. Afro-Ecuadorian livelihoods are grounded in the environment, in a mode of production that is partly based on the cash economy while still maintaining a strong footing in subsistence activities. Cultural practices and sets of beliefs (Background) draw on this interaction, through everyday activity, and are formed and shaped by the process. Action is mostly conscious (intentional) in everyday life, but Background too shapes intentional action. Intentionality (directed conscious thought that leads to action) can also be collective, and it is politically motivated collective intentionality that is important to the African-descendent communities. With the arrival of the palm plantations, and with the over-exploitation of the mangroves, compounded by the spillover of the Colombian conflict, Afro-Ecuadorians face a disjuncture between what their everyday lives are becoming and how they perceive they should be. They respond to these changes with a collective intentionality that is described here as bounded and alienated. They are bound in that their intentionality is constrained both internally and externally. They are alienated in that they consciously face and struggle against racism. And the communities in turn faced a deteriorating wellbeing.

CHAPTER V

BOUNDED, ALIENATED INTENTIONALITY

From the hermeneutical readings of culture and history, to the penetrating analysis of mathematical economics, it appears we may be shackled forever. What nature has agency when judged by the mortmain of history or the invisible hand of the market? Or is it that we can overcome all through the prescripts of liberation theology, the joys of hedonistic psychology, or linear approaches to development (economic, community or merely human) that have us climbing rungless ladders? With the repeated postmodern deaths of rationality, we should be reminded of Platonic and Aristotelian struggles over these same domains of agency and action. Plato allowed for the shackles to drop through revelations of the nature behind the shadows on a cave wall. Aristotle bestowed on us a taxonomy of action. Modern philosophy gives us intentionality, a sometimes driver of doing. We are conscious, intentional human beings. Yet a specter continues to haunt us — the specter of structure.

In northern Esmeraldas province that specter is one of destruction, destruction that bears down on a habitat and people. Underneath the constant cloud cover, the steady, relentless shift in changing modes of production (the vices of structure) brings trees crashing down, brush burned, and new roads carved into the light reddish soil as African palm plantations expand across the canton of San Lorenzo. To the north, from across the border in Colombia, a different mode of destruction means chemical agents are dropped from the air onto another more diffuse but equally insidious crop, illegal coca, while

conflict drives families from their land and homes. These squeezing, crushing modes of production dislocate people from their homes so that the word refugee takes on internal and external dimensions. The dislocation of these modes of destruction, both infused with their own power and special violence, push refugees from Colombia into the towns and villages of northern Esmeraldas and dislocate Afro-Ecuadorians internally. Pierre Bourdieu reminds us that the contradictions of the social world are manifest as personal dramas (Bourdieu, 1998a). On the Colombia-Ecuador border, those dramas are communal as well as personal. Says one Afro-Ecuadorian of the processes: "People have become more aggressive, because they have been affected by models from outside. They have become aggressive with themselves, with their brothers, and aggressive with nature" (Interview 20060418-17h30).

The Space of Production and Culture

Tracing the nature and origins of the development of structures can become a reductionist exercise, somewhat akin to a Marxian progression from peasant to proletarian, or as Rostow's five-stage jumps to modernization (Rostow, 2003) that starts when the first stone was shaped into a tool on the African plains. This can be a seductive reduction *absurdus* without the constraints of time and space. Bounded questions regarding agency and structure, however, need to be asked. What is the relationship of culture to economic production, distribution and consumption; how are these economic spheres shaped by human values; and how do these in turn shape human values? And what happens to the everyday economic lives of people when shifts in the nature of

economic production clash with their habitual reactions or their unbridled actions?

We could narrow the everyday space of our lives in a way that John Roberts suggests Michel de Certeau has done by constraining the everyday to that of productive consumption only (Roberts, 2006). But this would be a constraint that excludes much of the everyday life of Afro-Ecuadorians. The everyday economic lives of subsistence aquaculture and agriculture, and of plantation wage laborers, encompass more, even in poverty, than the bread and wine of de Certeau's French. Henri Lefebvre, whose genius was eclipsed by de Certeau's earlier translation, suggests we be wary of the alternative, a philosophical big bang of space. "We are thus confronted by an indefinite multitude of spaces, each one piled upon, or perhaps contained within the next: geographical, economic, demographic, sociological, ecological, commercial, national, continental, global. Not to mention nature's (physical) space, the space of (energy) flows, and so on" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 8). Rather than contracting or expanding our notions of space, do we distance ourselves from space in our everyday economic actions as Buddhist economist E.F. Schumacher suggests? "Modern man does not experience himself as a part of nature but as an outside force destined to dominate and conquer it" (Schumacher, 1973, p. 14). Is this the essential nature of modern man or the underlying logic of a capitalist mode of production? Or are more subtle processes at play in which space and people shape and are shaped by each other. John Roberts suggests that everyday space, in that it is both social and experiential, is the avenue through which we become conscious and critically so. "Thus, even though the everyday is experienced naturalistically as a universal realm of habit and custom by workers, its routinizations and repetitions are not simply the expressions of dominant social relations, but the very place where critical thinking and

action begins" (Roberts, 2006, p. 38). But, once again, how do the routines of repetitions of subsistence and aquaculture communities fare in this non-static everyday of thinking and acting when the mode of production shifts to agribusiness or to the production of the illicit? To avoid these expansions or constrictions, we need to conjoin Henri Lefebvre's notions of space and the everyday with John Searle's understanding of consciousness, and Karl Polanyi and Mark Granovetter's embeddedness of culture and economics, thus allowing for an analysis that gives the everyday lives of Afro-Ecuadorians tenor. And these are not abstractions outside of the understanding of Afro-Ecuadorians. As one, perhaps presciently, said: "The grand work will not be the anthem of San Lorenzo [the town]. It will be the theme of our culture" (Interview 20060421-09h50).

Two complementary frameworks parse out the processes at work in the northern cantons of Esmeraldas province – Karl Polanyi's embeddedness of culture and economics and Henri Lefebvre's conceptualization of space in relation to modes of production (Lefebvre, 1991; Polanyi, 1985). For Lefebvre there are representations of space (that space created by the dominant mode of production), representational space (images and symbols), and spatial practice (the experiences of the everyday). Representational space needs to cohere to the representation of space, that created by the dominant mode of production. Individuals need to be able to move between perceived, created, and lived spaces without confusion. The contention here is that the shift in modes of production, a change in representations of space (created space), have a concomitant disjuncture in representational space (perceived space). Everyday lived space then becomes one of upheaval as perceived and created space clash. But, as the everyday space, that of spatial practice, is one where habitual and creative action have their genesis, people necessarily

respond to the upheaval. This is the space of action, action driven by intentionality. Everyday practice can become practice where action is driven by bounded or alienated intentions.

Adam Smith's assertion that we barter, trade, and exchange as our essential nature holds little weight for Karl Polanyi. Rather, for Polanyi, our economic activity is submerged in our sociality. The production of material goods only serves to defend social claims and assets. For Mark Granovetter, following Polanyi's lines of embeddedness, our behavior "aims not only at economic goals but also at sociability, approval, status, and power" (Granovetter, 1985, p. 506). Everyday economic activity is also driven by "a desire of individuals to derive pleasure from the social interaction that accompanies their daily work" (Granovetter, 1985, p. 498). The differences between older forms of economic production and those of the modern world were exaggerated, according to Polanyi. The preconditions that guarantee survival are the same now as they were before and economic action remains embedded "in concrete, ongoing systems of social relations" (Granovetter, 1985, p. 486). The assertion here is that the interrelationship is not one of structure and superstructure as in classical Marxist thought, nor that there is a two-dimensional embeddedness of economics in culture. Rather, representations of space, our "environment" as shaped by our prevailing mode of production, is in a tripartite relationship with representational space (the space of culture and belief), and with spatial practice; they are embedded within each other. Subtle shifts beget subtle changes in a process bound by history and human action and interaction. Larger, perhaps more violent shifts, through changes in technology, through conflict, famine, drought, natural disaster, or through wide-sweeping economic change, beget larger changes and disrupt the

chimera of equilibrium of spatial practice. The three spheres clash.

Individual Action

Relating the micro-mechanisms of cognition and affect to larger issues of collective action and social change is problematic in many of the social sciences. One approach to understanding the relationship is to discount it. Alan Nelson suggests that in our helplessness in dealing with the problems of social science, we frequently look to the progress of the philosophy of mind. However, says Nelson, the connections between the social and the mental are exaggerated: social science "requires a firm foundation on a science of individual action, but this foundation is lacking" (A. J. Nelson, 1994, p. 518). For Nelson there is no psychology of individual action. We do not have any way of knowing empirically what a person's mental state is at any given time. Thus we cannot know the intention behind an action and whether the action results in the intended consequence. On the individual level then, psychology cannot explain the unintended consequences of actions. As we do not know the original intention, any one of the subsequent results could be unintended. On the aggregate level, however, the consequences are of interest to social scientists. Even though the information concerning individual reasons is lost in the aggregate, we are still left with generalizable patterns and regularity. This is very much the argument offered by utility and preference theory in economics: the information behind preferences is of no import (Black, 1997; Greenaway, Bleaney, & Stewart, 1991); the action that stems from preferential choice is. Nelson's example, however, is social cohesion which, while made up of sticky individuals, reveals

"significant social laws" when aggregated. Thus, for Nelson, it would be a mistake to assume that "intentional concepts employed at the social level and individual levels are identical" (A. J. Nelson, 1994, p. 525). Following Nelson's reasoning: I cannot know the individual's motivation for reacting to a shifting political economy but, by analysis of the aggregate, I may deduce that the collective was alienated and adopted certain collective patterns of behavior. However, tossing the individual out with the collective bath water would seem to be a rather churlish betrayal. It would seem there is no claim on the individual other than perhaps efficacy, reciprocity, a tendency to be relational and, for some, a warm fuzzy feeling about the links between individuals and larger communities through the notion of cohesion. This leads us nowhere in understanding the individual or collective plight of Afro-Ecuadorians. Why do some individuals acquiesce and why do some resist the same pressures? How can we understand the effects on the everyday economic life of individuals when individual action is devoid of intentional meaning?

Daniel Dennett would answer the charge of knowing the individual's intentionality by the intentional stance. The independent observer assumes that the actor is a rational actor and that their actions spring from intentionality. "Our simplest doers have been reconceptualized as rational agents or intentional systems, and this permits us to think about them at a still higher level of abstraction, ignoring the details of just how they manage to store the information they 'believe' and how they manage to 'figure out' what to do, based on what they 'believe' and 'want.'" (Dennett, 2003, p. 45). (John Searle refers to Dennett's intentional stance as a form of interpretation made by an observer (Searle, 2004).) The intentional stance, therefore, would seem to preclude a psychological element, surely just as unsatisfactory a state of affairs in trying to move effortlessly

between individuals and collectives through relational channels. And, while "interpretationist," perhaps this is too terrifying a stance for even a subspecies of cultural anthropologist or any other discipline pretending to be informed by psychology.

John Searle offers the more amenable formulation, especially with regard to the disciplines of psychology, anthropology, and sociology where, in some quarters, desires and beliefs are given credence. Intentionality involves desires and beliefs, held somewhat in conscious thought, that may lead us to take action. For Searle, the break is not between individual facts and social facts, as it is with Nelson, but between the biological processes of intentionality and the philosophical. We may not fully understand the biological processes of cognition (the workings of neurons and the occasional and laborious firing of our synapses) but that need not and should not stop us from considering the philosophical implications of those processes. Intentionality, under this scheme, allows for a more nuanced understanding of agency, one that allows for a grounding of action in both cognition and affect.

Crudely, individual actions can be of multiple classes, and not all are informed by intentionality. To take three:

I stroke my chin. The action is propelled by my intentionality. I believe this is a process that calms me when I am faced with writing a dissertation of some length for a long passed deadline. My action is backed by my intentionality. The action is about restoring a mental state from one of agitation to one of sublime bliss (perhaps, perhaps not).

I stroke my chin. I do it habitually when agitated, particularly when faced with the prospect of writing a halfway decent dissertation for a well-respected set of professors

when the dissertation has passed its “consume before” date. I have a habit of doing both of these — ruminating too long while supposedly writing and the idiosyncratic stroking of my chin. My action is devoid of intentional content. It is habit and it may not (debatably) be conscious.

I stroke my chin. I have lost or lack certain faculties (the unintended consequence of being a graduate student for too long). I start stroking my chin when I wake up. I stroke my chin throughout the day and stop only when I go to sleep again at night. My chin stroking is neither habit nor propelled by intentionality. It may be neurological but it is devoid of any mental content.

The focus here is on the first action, the action that has intentionality, that has content, and the action that can take on value.

Figure 27. Actions devoid of intentionality?

It is worth considering in some detail Searle's understanding of intentionality, taken here in large part from *Mind: A Brief Introduction* (Searle, 2004) and *The Construction of Social Reality* (Searle, 1995). To Searle, beliefs and desires are intentional states. States relate to the world in different ways. "I believe in X" relates X to the world in a different way than "I desire X." Thinking about something involves representation and that something doesn't have to exist to be thought about. But the intentionality must have content and shape. Searle uses the following statement: I believe/fear/hope it will rain. Believe, fear, and hope are the shapes, rain is the content. The representation must also have aspectual shape. Thus, "I believe water will come from the sky" and "I believe H_20 will come from the sky" betray different shapes. H_20 and water are the same content, but they have different shapes.

The levels of correspondence that Searle describes are of particular importance to the social sciences. The correspondence of different intentional states (thoughts) to reality and reality to intentional states suggest the motivation for action. Beliefs, convictions, and hypotheses are mind-to-world direction of fit. That which is held in the conscious mind seeks to correspond with reality. Desires and intentions differ in their direction of fit: "Desires and intentions are not true or false the way beliefs are, because their aim is not to match an independently existing reality, but rather to get reality to match the content of the intentional state. For that reason I will say they have 'world-to-mind direction of fit' or the 'world-to-mind responsibility of fit.'" (Searle, 2004, p. 18). Lastly, there is a class of intentional states with no direction of fit. For this class, the correspondence between thought and reality is taken to already exist. This is the null

direction of fit.

The subtlety of Searle's analysis is particularly important here: A distinction must be made in the mind-to-world direction of fit between beliefs, perceptions, and memories. Perceptions and memories are causally self-referential. The self reference is of no consequence for beliefs but the first person singular is necessary for perceptions and memories — no self-reference, no memory; no self-reference, no perception. Intentions-in-action and prior-intentions are also causally self-referential — without self-reference, we would have something of an existential dilemma. This leaves the mind-to-world fit for beliefs. It is here that Searle offers a link between lived, perceived, and created space.

For Searle intentional states are not isolated happenstances. Our intentionality occurs within networks of beliefs, desires, memories, and other intentional states. "If you follow out the threads in the network, you eventually reach a set of abilities, ways of coping with the world, dispositions, and capacities generally that I call the 'Background.' For example, if I form the intention to go skiing I can do so only if I take for granted that I have the ability to ski, but the ability to ski is not itself an additional intention, belief, or desire. I hold the controversial thesis that intentional states in general require a background of nonintentional capacities in order to function at all" (Searle, 2004, p. 121). Language is a background assumption, "prior to explicit beliefs and thoughts" (Searle, 2004, p. 129). The contents of intentionality are "determined by a combination of our life experiences and our innate biological capacities" (Searle, 2004, p. 131). It is worth considering here how similar background is to Bourdieu's habitus (Bourdieu, 1977, 1998b). As Montero says about habitus: "This is no unconscious behavior. It is, however, an unprocessed behavioral pattern absorbed through cultural interactions with people, the

media, and the educational system" (Montero, 2005, p. 497). Background allows for individual intentionality to be informed by not only life experiences but by historical antecedents and sociocultural patterns. The power of intentionality thus formed is that it enables us to deal with large amounts of information at the same time. Mind-to-world correspondence is informed by the tapestry of Background, and this need not be a tapestry of congruence. It is intentionality informed by Background that begins to connect individual intentionality to the larger social matrix. To paraphrase Mary Douglas, the missing person is restored; the person in thought and the person in action are rendered whole. "The individual set in a context of other interacting individuals, carries a legacy of institutions from past generations of other persons" (Douglas & Ney, 1998, p. 60).

Lived space is that space where our intentionality is realized as action. Our creativity and ingenuity can drive our action. But our actions change and are changed by created space. Perceived space informs our intentionality directly or through Background (the webs of the past and the present, and of other individuals and of collectives), and this too drives our actions. But when there is a disjuncture in mind-to-world fit — when our intentionality draws on a Background and the Background is incongruous with created and everyday lived space — we are faced with acting in new ways, reacting in different but creative ways, or by acquiescing. As a reaction to changes in created space, to the disjuncture in mind-to-world fit, there are two forms intentionality can take: alienated intentionality, an intentionality that creates self-limiting action, or bounded intentionality, an intentionality that manifests itself momentarily as an inability to deal productively with the creative interaction that happens between the space of action and perceived space. It is in this space of action, the everyday, that Roberts claims for the reinvention of

labor and culture. This is the crucible for the Afro-Ecuadorian communities of northern Esmeraldas. As a fluid cash and subsistence mode of production moves to that of wage labor, so do Afro-Ecuadorian forest communities adapt, resist, or give in. As resources dwindle and as war spills over from the north, so too do the people of the Afro-Ecuadorian communities of the mangroves. This is what is examined in the coming sections. But first an understanding is needed of the nature of community and action and to underpin outcomes to development as a process that leads to wellbeing.

Collective Action

If we are to understand development normatively as a process that has as an end a state of wellbeing (perhaps even development as freedom), then we need to understand what drives people to act collectively to effect that change. Understandings of community and social capital within communities offer one prospect worth examining. However, our notions of community, dynamic though we think they might be, appear moribund when it comes to explaining how groups of people, conceived as community, take action to change or to resist change. Even considering the differing and highly contested notions of community, this seems to be the case across the board. Seymour Sarason has claimed that a sense of community captures "something very basic about being human. . . . ." (G. B. Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 94). Others recognize the "mobile, complex, and dynamic character" of community as both entity and process (Montero, 2005). Yet dynamic, relational notions of community still have an unsatisfying lack of ability to explain collective action. Instead we have a complex web of conceptualizations of

aspects of community that may or may not lead to social change. The literature (or is it industry) on social capital (the glue of community) is stupefying (Anthony Bebbington, Guggenheim, Olson, & Woolcock, 2004). Social cohesion (another community adhesive) runs a distant second, while the term community empowerment suggests action but promises little. We have a lot of stuff about community. But we have no action. The paucity in explanatory value needs to be closely examined.

Figure 28. Collective intentionality around the month of May. San Lorenzo, May, 2005.

Community can be prescriptive, descriptive/analytical, or instrumental (Taylor, 2003). Communities of place (geographical spaces such as neighborhoods, villages, and towns) and communities of identity or association (groups of people with shared cultural, economic, or other interests) constitute the descriptive niche. Motivation for collective action may have a genesis in these categories of place and association. That is, they may also be instrumental. But as vehicles for agency they are as likely to hinder collective

action as they are to give it impetus: people have multiple allegiances to both places and identities. In these instances, people may select from their Background different options to inform their intentionality and perhaps drive their action.

Normative, prescriptive accounts emphasize relationships (or the lack thereof) within territorial communities, their ties, and their interactions. So, too, do identity movements, particularly those that make confessions to race and gender. The confusion here is that instrumentality is linked to prescription and the supposition is that relationships and ties will translate through the prescribed into action (Taylor, 2003). "We are Black, we shall overcome!" "We are from the South, we shall rise again!" "We are Italian. . . ?" Robert Putnam's brand of social capital is normative in this sense as it involves trust and reciprocity (Taylor, 2003) and, thus, may hold out prospects for instrumentality. Isaac Prilleltensky and Geoffrey Nelson state: "social capital refers to collective resources consisting of civic participation, networks, norms of reciprocity and organizations that foster (a) trust among citizens and (b) actions to improve the common good." (G. B. Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 95). Communities as manifestations of social capital that motivate collective action are vexing constructs, particularly where it has been offered up as a multilevel framework (Perkins, Hughey, & Speer, 2002). Reciprocity has long been the purview of anthropologists, starting with Marcel Mauss's *The Gift* (Mauss, 1990) through to Marshal Sahlin's *Stone Age Economics* (Sahlins, 1972). Reciprocity takes for granted our social nature, and this (our social nature) is given great stock by Mary Douglas in critiquing the overwhelming influence of homo economicus on all the social sciences (Douglas & Ney, 1998). The importance of our sociability, and the attendant importance of relationships, figures predominantly in many

of the disciplines that try to untangle the knots of community. But do we act, and especially act in concert, just because we are relational by "nature"? Probably not. It would appear that under this conceptualization, social capital offers us channels for agency. But there is no guarantee. Trust and reciprocity may grease the wheels for action, or prescribe the type of action. Yet neither is action itself. They outline the type and propensity for action (especially collective activity) along a particular linkage, network, or hierarchy. But for a multidisciplinary framework that allows for collective human action to take place, we need an analysis that directly addresses action, especially one that allows us to give full consideration to context. Networks (shorthand for all those goodies listed above), trust, and reciprocity are the glue that binds this mess, particularly at the community level (W. L. Partridge, 1979). Notions of bonding and bridging capital (the particular webs of networks) are also lacking as explanations for action. Bonding social capital within communities and bridging social capital between communities are avenues for action, pathways for individual and collective agency. They may be the mechanisms or pathways for instrumentality; they are, however, not action itself, nor do they explain the impulse for agency or collective action. We may have bonds and bridges available, but our desire for something may push our action in a completely different direction: we may act individually or we may choose to do nothing.

The romanticization of community as political prescription and as motivation for action for social change is also highly problematic. Communities of both place and identity can remain repositories of inequality and injustice. Close-knit, homogenous communities of place "too often. . . produce systematic exclusions and oppressions, not the least of which is patriarchy" (Garber, 2007, p. 296). There are problems too with

choice or identity notions of community. Judith Garber says for women: "Community need not be fraternal to be oppressive or exclusive, because women differ by race, class, immigration status, language, religion, sexuality, marital status, age, and physical ability." (Garber, 2007, p. 297). (These problematics have been detailed and agonizingly discussed in Amit, V., & Rapport, N., *The trouble with community: anthropological reflections on movement, identity and collectivity*. (Amit & Rapport, 2002).) Thus communities of identity can also have difficulty with inclusivity. Montero is correct in suggesting that it is within individual "psychological spaces" that people create their identities vis-à-vis community (Montero, 2005). In terms of the framework discussed here, this would be intentionality informed by a particular Background. In the creative interaction between spatial practice, representational space, and representations of space, this as a dynamic that can draw on place as well as relationships of common identity. (This has been explored thoroughly by Arturo Escobar in his work on Afro-Colombia communities (Escobar, 2008).) But, as far as social action that moves communities towards states of wellbeing, identity and place-based community hold within them as many perils as they do positive inducements.

Identity, association, and place interact; they may coincide, they may not. People identify with geographical space (in some instances they self-select) and outsiders act and react to those constructed identities. But a sense of identity might move away from place (bridging capital as the avenue) to include others outside that space. Alternatively, in occupying those communities "space supplies people with shared experiences. . . and may create political cooperation among unlike individuals." (Garber, 2007, p. 299). But this is like rolling the dice when it comes to expecting collective action. Communities

offer us a limited understanding. “If we expect too much of ‘caring’ communities, we may also expect too much in terms of political engagement. Those who see communities as the basis for a new political order might find their goal difficult to achieve” (Taylor, 2003, p. 54).

The appeal of communities of place and identity, and in the reciprocal nature of our sociability, seems to be in the instrumentality these notions appear to offer to a wide variety of human action. “Instrumental support refers to the provision of resources, such as lending money, helping a neighbor with babysitting. . . .” (G. B. Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 101). This class of action appears to be a catchall that includes all the good things people do to help one another. Emotional support (including tea and sympathy) would be another manifestation. These everyday actions of social support incrementally build up our stock of wellbeing, supplemented by those actions done to help in times of trouble. Members of the community thus serve as both agents and recipients of support and individuals and organizations can either act or receive. While instrumental support can be seen as a category of action, and even collective action, it is but one band, albeit a very wide one, of collective activity. But support does not assume change. We may support the victim of an injustice without working to change or rectify the context in which the injustice occurred. Neither does support fully encompass value. We may be members of one particular privileged religious or ethnic group and we may confine our support to members to that group only. Support thus lacks any strong basis for explaining a range of motivations behind actions. And, while support may build our stock of social capital (and wellbeing?), it is doubtful that support is really action aimed at social change. Agency as intentionality involves consciousness and needs as its

precursor efficacy. That efficacy, producing a result for members of the community that can be viewed as more than just aggregate behavior, has its source in spatial practice.

Judith Garber suggests that understanding community as a duality (place versus identity) is flawed. The duality, for Garber, fails on descriptive, analytical, and normative grounds. Place and identity conceptualizations of community do not guarantee "democracy and it is indeed taxing to imagine a strong normative theory of politics or of cities in which the distinction between abstract communities is a key principle" (Garber, 2007, p. 300). A community conceived of as made up of people "who formulate and voice consensual values and ideas" is flawed because "conflicts over differences degenerate into violence and repudiate 'the community' of interpersonally generated understanding" (Garber, 2007, p. 301). Garber, in turn, suggests that understanding communities in terms of purpose holds greater promise. In terms of action, communities of purpose allow for cooperation and this process sets the terms for participation. "Collective action toward social change is unthinkable outside the context of relationships between people who believe their well-being is tied together, for politics is not a singular endeavor" (Garber, 2007, p. 301).

If communities of purpose find their collective agency in everyday spatial practice, then we need to make distinctions between a confusing array of everyday collective activity. What makes economic activity share space with political activity? What is held in common between altruistic good-neighborly behavior and collective political demands? David Miller makes three distinctions to community that correspond to three notions of spatial practice offered here. Miller's concern is with the notion of social justice and the three niches proposed here allow for a distinction to be made between

types of communal action within spatial practice. It also allows us to link intentionality to Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum's ideas of development in that intentionality can only drive action given efficacy and efficacy, to Sen and Nussbuam, are collective capacity, capability, and opportunity (M. Nussbaum, 2004; M. C. Nussbaum & Sen, 1999; Sen, 1999). This in turn forces us to examine relationships of power (especially those elements of created space and of perceived space that may facilitate or block action) and our conceptualizations of wellbeing. As Nelson and Prilleltensky state: "Well-being is achieved by the simultaneous, balanced and contextually sensitive satisfaction of personal, relational and collective needs. In the absence of capacity and opportunity – central features of power – individuals cannot strive to meet their own needs and the needs of others" (G. B. Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 105).

For Miller, solidaristic associations function through common identity, culture, and shared belief. Instrumental associations consist of relationships which give utility to collaborative action. The third set of relationships are those that involve rights and obligations. What is proposed here is that three niches of communal action, conceptualizations that correspond somewhat to Miller's levels of association, should be seen as forms of communal agency coexisting, and not necessarily separate, within spatial practice. Thus economic activity can be instrumental while remaining embedded in culture. Communal action can also be instrumental while offering a normative or prescriptive base. However, it is the niche of rights and obligations that corresponds to the associational space described in chapter two that is of importance to social change and wellbeing. Associational space then is not just a field or niche within spatial practice, but one in which associations of common purpose (perhaps informed by notions of

identity around ethnicity or race or nationhood) predominate. It is also the niche in which notions of wellbeing (or social justice) can normatively inform communal action and drive action through prescription. However, it is precisely within this realm that exclusion and racism have marginalized Afro-Ecuadorians. The communities of northern Esmeraldas react in some part with alienated and bounded intentionality as the noise from the disjuncture between subsistence agriculture and agribusiness grows louder, and as threats to wellbeing waft across from Colombia. Background and spatial practice as creative interplay no longer match. At the instrumental level communities continue to function, forming alliances, finding their way as wage laborers or as development intermediaries, or falling into patterns of co-option with the palm plantations. At the associational level they continue to act. However, their collective agency remains ineffectual. The prescriptive and normative elements of wellbeing do not prevail for Afro-Ecuadorians as their ability to act collectively and intentionally at this level is hampered by the history of racism and exclusion outlined in the earlier chapters.

Development, Wellbeing, and Justice

Culture and economy are embedded through historical developments in representational space, and individuals find their everyday spatial practice within this structure, their actions filling and creating the representational space (the background) while acting on and reacting to representations of space. Of importance to development (economic, community, or human) are hidden or overt normative assumptions that the process of change in representations of space should be ones in which *homo sapiens*

move towards a state of wellbeing. This is the contested dread the field of international development grapples with across paradigms. Neoliberal reform is a rising tide that will lift all boats as the promise of rising incomes and more material goods will bring health and happiness; left outside the hegemony of capitalist destruction, communities and indigenous peoples will thrive; and, of course, through development will come freedom. But these outcomes are frequently not the case. Human wellbeing or harm are the sometimes hidden, sometimes revealed subtexts of development. Wellbeing's objective elements are observed and quantifiable through such crude measures as the Human Development Index, crude in that smaller groups and communities are frequently omitted from the base aggregate. Wellbeing's elements frequently remain hidden yet contested when their dimensions are normative and prescriptive. As with the notion of culture being predominant in the embedded relationship, so too are Afro-Ecuadorians in San Lorenzo aware of the contestation over wellbeing in its more subtle manifestations. As one former mayor strongly contends, he and his constituents (fellow Afro-Ecuadorians) value human capital (he uses the phrase) over outsiders' emphasis on physical capital in the development debate (Interview 20060421-09h45).

The Afro-Ecuadorians communities struggle for their own wellbeing. "For the poorest, and in the worst instances, this will largely be a struggle to limit the extent of their illbeing and suffering" (Gough, McGregor and Camfield 3). We pursue wellbeing, says Joseph Raz, for no other reason than the goals and relationships of wellbeing are valuable (Raz, 2004). Wellbeing, in this conceptualization, is caring for people in that they should have a good life and there is no one way for that care to take place; it is multidimensional and the dimensions may not coincide (Raz, 2004). Psychosocial

contributions to understanding wellbeing can enrich our understanding more so than the standard utilitarian classifications. For Daniel Stokols, wellbeing is influenced by the interplay between the physical (geography, the built environment, and technology), the social (politics, economics, and culture) and the psychological (dispositions, attitudes, and genes) (Stokols, 2000). Our understandings are further enhanced if we consider Isaac Prilleltensky and Geoffrey Nelson's conceptualization of wellbeing as the satisfaction of personal, relational, and collective needs (Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002). (The importance of sociability — the relational — and the understanding of *homo sapiens* as social beings, is largely excluded or unexplained in hedonistic or objective list theory accounts of wellbeing.) These three realms of wellbeing need to exist in a state of equilibrium and it is this harmony that has been upended by changes to representations of space in northwestern Ecuador.

It is unclear, however, whether these psychological frameworks for understanding wellbeing follow the same course as objective list theories of wellbeing. Under objective list theory, all that is "good for" an individual or for a community is included within the list. In the case of James Griffin, the inclusion is limited to some extent (Griffin, 1988). Whether the list is limited or not, one prospect to entertain is that lists of "good for" may obtain an internally objective coherence. Yet, the possibility remains, that this coherence might be subjective when viewed from the outside. This would mirror Granovetter's suggestion that actions within a set of beliefs may seem entirely rational, yet from the outside these same actions would be regarded as irrational (Granovetter, 1985). If a community acts to enhance its wellbeing, that collective intentionality may be objective to members of the community. To an outside observer, perhaps to a development

organization, the action may seem subjective and questionable.

If we put this objection aside for the time being, there is perhaps one approach to development to which objective list theory might appeal. Sen has criticized standard utilitarianism as offering far too narrow an informational base from which to proceed in evaluating wellbeing and development (Sen, 1999). However, to understand Sen as a covert objective list advocate, we need to understand the capabilities approach to development. Sen, along with Nussbaum, conceptualizes development as consisting of capabilities that are actualized in a process that leads to or enhances wellbeing. Capabilities consist of sets of functionings, which are derived from commodities. For Sen, functionings are the sets of things a person may value doing or being. Commodities (these would also include services) are converted into functionings depending on many factors (D. A. Clark, 2006) including individual capacities and context (Saith, 2007). Capability is the set of functionings a person has the freedom to choose. David Clark sees Sen as leaving the list of capabilities open (an objective list approach) while Nussbaum makes claims to universalism for her list (D. A. Clark, 2006). Clark also suggests that the distinctions between commodities, functionings, and utility are not clear and that, in fact, Sen is somewhat closer to the philosophical manifestation of utilitarianism than he might appear considering his critique (D. A. Clark, 2006). Thus, it would appear that Sen's capability approach (an open list of capabilities) is entirely compatible with objective list theory. However, returning to our earlier objection — the objective list may not be objective when viewed from the outside. Should individuals have some agency (capability) in selecting a set of functions, then these individuals are making an internally coherent choice, one that is objective to them. However, the suggestion here is that

individuals make the choices informed by Background. Background is the cultural clay through which choice is informed. In this conceptualization, individual choice is nudged a little away from being entirely individual. "But both the objective circumstances and perceptions of them are located in society and also in frames of meaning with which we live. Thus wellbeing is also and necessarily both a relational and dynamic concept. States of wellbeing/illbeing are continually produced in the interplay within the social, political, economic, and cultural processes of human social being" (Gough, McGregor, & Camfield, 2007, p. 5). Our intentionality need not be an entirely individualistic intentionality. Our collective intentionality may also draw from the same wellspring.

Our choices have their foci drawn from representational space. Those choices, the list of functionings we pick to make our capability set, may thus appear subjective to someone from the outside. For Afro-Ecuadorians alienated and bounded intentionality would entail sets of functionings not being chosen. The uncertainty of choice would be because Background has become shaky; alienated because past and current racism has "taught" that certain reservations should be in order. Or bounded because choice is constrained by either a lack of information or by context.

Two notions are essential to exposing the subterranean normative assumptions of development, as they are to salve the rawness of those assumptions when overt. As Sen asserts in discussing women in development, agency is the necessary requisite for wellbeing (Sen, 1999). Yet agency in itself is no teleological guarantee of wellbeing. Raz says wellbeing is perused because its goals are valued. But to give shape to wellbeing, agency in the pursuit of wellbeing must have as a guide some underpinning of justice. But what justice and whose justice? Postmodernity appears to have brought with it a

proliferation of theories of justice. A quick typology reveals the following understandings of justice: pure, distributive, informal, procedural, social, transformational, transactional, transitional, and restorative. The more cynical could accept Friedrich Engels' contention that justice is merely a manifestation of the prevailing economic structure. Igor Kopytoff's notions of commoditization and singularization would seem to make sense in this case (Kopytoff, 1986). Justice has become a commodity in late capitalist development and has then become singularized, split off into almost endless variants in order to milk the commodity for all its surplus value.

It is worthwhile, however, to consider the contexts of justice (or what MacIntyre would call traditions), particularly where the context involves the relationship between justice as the value in the pursuit of wellbeing. The connection between justice and wellbeing is not a tenuous one. The attainment of the "good life" has always been regarded as an ethically worthwhile value. In fact, it stretches unbroken from Plato's Republic, through the utilitarians and John Stuart Mill, to Rawls's social contract between free and democratic people.

The relationships between various typologies of justice become complex. Both David Miller and Richard Hofrichter make clear that there are multiple definitions and uses of the term "social justice" and that the meaning is often obscure. Writes Hofrichter: "Social justice is not a thing but rather an ongoing series of relationships that permeate everyday life. Social justice concerns the systematic treatment of people as members of a definable group. . . ." (Hofrichter, 2003, p. 12). The pragmatism of social justice is the draw for Miller. Social justice is more than an emotive appeal. It is a notion of justice with both principles and coherence that pays particular attention to context. It is here that

social justice draws its pragmatic power. Social justice bridges the gap between political philosophy and policy. It is an operative concept that informs and guides policy: "an ideal with political relevance rather than an empty phrase" (D. Miller, 1999, p. 2). The rough definition of social justice, says Miller, is to understand how good and bad things are distributed. The problems around this conceptualization are then what constitutes good and bad things, who will look to their equitable distribution, and for what group of people. The assumptions are a bounded society made up of institutions, and a state that can formulate policy. Welfare or happiness has no place on the list of goods to be distributed. Miller says this has to do with the means of distribution and not with welfare or happiness themselves. "One important reason is that between having access to a good and experiencing the well-being that may result there often stands a personal decision" (Miller, 1999, p. 7). Wellbeing thus requires social justice as a guiding value and social justice requires associational space, that space within spatial practice where purposeful political action may take place. In David Miller's three modes of human relationship, it is the third set of relationships, those that involve rights and obligations, where a shared standard of what it means to have a good life (wellbeing, quality of life) finds its essence. It is here, however, that Afro-Ecuadorians fall short. Their full participation in associational space has been blocked by racism.

"We Have Absolutely No Confidence"

The changes across space are manifest and blatant to Afro-Ecuadorians: As one interviewee says: "This is the question that we have: The black communities know how

the functionaries operate, because we have absolutely no confidence in anyone who comes from the outside to control us. For all our lives we have lived a healthy life with everything we need. Now there are people who want to control us, to convert us, to make us fit. But this conversion is an irregular thing and totally insufficient" (Interview 20060418-17h30). The examination of the intentionality and agency of Afro-Ecuadorians in their shifting structural constraints, and the affect this has on wellbeing, are the subject of the following chapters.

PART IV

THE STRUCTURE IN AGENCY

Part IV presents the evidence for the alienated and bounded collective responses as well as outlines the deteriorating wellbeing of the communities. In the mangrove communities, Afro-Ecuadorian organizations linked up with outside organizations to successfully reclaim the mangrove forests for their sustainable use. Chapter VI details the process by describing how a composite community responded to the changes. The chapter gives a statistical description of the community and then describes everyday economic activity. The use of associational space to achieve collective goals is described but so are the bounded and alienated responses of the community as the processes unfold. Despite successes, racist obstacles at the national level make progress hard for the community and they must ultimately face dwindling resources and shifts in the way they go about their everyday livelihoods. They were able to use associational space but their use of that space was constrained.

The forest villages faced similar hurdles. By again using a composite village, the forest chapter describes how the community was able to gain communal control over their land by using opportunities that opened up within associational space in the 1980s and 1990s. As with the mangrove village, the community had considerable success. However, the changing political economy, the arrival of roads in the area, the quick spread of palm plantations has left the community with very few choices. Many individual members have sold what should have been communal land and the community now sits as an island in a sea of palm, facing all the possible deleterious consequences of the chemicals used by the plantations to keep the palm trees healthy. Yet, many in the community continue to adapt and resist.

CHAPTER V

"TO US THIS IS RICH!": THE MANGROVE VILLAGE

"Everyone is important in this town when they die" (Personal communication, May 2006). Whether this sentiment is shared by the visiting dignitaries to Tambillo on April 20, 2006, is open to question. Their lightning-fast visit would not even qualify for what Robert Chambers calls development tourism (Chambers, 2008a). Miguel Chiriboga, the Minster of Foreign Trade, is doing a blitzkrieg visit to Tambillo, a village in the mangrove swamps, with the South Korean Ambassador to Ecuador. The dignitaries, the Korean Ambassador to Ecuador, Chiriboga, and the mayor of the canton of San Lorenzo, and their entourage of print and television journalists and assorted officials, have made their way at speed from San Lorenzo to the village in a flotilla of two naval patrol boats and a smaller boat. They are accompanied by a detachment of police and marines. Together they march up the quay with television cameras filming and make their way to the dusty soccer field in front of the local school. There they chat for a few minutes to the children before they march back to the boats and leave, again at high speed. The dangers from across the water, the dangers of Colombia a few miles away, and the everyday dangers faced by the villagers, make this a necessarily quick and risky trip for the dignitaries.

Figure 29. The mayor, the minister, and the ambassador visit Tambillo for 15 minutes.

The South Koreans have given the canton of San Lorenzo a new ambulance. The canton already has one and it seems to be rarely used, largely due to the condition of the roads in the area. But Korean money is paying for building and revitalizing roads, presumably a gesture separate from the function of the new ambulance. There are no roads, though, that lead to the mangrove villages. To get there you must take a *lancha*, a motorized wooden boat run by the San Lorenzo Cooperative. If you are ill in the mangroves and need transportation to the hospital at San Lorenzo, the canton also has a hospital boat. In 2006, though, it sat unused at the quayside in San Lorenzo, not far from the Marine base. The boat once served the mangrove villages. But it does no more. There is no money to run the boat and the doctors who worked the floating clinic have left

northern Esmeraldas. It is unclear to the villagers what the Korean Ambassador will give to this village after his visit. There is some rumor it may be a soccer field. The villages do, however, have their other ideas for development. “Life, I tell you, the economy, is very hard, very hard for people here because we live mainly on shellfish and fish, and people lack money and are very poor. There used to be more shellfish, more fish, more production from the sea. But now the shellfish are disappearing. The population is increasing, the shellfish are decreasing” (interview 20060420-14h15).

The Mangroves

Agua de Dios, like Tambillo, sits partly on hard ground and partly over a tidal flat — most of the houses are on stilts above the tide line — and the village faces out across a short span of open water. Across the water, less than a kilometer away, lies Colombia. To the back and sides of the village are the green, brown, and gray expanses of mangroves and mud. The mangroves that surround the village sit on tapestries of woven roots, roots that stretch to the height of high tide. These aerial root systems allow the plant to survive in salt and brackish water. Within those roots, and in and around the mangrove tree canopy, lies a rich ecosystem of mollusks, crabs, and fish. The ecosystem relies on the tides and the villagers of Agua de Dios have relied on the ecosystem. The mangroves and many small villages and hamlets sit within the REMACAM (Ecological Mangrove Reserve Cayapas-Mataje), an area first protected by the Ecuadorian state in 1996. According to the Ministry of the Environment, the reserve is about 49,350 hectares. Of

that area, only 18,000 hectares are mangrove stands (Ocampo-Thomason, 2006). The reserve is bounded to the south by the Cayapas River and to the north by the Mataje, the river that also serves as the border with Colombia. But the space the villagers occupy within the Reserve, and the economic activity around that space, is changing. Population pressure, changing fishing practices and the resultant overfishing, the danger from rebels in Colombia, and the destruction to the ecosystem wrought by shrimp farms are constricting their aquaculture livelihoods.

Figure 30. A village in the mangroves.

The first of the serious threats to the villagers' livelihoods came in the 1990s, with the destruction of mangrove forests to make way for shrimp farms. Large sections of mangrove stands were cut down and the cleared areas were dammed to make the ponds.

The process of destroying the mangroves had started earlier and further south from the northwestern mangrove forests. Commercial shrimping was started in Ecuador in the late 1960s, first as small-scale operations, but these soon evolved into large-scale shrimp production and Ecuador soon became an important international producer ("El camaron de Ecuador es primero en la UE," 2006; Food and Agriculture Organization, 2007; Ocampo-Thomason, 2006). In 1969 Ecuador had 362,727 hectares of mangrove forest. By 1999 this had been reduced to 154,087 (Ocampo-Thomason, 2006).

The mangroves have been an exploited resource for some time. Earlier harvesting was for wood and bark, the tannins from the bark being used for processing leather and also by villagers to make fishing nets (Ocampo-Thomason, 2006; Whitten, 1965). When the market for tannins ended in the late 1960s, so did much of the harvesting. In the 1970s the state had recognized the uniqueness of Ecuador's fauna and flora and a number of protected areas were established — over four million acres and nearly 10 percent of all land (Mecham, 2001). However, the state had allowed for the exploitation of resources even within protected lands, and sets of laws often contradict each other, agencies were underfunded and inefficient, and the lack of involvement of local villages in protecting their resources had failed to arrest destruction (Mecham, 2001). In addition, the state encouraged the shrimp industry through incentives. This, coupled with the absence of clear property and title rights, allowed for the swift destruction of many of the mangrove forests (Ocampo-Thomason, 2006). These same sets of conditions that Jefferson Mecham and Patricia Ocampo-Thomason described, prevailed in the Ecological Mangrove Reserve Cayapas-Mataje. The prohibitions against exploitation of the mangroves were of little consequence in northwestern Ecuador and shrimp farms continued to expand and

thrive (Jørgensen & León-Yánez, 1999), even though challenged in the courts in 2001 and 2002 by the mangrove villages, NGOs, and the nascent Afro-Ecuadorian movement. At their peak there were 60 shrimp farms in the reserve. Ninety percent were illegal (Ocampo-Thomason, 2006). However, in the mangrove forests, what put an end to many of the shrimp ponds was nature itself. But the mid-2000s, many of the captive shrimp were infected with white-spot syndrome virus, a virus that kills all the shrimp in an enclosure within days. Many, but not all of the commercial shrimping activities in northwestern Ecuador came to an end. All of the ponds remain although the mangroves are slowly recovering in some areas. By 2006, only 10 farms were still functioning and the rest had been abandoned.

Figure 31. A satellite view of the commercial shrimp ponds near Olmedo.

Village populations, however, rely for their livelihoods on fish, shrimp, crabs, and shellfish taken from the mangroves. There are three species of crab that are harvested: *Cardisoma crassum* (cangrejo azul), *Ucides accidentales* (cangrejo guariche), and *Callinectus arcuatus* (jaiba). Harvested fish species include: *Arius multiradiatus* (canchimala), *Larimus sp* (corvina), *Mujil sp* (lisa), *Cenhopomus armatus* (machetazo), and *Lutjanos colorado* (pargo). Yields of shellfish are mainly from three species found in the Tropical East Pacific Region biogeographic zone, a 6,350 kilometer stretch of coast that runs from Mexico to Peru (MacKenzie Jr, 2001). The northern Esmeraldas forest is part of one substantial mangrove forest that stretches down from southern Colombia. The mangrove cockles or mollusks are of three main species: *Anadara tuberculosa* (concha hembra), *Anadara similis* (concha macho), and *Anadara grandis* (MacKenzie Jr, 2001). Clyde MacKenzie gives a detailed description of the three species and their habitats: All three species are harvested after they have spawned, and along most of the coastline in which they are found, only fully grown mollusks are harvested. Most of the mollusks can be found around the *Rhizophora* or red mangrove. *Anadara tuberculosa* is found among the trees' roots and under the canopy; *Anadara similis* is found under the canopy but away from the roots; both species habitats overlap a little; and *Anadara grandis* is found in the tidal flats. All are found a few inches below the mud surface, with small holes betraying their whereabouts. *Anadara similis* is found a little deeper, probably due to its lack of protection from the mangrove roots (MacKenzie Jr, 2001). All three species grow to market size within a few months and measure anywhere between 16 and 50 centimeters in width. Of importance to the villagers is the size of the mollusk beds. These are usually two to 200 meters long, but most measure from 50 to 100 meters (MacKenzie

Jr, 2001). MacKenzie gives an average of two to 24 mollusks per square meter. Others have measured yields in terms of kilograms per hectare with average yields in the region of 90 kg. One estimate, in the late 1990s, for the total monthly harvest in Ecuador was in the range of two million mollusks monthly taken from the mangroves (Spalding et al., 1997). For the inhabitants of Agua de Dios, however, yields are declining and beds of mollusks are getting to be further and further away. And fish stocks are in decline too.

Figure 32. Sorting concha, San Lorenzo.

The Village of Agua de Dios

Agua de Dios is much like any of the other 48 villages and settlements in the Reserve, with the exception that it straddles the Colombian border. Locals estimate that some of the communities are nearly 40 percent Colombian, although they make the distinction between refugees from Colombia and the more settled families who have been in the communities for some time. Most of the inhabitants rely on fishing and most of the catch is sold or consumed locally. Buckets of mollusks, along with fish packed on dry ice and in large white Styrofoam coolers, are shipped on the early afternoon *lanchas* back to San Lorenzo, Borbón or Limones, where a network of family members ensures their sale to intermediaries, usually mestizo men from outside the area. The intermediaries then ship them in gunnysacks stored in the luggage compartments of the national bus lines, to Guayaquil and Quito and other urban centers. There the mollusks make their way into the national dish — *ceviche*.

Agua de Dios is a midsize mangrove settlement, made up of about 1,200 inhabitants. It conforms closely to the following profile, drawn from the 2006 survey that included 40 mangrove households of 200 inhabitants. [8] Close to 90 percent of the inhabitants of the mangrove villages are of Afro-Ecuadorian descent while most of the remaining inhabitants regard themselves as mulattos or mestizos, with mulattos making up most of the remaining ten percent. Just over a quarter of the households (11) had moved to the area from elsewhere, while six had moved to the area less than five years ago. The remaining five had moved some time ago. Five of the households had moved

[8] The profile is also drawn from interviews with residents as well as from participant observation over several periods spanning from 2004 to 2008.

from Colombia, while six had moved from within Ecuador..[9] The length of stay is an important condition to villagers. The Colombian families in the villages are not regarded as refugees. There are no jobs so refugees do not linger. However, some Colombian families are availing themselves of educational opportunities for their children and move across the line when the school year starts.

Despite their moves from war-torn Colombia, however, these families did not live in the improvised houses. Most residents live in houses that share very similar characteristics. The houses are made of wood (48%) with zinc roofs (70%), while three of the 40 homes surveyed were of an improvised construction, representing dwellings of the poorest of the poor. These were occupied by two families where the head of household listed no income and no occupation: one was by a female household head who sewed for a living, and the other by a fisherman who also did some farming. Eighty percent of the homes had three or fewer rooms, and 23 had a kitchen. Three homes used wood or charcoal for cooking, a significant consideration with regard to long-term forest sustainability. The wood and charcoal used come from mangrove trees and their extensive use would indicate some mangrove tree cutting. However, most homes (37 or 92%) use gas, tanks of which come filled from Borbón, San Lorenzo or Limones. Fifteen homes had a room used exclusively for an outside economic activity and all respondents stipulated that these rooms were used for commercial activity. In other words, they are used as household storefronts where snacks, eggs, and canned and tinned goods are sold. These goods form a significant part of the inbound cargo of the *lanchas* that visit daily.

[9] There is a possibility for some error in these figures. At the time of the survey, Ecuador had considerable restrictions to granting refugee status and those in the country illegally would have had good reason to hide their Colombian origins.

Supplies are brought to the village in bulk and then sold out of the one-window household stores.

Of significant importance to health outcomes for the village are the household sources of water. Ten homes got water from within or from a faucet next to the home. Ten got water from a public tap, one from a private tap, and one got water delivered. Six got their water from the rivers or the estuary, and ten got their water from rainwater traps. Those getting their water from the rivers or estuary face significant health risks as most effluent finds it way to the open water from the villages. The deleterious outcome of this arrangement is that the most prevalent diseases in the area are those carried by water-borne vectors (Interview 20060420-14h15). The most common illnesses are malaria, influenza, and diarrhea. Typhoid also occasionally appears. Agua de Dios, however, has a nurse who takes care of all the villagers' medical needs, seeing to births, vaccinations, doling out advice, keeping government statistics, and treating the blisters caused by the chemicals sprayed on the coca fields across the water in Colombia on the occasions when the herbicide spray catches the prevailing winds and crosses the border and settles in the village. In February and March of 2006, there were 34 cases in the village of children suffering from the effects of the Colombian fumigations in February and March (Personal communication, community nurse, April 2006). The biggest impact appears to be on children younger than seven. Contact with the chemical, glyphosate, causes rashes and what appears to be burn marks on the children's skin. "Blisters that itch and burn. It's very hard to heal. You have to cool the skin. Not to exaggerate, but it's like burning" (Interview 20060420-14h15). For the village nurse, a true count of those affect is difficult

to come by as many villagers self-medicate, using store-bought lotions to ease the effects.[10]

Illiteracy rates for those 16 and over are relatively high. Of the 101 respondents questioned, 86 said they could read (85%), while 15 (14.9%) said they could not. Ten had received no education, two had only had primary education, 49 had secondary education, 27 had gone to technical school (certificates and diplomas in aqua- and agriculture), and five had postsecondary education. Eight did not respond. Although there are schools in some of the villages, many children attend school in one of the bigger towns along the edges of mangroves — Limones, Borbón, and San Lorenzo. As the *lanchas* are too expensive and take too long to reach their destinations, many schoolchildren board with relatives or friends in the larger towns.

Figure 33. The village boardwalk.

[10] Spraying was halted within 10 miles of the Ecuadorian border in mid 2006.

Cash incomes, as would be expected from households making their livelihoods largely by subsistence, are low. The average monthly household income was $131.52 (standard deviation of 108.55) for the 36 households that reported cash incomes. Four households reported no income and the minimum for those reporting cash incomes was $20 and the maximum was $520. Female-headed households reported monthly incomes of $108.11 and male-headed households reported incomes of 139.33. The differences were not statistically significant. Twenty-nine of the households are headed by a male and the remaining 11 by a female. The households are small considering the poverty of the area — mean household size was 5, as was the median. Nearly half (47% or 19 homes) have a refrigerator; a surprisingly high number considering that electricity is supplied sporadically. (Many of the communities received electricity for the first time in 2000. For most villages, however, the power is only on for a few hours each day.) Fridges, however, do not serve their intended function. They are frequently used for storage, a safe lockup for food from a sometimes-extensive rodent problem (personal observations over 18 months of living in area homes). Sixty-five percent of homes have TVs (26 homes), another surprising finding as the only channel available is one from southern Colombia. In 2006, very few of the households had VCRs or DVDs. Also, few families had cellphones in 2006. No households had computers. Only 20 percent owned their own canoes. Those who fish often rent canoes, paying a percentage of their catch as a fee (Ocampo-Thomason, 2006). The more wealthy canoe owners may have motors and these motorized canoes are used to tow a string of smaller canoes out to fishing grounds or to the mudflats to harvest mollusks.

Figure 34. The communities of REMARCAM.

Of the 40 mangrove village households surveyed in 2006, a substantial number were involved in aquaculture to some extent. Of the 101 respondents 16 or older, 60 gave

occupations. Of those 60, 37 (62%) were involved in aquaculture in one form or another. Seventeen men were fishermen, three were involved in collecting mollusks, four worked a mix of fishing and other activities (including collecting coconuts), and one specialized in fixing nets. For women, eight women out of 38 (21 percent) collected mollusks, showing a significant gender difference between those who fish (men) and those who collect shellfish (women). The one male who described his occupation as mollusk collector was 57. This division of labor was confirmed in interviews with villagers. Age also plays a part in whether a male villager will fish or collect mollusks: males under that age of 14 and those older than 60 usually do not fish but collect mollusks (Ocampo-Thomason, 2006). Eighteen out of 39 male-headed households were involved in fishing; only one collected shellfish. Of the 11 female-headed households, five reported no occupation while two made their livelihoods from mollusks. The other female-headed households made their livings by collecting trash, sewing, taking in washing, and teaching. An important consideration is that, although respondents gave occupations that describe their primary activities, many villagers mix their economic activities depending on the time of year and the availability of resources (Personal observations and conversations. 2004 to 2010).

There are no significant incidents of child labor and only one person under 14 reported working 21 hours, and one person under 17 reported working 40 hours a week. Fifty percent of the respondents (100) were under the age of 17. What is unclear, however, is whether adolescents reported hours spent fishing or collecting mollusks. As these are often seen as contributions to the household's general wellbeing, it is possible

that these activities were undertaken and not reported. Participant observation would suggest this to be the case.

Fishing Work

For many young people of school-going age, education can be truncated. The oldest child in a mangrove village household often has to drop out of school to help the family as either a fisherman or as a mollusk collector. For other families, the attraction of wage labor draws members out of the communities and into work on the palm plantations outside of the reserve. For those who stick with aquaculture, the collecting is hard work. The work depends on the tides. When the tide is out, collectors need to be at their grounds. They divide up into lots and each day they have a different lot to cover. The trip by canoe to the grounds can take up to an hour and the collectors then spend three to four hours collecting. Concheras walk along the mudflats or between the mangroves, depending of the species they are harvesting. Although the cockles leave a small hole at the surface, mollusk collectors work by feeling in the mud with their hands to find the shells. Usually they have to reach up to their shoulder into the mangroves and then into the mud to get to the shellfish. In the process they get bitten by bugs and sometimes snakes. For pregnant women the work can be hazardous and a slip in the mud can mean a miscarriage as happened to two women in early 2006 (personal communication, area nurse, 2006). The rhythm of the work is governed by the tides and as the tide comes in so they must make their way back to the village with their day's catch, which may also

include crabs. Yields for shellfish have declined over the last few years from about 300 per collector to under 200 on a good day.

Figure 35. The more traditional mode of fishing — a dugout canoe with a sail takes a fisherman out to his grounds.

For fisherman, the equipment required is a little more involved than the bare hands needed for mollusk collecting.[11] Fishing is done with hook and line, the more traditional means, or with nets of various sizes and lengths. (It was once done with dynamite or poison (DeBoer, 1996)) Many fishermen do not own boats (see above) but rent from others who then take a percentage of the catch. Many fishermen use neither sails nor oars

[11] See Guest for detailed descriptions of the fishing techniques Guest, G. S. (2000). *Shrimp, poverty, and marine resources on the Ecuadorian coast: A multi-level analysis of fishing effort in the Rio Verde estuary.* Unpublished Ph.D., University of Georgia, Athens.

nor long poles to reach their intended fishing grounds. Instead, lines of canoes are towed by a larger boat with a motor to where they will fish. Again, the towed pay the tower a percentage of the catch. Fishing is also dependent on the tides and, like the shellfish collectors, fishermen can leave at any time of the day to take up their spots. Besides fish, shrimp are also caught with the small-mesh nets.

Figure 36. A fisherman returns with his catch.

The shift in the methods of fishing is making it harder for many of the poor to compete on a more than subsistence level. In 2007, the costs to set up as a fisherman using the latest methods were prohibitive. A roll of twine costs $6. A nylon net with a mesh size of 35 mm, 180 cm high and 100 meters long, costs $130.00. These larger sizes tend to be used at sea. The smaller-mesh size nets — 25 mm by 140 cm by 30 meters — are used within the mangrove waters but are not significantly less expensive. The Polystyrene icebox costs $16.00. To purchase the items requires a trip to San Lorenzo.

Boat motors costs $2,000 and upward for engines of between 20 to 40 hp. Canoes or small boats cost in the range of $400, but this depends on the type of wood. Caimitillo trees (*Chrysophyllum mexicanumis*) are believed to make the best canoes because of the dark heavy wood. However, there are very few people left who know how to make the traditional dugout canoes. Making the canoes requires knowledge and skill and it takes two people 15 days to construct one dugout. Only the elder village men know how to do this. Owning a boat too is not always a safe and privileged position. In 2007, three men fishing from a motorized boat were killed for their motor (Personal communication with president of a second level community-based organization, 2007). Village residents expect these types of incidents to escalate as the war in Colombia crosses into Ecuador with more frequency. The strain on resources is exacerbated by new fishing methods and by forays into the mangroves by larger vessels with much larger net systems. These forays are also seen by the villagers as the work of Colombians.

Back at the village the fish are placed into Styrofoam boxes with dry ice. Most that are not consumed in the home are sold on to middlemen who come in on the *lancha* from San Lorenzo, Limones, or Borbón. The shellfish, likewise, are separated by species and counted out into units of a hundred, the basic unit for their sale. In 2006 and 2007, a cien, or hundred count, sold for about $3.50 to $4.00. Fish were selling for 80 cents a kilo, depending on the species. Shrimp fetch $2.00 a pound, and the daily yields are not enough to sustain any villager. One buyer, working through Limones, claims he buys two to three tons of fish every three days (Personal communication, 2007). The middlemen leave out of San Lorenzo or Borbón with the early *lancha* at 6 in the morning, returning by 4 p.m., Monday through Saturday. On the trip out from San Lorenzo, *lanchas* (40 foot

long, 5 foot wide boats made of wooden planks) are loaded up with provisions — water, beer, eggs, plantains, and chickens — and passengers. The passengers sit on planks that run from port to starboard while upright posts hold up a slated board roof that protects the passengers from the frequent rain. For a one-way ticket, passengers pay $3.00. The boats are propelled by two outboard motors and two crew. One of the crew works the motors and steers while the second sits forward and watches for logs and other obstructions in the water ahead. The return journey to San Lorenzo, Borbón, or Limones will carry the iced-down boxes or the baskets of shellfish. Coconuts too will head to those towns and then on the Esmeraldas, Guayaquil, and Quito. Mangos head to Colombia as does much of the shrimp and the following fish species: menudo, grueso, corvina, pargo, and pescadilla. Colombian buyers pay in pesos and villagers convert the money to U.S. dollars through moneychangers or at the bank in San Lorenzo.

Being situated at the beginning of the commodity chain is not a happy one for the villagers. As one semi-humorously put it: "Those that win are the intermediaries, people from outside the village. The person who does the extraction, who is risking her life, the person who goes to the mangrove swamps, that person can get bitten by a snake, a toad, a brave shrimp. . . . Or that person can fall, or in some other way get killed or injured. That person is not paid well and they are not a beneficiary." Payment can sometimes be difficult too. At times the intermediaries arrive without cash and the sellers have to wait a few days to get paid. "They return after a few days and people just have to endure because they have no other options" (Interview 20060420-14h30). The people of Agua de Dios have organized around all of this. That organization has succeeded has succeeded to some extent, but it has also failed.

Figure 37. Fishermen repair their nets.

"The past has been murdered, and with it our traditions"

As the way of life shifts for villagers in Agua de Dios, as their mode of production is threatened and they look for solutions, so their perceived or representational space shifts and the embeddedness of culture and economics morphs. Villagers are bound by the circumstances of these changes, by the seepage of the war from Colombia into Ecuador and their mangrove forests, by the destruction of the mangroves by the shrimpers, by the growing populations in the villages and the villagers' impact on the environment, and by the changing technologies used to harvest the mangrove resources. While their agency is bound by these two spaces, their intentionality is driven by the

interaction between perceived (representational) space and lived space or spatial practice. At the level of collective intentionality, the level of associational space, the Afro-Ecuadorian people of the mangrove forests have had some success. Yet they have also been stumped: alienated and marginalized. Thus some can see their past as destroyed, and along with it their traditions, while others seek to reach out to form links with outside organizations to improve their individual and collective wellbeing

As it is with production, so it is with organization; collective intentionality too is gendered. In 1983 women *concheras* (mollusk collectors) formed a group to deal collectively with the problems they faced. They felt then, as they still do now, that they were being exploited by the intermediaries who purchased their mangrove harvests at unfair prices. Through their collective action they were able to acquire funding for a motorboat from an outside NGO. Their intention was to work towards cutting out the intermediaries, but when the motor broke down they had no resources to fix it. The incomes they made from selling their crabs and shellfish were not enough to make the scheme sustainable. There was no excess cash for repairs. Disillusioned, they disbanded. But some years later the women of the village joined up with an organization in San Lorenzo, this time with an expanded agenda that includes addressing their identity not just as women, but also as people of African descent. The new organization dropped Spanish terms for officeholders and the title of president was replaced by *palenquera lequis* and coordinator by the term *tambero*, words supposedly drawn from earlier free slave communities and words of African entomology. By now too they had taken on a wider notion of wellbeing as their mandate, one that includes health and education and not just economic activity. Their call is for a clinic for primary health care, a school in

each mangrove community, and for improved access to clean water. "The principal objectives of the movement are to raise the consciousness of women around us, in our community, in the areas where we are organizing, to reclaim their rights so that they are no longer mistreated. Our interests are in capacity, to have women prepared, to have an opportunity to work, to have the opportunity to form microenterprises. . . . these are the things most important to us" (Interview 20060311-09h45). They would also like to educate *concheras* on sustainable shellfish collection practices.

With this wider agenda, however, they still face marginalization by the state. In the early 2000s the organization got funding of $3,000 from the European Union to start microenterprises. Once again, the goal was to cut out the middlemen and take their product directly to the markets of Esmeraldas city, Quito, and Guayaquil. This too never got off the ground. In this instance the organization was rebuffed by the Ministry of Health in Guayaquil who refused the organization with the required health certificates. This heightened their understanding of themselves as marginalized and strengthened their desire to appeal to NGOs rather than to the apparatus of the state. For "poor communities, the local governments don't pay attention" and "the state focuses on indigenous groups. Us, the Negros, never!" "The truth is, they minimize us" (Interview 20060311-09h45). Or: "Governments only dedicate their attention to the big cities and they don't know that here there is true misery, we are truly abandoned" (Interview 20060420-10h00).

The links to the state have not always been unsuccessful and collective action has worked best when the local organizations have formed partnerships and worked alongside national and international groups. In 2001, what came to be known as the Mangrove Project was initiated by the community organizations of the villages, the group

of early organizers of the Afro-Ecuadorian movement in the area, by FEPP (Fondo Ecuatoriano Populorum Progressio), and through financing from the Dutch government (Ocampo-Thomason, 2006) and the Germans. FEDERPOM (Federación de Artesanos Afroecuatorianos Recolectores de Productos Bioacuaticos), a second-tier organization founded in the late 1990s, represented 23 base organizations, one of which was the women's organization. FEDERPOM was set up, partly with the help of the World Bank's PRODEPINE project, to work through strategies to protect the mangroves and to improve the lives of mangrove villagers. As with the women's organization, it advocates for collective action around an Afro-Ecuadorian identity and it has a core mission of educating young Afro-Ecuadorians in leadership. FEDERPROBIM (Federación Artesenal de Recolectores de Productos Bio Acuáticos del Manglar) is a similar organization but based in the canton of Eloy Alfaro where it represents those villages. FEPALHUM (Federación Palenque los Humedales), founded somewhat later, represents organizations in the Borbón area. These organizations, through C-CONDEM (Coordinadora Nacional Para la Defensa del Ecosistema Manglar), which was set up in 1998 as a national coordinating body for the grassroots and other organizations in the preservation and reclamation of mangrove forests, pressured for recognition of villagers' place and traditional means of livelihood in the mangroves. REMACAM (Plan de Manejo de la Reserva de Manglares Cayapas Mataje) was one result. Through this pressure communities were allocated sections of the mangroves according to their traditional and customary uses. Villages and settlements were granted permits for ten years and these were then to be extended for another 90 years through the Ministry of the Environment (Ocampo-Thomason, 2006). Just over 13,000 hectares were set aside for

traditional uses of the settlements in 2000 and 2002 (Ocampo-Thomason, 2006). Patricia Ocampo-Thomason writes that the custodial requirements for villagers are strict. Associations must be legalized and each association must have a management plan and the traditional areas for shellfish collecting for each community must be mapped out (Ocampo-Thomason, 2006). Through FEPP, and with Dutch and German money, communities were able to subscribe to the requirements. REMACAM, even though created in November 1995, was only finalized on March 23, 2009, when the Minister of the Environment signed off on Agreement 28, which incorporated changes to the original plan.

Despite marginalization and delayed successes, community organizations, no matter what their organizing principles, see themselves as having plans or strategies for development that include acquiring funding for "productive projects and infrastructure works" (Interview 20060311-11h15). Leaders of organizations realized that "money gets lost on administration and nothing comes down from the top and goes to where it's needed" (Interview 20060311-11h15). This is a problem for the capacity and functioning of community organizations: they have no money to cover rents and operating costs. On the other hand, community leaders are aware of the traps of development aid. Avoiding dependence is a major concern. "If you don't produce you become dependent or the subject of paternalism, depending on others all of the time" (Interview 20060311-11h15). Yet the development process means having available alternatives, the capability to offer something else, to have a choice. "We defend our ecosystem because one of our strengths is conservation. . . . We can say to people don't cut down trees, don't take out the mangroves, don't fish irrationally for shellfish, fish, crab. . . soon there won't be any of

them left. But I think this is a problem. When we say this to people we should be able to say that we have alternative methods or solutions to these problems. We need to have major projects that improve things economically or improve peoples' quality of life" (Interview 20060311-11h15). "We need markets to sell our products and we need strong organizations" (Interview 20060311-11h15). These organizations thus see themselves as functioning within both big D development, the "interventionist project," and little d development, the uneven spread of markets and capitalism across the globe.

One of the successful outcomes for either process of development is defined by the community leaders as the creation of political space for African descendent Ecuadorians. "The success of our movement will be when there is a Negro managing a public institution. Success will be when one can say: 'There is an African woman, or this is an African man who runs this province, or who manages that ministry'" (Interview 20060311-09h45). Yet, within the mangrove communities, just how embedded the relationship is between perceived space (representational space) and created (representations of space) and the stickiness of spatial practice is evident in this community leader's statement: "To yield is going to be difficult for many of us because it is carried in the blood, we love it with our hearts, with our minds. The day we yield is the day God says: 'Get ready, here they come!' Then we are finished with our lives" (Interview 20060311-11h15). And this same organizer out-Bourdieu's Bourdieu. "And here is something that we say: 'The theory ought to go along with the practice" (Interview 20060311-11h15).

CHAPTER VI

DRUMS, CANOES, AND FOREST: THE COMUNA VILLAGE

Motamba Cangá, president of the *comuna* of Nuevo Progreso, is agitated. He turns the lights on in the front room of his wood and corrugated tin-roofed house. He turns them off. He turns them back on again. He motions to the TV, a new one that a family member is installing as we speak. Cangá walks outside. He turns on the faucet which is situated to the right of the front door and a little in front of the house. He motions to the road as he speaks. He comes back inside. As he moves about his home, he speaks of the changes to his *comuna*. He has a particular invective for project SUBIR, a USAID-funded and CARE Ecuador-managed development project. SUBIR, he says, was all about the environment and had little concern for the people of the area. This — the lights, the potable water, the road — is development, he says. And it comes from multiple sources. The electricity comes from World Bank and Inter-American Bank loans. The water is courtesy of the European Union, working alongside the provincial government of Esmeraldas. But development for Nuevo Progreso comes with a price. And Cangá is well aware of the consequences. The road through the community was funded and built by a timber company in conjunction with the owners of the African palm plantation that now surrounds the village. And these developments have brought significant change to Nuevo Progreso.

Households and Livelihoods

The construction of Cangá's home is like many of the others in Nuevo Progreso, a settlement of about 50 houses and about 250 to 300 people. Inside Canga's house, in the front room, marimba drums hang from the ceiling. Posters of religious symbols line the walls — Psalm 23 makes up one poster, a scene depicting Judgment Day another. A poster urging locals to protect a certain species of parrot, a common decoration in homes and businesses in the northern cantons, adorns another wall. Cangá's house sits along the newly constructed road and faces a row of houses that stretch for a hundred yards or so along the northern bank of a river, a river that once served as the thoroughfare for the village. Now, along the banks, sit the husks of the old wooden canoes, many with grass and weeds growing through their rotted bottoms. The canoes had once served as transport between villages along the river and as the means for villages to reach fishing spots. The homes that front the river, like most houses in Nuevo Progreso, are constructed of uneven planks of timber, hewn from local trees. The felled trees are cut with chainsaws into beams of between 8 and 16 inches in dimension for easier transportation and then cut into smaller planks (approximating 2 x 4s), again with a chainsaw. The roofs are of corrugated tin.

The 2006 survey conducted for this study found a mean of 4.98 people living in forest village households. Of that survey of 291 households, 97 houses (475 people) in 14 villages were included from Chocó-area villages. Of the 475 people surveyed, 406 self-identified as Afro-Ecuadorian (85%), 41 as mulatto, and 28 as mestizo. Of the 26 households where the household head had moved, only one household was from

Colombia.[12] Of the Ecuadorian household heads who had moved, eight had moved from other communities in the area, 11 had moved from the coast, and five had moved from the cities of Quito, Guayaquil, and Esmeraldas. Most heads of households had moved because of work (20), and four had moved to be closer to relatives. Four of the movers were female and three of them moved for economic reasons, two from nearby villages.

Of the 97 homes, 78 used gas for cooking, only two used electricity, and the rest cooked with wood or charcoal. Twenty-two homes (22.7%) used a room in the house for commercial purposes, 19 as household storefronts, while two used a room for part of their agricultural activities. Despite the European Union and other development projects, 38 households (38%) still got their drinking water from the rivers or from rainwater.

Figure 38. A village street in the Chocó forest.

[12] There is a strong likelihood that these figures are misleading. In 2006, when the survey was conducted, refugee status was difficult to obtain in Ecuador. In 2011, the situation had changed significantly. Changes in Ecuadorian laws have lead to an influx of refugees and some communities, according to interviews with community leaders, have seen exponential growths in Colombian residents.

Seventeen of the 97 households were of an improvised construction, and three of these were headed by a female. Eight of the improvised households made their livelihoods by subsistence (but only one of these was a female-headed household) and, of the remainder, only four household heads worked on the palm plantations. Average household cash income for male-headed households was $159.16 a month. Female-headed households averaged $112.52 in cash income per household. (A comparison of the means was not statistically significant [$p = 0.35$] at an alpha of .05.) There were 261 respondents over the age of 16 who reported working, with the following sectors represented: 59 people (23%) worked at a mix of subsistence-type activities, many calling themselves agriculturalists. Others, although not many, worked more consistently on one specialty: One prospected for gold (an area of work that has increased significantly since the rise of the price of gold); two additional people worked only on the production of cacao, and four considered themselves dedicated to the timber sector. Four were dedicated to farming. Only 11% (28 people) worked for the surrounding palm plantations, an area touted by many development efforts as a significant area of employment for local people. The remainder were employed by the state as teachers, health workers, and bureaucrats. Five were itinerant vendors and the remainder were cooks, launderers, and construction workers.

There were 143 respondents who reported days worked. Of those, 11.9% had worked fewer than three days a week, while only 20% had worked five days a week. Twenty percent (19.7%) worked less than five hours a day, and 33.8% worked less than six hours a day. Only 12% of respondents worked an eight-hour day. As palm plantation

workers are paid hourly, this is an important indication of the paucity of wage labor for at least 30% of working villagers.

There were two children of six and seven who both worked a seven-day week. This is a lower incidence of child labor than that found in the mangrove villages where many children work with parents or adults in mussel collecting. Other indicators of child labor in the Chocó forest villages were absent.

Six female heads of household were illiterate, as were 21 male heads of household. Close to 10% of females and 10% of males over 16 were illiterate (25 females and 24 males) representing 18.8% of the entire sample over 16. Twenty-five people over 16 had received no education (13 females and 12 males), representing 17.7% of the sample. Over 129 respondents had received some secondary education, with slightly more females reaching this level than males -- 32.7% against 27.6%. More men had technical educations -- 29 men (13.6% of the total) and 18 females (8.4% of the total).

Getting to the *Comuna*

Reaching Nuevo Progreso by road is no longer the difficult task it once was. In the early decades after its founding shortly after the Second World War, the village was reachable only by taking a canoe up river or by following the winding tracks, many carved out of the forest by logging companies. In those decades, Nuevo Progresso was nestled within Chocó forest, a particular set of vegetation that stretched from Guayaquil up through the central American isthmus. Now it sits as a shrinking communal village of two small islands of land that together measure just under 1,000 hectares. On all sides the

comuna is surrounded by African palm plantations and the communally-owned territory shrinks further as individual members sell off sections to the plantations in illegal transactions.

Nuevo Progreso was founded by families of Colombians who had moved south, crossing the Mataje river to join their relatives in Ecuador. These relocations were part of a continuous back-and-forth flow of African-descendent people resident in the area since their forced settlement in the Americas by the Spanish. The settlements in the forests existed as mixed wage labor and subsistence economies, with people making their livelihoods by felling trees for cash and by growing or harvesting crops and fruit. This mixed subsistence-cash economy, described in the ethnographies of Norman Whitten (Whitten, 1974, 1992), has rapidly changed with the arrival of the nearby blacktop road in 1997. Road construction in Ecuador accelerated in the years after World War II. Land reform, alongside the growing kilometers of road surface, encouraged deforestation (Dodson & Gentry, 1991). The land reforms of the 1960s spurred internal migration and the money from the oil boom enabled the state to invest in infrastructure development. Between 1957 and 1982, the number of kilometers of both primary and secondary roads in Ecuador tripled (Dodson & Gentry, 1991). In 1974, 48% of public investment went to road construction (Wunder, 2000). The reach of these roads to northwestern Ecuador happened early in the process when, in 1964, the road from Quito to Santo Domingo was completed. In 1967, the road from Quito to the city of Esmeraldas was constructed (Wunder, 2000). Nuevo Progreso, and the villages of the northern most reaches of the Esmeraldas chocó, however, were spared the hastening deforestation that followed road construction. That is, until the 1990s, when Ecuador's neoliberal reforms took shape. In

1993, the Law on Modernization of the State, Privatization and Provision of Services by Private Enterprise encouraged the involvement of private companies in previously state-controlled projects. Private companies involved in road construction projects were big beneficiaries. Money poured in from international development institutions, in particular, from the Inter-American Development Bank, to these companies for the construction of roads. (See the IDB's procurement portal at www.iadb.org for the list of companies and the loan amounts). By 2003 the Inter-American Development Bank reported:

> Ecuador's road network is about 43,200 km, of which 5,600 (13%) are paved, 25,500 km (59%) are surfaced or have a light coat of asphalt, and the remaining 12,100 km (28%) are dirt or gravel roads. More than half (51%) of the road network is in the highlands (22,000 km), 38% along the coast (16,400 km), and the remaining 11% in the Amazon or the islands (4,800 km). . . . The main network, officially called the state road system, includes primary and secondary roads under the direct responsibility of the Ministry of Public Works and Communications (MOP), which total 9,500 km. The remaining 33,700 km of roads are the networks of tertiary and local (rural) roads, representing 78% of the national road system (Inter-American Development Bank, 2003, p. 1).

By 1997 a blacktop road replaced the by-now unreliable railway that had been constructed in the 1950s. The town of San Lorenzo was connected by blacktop to Ibarra in the Andes and to Borbón at the confluence of the Cayapas and Santiago rivers, where the road then heads further south to the city of Esmeraldas. The comuna of Nuevo Progreso is connected by a few winding kilometers of dirt road to the San Lorenzo-Borbón tarred road. This secondary road winds along the sides of steep but low hillocks and through both mature palm plantations, new growth African palm and, increasingly, through areas of cut and denuded forest being prepared for African palm saplings. The road ends at the village but well-kept plantation roads and tracks branch off in all directions.

As with the roads, the initial impetus to formalize communities around communally-owned land escaped Nuevo Progreso. The village was not yet in existence when the 1937 Ley de Comunas took effect. Although some indigenous communities had been able to use this law for their political and economic ends, the law was an attempt, writes Marc Becker, to bring these communities more fully under the control of the state. Becker suggests that the goals of the Ley de Comunas was to mediate conflict between individual and collective interests, and to draw marginalized communities into the dominant culture. The mechanism for this control was through the administrative offices of the *teniente político* and the *jefe político*, both of whom were drawn from elite circles (Becker, 1999). An added benefit of the *comunas* was that they offered surplus labor to the existing hacienda system. The scope of the original law was expanded by the end of 1937 when, in December of that year, the Estatuto Jurídico de las Comunidades Campesinas (Judicial Statute of Rural Communities) allowed for community economic and social development through the protection of the state (Becker, 1999). As a far-flung and marginalized frontier of Ecuador in the 1930s and 1940s, Esmeraldas, and in particular its northern-most cantons of San Lorenzo and Eloy Alfaro, did not fall under this shifting political economy. It was not until the 1990s that the villagers of Nuevo Progreso had the opportunity to push forward with their desire to form a communally-owned territory.

Prior to the 1990s, some attempts had been made by villagers to seek communal status, but these had failed. When the process of organizing Afro-Ecuadorian communities began in earnest in the 1980s, many of the Chocó villages were well placed to take the initiative. The same processes at work within the mangrove villages helped

advance the *comuna* cause of Nuevo Progresso. Four community members found support in a Ugandan priest stationed in San Lorenzo. The Catholic priest described to the villagers some of the communal setups found in Africa. At a time when an African-descendent identity was being advanced by the nascent social movement, Comarca Afroecuatoriana del Norte de Esmeraldas (CANE), the connections to an African way of village organization was appealing. The priest served as a link as well to Fondo Ecuatoriano Populorum Progressio (FEPP), the Ecuadorian Catholic organization well-informed in its work by liberation theology. These connections opened up the space for the village (and many others in the region) to press for recognition as a comuna. Funded by international agencies, as it had been with the mangrove projects, FEPP (with international funding) and the village committee of four pushed ahead through INDA (Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo Agropecuario) to have their territory recognized. The connections to outside organizations were important aspects of an expanding associational space and one of the few means for these villages to find political expression. The standard view that Afro-Ecuadorians lacked organizational structure ("complex organizations") when compared to their indigenous counterparts, is misleading (van Nieuwkoop & Uquillas, 2000). In fact, it was the culturally imbued organizations that gave expression to the villagers' collective intentionality. Support for pressing forward with claims for collective territory came from multiple sources within the respective communities, sources that betray the embeddedness of perceived, created, and lived space. Village leadership, based to some extent on age, gender, and situation within the family networks of the community, formed the nucleus for this collective agency, networks that crossed family ties with subsistence economic activity. Equally involved

were cultural and religious groups. In some instances, *Arrullos* groups played key roles, as they did in Nuevo Progreso. These are groups of singers who play significant ceremonial functions in the cultural spaces of the villages. *Arrullos*, loosely translated as lullabies, are songs that are somewhat akin to the poetic *decimas*, and they play an important role in life-stage transitions in the Afro-Ecuadorian communities. They take on special significance on the death of a person, especially a child, when *Arrullos* groups, stationed at the deathbed, will perform improvised and memorized songs through the night and into the morning. In Nuevo Progreso three of the founding signatories and officers of the *comuna* where women from an *Arrullos* group. Earlier efforts to form a communal territory had failed because of a lack or resources. Now, however, their desire to form a collective village, with organizational help from FEPP and international funding, and despite numerous bureaucratic hurdles, was ultimately successful.

The *Comuna* Formation: In Harmony with Nature[13]

By November 1997 the *comuna* was legalized. The four initial officer holders of the *comuna* were to take over just under 1,000 hectares of what was then both primary forest and secondary forest. While sections of secondary forest made up about half the total hectares, the area still contained about 1,200 softwood trees. And while the village was to be formed as a *comuna*, the land was to be farmed individually in lots of approximately 20 hectares. Joint decision making would governing the use of the

[13] The information for this section is taken in large part from the INDA files of a number of the area's *comunas*. The files are not listed here so as to avoid identifying the villages that serves as the basis for the composite Nuevo Progreso.

remaining land and, to some extent, the use of individually-farmed sections. Outside of productive land, the village had a communal meeting place, a school, and a health center, much as it does today.

Subsistence was still through hunting, fishing, and fruit collecting, while the harvesting of trees and the sale by a few of cacao remained an important source of cash for households. The application FEPP prepared for government agencies stated that there did exist some cultivation of land. This was estimated to be about 17% of productive activity by the FEPP analysts. The stated objective of the application, however, was to preserve the area's natural resources while adopting new means of production and technology. Financial and technical help would come from FEPP and this assistance was to come in the form of agricultural courses, support for teachers in the school, medical provisions, and infrastructure such as roads and electricity.

The *comuna* planned to cultivate maize, rice, papaya, yuca, plantains, cocoa, lemons, and advocado. Eighty trees, mostly sande (Brosimum utile), chalviande (Virola sp), and cuángare (Dialyanthera spp) were to be harvested, about 250 m^3, with an estimated price of $100 per cubic meter. The types of trees are all species that grow to about 30 m in height and all three have multiple uses as timber. Only trees with a diameter of 60 cm or more would be cut. It was estimated that 4,000 trees would be planted in the first year. This proposed plan, as a step in gaining *comuna* status, was signed off on by the National Institute of Agricultural Development (INDA). The plan also passed muster with the Instituto Ecuatoriano Forestal y de Areas Naturales y Vida Silvestre (INEFAN). In mid-December, 1997, the agricultural office of Esmeraldas signed off on the plan, and the Office of Rural Development signed off on the plan by

early January. By June 1998, the Ministry of Agriculture and Farming found the application in full compliance with Articles 3 and 4 of the Ley de Organización y Régimen de Comunas (Law of Organizing and Regulating Comunas). Nuevo Progreso was now a *comuna*.

Article One of the *comuna's* constitution stated that the village was "united by bonds of blood, customs, traditions and with common interests and aspirations." Article Two stated that the villagers were "an ethnic minority in Ecuador who were fighting to maintain their culture, their rights, their way of life, and the possession of their ancestral and traditional territory."[14] Conservation of their land was to be of utmost importance and the *comuna's* tasks were to be development, technical and agricultural education, production, the education of children and adults, the maintenance of infrastructure and communal services, hygiene and health, and the institution of savings and credit for members. The territory and these tasks were to be administered through the general assembly of the *comuna*, the council, and, when needed, special commissions. The general assembly would compose of all those registered through the *comuna* registry. The assembly would be convened every year by the *comuna* president in December. The task of the assembly was to elect the council, bring in new members, and expel those sanctioned (with the approval of the council). The assembly was also to approval the removal of every tree taken down for commercial purposes. The council, elected by the assembly, had five office holders: a president, vice president, treasurer, trustee, and secretary. The council was to meet on the first Saturday of every month. Membership was

[14] These quotations are not cited so as to preserve the anonymity of the village.

to be open to anyone 16 or older who was born in the community and currently living there. Non-members who had married a member and who were accepted by the general assembly could register. Membership required an obligation in that members had to live in harmony with each other. Members who transgressed were to be first sanctioned in private by the council. They could also be fined by the council with fines ranging from 10,000 to 100,000 sucres. Membership in the *comuna* could also be suspended for three months. Reasons for sanction included not voting in *comuna* elections. Of the then 300 inhabitants, 53 were to become the initial members of the *comuna*.

An ancillary document to the *comuna* application pledged: "Our ancestors taught to us that we had to live through the life of the forest and not through its death. They lived simply but in harmony with nature, and they taught us that the death of the forest would also be our death."

"The Death of the Forest Will Also Be Our Death"

By the time the villagers of Nuevo Progreso had formed the *comuna*, the "death" of the forest was not far away. Logging, which was conducted in the villages and hamlets of the chocó forest, had been done on a relatively small scale. The 1966 Law of Forestry Concessions had little effect on northern Esmeraldas. That law had opened up concessions to companies for the extraction of timber (Minda Batallas, 2004), but the lack of infrastructure of the province meant the harvesting of trees was on a much smaller scale. Villagers, supplying the logging outfits, cut the larger trees and these were then cut into small planks and hauled out of the forest along dirt tracks. Alternatively, the trunks

were dragged to the river's edge where they were bound together into platforms with vines and held in place by a frame of bamboo. The platforms, steered from the back by a navigator, were then floated down river to sites where sawmills had been set up. There the logs were extracted and cut to form and shipped south to market. These inefficient methods of felling trees and then extracting timber from the forest still exist. But the roads were going to make the process far more efficient. And, by the time of the *comuna's* foundation, the roads were getting closer and closer. As they expanded northward, so did the reach of the timber companies.

Figure 39. Remaining forest forms the backdrop to a clearing for African palm.

Pablo Minda Batallas explains how this web of roads spread north, connecting Esmerladas to Borbón, and then San Lorenzo. San Lorenzo was connected to Ibarra in the Sierra and Ibarra to Quito. Branch roads connected Ricaurte and Santa Rita and San

Francisco and Maldonado (Minda Batallas, 2004). A road branched off from the final stretch to San Lorenzo and headed to Mataje, a village on the border with Colombia. Along with the timber companies, colonists, largely poor mestizos from other parts of Ecuador, followed the road construction. The felling of trees grew exponentially as did conflict over land.

Rodrigo Sierra and Jody Stallings have charted the deforestation of Eloy Alfaro and San Lorenzo cantons and Pablo Minda Batallas has documented the growing disputes and resultant conflict over land. Sierra and Stallings used satellite data to study an area of northern Esmeraldas that approximates the two northern cantons. They found that only 10.4% (56,552 hectares) of forest had been cleared by 1983. Between 1983 and 1993, this had increased to 27.9% (152,227 hectare). Not detectable by satellite was selective logging, where only mature trees were removed, possibly accounting for another 187,000 hectares (47% of the area under study). The authors used government records to verify their satellite-based estimates and these figures suggest that 60,950 hectare were clear cut between 1983 and 1992. This represents an average of 6,772.2 hectares a year (Sierra & Stallings, 1998). By 2000, two years after the *comuna's* formation, deforestation of Esmeraldas Province was running at a rate of two to four percent a year. "This is the highest rate for any province in Ecuador and one of the highest rates for any region in South America" (Rudel, 2000, p. 79). Then four timber companies worked the area (Rudel, 2000) but all were locally based, buying their already cut timber from the local residents who had cut down the trunks and then cut the trunks into manageable planks for transportation out to the saw mills. (By 2006 both local and national timber companies worked the area.) In 1996, one year before Nuevo Progresso started filing the *comuna*

papers, villagers were receiving three to five dollar a cubic foot for their wood. The timber companies would realize $65 per cubic foot for the processed lumber when it sold in Quito (Rudel, 2000). The rent seeking by the companies was balanced somewhat by the Faustian bargain they struck with many communities. In exchange for the timber, companies supplied communities with roads, schools, and clinics, a pattern of uneven reciprocation the palm companies copied.

Figure 40. Logs cut to size before being shipped from the canton of Eloy Alfaro.

Felling trees, however, did not generally displace Afro-Ecuadorians from their communities. Communities worked in partnership with the timber companies, harvesting the trees and preparing them as crude planks. But as the trees came down, up went stands of African palm. The fact that Afro-descendent communities would be displaced by a plant from Africa bears a special irony for many. There are two species of African palm, one native to Central America and one to west Africa. Despite some claims otherwise by San Lorenzo Afro-Ecuadorians, the African species is the one that populates the plantations. And the cantons of San Lorenzo and Eloy Alfaro have near-perfect conditions for growth of *Elaeis guineensis Jacq*. The plant needs 1,500 to 1,800 mm precipitation per year, 1,400 hours of sunlight, average temperatures of 24ºC to 26ºC, and a daily humidity of 75%. Altitudes for optimal growth should be no higher than 500 m above see level and the soil should be a clay and silt loam texture with a pH of 5 to 6.5 (F. M. Chávez & Rivadeneira, 2003). (See chapter one for how the geology and weather patterns meet these requirements). Trees become productive at 30 months and can stay productive for a quarter of a century. Of the three varietals — Tenera, Dura, and Pisifera — Tenera is the recommended seed. As a hybrid it has the correct proportions of mesocarp (fleshy layer under the skin), endocarp (harder inner layer), and endosperm (the core tissue). Tenera has a mesocarp of 60 to 96%, an endocarp of 3 to 20%, and endosperm of 3 to 15%. Dura plants have a low oil content while up to a quarter of Pisifera seeds can grow into sterile female plants that do not bear seeds (F. M. Chávez & Rivadeneira, 2003). (Seeds need to be bought from an establishment that guarantees the legitimacy of the varietal, a process that gives the palm plantations a competitive advantage (F. M. Chávez & Rivadeneira, 2003) and often excludes small-scale Afro-

Ecuadorian farmers who lack access to these nurseries.) Palm oil and palm kernel oil are extracted from the seeds and nuts and the resultant oils are used for cooking oils, soap, and are increasingly seen as a source of biofuels. (Palm oil once formed the basis for napalm before synthetic chemicals took its place.) One employee is needed for every three hectares of palm when the trees are still saplings. During harvest, which is year round once trees reach maturity, and for fertilization, more labor is required. The estimated number of hectares in San Lorenzo under palm varies wildly, but ANCUPA (Asociación Nacional de Cultivadores de Palma Africana), the National Association of African Palm Cultivators, states that the canton had 1,731 hectares under palm in 2000, and 18,266.89 hectares in 2005 (www.ancupa.com). By 2006 the major cultivators were: Aiquisa, Palmeras del Pacifico, Ales Palma, Palmeras de los Andes, Alzamora, Palesema, Ecuafincas, Murriagui, Nueva Villegas, and Energy Palma.

The pressure on Afro-Ecuadorian communities to sell land grew as the plantations took hold. Although most land in Ecuador is untitled, data on registered sales from the San Lorenzo canton land registry office are revealing. In 1998, a year after some of the major roads were constructed, there were 34 sales registered for a total of 3,692 hectares. Of these sales, 31 were from individuals to firms, representing only 48% of the total hectares sold. Firm to firm sales made up just over half of the total hectares. Of particular note, however, is that individuals fetched a lower price per hectare than did firms. Firms received $72.15 per hectare while individuals received $62.22. The spread in the range of prices paid per hectare, however, was considerable — $12.70 at the lower end and $178.25 at the upper end. In all cases, and in all years were there were individuals as sellers, the bottom end of the range was a price paid to an individual. There were not as

many sales in 1999, but the pattern was similar to that of the previous year. The years 2000 to 2002 appear to be a period when firms consolidated their holdings. During this period there were fewer sales by individuals while larger tracts of land were exchange between firms. Sales from individuals to firms picking up again in 2003 and 2005. From 2000 onwards individuals fetch higher prices per acre than do firms.

Year	No. of Sales	Firm to Firm Sales	Individual to Firm Sales	Total Hectares Sold	Ave Price Per Hectare	Sales Price Per Hectare Range	% Hectares Sold Firm to Firm	% Hectares Sold Individual to Firm	Ave. Price Per Hectare Individuals	Ave. Price Per Hectare Firms
1998	34	4	30	3692.26	63.18	12.7 to 178.25	52	48	62.22	73.15
1999	19	2	17	1162.44	31.77	12.16 to 65.57	36	64	29.64	43.34
2000	11	4	7	3929.65	24.98	0.23 to 220.00	11	89	35.71	10.25
2001	7	5	2	566.47	56.27	20.00 to 320.00	83	17	165.00	140.28
2002	5	2	3	197.6	26.8	1.88 to 79.37	52	48	24.12	19.62
2003	15	1	13	1986.17	52.95	10.45 to 243.66	58	42	48.06	29.62
2004	2	2	0	79.38	128.34	110.91 to 145.77	100	_	_	128.34
2005	15	0	15	1265.74	79.27	4.35 to 172.89	_	100	79.27	
2006	2	0	2	54	93.33	24.00 to 30.00		100	24.34	

Table 3. Register land sales, San Lorenzo, 1998 to 2006

Year	Hectares Adjudicated
1996	20.00
1997	1198.30
1998	8071.83
1999	19463.00
2000	16889.00
2001	2079.79
2002	5316.92
2003	1414.42
2004	6152.47
2005	1837.14

Table 4. Total hectares of disputed land adjudicated by INDA, 1996 to 2005

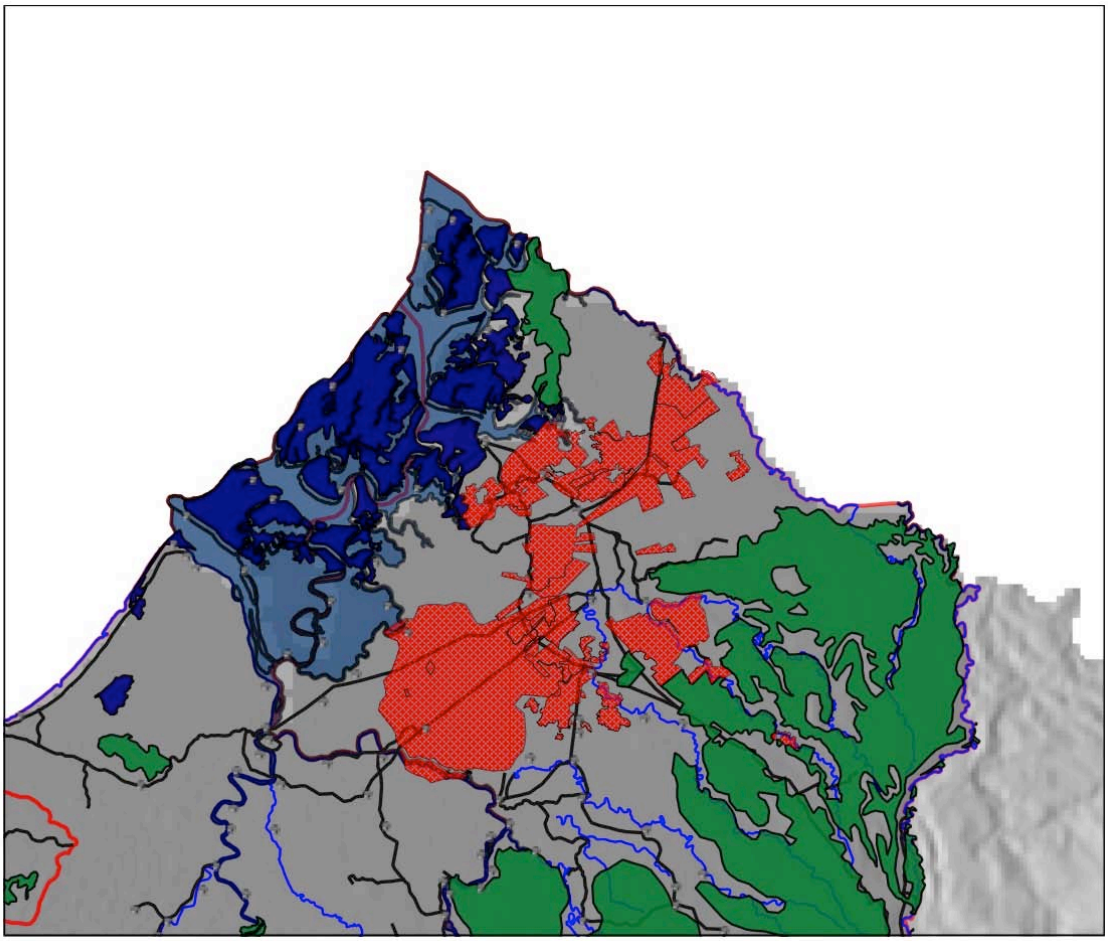

Figure 41. Areas under African Palm (in red), according to the Department of Agriculture, 2006.

A second dataset shows another dimension to the conflict and displacement. For this study, the total number per year of contested hectares adjudicated by INDA, the government agency charged with that task and with land titling, was tallied. The tallies exclude *comuna* cases, also under the purview of INDA. These form a separate category as they constituted sections of land that were to be granted communal status. All other

cases, both those adjudicated in favor of companies and those in favor of individuals, were included in the tallies. One caveat to the tallies, however, is the cases need not necessarily have been adjudicated by INDA in the year in which the initial conflict occurred, or for that matter the year in which the case was filed. INDA's number system lists cases by the year in which they were finalized. Nevertheless, the database does show some revealing patterns. In 1996, before the roads, only 20 hectares of disputed territory needed to be adjudicated in San Lorenzo canton. In 1997, this had risen to 1,198. By 1998, the year after most of the roads had been constructed the number of hectares had risen to 19,463. In 1999, 16,889 hectares were in conflict. The total dropped precipitously in 2001 but ticked up again in 2004 to over 6,000 hectares. This is a similar pattern to registered sales: the years immediately after road construction see an increase in land conflict and land sales, the frequencies then lessen for a few years, and are followed by a year or two of increases (2004 and 2005). The explanation for the later increases is somewhat illusive. What transpires in Nuevo Progresso, however, might offer some indication.

The pressures to sell for Nuevo Progreso come some years after the initial plantation land grabs and the adjudicated conflicts. By 2004 and 2005, members of the *comuna* found that farming their 20 hectares proved too difficult. "The problem in the community is no employment. People leave because they can't work" (Interview 20060309-07h30). If they tried their hands at growing African palm they generally failed: they lacked the skills and the access to the better variety. In addition, many claimed they were paid a detrimental price differential by the processing plants because of the small volume of their production (Interviews with community members in 2006 and 2011).

Communal land proved to be a problem too. Small-scale farmers, dependent on loans for seeds, fertilizer, and implements, found they could no longer secure loans from the banks — no land title, no loans. In desperation, many members of the Nuevo Progreso *comuna* made deals with the plantations to sell their communally-assigned lots. "They [the palm plantation owners] don't pay them what is justified. They want the land but they want to have it for a gift price. Well, practically, it's robbery that they're doing" (Interview 20060410-11h12).

The structural pressure to sell, however, was accompanied by another hazard, this one of long-term consequence to the villages of the Chocó. "We are surrounded. With the palm plantations come millions of insects. And these insects today are harmful for us because they [the palm plantation owners] apply chemicals to save their plantations" (Interview 20060309-07h30).

While *Elaeis guineensis Jacq* may look robust, it is affected by multiple scourges. Fertilizer, insecticides, and herbicides are a constant diet. In fact, 52 different types of insect, one species of mite, one protozoa, eight fungi, one type of parasitic worm, three types of blight, and four "other problems" beset the plant through all the stages of its growth (Bernal, 2005). While the palm oil industry makes claims to be seeking environmentally friendly solutions (*Inventario de plagas del cultivo de palma aceitera (Elaeis guineensis Jacq) en el Ecuador*, 2008), the nurturing and growth of the plants requires enormous amounts of chemical protection. Pesticide use in the Esmeraldas province increased 300% between 1999 and 2003 (Nuñez Torres, 2004). In fact, 32 to 52% of the cost of production goes to fertilizers and pesticides (Nuñez Torres, 2004), another factor making this form of agriculture prohibitive to those living in the area's

comunas. The herbicides and insecticides come in two varieties each, both constituted by chemicals prohibited or regarded as highly dangerous in many countries.

Two studies by Ana Maria Nuñez Torres (Nuñez Torres, 2004, 2005), and published by the environmental NGO Altropico, suggest how dangerous these chemicals are to communities like Nuevo Progreso. This is largely due to mismanagement of both pesticides and insecticides and the resultant contamination of the rivers and streams. Nuñez Torres drew samples from the rivers and streams of the area and a translation of her report reads thus:

> Indications of contamination exist because of the poor use and management of fertilizers and pesticides. The contamination comes from the inadequate application of fertilizers and their interaction with the environment. Contamination was detected by the presence of compounds associated with the use of insecticides like endosulfan (organochloride) and terbuphos (organophosphate), both dangerous pesticides for aquatic life, the first for persistence and the second for its toxicity. . . . The contamination causes damage to aquatic fora and flora, losses in the production of fishers and farms, and harm to the health of workers. The incorrect use and mismanagement of agrochemicals in palm production (inadequate protection of workers, inadequate areas for storage, residue, packing, and filling and cleaning containers in the rivers) causes poisoning of workers (nausea, convulsions, rashes, and an inability to work), and loss to the communities of fish, recreation, and consumption of water (Nuñez Torres, 2004, p. no page number).

The indictment of these chemicals, however, comes from another source — a meta analysis of the causes of Gulf War Syndrome:

> In the last several years, major reports have been released internationally by government and scientific panels concerning effects of pesticide exposures on the public health. These reports have raised awareness of recent findings on potential associations between pesticides and a broad spectrum of human diseases, including difficult-to-diagnose multi-symptom conditions. This includes a review of the scientific literature on health effects of pesticides from the Ontario College of Family Physicians, which concluded that 'there is a high level of consistency in results to indicate a wide range of pesticide-related clinical and subclinical health effects' and that 'exposure to all the commonly used pesticides. . . has shown positive associations with adverse health effects' (Research Advisory Committee on Gulf War Veterans' Illnesses, 2008, p. 151).

Those who have sold their land and those who remain in the communities are aware of these consequences.

"Not Even a Piece of Candy"

Afro-Ecuadorian responses to these changes vary from dispossessed and alienated, to co-existing with the changing environment but also alienated. On an aggregated, but not on a collectively intentional level, many have been driven off of their land and some end up leaving the villages for San Lorenzo or the bigger cities of Ecuador. Those who sell up to the plantations understand their level of exploitation: "Many people complain that the palm companies buy their land at gift prices. They don't pay a fair price. . . . Essentially it is robbery that's happening" (Interview 2006041011h12). For those who do sell, it is an act of despondency and last resort: "Before they said: 'I'm going to fight. I'm going to struggle.' Then, after awhile they said: 'Okay, now I'm getting paid a little money. . . .' Seven dollars! They say that's the daily pay for a man, more or less" (Interview 20060309-09h30). Others hold on because: "Without land you are nothing" (Interview 20060310-10h00).

There is also a fractured alienation directed at their collective achievement: "Being a member of the *comuna* hasn't helped me with anything. I haven't received anything. Every year I vote. I pay my dues. But I have nothing to account for [my membership]. Not even a piece of candy. And my father helped form the *comuna*" (Interview 20060310-10h00). A sense of disappointment with the outcomes of the *comuna* are

profound for many, with some of the original founding members of a number of communal villages no longer interested in participation and hostile to the very notion of *comuna*. For yet others, their responses are bounded by their inability to act against the encroachment of the palm plantations and by the market's insatiable need for lumber. The simple explanation is to understand collective responses as capitulation. But capitulation would entail giving in to the plantations without expectation. But the "buying off" by the palm plantations with roads and the other "trappings of development" suggests a collective intentionality, both alienated and bound, by the *comunas*. It is a negotiated process, albeit one in which Afro-Ecuadorian communities are on the down side of the fulcrum.

Representations of space (that created by the change in modes of production) has shifted and representational space (perceived space) has been dislocated to the extent that spacial practice (lived space), and the collective intentionality within it, has become alienated and bound. The astute are well aware of these shifts. As one community leader put it:

> With the arrival of the roads, and the advent of electricity, people started to acculturate. This is logical. But, on the other hand, this same acculturation is also very damaging. Because, in the process, black communities have lost what they value most — our identity, our cultural identity, our cultural expressions. In the end we are warped, a generation deformed and deficient culturally. . . . The state lets the lumber companies come in, then the palm plantations enter, and then who? All the world enters. The people start to feel displaced. At some point they begin to feel detached from what they cared about. For what little they receive for their resources, their land and their timber, and it is no longer part of their customs and those [their customs], they end. . . . The state, with all its mechanisms, is hurting us and we are hurting ourselves too (Interview 20060418-17h30).

Understanding the need for collective action is clear to some. The need for organizations is the "way in which you can link ties for friendship to other communities. .

. because it is true that if we don’t manage to unite ourselves we won’t be able to make anything of ourselves. An individual alone cannot go far” (Interview 20060409-09h45).

PART V

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

CHAPTER VIII

ONTOLOGY, EPISTEMOLOGY, METHODOLOGY

Philosophy and Social Science

The underlying motive for this dissertation is a wish to understand the unsettling changes affecting the now-truly marginalized African descendent communities of northwestern Ecuador. In that quest, I have had to find a more justifiable ontological and epistemological foundation on which to base the exploration. As in the research methods used here, this has been an iterative and unsettling process, but rewarding nonetheless.

On the epistemic and ontological levels, the problems for participatory action researchers is such: How can we speak of doing participatory action research in communities where the "subjects" (individuals and communities) involved in the study are being eviscerated by a structural violence that shatters their sense of well-being in the world? As modes of production (created space) collide, Background, in a perpetual process of forming and unforming within perceived space, shapes intentional action within spatial practice. Any claims to knowledge by the action researcher are based on shaky or shifting "evidence," and are open to easy refutation. One framework that offers an escape clause, first footnoted by Orlando Fals-Borda and then expanded by Ellen Herda, is the hermeneutic call for a re-evaluation of our ontological and epistemological

assumptions that move our understanding from mere explanation to meaningful and critical interpretation (Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991; Herda, 1999). The hermeneutical tradition involves language, understanding, and action, action that has as its central purpose a change in the way social reality is constructed. In this, hermeneutical participatory action research involves more than just description. It involves a moral imperative (Herda, 1999). If one accepts the idea that social science is a quest for meaning, as Agnes Heller and many others working in the hermeneutic tradition suggest (Heller, 1989), then in cases where structural violence rocks the very core of meaning, epistemological and ontological assumptions beg especially for closer inspection. At its core, participatory action research involves working with marginalized, and often brutalized, communities where the relationship between researcher and community members is key and where the iterative cycles in the research process strive to build trust, enable participation and empowerment, and increased wellbeing (V. Chávez, Duran, Baker, Avilia, & Wallerstein, 2003; Israel et al., 2003; Minkler & Wallerstein, 2003). Research done in communities impacted by socio-political violence in Ireland, South Africa, Albania, and Nigeria, document the complexity and difficulty of participatory action research in such circumstances (Albert, 2001; Higson-Smith, 2002; Logue, 2000; J. Miller, 1997; Murati, 2002). Of the many issues raised by these studies, three that complicate the participatory action framework are of importance here. First, participatory action research requires building and maintaining relationships between the researcher and community participants. Second, the process involves a bonding of trust in the formation of the relationship and in the transfer of knowledge. Yet relationships, meaning, and trust are the very aspects of being that are eviscerated in the everyday life

of victims of socio-political (Suárez-Orozco & Robben, 2000) and structural violence. Third, the iterative cycles in the process require an exchange of knowledge between often very disparate sources: the outsider knowledge of the researcher and the local knowledge of community members. The researcher's biography and understanding of theory shape interpretation and often remain grounded in the researcher's worldview (J. Miller, 1997). The restoration of trusting relationships and the reconstruction of meaning are central to both renewed wellbeing for the community and for the establishment of a workable research and action framework. Although the restoration or transformation of meaning for both the community and for the researcher are intertwined and inseparable in the participatory action framework, the focus here is on this third point -- a reevaluation of the researcher's epistemological and ontological orientation within the framework and towards an understanding/interpretation of the meaning of socio-political change in order to shape more relevant outcomes. In this regard, much of great value for participatory action research has come from feminist theory, one goal of which is the creation of usable knowledge (Huff, 1997).

For some of the feminist writers seeking to understand violence against women, renaming and redefinition of previous conceptualizations have been important elements and this process has had an influence on subsequent research (Radford, Friedberg, & Harne, 2000). Elizabeth Minnich, however, suggests that in addressing change vis-à-vis gender, sex, class, and race, prevailing systems of knowledge are challenged at their very core and these challenges entail much more than just changing or modifying the language we use in our discourse (Minnich, 2004). Effecting change involves changing our epistemology and ontology. In the transformation from being taken as just static "things,"

Minnich says, terms such as sex, gender, class, and race take on more complex, context-bound processes. For Minnich, transforming knowledge entails an essential change, not merely an expansion of knowledge or a correction thereof. For Agnes Heller, the transformation would be more than just epistemological. The nature of our very being undergoes a shift. Whether hermeneutic (understanding as a text) or nomothetic (understanding as explanation through general laws), social science cannot provide us with certainty. But the practice of social science can provide us with meaningful and true knowledge to transform ourselves from merely contingent beings to beings with control over our destiny. Social science "will set us free" (Heller, 1989, p. 321). For a researcher in a participatory action framework, these profound ontological and epistemological transformations are important first steps. Claire Renzetti, in a reflexive article that chronicles such a shift, explains the practical benefits. Such a transformation or shift in epistemological and ontological positions ensures a number of outcomes. Under a participatory framework, Renzetti says, the most significant issues are raised, the methodologies used are relevant, and the practical effects aim towards the end goal of personal and social change (Renzetti, 1997).

There are a number of obstacles, however, to the transformation of knowledge. In the construction of theory in the social sciences, we generalize and our generalizations are abstractions from context bound particulars. Herein lies one of the dangers: what particulars we choose to generalize from will effect (and may infect) our theory. Generalizing from static things leads us to what Minnich calls "injustice serving errors." When we look rather to processes "we are also enabled to see the practical, applied, and political dimensions of abstractions and theories" (Minnich, 2004, p. 13). Our task as

social scientists is to use theories effectively and to "keep expanding and refining the practices of theorizing and the theorizing of practices" (Minnich, 2004, p. 13). When the charge is for inter- or multidisciplinarity, as it often is for disciplines that frequently use participatory action research (Maton et al., 2005), the issue of generalization grows even more turbid. Some have lauded a multidisciplinary approach as the magic elixir: "The more complex and multifaceted the problems and settings being addressed, the more likely involvement in an interdisciplinary effort will yield a sufficiently complex, sophisticated and useful intervention effort" (Maton et al., 2005, p. 5). And some have suggested that interdisciplinarity subverts the reductionistic impulses common to many disciplines (Suárez-Orozco & Robben, 2000). Others have pointed to the theoretical and practical challenges (Albert, 2001; Maton et al., 2005; Moran, 2002; Suárez-Orozco & Robben, 2000). Thus the melding of disciplines further complicates abstraction and practice. Disciplines deal with "things" and "processes" differently and incompatibly and we need to take account of this in our "ongoing project" (Minnich, 2004). This dissertation, nonetheless, is a multidisciplinary attempt to understand economic and community development in specific communities in northwestern Ecuador. Outside of my discombobulated ontological and epistemological discomfort, that multidisciplinarity has suggested a mixed methods framework for the research design.

Mixed Methodology

Charles Teddlie and Abbas Tashakkori, using a Kuhnian understanding of paradigms, suggest that there are five worthy of consideration in the social sciences: the positivist, postpositivist, pragmatic, constructivist, and transformative (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). While much of this dissertation draws on the constructivist approach of John Searle, this is ultimately a research project in the transformative paradigm. The transformative paradigm is defined by Donna Mertens as: "placing central importance on the lives and experiences of marginal groups. . . [which] seeks ways to link the results of social inquiry to action, and links the results of the inquiry to wider questions of social inequity and social justice" (Mertens, 2003, p. 140). According to Teddlie and Tashakkori, the paradigm allows for a mix of qualitative and quantitative approaches that are both inductive and hypothetico-deductive, and allows for an objective epistemology while not negating (or even privileging) the objectivity/subjectivity of research participants (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). The preoccupation is with social justice and causality as it relates to social justice. The particular research design adopted here under this model is a fully integrated mixed multistrand design that uses statistical information, historical and contemporary documents, and participant observation and other ethnographic methods. The central research question is: what collective agency exists for the Afro-descent people in northwestern Ecuador, and in what form, when significant social, political, and economic structural changes affect their communities?

Ethnographic Research

Ethnographic research was conducted over five periods. Two of these — June through August 2004 and July and August 2005 — were as a participant in the Vanderbilt Fieldschool for Intercultural Education. While not part of the dissertation research, field notes and interviews from both of these visit were used. Dissertation research was then conducted from late August 2005 until May 2006. Most of the participant observation, and the bulk of the interviews and the household survey, were conducted during this period. Further data was gathered in July and August 2007, and then again in July 2008. A visit in July and August 2011 confirmed much of the data.

The researcher lived with families in the San Lorenzo region during the visits of 2005, 2006, 2007, and 2008. Field notes from these periods include observations on every aspect of daily life but with particular emphasis on productive and organizational activities — the daily economic and organizational stuff of everyday life. The matriarch of the main host family was an active member and leader of the area's social movement and a key figure in a number of the organizations described here. This person became a key informant from which much background information and interpretation was gained. A second major key informant was a contract development worker who dissented from much of what was put forward by some of the area's organizations. This second informant was a rich source of information on the palm plantations, having worked on a number of reports for various international agencies. Other key informants included the researcher's field guide, an unemployed teacher who had worked with some of the land titling agencies and projects. An additional key informant, quoted extensively in the

chapters, was a former political officeholder in the area. Some interviews with all the key informants were taped and IRB consent forms signed. Most of the information gained, however, came from informal conversations that were later (on the same day) entered into my field notes. No count was kept of these conversations as with the many other informal encounters where information was gained.

Participant observation included living with families, frequent visits to most of the communities in both the mangrove and forest villages, attendance at meetings, and observation of people's work and other daily activities. Formal interviews (defined here as interviews where the participant signed a consent form and where the interview was recorded) were conducted with a wide range of people from the region. Those interviews are listed in Appendix B. The recorded interviews were later transcribed and an analysis was done, first as a general reading for content and then using HyperResearch. Each interview was coded and 82 codes were used. These codes were then deployed to find patterns that in turn informed the chapters. While the 2004 interviews were semistructured, those from other years were open-ended. However, interviews tended to be focused on the central activity of the interviewee, be they a community leader, fisher person, or plantation worker. The 2004 interviewees were selected to give a representative sample across ages, gender, and location of scholarship awardees of a World Bank development program. While a design was followed to some extent, this often proved difficult due to geographical circumstances and the general availability of recipients. Many villages were difficult to get to and frequently the prospective interviewee would not be home when the interviewer arrived in the village. The more pragmatic method of a convenience sample was often followed. We visited schools on

weekends where we knew adult learners would be present, put out word that we were interested in interviewing X and Y, and, towards the end, conducted a few interviews where the interviewees were self-selecting. It seems many scholarship holders had strong opinions about the program and wanted to share those opinions. We were also, at times, under the impression that some of the interviewees may have been specifically selected by our guides and by members of CANE who felt the selected interviewee would convey favorable information to us. Nevertheless, the structure and nature of the questions yielded valuable data for that particular participatory action project, as well as rich source of material for this dissertation. Much of the first-hand material on identity is drawn from the more erudite answers to our questions on what it means to be a black Ecuadorian.

The interviews used here are coded as follows — year, month, day, interview start time. Thus the interview with a former mayor of one of the towns of northwestern Esmeraldas is coded as 20060421-09h50. The recorded interviews cover those in leadership positions, those who are members of organizations, and everyday community members (those living along the major rivers, in the mangroves and forest, and those in the bigger towns). Interviewees were also drawn from across professions and occupations — lawyers, doctors, health workers, plantation workers, small business owners, lumberjacks, fishermen, and so on.

In addition to the interviews, a number of focus groups were held. In 2005, as part of the fieldschool, focus groups were held with second level community organizations throughout the cantons of San Lorenzo and Eloy Alfaro. The focus of these meetings were on issues and concerns that the community leaders felt the community faced. The findings from these meetings were invaluable to forming an initial understanding of the

context in which economic and community change was happening in northwestern Ecuador. In 2007 and 2008 additional focus groups were held with members of the communities. Also in 2007, two focus groups were held with adolescents in San Lorenzo.

Historical, Contemporary, and Government Records and Statistics

Numerous historical and government records were used. Selective cases were used from the INDA files of land disputes. These cases were chosen because they involved either *comunas*, palm plantations, or timber companies. The information from these sources was used to build the composite community of Nuevo Progreso. The complete list of INDA land dispute cases from 1993 to 2006 was used for the statistical analysis in Chapter 6. The data from this source included year, location, hectares, and the name of the person or firm who prevailed in the adjudication. This data was supplemented by the land sale files for the years 1998 to 2007. These files are kept in a municipal office in the town of San Lorenzo and represent the records of titled land sales for those years. Most property sales are not titled and, therefore, not recorded. The files did, however, act as a supplement and confirmatory source to the INDA files. The 1998 through 2000 sales were in Sucres, and these figures were converted to 1998 constant dollars using the FXHistory currency converter (www.oanda.com/convert/fxhistory). Additional government statistics included health surveys for the years 1993 through 2006, the 1990 Census, and additional sources cited in the relevant sections.

Household Survey

Extensive use was made of a household survey for this study, despite the doyen of participatory research, Robert Chambers, referring to surveys as dinosaurs (Chambers, 1997, 2008b). A survey of 391 households was conducted in June 2006. A household in this instance was defined as "a group of individuals who: (a) live in the same dwelling; (b) eat at least one meal together each day; and (c) pool income and other resources for the purchase of goods and services" (*Household sample surveys in developing and transition countries*, 2005, p. 392). Households were selected through a stratified random sample. The survey sample frame divided the geographical area into urban and rural locals, using existing maps and data from the 2000 Census. Towns, villages and hamlets were then selected proportionally to give an equal representation of the population proportions across the settlement types. Individual households were then selected from maps using the Census divisions. The intention of this final stratification was to ensure that households were distributed evenly across towns, villages, and hamlets.

The survey questionnaire was constructed using the Census survey as a base but with modifications and additions to solicit data relevant to this study. The questionnaire design and the structure of some of the questions was then vetted, with some modifications made, by the fieldworker who led the survey team. The survey was conducted over three weekends in June by this fieldwork as well as by four additional fieldworks. All five members of the team are employed as contract workers in Quito as surveyors and little training was needed. They were, however, accompanied by a guide to the area. In most instances the frame was adhered to with one exception. Some areas of

the town of San Lorenzo were excluded from the survey as the guide felt these neighborhoods, mostly populated by Colombian refugees, were too dangerous for the team to enter. The survey, therefore, reflects a bias in this regard.

Data from the survey were used as is. That is, no weighting was done to account for possible differences in the sample with regard to urban and rural representation. "If the sample is designed to generate an equal probability sample, then the weights for estimating means, rates or relationships among variables may be safely ignored" (*Household sample surveys in developing and transition countries*, 2005, p. 393). The descriptive statistics generated, however, ignore the rural-urban division and instead towns, villages, and hamlets were divided into towns, forest villages, and mangrove villages. This spatial division is more in keeping with the geographical nature of the area and with the unique problems and issues each of these areas faces.

A second caveat to the survey data has to do with the mobility of the people within the area. Participant observation revealed that the population in the two cantons was highly mobile, with many younger people moving frequently between households and between the cantons of Eloy Alfaro and San Lorenzo and the larger cities of Ecuador. Many households are, therefore, somewhat in flux and this is not reflected in the survey data. Some questions were excluded from the final questionnaire due to time and financial constraints. This is particularly relevant to income and expenditures. Households were only asked about cash income. However, as many people in the area make their livelihoods through a mix of subsistence and cash wages, the income only information gives an incomplete picture.

Geographic Information Systems

GIS explorations can prove useful in a number of ways: as a source for discovering grounded truth, for triangulation, or for the inductive exploration of data (Spencer, 2003; Steinberg & Steinberg, 2006). The data collected for this study now form part of an integrated GIS system that includes a wide swath of information: cultivation patterns, land sales, settlement patterns, health statistics, the household survey, and many additional sets of data. This information proved particularly useful in exploring land sales in San Lorenzo as it allowed for the spatial representation of land under African palm and for the comparison of sales register information, land dispute information, and Ministry of Agriculture estimates of land in cultivation. Although the information gleaned from GIS is used here mainly descriptively, it will be the foundation for future explorations of San Lorenzo and surroundings. For instance, the household survey used GIS information to fix the sites of each household surveyed. By surveying the same houses at a later date, the data can then be used as panel data. Used as an integrated system, the data should reveal patterns over time that will yield important information for future research. This should be especially productive for participatory action research projects. There is a growing use of GIS around the world and Participatory GIS (PGIS) is growing increasingly important to community-based development work. Of note and relevance here are the use of PGIS in forest management and as a method used to resist commercial shrimp farming (Kwaku Kyem, 2002; Stonich, 2002). GIS information is used extensively by the various NGOs in Ecuador but it would appear to be mainly for map generation and description, rather than any real analysis. The long term intentions here,

however, are to continue collecting data and integrating that data into the GIS architecture. This should prove useful for generating information to feed back to Afro-Ecuadorian community organizations for their use in decision making. Areas where this might be productive include exploring the relationships between chemical applications of herbicide and insecticide on plantations and the health profiles of communities in surrounding areas. The applications, however, are limitless and only hindered or aided by the quality of the data and the availability of funding.

GRASS and QGIS (now close to an integrated set of open sources tools) were used in the preparation and manipulation of various map sets. Sets of data come from various sources but the files which formed the architecture for generating the maps came from four sources. The shape (shp) files come from the Ministry of Agriculture, from the Instituto Geographico Militar, and from INEC. The 30 meter DEM files over which the shp. files are draped, were taken from the publicly available files of Marc Souris, IRD L'Institut de Recherche Pour le Développement (IRD), France. Most maps were drawn or constructed from these existing maps.

All projections are in UTM 17 WGS84.

APPENDIX A. HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

Numero de Encuesta: _____

ENCUESTA DE HOGARES 2006

Toda la información proporcionada por Usted, es estrictamente confidencial, por la tanto no se dará a conocer en forma individual, ni tampoco podrá utilizarse para fines tributarios u otros distintos a los puramente estadísticos.

Encuestador:_____

I. INFORMACIÓN GENERAL

A. Identificación Geográfica

UTM E:
UTM N:
Altitud:
Hora Local:
Fecha:

B. Identificación De La Vivienda

Cantón:
Parroquia:
Barrio/Comunidad/Recinta:
Zona:
Sector:
N° de la vivienda:
Manzana:
Bloque::
Piso

C. Miembros Del Hogar Y Jefe Del Hogar

Hogar: Es el conjunto de personas que residen habitualmente en la misma vivienda o en parte de ella (viven bajo el mismo techo), que están unidas o no por lazos de parentesco y que cocinan en común para todos sus miembros (comen de la misma olla).

1. Cuántas personas viven en este hogar y comparten sus gastos de alimentación?			
2. Nombre del jefe del hogar?			
3. Propio			
Si		No	

Numero de Encuesta: _____

II. VIVIENDA

A. Caracteristicas De Hogar

1. Tipo De Vivienda

Casa, villa	1
Departamento	2
Mediagua	
Cuarto de inquilinato	4
Rancho o choza	5
Vivienda improvisada	6
Bodega o negocio usado como vivienda	7
Otro, cuál?	99

2. Material Predominante Del Techo

Paja desechos o latas	1
Zinc eternit	2
Losa teja	3
Otro cuál?	99

3. Material Predominante De Paredes

Bahareque /caña	1
Madera burda	2
Tapia o adobe	3
Bloque o ladrillo	4
Otro, cuál?	99

4. Material Predominante De Piso

Tierra	1
Madera burda, tabla o tablón	2
Cemento/ladrillo	3
Baldosa, vinil o ladrillo	4
Parquet, madera tratada, alfombra	5
Otro, cuál?	99

5. De cuántos cuartos dispone este hogar (no incluye baños, cocina, pasillos, garajes)?

Número de cuartos	

6. Cuántos cuartos utilizan en este hogar en forma exclusiva para dormir?

Dormitorios	

7. Tienen en esta vivienda un cuarto exclusivo para cocinar?

Si	1
No	2
No cocinan	3

8. Con qué se cocina usualmente en este hogar?

Leña	1
Carbón	2
Gas	3
Electricidad	4
Otro, cuál?	99

9. Parte de la vivienda está destinada para alguna actividad económica?

Si	1
No >>>Va a numero 11.	2

10. A qué actividad le dedican principalmente?

Comercio	1
Servicio	2
Taller artesanal	3
Otra, cuál?	99

11. De dónde obtiene el agua principalmente este hogar?

Agua por tubería dentro de la vivienda	1
Agua por tubería fuera de la vivienda pero dentro del terreno	2
Agua por tubería de pila o grifo público	3
Pozo público	4
Pozo privado	5
Tanquero	6
Río, acequia, manantial, ojo de agua	7
Lluvia	8
Otro, cuál?	99

12. Cuánto tiempo demora en traer el agua hasta su vivienda?

Minutos	

B. Equipamiento Del Hogar

18. Tienen en este hogar:

	Si	No	Cuantos
LIBROS y/o materiales de lectura	1	2	
Refrigeradora	1	2	
Cocina	1	2	
Plancha	1	2	
Lavadora	1	2	
Televisor	1	2	
VHS	1	2	
DVD	1	2	
Equipo de sonido/grabadora	1	2	
Radio	1	2	
Ventilador	1	2	
Aire acondicionado	1	2	
Computadora	1	2	
Teléfono celular	1	2	
Bicicleta	1	2	
Motocicleta	1	2	
Auto	1	2	
Canoa	1	2	
Bote	1	2	

Numero de Encuesta: _____

III. CARACTERISTICAS DE LOS MIEMBROS DEL HOGAR

1. Apellidos Y Nombres De Los Miembros Del Hogar Digame el nombre de todas las personas que COMEN Y DUERMEN HABITUALMENTE EN ESTE HOGAR, comenzando por el jefe del hogar?			2. Sexo	3. Edad
	APELLIDOS	NOMBRES	Hombre 1 Mujer 2	Cuántos años cumplidos tiene (.....)?
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
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10				
11				
12				

Numero de Encuesta: _____

	4. Parentesco: Cuál es el parentesco de (.....) con el JEFE/A de este hogar?	5. Estado Civil	6. Discapacidad: Tiene (.....) alguna discapacidad? Se entiende por discapacidad a la limitación permanente en el funcionamiento de los órganos sensoriales, locomotores y mentales de las personas	7. Idioma		8. Autodefinición Como se considera (.....)?
				a. Qué idioma o lengua habla (.....) principalmente?	b. En dónde aprendió el idioma o lengua que (.....) habla?	
	JEFE/A 1 Esposa/o, Conviviente 2 Hijo/a 3 Yerno o Nuera 4 Padres o suegros 5 Nieto/a 6 Otros Parientes 7 Otros no Parientes 8 Empleada/o, Doméstica/o 9	Unión libre 1 Casado 2 Separado 3 Divorciado 4 Viudo 5 Soltero 6	Si 1 No 2	Sólo lengua indígena 1 Español y lengua indígena 2 Español, lengua indígena y lengua extranjera 3 Sólo Español 4	En la casa 1 En la escuela 2 En el trabajo 3 Otro, cuál? 99	Indígena 1 Blanco 2 Mestizo 3 Negro 4 Mulato 5 Otro, cuál? 99
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
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10						
11						
12						

Numero de Encuesta: _____

	9. Migración:				
	a. Siempre vivió (.....) en este lugar o ciudad?	b. Cuantas años vive en este lugar o ciudad?	c. Dónde vivió (....) antes de venir a este lugar?		d. Cuál es la razón principal por la que vine (....) a este lugar o ciudad?
	Si 1 va a IV, número 1. No 2	Años	i. En otro lugar del país.1 En otro país 2	ii. Provincia o País Cantón/Parroquia	Por trabajo 1 Para mejorar sus ingresos 2 Matrimonio 3 Estudio 4 Salud/enfermedad 5 Compró o le dieron casa o terreno 6 Se vino con la familia 7 Otro, cuál? 99
1					
2					
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9					
10					
11					
12					

Numero de Encuesta: _____

IV. EDUCACIÓN -- PERSONAS 5 AÑOS Y MÁS

	1. Alfabeto: (.....) sabe leer y escribir?	2. Asistencia				3. Establecimiento: El establecimiento donde asiste (.....) es:	4. Transporte: Qué tipo de transporte utiliza (.....) para ir de su casa al plantel educativo?
		a. Asiste (.....) en el presente año escolar (2006) a algún establecimiento educativo?	b. Asiste (.....) a:	c. A qué grado, curso o año asiste (.....) en el presente año escolar? Incluyendo ésta, cuántas veces se ha matriculado en este grado, curso o año?			
	Si 1 No 2	Si 1 No 2 >>> Va a 6	Preprimaria 1 Primaria 2 Secundaria 3 Inst. Técnico 4 Universidad 5 Postgrado 6	i. Grado	ii. Veces	Fiscal ? 1 Particular Laico? 2 Particular religioso? 3 Municipal? 4 Fiscomisional? 5 Otro, cuál?_____ 8	Transporte escolar Público Auto particular Camina En animales En bicicleta Otro, cuál?_____ 99
1							
2							
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11							
12							

Numero de Encuesta: _____

	5. Nivel De Instrucción			6. Razón No Asistencia: Por qué (.....) no asistió al jardín, escuela, colegio o universidad en el presente año escolar?
	a. Cuál es o fue el nivel de instrucción más alto aprobado por (.....)?	b. Qué grado, curso o año aprobó (.....)?		Costo 1 Trabajo 2 Labores domésticas 3 Terminó los estudios 4 No le interesa 5 Enfermedad 6 Distancia, transporte 7 Embarazo 8 Otro, cuál?_____ 99
	Ninguno 1 >>> Va a V, número 1 Educación Básica de Adultos 2 Preprimaria 3 Primaria 4 Secundaria 5 Inst. Técnico 6 Universidad 7 Postgrado 8	i. Grado	ii. Año	
1				
2				
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12				

Numero de Encuesta: _____

V. ACTIVIDADES DE TRABAJO PERSONAS DE 5 AÑOS Y MAS

	1. (.....) trabajó durante la SEMANA PASADA al menos UNA HORA?	2. (.....) realizó la SEMANA PASADA alguna actividad dentro o fuera de su casa para ayudar al mantenimiento del hogar, tal como:	3. Aunque (.....) no trabajò la SEMANA PASADA, tuvo un trabajo del cual estuvo ausente por algún motivo, tal como:	4. La SEMANA PASADA (.....):
	Si 1 >>>> va a numero 5 No 2	Atender negocio propio 1 Labores agrícolas o cuidado de animales 2 Fabricar algún producto 3 Hacer algo en casa por un ingreso 4 Brindar algún servicio 5 Ayudar en algún negocio del hogar 6 Como aprendiz remunerado en dinero o especia 7 Estudiante que realiza algún trabajo 8 Otra actividad por un ingreso 9 No realizó ninguna actividad 10	Enfermedad o accidente 1 Suspensión temporal del trabajo 2 Huelga o paro 3 Vacaciones 4 Licencia con o sin sueldo 5 Otra, cuál 99 No tuvo 7	Buscó trabajo 1 Sólo estudió 2 Sólo realizó labores del hogar 3 Es Jubilado 4 Es rentista 5 Está impedido para trabajar 6 Otra, cuál 7
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Numero de Encuesta: _____

	5. Ocupación: Cuál es la ocupación, oficio, profesión o labor que (.....) desempeñó la SEMANA PASADA. Si tuvo más de una ocupación, digame aquella a la que más horas dedicó?	6. Rama De Actividad: A qué se dedica o qué hace principalmente la empresa, institución, negocio o taller dónde trabaja (.....)?	7. Tiempo De Trabajo	
			A. Cuántos días trabajó (.....) la SEMANA PASADA?	B. Cuántos horas al día trabajó (.....) la SEMANA PASADA?
	DESCRIPCIÓN	DESCRIPCIÓN	DIAS	HORAS
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				

Numero de Encuesta: _____

	8. Categoría De Ocupación	9. Independientes	10. Asalariados	11. (.....) recibe o recibió por parte de su patrono o empleador:								
	En este trabajo (.....) es: Patrono 1 Cuenta Propia 2 Empleado público 3 Empleado privado 4 Trabajador público 5 Trabajador privado 6 Jornalero 7 Empleada/o, Doméstica/o 8 Trabajador sin remuneración? 9	Cuánto ganó (.....) en el último mes por la actividad que realizó? No recibio dinero =00 >>>> va a numero 11 Monto	Cuánto le pagaron en el último mes a (.....)? No recibió Dinero =00 >>>va a numero 11 Monto	Alimentación: Si 1 No 2	Vivienda: Si 1 No 2	Transporte: Si 1 No 2	Ropa de trabajo: Si 1 No 2	Vacaciones pagadas: Si 1 No 2	Seguro socia: Si 1 No 2	Servicio médico: Si 1 No 2	Guardeí: Si 1 No 2	Cursos de capacitación: Si 1 No 2
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12												

Numero de Encuesta: _____

	12. Otro Trabajo: Además del trabajo que me acaba de informar, (.....) tiene otro trabajo ya sea por un salario, por su cuenta propia o ayudando en un negocio o finca del hogar?	13. (.....) obtuvo ingresos por este trabajo?	14. Ayudas: (.....) recibe el Bono Solidario?	15. Remesas	16. Otras
	Si 1 No 2 >>> va a 14	Si 1 No 2	Si 1 No 2	(.....) cuánto dinero recibió por concepto de remesas o envíos de dinero de familiares o amigos que están en el extranjero o dentro del país, en el último mes? No recibió = 00 Monto	(.....) recibe beca estudiantil? Si 1 No 2
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2					
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Numero de Encuesta: _____

	17. Acceso A Programas Sociales: En los últimos 12 meses, algún miembros de este hogar se ha beneficiado de los siguientes programas:											
	Bono de Desarrollo Humano SI 1 No 2	Maternidad gratuita y atención a la infancia SI 1 No 2	Operación Rescate Infantil-ORI SI 1 No 2	Programa del INNFA (Guardería NUTRIINNFA) SI 1 No 2	Crédito productivo solidario SI 1 No 2	Unidades móviles de salud SI 1 No 2	Unidades móviles de salud SI 1 No 2	Programa nacional de alimento y nutrición (Mi papilla y Mi bebida) SI 1 No 2	Bono de la vivienda SI 1 No 2	Desayuno y almuerzo escolar SI 1 No 2	Programa de alimentación para los de la tercera edad SI 1 No 2	Otro, cuál? 99
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APPENDIX B. IRB INTERVIEW LIST

The following list is of interviews that were recorded and for which IRB forms were completed.

2004 Interviews

The following interviews were completed as part of Community Research and Action Fieldschool in 2004. However, they proved useful for background information for this dissertation. The interviews marked with a code that beings MC were interviews done jointly with Malinda Coston.

0625041745	0625041425	MCPR10
0615041230	0625041715	MCPR11
0615041705	MCPR01	MCPR12
0616041000	MCPR02	MCPR13
0617040930	MCPR03	MCPR14
0617041010	MCPR04	MCPR16
0622040930	MCPR07	MCPR17
0625041030	MCPR08	MCPR18
0625041115	MCPR09	

2005 Interviews and Focus Groups

Some of the following interviews and recorded focus groups were done with Melinda Coston and Marvin B. Figueroa during a second Community Research and Action Fieldschool in 2005.

2005061417h00, Comarca office, San Lorenzo

2005062009h30, FEDARPOM office, San Lorenzo

2005062010h00, FEDOCA at Carmarca office, San Lorenzo

2005062110h00, forest community grassroots organization

2005062209h00, San Javier de Cachavi

2005062310h00, MOMUNE

2005062919h30, Organization office, Lemones

2005063017h00, MOMUNE, Borbón

2005070310h00, CANE, San Lorenzo, Camarca meeting

2005070810h00, CANE discussions

2006 Interviews and Focus Groups

2006030907h30, Carondolet

2006030907h30, Carondolet

2006030909h30, Carondolet

2006031010h00, Maldonado

2006031011h30, Maldonado

2006031013h10, Maldonado

2006031109h45, Limones

2006031111h15, Limones

2006031114h00, Limones

2006040711h30, Santa Rita

2006040712h15, Santa Rita

2006040808h00, San Lorenzo

2006040810h30, San Lorenzo

2006040814h00, San Lorenzo

2006040814h45, San Lorenzo

2006040909h45, San Francisco

2006040911h10, San Francisco

2006040918h44, San Lorenzo

2006041011h12, San Lorenzo

2006041012h37, Casa de la Pobre

2006041015h57, Borbón

2006041017h00, Borbón

2006041108h00, Progresso

2006041111h20, San Lorenzo

2006041212h00, San Lorenzo

2006041809h45, San Lorenzo

2006041814h15, San Francisco

2006041814h45, San Francisco

2006041817h30, San Lorenzo

2006041910h00, San Lorenzo

2006041911h15, ClaSan Lorenzo

20060419, San Lorenzo – not recorded

2006042009h45, Tambillo

2006042010h00, Tambillo

2006042010h30, Tambillo

2006042012h15, Pampanal

2006042014h15, Palma Real

2006042014h30, Palma Real

2006042109h45, San Lorenzo

2006042210h00, San Lorenzo

2006050111h15, San Lorenzo

2006050116h15, San Lorenzo

2006050117h45, San Lorenzo

2006050211h30, San Lorenzo

2006050220h15, San Lorenzo,

2006050313h00, San Miguel

2006050315h30, Chisfero

2006050410h45, San Lorenzo

2006050417h00, San Lorenzo

2006050418h00, San Lorenzo

2006050418h30, San Lorenzo

2006050510h30, San Lorenzo

2006050511h00, San Lorenzo

2006050513h00, San Lorenzo

2006050513h30, San Lorenzo

2006050520h45, San Lorenzo

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