INDIGENOUS ORGANISATIONS AND NORTHERN NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN ECUADOR – PARTNERSHIP?

Master of Arts

University of Technology Sydney

Jacqueline Louise CARRIER

2009

Statement of Originality

I certify that the work presented in this thesis is original, and has not previously been submitted for a degree, nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree.

I also certify that any help I have received in the preparation of the thesis, together with all information sources used, have been acknowledged within the thesis.

Jacqueline Louise Carrier

Acknowledgements

After ten years work as a development practitioner in a variety of contexts, this thesis is an attempt to further explore those questions to which I found no easy answers in my daily work. I would like to thank the following people who have either influenced or supported me in this seeking of answers.

In conducting the literature review for this thesis I found several extremely helpful texts, which have helped me to frame my perspective. In terms of international development I have been particularly influenced by Arturo Escobar and Alan Fowler. In regard to Indigenous development I have found Stephen Cornell, Francesca Merlan and David Martin's writings to be very useful.

Noel and Gerhardt Pearson have also influenced this research. While working for them in Cape York, and being part of their way of doing development with communities, I was stimulated to want to explore how things work in other contexts, and whether there are other ways of 'doing development' with Indigenous people.

My thinking has also been shaped by my work with Oxfam Australia (both in terms of good practice and what not to do!), and I learnt a lot from Chris Roche and Tony Kelly.

For the case study in Ecuador I would particularly like to thank Mario Melo, who was also grappling with ways that development practitioners' can effectively support Indigenous organisations, and took part in numerous stimulating exchanges. Mario also used his personal contacts to organise interviews for me with many, often inaccessible, Indigenous leaders in Ecuador and I thank him for that.

I am also grateful to Dr Martin Scurrah, former Regional Director of Oxfam America, who organised the initial contact with CDES, and provided interesting contributions to my research.

I am particularly indebted to the Ecuadorian Indigenous leaders, specifically Hilda Santi and Efren Calapucha, who, together with the representatives of NNGOs in Ecuador, gave generously their time and expertise, responding to questions in a thoughtful and open manner.

My supervisor, Dr Heather Goodall, provided a wide range of support, which featured a great amount of unfailing encouragement and stimulating feedback, and for this I am very appreciative.

Pascal Rigaldies gave me the time and space, and encouragement, to complete this research. In addition to washing a lot of dishes, Pascal also provided me with a critical and grounded sounding board throughout my various meanderings in and out of a range of topics. Thank you.

Table of Contents

Statement of Originality ii

Acknowledgements iii

Table of Contents v

List of Abbreviations, Acronyms and Actors viii

Glossary xii

List of Interviews xiv

Abstract xvi

Chapter 1: Introduction 1

Research Topic 1

Reason for selecting Ecuador as case study 3

Outline of thesis topic 5

Outline of methodology and how case study research was undertaken 6

Chapter 2: Concepts 12

International Development 12

Capacity Building 14

Indigeneity, Indigenous Development, External actors and Intermediary Organisations 17

Partnership 28

Chapter 3: Ecuador - the Indigenous movement and Northern NGOs 40

Indigenous peoples in Ecuador 42

History of Indigenous movement in Ecuador 44

Why the Indigenous movement emerged and grew in Ecuador 50

Nature and approach of indigenous movement in Ecuador 51

Relations with government 53

International links and the role of external agents 54

Achievements 55

Current issues for the Indigenous movement 57
Northern NGOs 63
Northern NGOs' Goals and Approaches 65
Indigenous Organisations 74
Findings 82

Chapter 4: CDES - Centro de Derechos Economicos y Culturales 84

CDES: role and objectives 84
History of CDES 87
Programs and Tools 88
Amazon Area Program 89
Amazon School 94
Planning 106
Internal structure and management 107
Technical Capacity 108
Donor Relationships 109
Relations with Indigenous Organisations 113
Learning, Change and Self-analysis 120
Record Keeping and Organisational Memory 121
Achievements and Setbacks 122
Conclusion 125

Chapter 5: Conclusions 126

Goals of the study 126
International development 127
Capacity Building 129
Indigenous development and external agents 131
Intermediary organisations 135
Partnership 136

Bibliography 143

Table of Figures

Figure 1: Map of Ecuadorian provinces 40
Figure 2: Indigenous peoples of Ecuador 42
Figure 3: Sarayacu territory in Ecuador 75

List of Abbreviations, Acronyms and Actors

Amazon Defence Front	A federation of Indigenous and non-indigenous peoples based in the Northern Amazon, formed to fight the petrol company Texaco.
ARCO	North American petrol company which attempted to undertake exploration and extraction of petrol in the Southern Amazon in the late 1990s.
Block 24 Front	A grouping of Indigenous organisations in the Southern Amazon, formed to fight the Texan oil company Burlington
Burlington	North American oil company which undertook exploration for oil in the Southern Amazon from 2000-2002
CESR	Centre for Economic and Social Rights – North American organisation, founder of CDES
CDES	Centro De Derechos Economicos y Sociales – Ecuadorian Intermediary Organisation
CGC	Argentine petrol company which attempted to undertake exploration and extraction of petrol in 2002 in the central Amazon without the consent of the traditional owners, the Sarayacu
CICC	The Indigenous Head Office for Communities of Conception – A Bolivian provincial level Indigenous organisation which covers 45 communities, and has sent staff to the Amazon School

CONAIE	The Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador. The national representative Indigenous organisation of Ecuador, CONAIE was formed via the creation of an alliance between ECUARUNARI and CONFENAIE in 1986. CONAIE features leaders elected tri-annually from regional and grassroots Indigenous organisations.
CONFENAIE	The Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon. CONFENAIE was created in 1980, and united all Indigenous Amazonian peoples.
Earth Rights International	North American NGO, which works with CDES to deliver the Amazon School, developed from its Burma School.
ECUARUNARI	Ecuador Runacunapac Riccharimui. Formed in 1972, ECUARUNARI represents Indigenous peoples of the Sierra region, thus uniting several federations of the highlands.
ESCR	Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
FEINE	National Evangelical group of Indigenous peoples
FENAP	Federation of Peruvian Achuar People – unites three organisations that represent around 10,000 Achuar.
FENOCIN	National campesino organisation – a non-Indigenous body
FICSHA	Federation of Shuar Centres - Formed in 1965-6 in the South and Central Amazon, FICSHA is one of the earliest indigenous organisations created in Ecuador.

FINAE	The Interprovincial Federation of the Achuar Nationality - Regional representative organisation of the Achuar people of the Southern and Central Amazon. Note that FINAE changed their name to NAE, The Achuar Nationality of Ecuador, in late 2005
FIPSE	Independent Federation of the Shuar People of Ecuador
FOIN	Federation of Indigenous Organisations of Napo – a provincial level federation that was created in the late 1960s
Ford Foundation	North American Foundation, the primary donor for the Amazon School
FPIC	Free, Prior and Informed Consent
IBIS	A Dutch NGO with operational programs globally
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NNGO	Northern Non-Governmental Organisation
NPA	Norwegian Peoples' Aid, a Norwegian NGO with global programs

OPIAC	The Organisation of Indigenous Peoples of the Colombian Amazon – Active in defending collective rights in Colombia, OPIAC has sent 10 students to the Amazon School
OPIP	Organisation of Indigenous Peoples of Pastaza – based in Pastaza province in the Central Amazon
ORAU	The AIDESEP Regional Organisation of Ucayali – A Peruvian regional organisation which represents 14 communities and 12 federations, and is a member of AIDESEP, the Peruvian National Indigenous Federation. ORAU has sent students to the Amazon School
Pachakutik	National Indigenous political party, formed in 1996, with strong links to CONAIE
Pachamama	A North American NGO with programs only in Ecuador
Sarayacu	Indigenous community based in the Central Amazon
SNGO	Southern Non-Governmental Organisation
Texaco	North American oil company, which in the process of extracting petrol from the Northern Amazon, dumped billions of gallons of toxic waste in the area over a twenty year period.

Glossary

Campesino A Latin American farmer or farm labourer. In Ecuador the term is generally applied to poor and non-indigenous people.

Capacity building "An endogenous course of action that builds on existing capacities and assets, and the ability of people, institutions and societies to perform functions, solve problems and set and achieve objectives" (Lopes and Thiesohn, 2004).

Cosmovision "The way a certain population perceives the cosmos or world. It includes assumed relationships between the human world, the natural world and the spiritual world. It describes the perceived role of supernatural powers, the relationship between humans and nature, and the way natural processes take place. It embodies the premises on which people organize themselves, and determines the moral and scientific basis for intervention in nature" (Haverkort et al, 2003).

Endogenous development Development based predominantly on local knowledge and resources, which may also integrate traditional and external knowledge and practices. (Haverkoort et al, 2003)

Indigenous While various definitions exist, Jose Martinez Cobo, United Nations Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, provided this working definition: "indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct

from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system."

Intermediary organisation "National or regional NGOs that are generally staffed by professionals, provide funding or technical assistance to a range of grassroots organisations, and help communities other than their own to develop" (Fisher, 1993).

Intercultural "Occurring between two or more cultures, involving two or more cultures" (Merriam Webster Collegiate Dictionary, 2007).

Mestizo Literally 'mixed-blood', in Ecuador this term is used to refer to peoples who are part latino and part indigenous.

Organisational development "A planned, systematic and participatory process of change intended to increase organisational effectiveness and develop a continuing capacity for learning" (INTRAC, 1999).

Partnership "Joint commitment to long term interaction, shared responsibility for achievement, reciprocal obligation, equality, mutuality and balance of power" (Fowler, 2000).

Plurinational Within the Indigenous movement in Ecuador, this is used to describe one nation legally acknowledging the existence of other nationalities or peoples within its territories, and according specific rights to those peoples.

List of Interviews

During the research conducted in Ecuador in July 2005, several interviews were conducted. All interviews were conducted using a semi-structured format, with a number of open questions to commence, which led to unstructured discussions. All interviews except two (which were conducted in English) were conducted in Spanish, and detailed notes in Spanish and English were taken. These notes remain in possession of the author of the research.

In Quito interviews were conducted with:

Mario Melo	Coordinator of Amazon Area Program and Lawyer for CDES
Celestino Wichum	Director of Amazon School project within CDES
Joanna Levitt	Fulbright Scholar working with CDES
Hilda Santi	President of the Tayjasaruta, the Sarayacu representative organisation
Efren Kalapucha	Director of Territories and Natural Resources, CONAIE
Natalia Wray	Regional Director of Norwegian Peoples' Aid
Arturo Cevallos	Country Director of IBIS, a Dutch NGO
Belen	Country Director of Pachamama, an American NGO
Ruth Arias	Ecuadorian woman who works frequently with Indigenous organisations

In Puyo, in the Central Amazon, interviews were conducted with:

Ruben Samarin	Director of Lands and Territories, FINAE
Jorge Canolos	Director of Health, FINAE
Jose Gualinga	Director of International Relations of the Tayjasaruta, the Sarayacu representative organisation
Mario Grefa	President of OPIP

In Guatemala in September 2005, discussions were conducted with Martin Scurrah, who was at that time the Latin America Director of Oxfam America.

Abstract

This research explores the question 'In a country where the Indigenous movement has been relatively successful, what were the interactions between international non-governmental organisations and Indigenous organisations?' Sub questions include 'What role did partnership play in these relationships?', 'How was capacity building done?' and 'What role did intermediary organisations play?'

Having worked internationally in NGO settings involving Indigenous people, in Africa, South East Asia, Latin America and Australia, I was aware that approaches such as partnership and capacity building are promoted but appear to be difficult to put into practice. I felt that it would be useful to look at the relationship between Indigenous organisations and International NGOs in a context where the Indigenous movement is considered to be relatively successful. I hoped that by exploring a context other than Australia I could identify relevant challenges, alternate ways of working, and whether there are any implications that are relevant to Australia.

The case study selected for analysis is that of the Indigenous movement of Ecuador, and its relationship with those International non-governmental organisations that support it, together with the role played by one of its strongest supporters, the intermediary Ecuadorian organisation the Centre for Economic and Social Rights (CDES). The research will explore the nature of the Indigenous movement, and the International NGOs that support the Indigenous movement, together with the relationships that exist between them.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Research Topic

This research explores the question 'In a country where the Indigenous movement has been relatively successful, what were the interactions between international non-governmental organisations and Indigenous organisations?' Sub questions include 'What role did partnership play in these relationships?', 'How was capacity building done?' and 'What role did intermediary organisations play?'

My interest in these questions stems from my work during the previous 9 years as a development practitioner, often with Indigenous peoples, in a wide range of contexts. I have worked primarily with international non-governmental organisations in a variety of developing countries, including Cuba, Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia and Laos. Lewis (2001) describes NGOs as "the group of organisations engaged in development and poverty reduction work at local, national and global levels around the world", and Northern NGOs are simply those from developed or Northern countries. In all these contexts, which differ greatly, the approach of Northern Non-Governmental Organisations (NNGO) in the last two decades has generally involved developing 'partnerships' with local organisations based in the country of operation, commonly called Southern non-governmental organisations (SNGOs), and either jointly implementing activities or funding SNGOs to implement them. This 'partnership' approach has replaced that of direct implementation, and this shift is viewed by most development practitioners as morally and ethically necessary, as it implies working in solidarity and equality with SNGOs, supporting them to direct the development of their own countries. However the implementation of 'partnerships' with local organisations in different contexts has caused me to grapple with several issues. These include how NNGOs can best support local organisations, how NNGOs can make these relationships equal when NNGOs control all the resources, how to build local

empowerment and control as an external actor and whether partnership is really the best approach.
I have also worked with and for Indigenous Australian organisations, notably Balkanu Cape York Development Corporation, run by Gerhardt and Noel Pearson. For Indigenous peoples, where development is often a negative force, and self-determination and ethnodevelopment are generally central objectives, these issues become even more crucial, and a vital issue for me has been how to support Indigenous peoples to increase control over the direction and improvement of their own lives.

During 2004-2005 I worked with Oxfam Australia as the Indigenous Australia Program Coordinator. Despite being aware of the issues faced by Indigenous organisations from my time with Balkanu, I became aware in this Oxfam role of several problems when attempting to support Indigenous organisations. These included issues around developing partnerships between organisations that held different objectives, perspectives, capacities, ways of working and resources. It was notable that Oxfam staff called local Indigenous organisations partners, holding themselves to be working in solidarity with them, while those partners called Oxfam their donor, and often refuted solidarity claims.

Despite these claims of solidarity Oxfam did require its Indigenous partners to conform with its funding cycles, deadlines and reporting requirements, which often conflicted with the community-based priorities of the Indigenous organisations. In turn Indigenous organisations did not permit Oxfam staff to express opinions on Indigenous issues, claiming this as Indigenous domain. Perhaps resulting from a lack of field experience, Oxfam also refused to address ‘race’ issues, acting from a ‘white guilt’ perspective and treating overtly racist comments, or a refusal to learn from non-Indigenous peoples, from Indigenous people as acceptable.

As Oxfam, considered to be one of the leading NNGOs in Australia, had not

resolved the above issues, I felt that it would be useful to look at the relationship between Indigenous organisations and NNGOs in a context where the Indigenous movement is considered to be relatively successful. I hoped that by exploring another context I could identify relevant challenges, alternate ways of working, and whether there are any implications that are relevant to Australia.

Finally, I wanted to explore the relevant literature, as from a superficial survey such approaches as partnership and capacity building appear to be promoted, both in Australia and internationally, but as this appears difficult to put into practice, I wanted to see what the literature says about this, and how it can support practitioners such as myself to address this.

Reason for selecting Ecuador as case study

The case study selected for analysis is that of the Indigenous movement of Ecuador, and its relationship with those International non-governmental organisations that support it, together with the role played by one of its strongest supporters, the intermediary Ecuadorian organisation the Centre for Economic and Social Rights (CDES). The research will explore the nature of the Indigenous movement, and the NNGOs that support the Indigenous movement, together with the relationships that exist between them.

Time will also be spent to explore the nature, objectives and structure of the Centre for Economic and Social Rights in detail. Intermediary organisations are local non-governmental organisations, generally staffed by technical experts, which work to support grassroots or representative bodies or communities. Intermediary organisations also liaise with donors, thus facilitating links between the representative grassroots organisations or communities, and the donors. The objective here is to better understand the role played by external partner or support organisations, and specifically the role of intermediary organisations, in the development of the Indigenous organisations and movement. Intermediary

organisations, while common in developing countries such as Ecuador, are not usually recognised in Australia. However, a number of organisations fulfil very similar roles, despite their heavy reliance on state funding, such as the Central and Northern Land Councils in the Northern Territory, and some regional or State Land Councils in Queensland and New South Wales. Many aspects of the CDES experience in Ecuador will therefore throw some light onto Australian interactions in which such intermediary bodies are key elements in the flow of information and funds between large NGOs and local Aboriginal communities. It is also important to note that these Land Councils are themselves Indigenous organisations, and thus do not experience many of the issues faced by organisations such as CDES or Oxfam which are non-Indigenous organisations.

The research will also explore the Indigenous movement's various organisations, its local, regional, national and international levels of mobilisation and linkages, how it influences and is influenced by the Ecuadorian context, together with its relationship with CDES and the international development community.

Generally the Indigenous movement in Australia is compared with other Northern colonised countries such as Canada, the United Stated of America, and New Zealand, where similarities are readily located. However the international Indigenous movement is growing and is continuing to build links between a widening diversity of countries. Due to linguistic and cultural barriers, the Australian Indigenous movement does not appear to have developed strong links with the Indigenous movements of Latin America, despite the strengths and successes achieved here. While there are notable differences between Australia and Ecuador, many of the issues faced by Indigenous peoples are similar, such as defence of territories, strengthening of organisations that represent the grassroots (being both culturally appropriate and politically effective), maintenance and strengthening of cultural identity and practices, together with planning for a type of development that will allow the maintenance of this cultural identity. Given the successes of the

Indigenous movement in Ecuador over recent decades, it appears that it may be useful to explore the nature of the movement, and its relationship with supporting intermediary organisations.

Outline of thesis topic

Given that my primary interest in this topic is as a practitioner, the comparison between the issues analysed in the theoretical literature and the practical case study of Ecuador is of interest. This allows me to place the case study researched in Ecuador within current debates and issues, and also provide a summary of currently promoted or debated practices and theory, together with highlighting any contradictions between the literature and practice.

The second chapter, 'Concepts', explores a wide variety of opinions and perspectives on the central questions for this study. Those issues include the current situation of international development, the popular development approach of capacity building, the relationship between the emerging indigenous organisations and movements and international development, and the concept of partnership.

The third chapter provides an introduction to the Indigenous movement in Ecuador, discussing the history of the movement, its nature and approach and exploring the reasons why this movement has been so successful. This chapter also looks at the strengths and weaknesses of the movement, and current issues that the movement faces.

This is followed by chapter four, which examines those international non-governmental organisations that currently support the indigenous movement, together with several Indigenous organisations that have been active within the movement, and their varying perspectives regarding the relationships that exist between them. It also explores the different ways that these NNGOs have provided

support to Indigenous organisations, and Indigenous organisations opinions regarding this support.
Chapter five concentrates on the intermediary organisation CDES, and its role and objectives, programs, ways of working, and internal structure. This chapter also explores the external relationships that CDES has, notably with the NNGOs that fund it, and the indigenous organisations that it supports, and its achievements and setbacks.

Chapter 6 provides an analysis of the conclusions that can be drawn from this research, both within the case study, and in comparing the case study to the literature. It focuses on the topics of international development, partnership, capacity building, indigenous development and the role of external agents, and intermediary organisations.

Outline of methodology and how case study research was undertaken

Selection of context:

Ecuador was selected as the focus country for the case study due to the substantial advances and impacts of the Indigenous movement here. Having previously worked in Cuba, the fact that I am able to both speak and read Spanish enabled me to undertake research here, especially as many of the interviewees spoke no English. With the initial goal of examining different models of support provided to Indigenous organisations by development NGOs in Australia and Ecuador, I hoped to concentrate research upon the role played by a local intermediary organisation in Ecuador. As an employee of Oxfam Australia, I contacted Oxfam America's South America office in search of a successful intermediary organisation that Oxfam America supports, and that in turn supports Indigenous organisations in Ecuador. Oxfam America recommended their partner CDES, and, after researching CDES' role and relationships with Indigenous organisations in Ecuador, I made contact with them and offered to work voluntarily for CDES in Quito for 1 month. The organisation agreed to this and suggested July

2005.

The research undertaken can be divided into three main phases, which consisted of a literature review, field work, and then analysis and compilation of information/data collected.

Literature Review:

Prior to the field-based research, I undertook a detailed review of all relevant and available sources of information. This consisted of primarily secondary sources, as it was not possible to obtain documents from either CDES or Oxfam America before arriving in Ecuador. Listed in the bibliography, these books and articles, notably those of Selverston-Scher (2004) and Perrault (2003), aided me greatly in developing an understanding of the history and the social and political context in which the Indigenous movement evolved in Ecuador. This knowledge proved invaluable in discussions with Indigenous leaders during the field research.

Field Work:

I worked in the CDES office for the month of July 2005. However as the organisation did not have the resources to define a role for me, only part of this time was spent actually undertaking work for CDES. This involved:

a. Supporting local indigenous staff to design the curriculum for a capacity building school for Indigenous Amazonian leaders;
b. Discussing and comparing approaches to organisational support for Indigenous organisations in Ecuador with the Amazon Area co-ordinator;
c. Sharing the monitoring and evaluation methodologies used by the Oxfam Indigenous program in Australia;
d. Sharing organisational self-assessment activities used by the Oxfam Indigenous program in Australia;
e. Reviewing and correcting English versions of research and policy

documents.

Although I had planned to work full time with CDES, the fact that this work was only part time enabled me to spend time gathering information from other actors in the capital Quito, and also in the Amazonian town of Puyo, in the province of Pastaza.

Of a qualitative nature, the research consisted primarily of interviews, informal group discussions, and participant observation. I was able to conduct all interviews and group discussions in Spanish, which enabled the participants to ably express themselves.

Participant Observation:

I was based within the national office of CDES in Quito for one month, and shared an office with the Indigenous manager of the Amazon School, Celestino Wichum. Being based within CDES enabled me to develop an understanding of the internal dynamics of the organisation, its relations with the various actors in the Indigenous movement, and the relations between these actors. It also enabled me to develop a sense of the organisational culture and other internal issues which are not documented, such as dissent between the staff. Without a good comprehension of the Spanish language, much of this would have been lost.

Interviews and discussions:

I conducted several interviews and took part in numerous informal discussions with Mario Melo, the Amazon Program Coordinator of CDES, and also interviewed such CDES staff as Celestino Wichum (Amazon School Coordinator) and Jorge Acosta (Globalisation Coordinator). In addition, CDES facilitated interviews for me with a wide variety of actors in the Indigenous movement. These ranged from the president and directors of a grassroots Indigenous Amazonian organisation, the Sarayacu, the staff of regional Indigenous organisations such as OPIP (the Organisation of Indigenous Peoples of the Province of Pastaza) and FINAE (the Achuar Federation), a director of the national organisation CONAIE, and staff of

international development non-governmental organisations such as Norwegian Peoples Aid, IBIS (a Dutch NNGO), and Pachamama, a North American NGO. These interviews were conducted in Spanish, using a semi-structured format. Detailed notes were taken in Spanish and English, and are in my possession. Some interviews, such as those with FINAE and OPIP, were conducted with 3-4 participants, however the majority of interviews were one on one.

Data collection:

While working with CDES, I was provided with a wide range of primary documents in Spanish from both CDES and Oxfam America, such as the strategic plans of CDES and Oxfam America, external evaluations, and annual reports from CONAIE. Unfortunately, I was unable to read the majority of the documents until I returned to Australia, which prevented me from achieving a deeper understanding while in Ecuador, and thus conducting more targeted research. As these documents existed only in Spanish, the process of translating them to English, some of which were over 100 pages long, was quite time-intensive. However these documents have been invaluable sources of information, and have ensured that I have a much better understanding of some of the internal issues not obvious in a short term visit.

Shifting the focus:

The initial goal of the case study, before arriving in Ecuador, was to explore the partnership between two organisations, one being Indigenous and the other being a non-Indigenous intermediary or support organisation. However, during this time in Ecuador, it became evident that, rather than clearly separable or definable relationships, the Indigenous movement is made up of a complex web of interdependent relationships between a wide variety of organisations, from local to regional to national. Thus the approach of support organisations has been, rather than develop an exclusive relationship with one organisation, to try to work with many simultaneously, and to also try to strengthen the links between these Indigenous organisations. Martin Scurrah of Oxfam America has stated that this 'sectoral approach' thus creates more profound and widespread impact. Therefore, when attempting to examine NGO support to specific organisations of the Indigenous movement in Ecuador, it became increasingly obvious that it was necessary to also explore the Indigenous movement itself, the context, the approaches of and links between the support organisations, and the relationships between the various Indigenous organisations.

Limitations:

I believe that my research was hampered by several factors. These included the fact that I was unable to read many of the primary documents until after the field research, and that I had only one month in Ecuador to conduct the field work. While it was not difficult to obtain many of the documents in Ecuador, as they existed only in Spanish, the process of translating them took a substantial amount of time. This prevented me from exploring in further detail the nature and practice of Indigenous organisations. Areas that I would have liked to dedicate more time to were the relationship between the Indigenous communities and the Indigenous organisations (specifically the ways that organisations are accountable to their communities), and the structure of these organisations, which appeared to be a mix of both traditional Indigenous and 'Western' structures.

Chapter 2: Concepts

In order to lay the ground work to better understand the questions I am seeking to answer, it is necessary to first develop an understanding of the debates and contexts that surround them. This chapter will focus on the debates around the four issues I am investigating – the current situation of international development, the popular development approach of capacity building, the relationship between the emerging indigenous organisations or movements and international development, and the concept of partnership, used by many NNGOs to support Indigenous organisations.

As one of the most marginalised populations across the globe, Indigenous peoples are often the targets for development interventions, and their lives are greatly affected. It can be seen that several debates within international development have had, and continue to have, a great impact on both the type of interactions development agencies have with Indigenous peoples, and indeed the quality of life experienced by them.

International Development

A contested term, development is defined by Amartya Sen (1999) as the removal of various unfreedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency. Sen views the expansion of freedom as primary end and as principal means of development. However Rist (2002) holds that such definitions are merely aspirational and provides a very different definition, stating that "'Development' consists of a set of practices, sometimes appearing to conflict with one another, which require – for the reproduction of society – the general transformation and destruction of the natural environment and of social relations. Its aim is to increase the production of commodities (goods and services) geared, by way of exchange, to effective demand." Rist adds that development is a tool

used to ensure the continuity of Western wealth and systems. Several authors note that this definition replaced the use of colonisation, and that this served western interests as the new vocabulary justified decolonisation which helped them to access new markets so far 'reserved' to colonial powers, and furthermore justified intervention in these countries (Rist, 2002, Crewe and Harrison, 1998, Escobar, 1995).

The dominant development model, active for over 50 years, involves bringing knowledge from the North to the South, implying that societies progress through stages and that development means movement from primitive tradition to desirable modernity (Crewe and Harrison, 1998). Rivero (1999) notes that the population in the underdeveloped world borders 5 billion and of this around 3 billion survive on US$2-3 per day, with 1.3 billion in such extreme poverty they can not afford to feed themselves, with only US$1 per day. Despite the clear failure of this model, it continues to be promoted by governments and multilateral organisations. In addition, the gap between rich and poor countries is growing, and poor countries cannot catch up.

This approach of bringing 'knowledge' to communities ignores the fact that development activities are never introduced into vacuums as the South has its own variety of knowledges and cultures, which are continually changing. The development industry often perceives tradition as holding people back, and Southern cultures are portrayed as absolute and given, though subject to modification. Local people are often seen as slow to adopt new technology partly because of cultural barriers, either from ignorance or cultural rules (Escobar, 1995, Crewe and Harrison, 1998). It can be argued that this imposition of western development is perhaps most extreme in regard to indigenous peoples, who continue to be seen as primitive and undeveloped.

However, as Escobar notes, the South is not a 'reservoir of tradition'. There are

many forms of resistance to development by popular groups and movements, such as the grassroots and Indigenous movements which have developed since the 1980s. Furthermore, in practice many 'local' people self-identify with modernity, and may invoke values of modernity or tradition in particular circumstances for particular purposes, often taking the parts of development and tradition that suit them.

It does appear that generally economic development policies proceed as though all cultures are the same. In addition Eade (1997) states that often international development agencies see themselves as culturally neutral or superior, and that perhaps the aid industry assumes that increased economic power equals superior wisdom and the moral duty to intervene in the lives of others. However, she notes that the development community is becoming increasingly sensitive to the link between culture and development because of an increase in 'identity politics', the concept that efforts at poverty reduction will be improved by a focus on culture and a mobilisation of cultural strengths, but most importantly, the rejection of the monocultural development model of economic development by many groups.

While these groups and such authors as Escobar and Rist question the validity of the entire paradigm, the development community's response to this, and the increasing poverty gap, has been to suggest modifications to the methods used, or to promote new approaches. Two of these, capacity-building and partnership, will be explored in detail below.

Stemming from the issues raised above, my research in Ecuador will explore how 'development' is defined and experienced by the various actors in the Ecuadorian context, specifically Indigenous peoples, NNGOS and intermediary organisations.

Capacity Building

Defined as "an endogenous course of action that builds on existing capacities and

assets, and the ability of people, institutions and societies to perform functions, solve problems and set and achieve objectives" (Lopes and Thiesohn, 2004), capacity building initially focused on the transfer of specific technical skills, rather than building generalised management skills. Kuramoto (2002) notes that this approach ignored the locally specific indigenous knowledge that most of the world depend upon for survival.

As the approach of technical assistance did not lead to any substantial impact in capacity development, the capacity building approach shifted to focus on internal organisational issues such as leadership, culture, strategy, systems, structures and resources. Most recently the focus of capacity building has been on the influence of the context and external relations on NGO performance, and the importance of influencing government decisions, together with networking and co-operation with other institutions (James, 2001, Malik, 2002).

Initially development practitioners ignored the corporate management world, however recently several lessons have been drawn from here. These include the goal of worker commitment and the positive approach to management that the corporate world promotes, in order to achieve objectives. It appears that often development practitioners do the opposite, emphasising persistent problems and responding to them via increasing control, downsizing, and reducing discretion (Lopes, 2002).

Another issue relevant to this research is the different levels upon which capacity building can be conducted. In order to promote change on a wider level, James (2001) holds it is necessary to achieve complex personal change, and for people to own the desire for change. However, he adds that this must not stop at individuals, but also include organisational capacity building, defined as "a conscious intervention to improve an organisation's effectiveness and sustainability in relation to its mission and context." Garbutt and Heap (2003) further expand this, stating

that sustained capacity building for individual organisations has a much lesser impact than focusing on the sector as a whole.
While it is recommended that capacity building be conducted on individual, organisational and societal levels (Fukuda-Parr, 2002), international development agencies often focus upon individual level capacity building, which greatly limits impact and the potential for societal change (James, 2001).

Given that the capacity building approach has been practiced since the 1980s, it is important to distil the lessons learned, in order to improve future practice. Eade (2000), an experienced Oxfam practitioner, holds that these include that Northern non-governmental organisations should fund rather than direct capacity building, and that they should fund the core costs of Southern non-governmental organisations, instead of just projects. Eade states that Northern NGO staff need training in organisational management, and that Northern non-governmental organisations need more formal systems of organisational assessment. She also recommends developing strong local capacity for training local organisations. This suggestion supports the idea that local intermediary non-governmental organisations have an important role to play, perhaps in working between NNGOs and local grassroots organisations to ensure appropriate capacity building among other objectives. Quoting DFID and USAID, Eade notes that at least 10 years support is needed to achieve sustained organisational development.

Another important lesson concerns ownership and the reduction of power imbalances, which have been found to be crucial to successful capacity building. Lopes (2004) states that local people need to own the initial idea, take responsibility for process, have control over resources, and commitment to and acceptance of all outcomes, whereas James (2001) notes that often Northern non-governmental organisations control capacity building, placing Southern peoples as passive recipients. James holds that evidence shows better results when Southern non-governmental organisations are involved in the definition of their own capacity

building needs. Holding power differences and dependency to be a concern, James concludes that Northern non-governmental organisations need to make power shifts a goal.
Following on from the issues discussed above, my research in Ecuador will explore the different approaches, experiences and perspectives that the various actors in Ecuador have of capacity building.

Indigeneity, Indigenous Development, External actors and Intermediary Organisations

While Indigenous leaders globally have decided that it is inappropriate to draft a formal definition of indigeneity, and have been supported by states on this, many refer to the working definition written by Jose Martinez Cobo, the United Nations Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. Martinez Cobo's definition states that "indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system. This historical continuity may consist of the continuation, for an extended period reaching into the present of one or more of the following factors:

a) Occupation of ancestral lands, or at least of part of them;
b) Common ancestry with the original occupants of these lands;
c) Culture in general, or in specific manifestations (such as religion, living under a tribal system, membership of an indigenous community, dress,

means of livelihood, lifestyle, etc.);

d) Language (whether used as the only language, as mother-tongue, as the habitual means of communication at home or in the family, or as the main, preferred, habitual, general or normal language);

e) Residence on certain parts of the country, or in certain regions of the world;

f) Other relevant factors."

Importantly, Martinez Cobo added that "on an individual basis, an indigenous person is one who belongs to these indigenous populations through self-identification as indigenous, and is recognised and accepted by these populations as one of its members". It has been held that self-definition may prevent some states from limiting the rights of certain Indigenous peoples. However the absence of an international definition has also caused concern in terms of the application of legal instruments (Corntassel, 2003).

As it involves self-definition in widely varying contexts, it becomes apparent that indigeneity is a social construct resulting from Western discourse, and also that its use often ignores the differences between indigenous groups (Warren and Jackson, 2002). The definition of indigeneity between Australia and Ecuador differs greatly, as in Australia it is enough to be of indigenous descent and identify as such, whereas in Ecuador people are considered indigenous only if their first language is not Spanish, they wear traditional clothing and practice traditional customs, in addition to self-identifying. This is discussed in further detail in the 'Ecuador context' chapter.

There also appears to be some fluidity in the self-identification of Indigenous peoples, with Li (p 150, 2000) stating "a group's self-identification as tribal or indigenous is not natural or inevitable, but neither is it simply invented, adopted or imposed. It is rather a *positioning* which draws upon historically sedimented

practices, landscapes and repertoires of meaning, and emerges through particular patterns of engagement and struggle" (quoted in Baviskar, 2005). In Ecuador Indigenous peoples initial mobilisation was initially class based however in the 1980s, in response to the increasing international focus on, and funding for, Indigenous peoples, this shifted to indigeneity (Perrault, 2003). International activities included the drafting of ILO 169, and the United Nations year and decade of indigenous peoples. While this may be seen as Indigenous people finally becoming empowered enough to defend their identity, Baviskar's (2005) account of the 'indigenous' peoples of India, the adivasis, demonstrates that the reverse can happen. Here during the 1980s, and again influenced by the global discourses regarding Indigenous peoples, the adivasis in the state of Madhya Pradesh worked together under a pan-indigenous banner to reclaim resource rights. Yet in the 1990s many of the Bhilala group of adivasis joined the violent Hindu movement of Hindutva, attacking Christian and Muslim adivasis, thus shifting their primary identity from Indigenous to Hindu.

There are "innumerable types of human identity that vary across many aspects of experience, including race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, age, class, physicality, language, religion and profession" and these are "complex, multi-faceted, socio-historical constructs", influenced by prevailing discourses (Paradies, p. 356, 2005; Sen, 2005). These constructions have not occurred in a vacuum, and Gomez de la Torre (2004) notes that in Ecuador "the continued negotiations of an ethnic identity is dynamic, dialectical, fluid and porous", both influenced by and influencing the dominant culture. Similar negotiations take place across the world, and Australian researchers on Indigeneity have also noted that it is not useful to view culture as an autonomous, self-defining and self-reproducing set of values and practices of a separate group (Merlan, 1998, Martin, 2004). Martin (2004) adds that while there are distinctive characteristics of Indigenous values and practices, these have been produced, reproduced and transformed through engagement with the dominant society. Merlan suggests that the relations between Indigenous peoples and the

state in Australia are not coercive, but mimetic or imitative, with Indigenous peoples being highly sensitive to others representations of what or who they are, and this affecting who they consider themselves to be. The ongoing change and continuity in Indigenous culture take elements from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures. Rejecting the idea of an autonomous Indigenous domain, Merlan suggests the use of intercultural social fields instead.

Another important issue is the essentialisation of Indigenous identity (Briggs and Sharpe, 2004). Cultural essentialism has been defined as the tendency to believe that all those who belong to a specific culture exhibit specific morals, ideas or characteristics, stemming from their biology (Dryburgh, 2004). Baviskar (2006) notes that metropolitan activitists essentialise Indigenous adivasis in India by promoting adivasi resistance to development as a "comprehensive critique of development", whereas adivasi participants view it as a fight for basic subsistence. In Ecuador, as anthropologists begin to reject the image of immutable and timeless people living in complete harmony with nature, Indigenous peoples are now promoting this very image (Corr, 2003). Thus those images promoted by the dominant culture have now been appropriated by Indigenous peoples. It appears that in Ecuador the diverse Indigenous population, which united under CONAIE, has achieved several successes via promoting a homogenous pan-indigeneity. They have used the dominant society's emphasis of their differentness, promoting this difference to question existing arrangements and gain access to power, yet have also emphasised similarities, notably with the campesinos or working class. Similar attempts have occurred in Australia. While these have not perhaps been as politically successful as in Ecuador, they have created a pan-indigenous identity, which may be considered to be essentialised.

In Australia Paradies holds that this essentialised image of Indigeneity has caused all Indigenous peoples to be viewed via stereotyped images, with specific 'fantasies' in the areas of exclusivity, cultural difference, marginality, morality and

physicality. This has also involved the construction of policed boundaries, which causes many Indigenous Australians to be open to accusations of inauthenticity, with 88% not speaking an Aboriginal language, and just over half identifying with a particular clan or language group (Paradies, 2005).

However, writing of Ecuador, Whitten (2003) holds that the process of "self-essentialising" is important, quoting Corr (2001) who states "essentialising is at the heart of self-empowerment, pride, and alternative modernity."
While very little has been written regarding capacity building for Indigenous communities, Dodson (2003) has provided several recommendations. Stating that Indigenous peoples already participate in their own cultural systems, institutions and structures, he holds that capacity development content needs to be customised to suit a diversity of circumstances. Dodson notes the need to strengthen Aboriginal peoples' options for articulating their own needs and priorities and for initiating 'ethnodevelopment' which he defines as socioeconomic change that is determined by the Indigenous people and is compatible with their specific cultural values.

For capacity building to be successful in Indigenous communities in Australia, Dodson states that it must:

- enhance independence not dependence;
- reinforce land grants, recognise the relationship to land and provide Aboriginals with effective control over activities on their land;
- be drawn from and strengthen existing capacities, their communities, organisations and institutions;
- recognise that culturally based factors regarding age and sex play an important part in the acquisition and exercise of certain parts of capacities in Aboriginal societies;

- be participatory and driven by aboriginal control;
- encompass multiple levels of Aboriginal groups and cultural linkages and not focus on isolated individuals and groups;
- be tied to achievable goals that can be measured by Aboriginal people;
- be supported by a wider enabling environment where government capacity to co-ordinate its activities, provide 'downward accountability' and develop partners with Aboriginal people, is developed urgently.

Despite Dodson providing some clear recommendations for development activities with Indigenous Australians, there exist a wide diversity of approaches regarding development and Indigenous peoples. Surprisingly, the loudest promoter of a Western-centric development model in Australia is the Indigenous leader Noel Pearson, this despite its overwhelming failure in Australia. Pearson eloquently decries the current state of Indigenous peoples' lives, attributing many of the problems to the 'passive welfare' Indigenous people receive, with its lack of reciprocity and responsibility. As noted by Martin (2001) it is difficult to disagree with Pearson's analysis of the situation, or with his call for structural change, new systems of governance for Indigenous communities and reform of the existing institutional arrangements between government and Aboriginal communities. These demands directly address the power imbalances that exist between Indigenous peoples and mainstream Australia. However, in terms of on-the-ground activities in the Aboriginal communities targeted, Pearson's focus is economic development. For example, in the Pearson-driven Balkanu Cape York Development Corporation's proposal to reform disadvantage in Cape York (2001), the goals are greater involvement in the economy and greater participation in the workforce for aboriginal people, via six strategies. These include import substitution, regional enterprise development, small enterprise and export development, education and training, the Cape York investment fund, and developing enabling structures such as business hubs, and recruitment and mentor

services. Although Pearson states that these economic initiatives must be implemented hand in hand with other social initiatives to strengthen families and community if they are to have any long lasting impact, he does not explain what these social impacts should or could be. Furthermore, in its implementation of this program Balkanu has focused solely and exclusively on the economic initiatives, which include companies such as Westpac sending business executives on four week visits to produce business plans for often barely literate community members.

This approach differs greatly from the findings of the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development. This project conducted over 15 years of research into many Indigenous American communities in order to better understand why economic development fails and succeeds, and holds that sovereignty and appropriate governance are the crucial ingredients (Cornell, 1998). Cornell (2003) states that the North American successes in Indigenous economic development all have Indigenous self government, strong leadership, capable governing institutions and 'cultural match', which means that the governance system imposed by the colonisers did not differ too greatly from the pre-existing system of governance.

Resulting from histories of colonisation and attempted assimilation, another approach sometimes voiced by Indigenous peoples is a rejection of the entire concept of development. This generally involves the challenging of established models of development, as well as the way that development ignores the localised knowledge of Indigenous peoples (Croal and Darou, 2002). For example, Hilhorst (2003) notes that in the Philippines an indigenous discourse involves a constant appeal to insider/outsider categories and an anti-development, anti-progress rhetoric.

It appears that these two positions place Indigenous knowledge and Western knowledge at opposing and antagonistic extremes of authority. Blaser et al (2004) promote a third approach which requires seeing different types of knowledge as

complementary and capable of being combined. Here Indigenous people are acknowledged as being *able to* take useful elements of both traditional and introduced practices, and use a mix to achieve their goals. This approach also considers that the major block has not been the exclusivity of the different types of knowledge, but rather the pervasive power imbalance and the continued subordination of Indigenous peoples.

While Noel Pearson appears to be one of the most influential voices in the Australian Indigenous context, internationally different voices and approaches can be heard. Rodolfo Stavenhagen, currently the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Indigenous Peoples, stated in 1990 that development theory often ignores the ethnic element of a nation, and this has led to many failures in development. He claims that it "has been known for several decades now that development projects, the introduction of a monetary economy in subsistence agricultural systems and other elements of modernisation, may have harmful and negative effects on large masses of the population, particularly traditional communities and indigenous and tribal peoples." Stavenhangen notes that during the 1970s it became clear that the modernisation paradigm was not working, so development proponents started to talk of endogenous development and self-reliant development, but nobody questioned the development aim itself. Stavenhagen also claims that economic and cultural ethnocide is embedded in development theory, holding that traditional economies must disappear to make way for western capitalism or socialism.

The appearance of Indigenous organisations, supported by non-governmental organisations and human rights organisations, on the international political scene, has led to a focus on the need for a new approach to the socio-economic development of ethnic groups. These groups have called for self-determination and ethnodevelopment as the fundamental approach (Stavehagen, 1990). The fact that Stavenhagen's comments were made in 1990 and remain relevant demonstrates

the lack of positive change for Indigenous peoples.

In a World Bank paper, Partridge et al define ethnodevelopment as those processes that are defined and controlled by Indigenous peoples as they seek better lives for their communities in the face of increasing poverty and social disintegration. This involves ethnic groups having the power to decide regarding their own affairs, participate in decision-making bodies where their future is discussed and decided, political representation and participation, respect for their traditions and cultures, and the freedom to choose what kind of development, if any, they want (Partridge et al 1996). Also, as many indigenous cultures place great importance on maintaining and revitalising cultural expression, sometimes development is not about change but about preservation and strengthening.
However it is necessary to note that while the World Bank and similar multilateral agencies advocate for ethnodevelopment and increased Indigenous control, their practice often falls short of their rhetoric. Stavenhagen (1990) notes that many of the projects financed by the World Bank have caused damage to Indigenous populations.

There are also issues with development organisations supporting ethnodevelopment. While several authors state that endogenous development is possible, they note that international development organisations are not generally supportive (Haverkort et al). Hilhorst (2003) also found strong differences between the mainstream concept of development, and the Indigenous Philippino concept. For example Indigenous women promoted the idea of socioeconomic but not income generating projects, and aimed to increase social security with emergency credit and rice funds. Others note that development agencies must dialogue with local knowledge holders, and for this to happen Indigenous peoples must have political and economic parity with development forces.

Yet despite these differences, as Stavenhagen notes above, Indigenous

organisations have become a strong player in the Indigenous demand for a type of development that is controlled by indigenous peoples, often with support from international development agencies. Often using a mix of traditional and introduced elements, these organisations can provide a vehicle for Indigenous peoples to develop cohesive strategies, make decisions, and interact with the dominant culture.

In Kleymeyer (1993) an Ecuadorian indigenous elder says that their organisations offer them life, and without them they will disappear. Cultural identification via local organisations platforms and activities can also energise people, helping them to take collective charge for their welfare. The Indigenous demand for self-determination hinges on their conviction that their forms of social organisation and their customary ways of dealing with internal affairs are better suited to their needs than some of the institutional structures that have been imposed upon them. Furthermore, in addition to providing support and motivation to Indigenous communities, Indigenous organisations also provide a means to articulate demands to the dominant culture, at the same time preserving the uniqueness of their social structures (Partridge et al, 1996). Indigenous organisations, as representative bodies, can also engage more effectively with the state, and, as Martin (2003) notes, have a wider range of options available than if they were acting as individuals.

Furthermore, Partridge et al (1996) hold that if communities have a strong position with state, they'll receive more rights and autonomy, noting that "this position of strength generally arises out of the ability to organise which is directly related to the relative freedom the groups experience and their ability to meet, discuss and address the issues they are concerned about".

In many developing countries, these Indigenous organisations have been heavily supported by external actors such as NNGOs, foundations and bilateral or

multilateral development agencies. Providing grants, training, capacity building and advocacy support, these external agencies have sometimes had enormous influence on the activities and successes or failures of Indigenous organisations, and this issue will be examined in the context of Ecuador.

Another issue that is very relevant to the relationship between Indigenous peoples and development agencies centres around the role of external actors in ethnodevelopment, and in supporting local organisations or communities in (controlling their) development. For example, while several Indigenous activists call for locally controlled development, some research shows that the involvement of external change agents can have a positive impact, even increasing local ownership and participation. For example, Fox (1996) in discussing the construction of social capital through the interaction (or lack of) between local Indigenous organisations and the state in Mexico, concludes that the presence of external allies or change agents is beneficial in ensuring the success of Indigenous controlled development.

It appears that external 'change agents' or catalysts do make a positive contribution to locally driven change. They can help to open free spaces, and act as brokers or mediators, help to develop strategies for dealing with other actors, and enable local organisations to develop the skills to deal with outside actors (Carroll, 1992). Esman and Uphoff (1988) note that the role of these external agents is paradoxical as they promote 'assisted self-reliance', and are often necessary to initiate or encourage local organisations, adding that without local initiative there must be outside impetus if the status quo is to change. They recommend that change agents be selected from outside the community as they are then removed from the local structure, being independent or under less pressure. However they add that the change agent should also be prepared to disengage if the local organisation they support can never be self-sustaining as otherwise this will create dependency.

Influential external actors in many development contexts, although not in Indigenous Australia, are intermediary organisations. These are national or regional NGOs that are generally staffed by professionals, provide funding or technical assistance to a range of grassroots organisations, and help communities other than their own to develop (Fisher, 1993). The majority are not membership organisations. Fisher notes that intermediary organisations began to emerge in the 1960s, in response to increased international funding and unemployment among professionals in developing countries. Carroll (1992) holds that some top-down support is necessary to enable the poor to participate from the bottom up. Carroll notes that often donors fund courses for intermediary organisations that cover technical skills such as accounting, but not how to solve problems or build institutions. He adds that intermediary organisations are almost never evaluated on their capacity building performance.

Based on the issues raised here, the research in Ecuador will explore whether there are specific approaches or ways of working that are used and or especially effective for supporting and empowering Indigenous peoples. I will also explore how external actors can best support Indigenous peoples to increase control over the direction of their own lives.

I will also examine the nature and role of intermediary organisations, and specifically whether intermediary organisations can provide a different type of support to Indigenous organisations.

Partnership

Another approach that has become extremely popular with international development agencies is that of partnership. In the wider community, partnership has been defined as "cooperation for a specific purpose in order to achieve common objectives" (Mohiddin, 1999). Brehm (2001) notes that this definition

draws from a business partnership, which is a formal relationship based on shared goals, obligations and risks.

However in the development world, the concept of partnership has been promoted as providing a new, more equal way of working, providing solidarity between Northern and Southern non-governmental organisations, and giving ownership back to Southern non-governmental organisations. In this context partnership has been defined as a 'joint commitment to long term interaction, shared responsibility for achievement, reciprocal obligation, equality, mutuality and balance of power' (Fowler, 2000). Here the focus is on long term accompaniment rather than short term funding.

Others note that partnership is distinguished by solidarity and two way exchange. While resource transfer from the North to the South may occur, it is not the sole basis of the relationship. Partnership is characterized by the fact that both Northern and Southern organisations work to a common end, and it is demand driven from Southern non-governmental organisations, not supply driven by donor funds. Another positive aspect of partnership is that it facilitates the organisation of people to better their situation rather than relegating them to victims desperate for assistance (Malhotra, 1997). One point not often raised is that development partnership are actually three way, with the first partner being the grassroots organisation and local community members, the second the local NGO and the third being the NNGO (Hoyer, 1994).

Fowler (1991) states that non-governmental organisations started pursuing partnership in the 1980s, doing so in the belief that it would "demonstrate the strength of a Northern non-governmental organisation's commitment to solidarity", and as a collaborative way of funding. Fowler believes it was a practical attempt to change power relations in an inherently unbalanced relationship.

Schwab and Sutherland (2002) in a paper for the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research at the Australian National University in Canberra, which explores ways of reducing indigenous disadvantage and marginalisation in Australia, advocate the development of partnerships between development non-governmental organisations and indigenous communities. They hold that these partnerships "may enable skill transfer and capacity development that has been difficult if not impossible for many Indigenous communities to achieve. In addition, they may allow long term engagement and high-risk interventions", adding that the government could learn a lot from these initiatives, and that they have the potential to alter national policy.

Indeed, many development organisations or NNGOs state that they work in partnership, both with local communities and non-governmental organisations from Southern countries. For example the Oxfam Australia 2002-2005 strategic plan states "In the developing world and in Indigenous Australia, we work on long-term development, humanitarian response and advocacy in partnership with organisations at all levels". Likewise Ireland's largest NGO Concern Worldwide states on its website that "Concern believes in working directly with local people, and in partnership with local bodies and other international agencies", (www.concern.net) and ActionAid, an influential English NGO states on its website (www.actionaid.org.uk) that it is "working in partnership with over ten million of the world's poorest people", and that they "work with local and national partners and with poor farmers on land reform and trade justice" in the Americas. Thus partnership does appear to be the chosen approach for many non-governmental organisations' international development work.

It is easy to understand why so many Northern non-governmental organisations have chosen partnership as their way of interacting with Southern non-governmental organisations. With its emphasis on solidarity, trust and equality between Northern and Southern non-governmental organisations, the concept of

partnership appears to provide a two way exchange and to reduce the power imbalance so prevalent in relations between the North and the South. The idea of partnership is attractive to Northern non-governmental organisations as it goes beyond the limitations of projects, it enhances their legitimacy in the North and at the same time promotes local empowerment.

Yet the above elements represent an ideal or aspiration of partnership in theory, rather than partnership as it is practiced. While it appears that many Northern non-governmental organisations do aspire towards this type of relationship with Southern non-governmental organisations, they have failed to transfer these ideals into practice. Partnership has been labelled by one senior practitioner as a politically correct way of relating and not humanly possible, attributing this to the fact that the aid system is a chain of 'dependency-inducing relationships' which makes cooperation and solidarity virtually impossible to create or sustain (Fowler, 2000). As partnerships between Northern and Southern non-governmental organisations generally involve, and sometimes revolve around, the transfer of resources, primarily funds, from the North to the South this tends to dominate the relationship and embed a large power imbalance.

This power imbalance is heightened by the fact that the Northern non-governmental organisations are not accountable to Southern non-governmental organisations in any way, but rather to Northern donors. In direct contrast Southern non-governmental organisations are directly accountable to Northern non-governmental organisations. In addition, if they are based in the same physical location, Southern non-governmental organisations may be accountable to local communities, but this is not always the case. While many Northern non-governmental organisations promote downward accountability, they do not appear to practice it, and indeed the system works against this, especially in the current climate of increasingly rigorous accountability by donors who are less and less flexible, and centralised management structures (Hately and Malhotra, 1997). In order to decrease risk and ensure efficiency and effectiveness, many donors are

increasingly trying to control inputs, outputs and even project activities.

Often Northern non-governmental organisations have a large number of SNGO partners, in order to disburse their funds within the deadlines, and are under pressure to report to donors on the measurable impacts achieved. These donors generally have no contact with Southern non-governmental organisations. Likewise Southern non-governmental organisations are placed under pressure to provide reports detailing these measurable impacts or results to the Northern non-governmental organisations, who often act more like donors than equals. Recognised by most in the development industry as the leading expert of NGO partnerships, Fowler (2000) notes that partnerships between Northern and Southern non-governmental organisations can often resemble a master – servant relationship. It appears that many Southern non-governmental organisations enter into partnerships because they need resources, and are thus dependant from the beginning.

Furthermore, as Northern non-governmental organisations are increasingly having to fit with donors' objectives, this flows down to Southern non-governmental organisations, who often find themselves designing and implementing projects that respond to the objectives of northern donors or Northern non-governmental organisations rather than their own. Northern non-governmental organisations can also dominate or control the definition of 'mutual' partnership goals, which are accepted by Southern non-governmental organisations for fear of losing funds. Due to this need for resources Southern non-governmental organisations are thus unable to hold Northern non-governmental organisations accountable, instead spending their time responding to the demands of the Northern non-governmental organisations, who in turn focus on their donors' objectives (Smillie, 1995).

As a direct result of this lack of accountability to Southern non-governmental organisations, several problems in the way that Northern non-governmental

organisations practice partnership have been noted. Smillie (1995) states that Northern non-governmental organisations prefer to be catalysts and innovators rather than funders of second hand projects, and that this forces Southern non-governmental organisations to design projects that always feature breaking even newer ground and learning newer lessons. He also notes that as Northern non-governmental organisations generally work to fixed project cycles in terms of funding, Southern non-governmental organisations are often obliged to prefinance or halt their activities to fit with these funding cycles, which can have disastrous ramifications in the field. Another issue is that Northern non-governmental organisations often 'cherrypick' Southern non-governmental organisations, which involves selecting only the bits that are most suitable to them. This can cause big changes in the structure and direction of Southern non-governmental organisations. Finally Northern non-governmental organisations often have unclear priorities, frequently changing personnel, delays in decision-making, refuse to pay core costs or overheads, and insist on sustainability, all of which can impact negatively on Southern non-governmental organisations attempting to manage projects on the ground.

Another issue is the lack of coordination between Northern non-governmental organisations. In 'Organisations of developing Countries : and the South Smiles', Theunis (1992) states that the Sri Lankan non-governmental organisation Sarvodaya at one stage had twenty-four donors and was forced to write reports in different formats on different dates for each donor, some of whom demanded quarterly reports. It is therefore necessary to incorporate checks and balances into funding arrangements and relationships to try to prevent Northern non-governmental organisations from exerting their power over Southern non-governmental organisations, as this is encouraged by the Northern non-governmental organisations' control of resources.

The problems with partnership are heightened by the actual use of the term

partnership to describe the relationship between Northern and Southern non-governmental organisations. The word partnership implies shared decision-making and control, mutual trust and risk-taking, together with equality. Given that the relationship between Southern and Northern non-governmental organisations is inherently unequal, using a term that implies a balanced relationship is dangerous as it masks, ignores and denies the existence of this inequality, thus limiting Southern non-governmental organisations and well-meaning Northern non-governmental organisations in their attempts to reduce this imbalance (Rahnema, 1992). Fowler (2000) notes that this terminology makes for “a more subtle type of domination, one which is less amenable to resistance than more blatant forms of neo-colonial relations”, adding that it can also exclude different types of knowledge.

A further problem with the aid industry’s use of the word partnership is that it is currently overused, being used by a wide variety of agencies and donors to describe an equally wide variety of organisational relationships. This tendency to label all relationships as partnerships has further confused the objectives and meaning of the concept. As far back as 1991, Fowler stated that the term was already so overused and ill-identified that it was in danger of losing its meaning.

Lewis (2001) offers a more nuanced view, describing partnerships as processes, with active and passive elements existing simultaneously in different areas and at different times. Providing a clear comparison between positive and negative partnerships, he defines the features of an active partnership as being:

- a process where actors are free to renegotiate and reassess roles when necessary;
- a sharing of risks;
- clear and agreed purpose, roles and linkages, though with the flexibility to change any if required;
- activity-based origins;
- two way debate and dissent;

- an open exchange of learning and information.

In contrast, according to Lewis the features of a dependant or passive partnership include:

- a blueprint or fixed form which cannot be altered;
- rigid roles for each partner;
- unclear purposes and roles;
- individual interests;
- consensus instead of debate;
- resource-based origins;
- poor communication.

Brehm states that there are three elements which together create an effective partnership. These include the effectiveness of the work undertaken (which refers to local partner capacity, expertise and confidence) the quality of the relationship (with crucial ingredients being mutuality, shared vision and values, trust, transparency, frequent communication and professional friendships), and clarity about the purpose of the relationship (which involves the need to agree on boundaries and mutual accountability systems at the commencement of the partnership).

Yet despite all these issues many believe that effective partnership still provides the best option for reducing the gap between Northern non-governmental organisations and Southern non-governmental organisations, while acknowledging that bad partnerships perhaps increase it.

When functioning well partnership does appear to have the potential to empower Southern non-governmental organisations, freeing them from being passive recipients of external assistance from the North. Malhotra (1997) notes that even with funding as a focus, some partnerships have been able to have positive

impacts via capacity building and reinforcing the advocacy abilities of Southern non-governmental organisations. However this has generally been where Southern non-governmental organisations have had substantial decision-making power over joint projects.

Brehm (2001) notes that partnerships have many potential benefits, such as the comparative advantage each group can offer the other. For example, Southern NGOs have local knowledge and a presence on the ground, whereas Northern non-governmental organisations, having proximity to the Northern public, can undertake advocacy to influence the policy of Northern governments, and can interact with official donor agencies.

Therefore, while it appears that positive partnerships are possible, substantial changes must be made before they can be achieved. These include the strengthening of SNGO involvement in decision-making, and involving Southern non-governmental organisations in Northern non-governmental organisations policy decisions. Northern non-governmental organisations must also work to support the financial independence and long term sustainability of Southern non-governmental organisations by funding core costs and perhaps creating endowments or funds for Southern non-governmental organisations to use as they wish (Brehm, 2001). Some hold that Northern non-governmental organisations need a field presence to achieve active partnerships (Fowler, 2000). Funding systems, which have been developed around project funding, will also need to change dramatically.

Brehm (2001) notes that it appears that partnership will only work if the SNGO is in the driving seat, setting agendas and defining planning and reporting processes, and that to do this they must become stronger. It appears that the greater the capacity gap between Northern and Southern NGO partners, the greater the inequality in their partnership, with relations between large Northern non-

governmental organisations and small Southern non-governmental organisations being especially vulnerable. Northern non-governmental organisations should also have the development of partnerships as their priority, rather than the need to disburse funds.

Fowler (2000) provides a viable alternative to the continued striving for ideal partnerships, stating that as the gap between the practice and rhetoric of partnership is so large and systemic, it is a structural pathology. Holding that generally inequalities are inbuilt in 'partnerships', he explores how to make power shifts that could favour Southern non-governmental organisations. He suggests that non-government organisations should acknowledge that there are many different types of relationships, and that they are all valid if negotiated transparently. He recommends to "base relational dialogue on negotiating principles of mutual rights and obligations".

Fowler proposes the use of 5 categories of relationships, whose use should help non-governmental organisations to be clearer about what the relationship involves in reality.

Fowler's framework is based on the following three criteria:

1. the breadth of transactions between the NGOs
2. the depth, which is based on mutual participation and the sharing of power
3. the balance between the rights and obligations of each organisation involved

Fowler defines the following relationships in terms of breadth:

Partner: Involves full, mutual support, for the work, the identity and all aspects of each organisation, with no limits. These are relationships that are the most far-reaching in terms of breadth, depth, and mutual rights and obligations, and are

very rare.

Institutional supporter: Focuses on organisational viability and effectiveness of development, i.e. policies, strategies, operations, management, organisational sustainability, sectoral relations, etc – aimed at supporting organisations and their activities, but does not address elements that are not directly related to development role i.e. governance, leadership selection.

Program supporter: focus is on a specific area of development work, or sector (i.e. health), with support involving funding, technical expertise, linkages to networks, etc.

Project funder: Here relationship is narrow, focusing on specific projects, including monitoring and evaluation, design, etc. Often where NGOs win bids from donors for specific initiatives, and thus are implementing for someone else's objectives.

Development ally: Here two or more development organisations agree on working together towards a specific objective by, for example, exchanging information, and sharing expertise. Funds are not the focus here.

He further qualifies these relationships via their depth, or "degree/balance of power exercised", describing these as ranging from the shallowest, which is information exchange, to consultation, to shared influence to the deepest, which is joint control. He notes that agreeing on relative influence within a relationship (i.e. being a member of a steering committee) is a way of addressing power differences. He notes that all NGO relationships are a mix of different breadths and depths, but that what is important is how they are transparently discussed and agreed, and how are mutuality and balance assured. He believes that this can be dealt with by clearly discussing the rights and obligations that each party has for each topic. Having these discussions ensures both parties have a joint understanding and consciously accept the degree of mutuality and balance, or lack of. Fowler also suggests

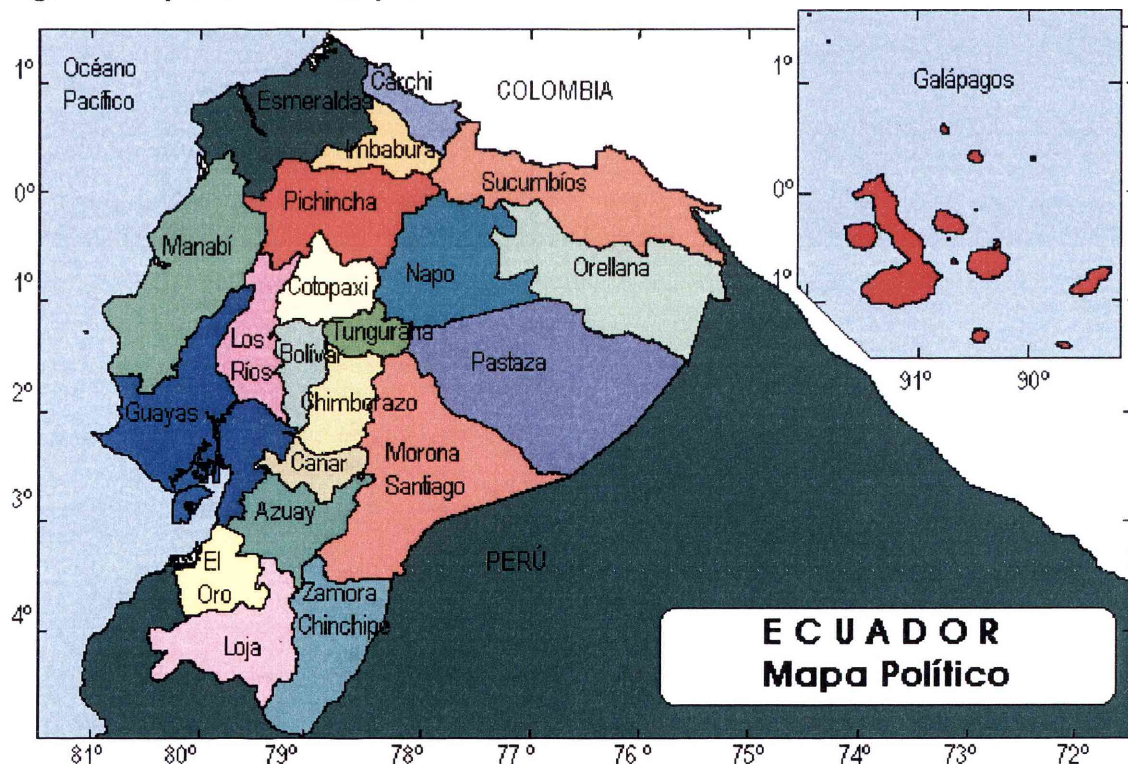
agreeing the 'weight' of the different items that each NGO has to offer, for example evaluating the finances of NNGOs against the local knowledge of SNGOs.

In the following chapters, I will explore how these issues are played out in reality in Ecuador. I will explore the nature of the Indigenous movement in Ecuador, together with the approach of its supporters, and how partnerships have been represented and experienced in Ecuador, specifically with relation to the Indigenous movement. I will analyse how NNGOs can best support local Indigenous organisations, and whether NNGOs can make these relationships more equal when NNGOs control all the resources, and when the organisations hold different objectives, perspectives, capacities, ways of working and resources. Where possible, I will use the above analyses and categories delineated by Fowler to analyse the relationships between Ecuadorian organisations.

Chapter 3: Ecuador - the Indigenous movement and Northern NGOs

This chapter will examine the history and nature of the Indigenous movement in Ecuador, together with its achievements and weaknesses. This chapter will also explore the successes of the movement, and the reasons for these achievements. The movement's relationships with the state and other external actors will be discussed.

Figure 1: Map of Ecuadorian provinces



The second section of this chapter will look at some of the current actors in Ecuador, both from within the Indigenous movement and its supporters. It will analyse the nature and approaches of four NNGOs that openly support the movement, together with their perspectives of the relationships they have formed

with the movement. It will also examine three Indigenous organisations, from grassroots, regional and national levels, their approaches and their views of the support that they receive from NNGOs. Importantly, the research will finally explore the Indigenous organisations views of the relationships that they have with NNGOs.

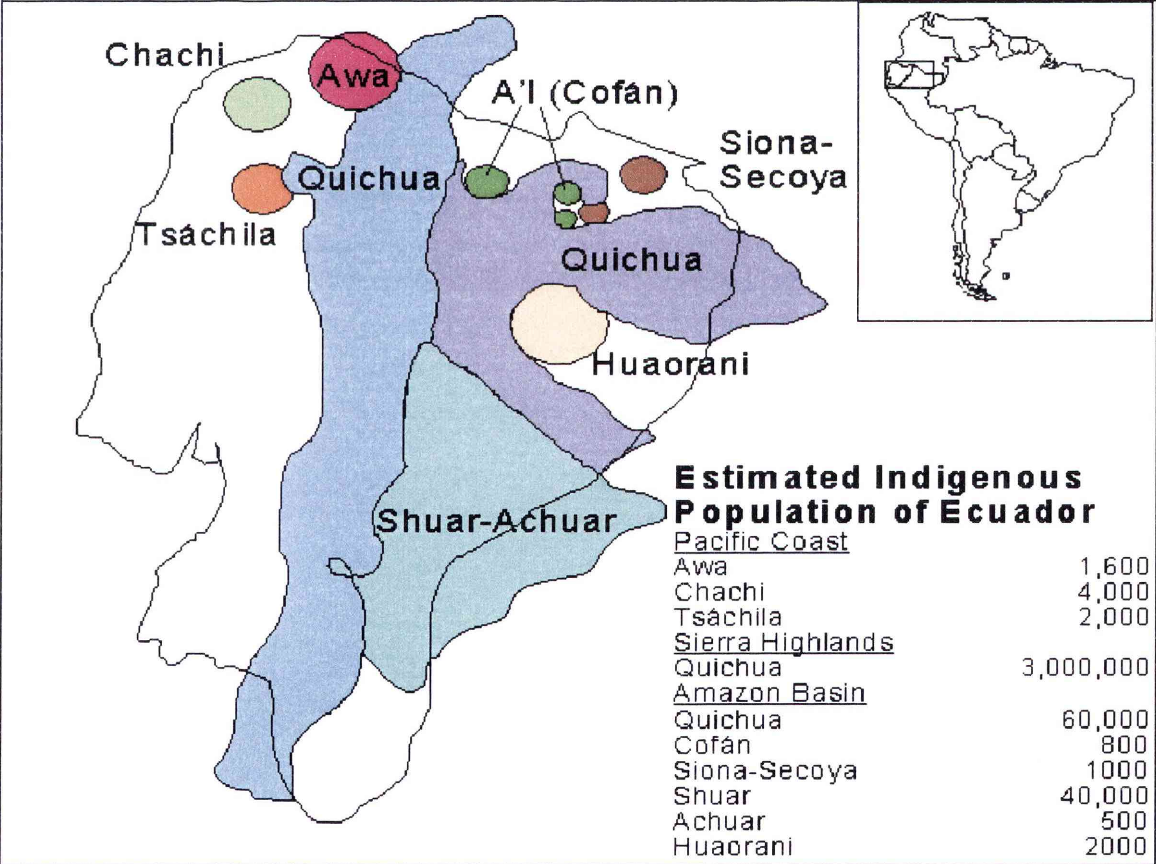
Globally, Latin America is home to some of the most vital and successful Indigenous movements. The Indigenous movement in Ecuador was selected as here, more than any other country in Latin America, Indigenous organisations and peoples have succeeded in creating massive changes and power shifts in the last 40 years. During this time Indigenous peoples have moved from the virtual slavery of the huasipungo indentured labour system in the 1960s, to a national force that has dramatically changed both national perceptions and relations with the government. As noted by Macdonald (2004), because the Indigenous movement in Ecuador has been the most visible and advanced in Latin America it has served as a role model for movements in the region. Selverston (2004) supports this, noting that Ecuador was one of the first countries to witness the emergence of ethnically defined Indigenous organisations in Latin America in the 1970s. After this emergence, the national Indigenous movement rapidly grew in power and influence via the Indigenous-led national protest demonstrations, which in 1986 led to the establishment of CONAIE, the national representative Indigenous organisation. In 2000 CONAIE led another protest (which precipitated a change in president), and these continued in 2001 and 2002. With the strength of CONAIE increasing, the Indigenous movement also launched a political party, Pachakutik, and achieved control over such government departments as that of bilingual education.

In addition to these successes, the movement has also experienced setbacks, blocks and failures, which will also be examined, as they too provide valuable insights. Another aspect that will be examined is the inclusive approach of the movement, which provides a contrast with the approach often used in Australia.

Additionally the study will focus on the movement's successful use of international lobbying, and the international support that Ecuadorian organisations have achieved. It must be noted that this long distance exploration of the Indigenous movement, Indigenous organisations in Ecuador, and their relations with development organisations has been facilitated by the substantial amount of research on Ecuador's Indigenous movement already undertaken by North American researchers.

Indigenous peoples in Ecuador

Figure 2: Indigenous peoples of Ecuador



Ecuador is home to 11 ethnic groups of Indigenous peoples, the Quichua in the Sierra and 10 groups in the Amazon, including the Shuar, the Achuar and the Huaorani. Indigenous peoples of Ecuador have endured centuries of racism,

colonialism, conflict, discrimination, and state neglect, which have left indigenous areas far behind in terms of income, literacy, and decent employment. Still today they are routinely denied their basic rights to education and health care, clean water and adequate nutrition.

As in Australia, the culture and identity of the indigenous peoples of Ecuador is closely linked to their territories. While Ecuador has laws protecting indigenous lands, indigenous organisations frequently lack the resources or skills to gain full legal title to their lands. Even if the Indigenous organisations succeed in gaining land rights, the subsoil resources remain the property of the state. Therefore a major issue for Indigenous communities in Ecuador is the incursions by oil, gas, and mining companies seeking to exploit the government-owned resources under their lands, which they consider as part of their territory.

Mario Melo of CDES (interview, July 2005) noted that apparently in the last census the government stated that the indigenous population was only 3% (which Melo holds was due to a CONAIE-organised strike of the census) whereas CONAIE has stated that 45% of the population are Indigenous. Other external researchers have stated that the Indigenous population is 30-40% of Ecuador's total population, making them the largest minority in Ecuador. In addition, comparing Australian and Ecuadorian definitions of Indigeneity demonstrates the fluidity of the definition. In Ecuador, unlike in Australia, it is not enough to have indigenous parents or grandparents, but is also necessary to speak an indigenous language as first language and continue practicing traditional customs to be considered Indigenous. Until recently many Indigenous people in Ecuador, particularly in urban areas, hid their identity but now, after the successes of the Indigenous movement, many people are starting to identify as indigenous instead of mestizo (mixed) or ladino (of Spanish descent). It appears that if the Australian definition of Indigenous were used in Ecuador, the Indigenous peoples would constitute a large majority of the population.

As Chauvin and Fraser (2003) note, Indigenous people remain on the margins of Ecuador's social and economic life. Writing for the World Bank, Partridge et al (1996) state that the Indigenous peoples of Ecuador are almost 3 times as likely to be extremely poor as non-Indigenous Ecuadorians. Most Indigenous peoples in Ecuador live in rural areas, and a report by the Andean community of Nations (2003) noted that poverty in these rural areas in Ecuador was higher than 80%, according to Mario Melo (interview, July 2005).

History of Indigenous movement in Ecuador

According to Mario Melo of CDES, the first support to Indigenous people was provided by the Marxist-leftist movement in the 1920s, which was composed of young people of the middle and upper classes. They first formed syndicates, and then started work supporting the mobilisation of Indigenous peoples, who in the 1930s – 50s identified with the Marxist movement as working class rather than as Indigenous peoples.

During this time much of the sierra of Ecuador was organised in the form of enormous haciendas owned by Ladinos. Indigenous people were indentured labourers who belonged to these haciendas in a feudal system called huasipungo. This meant that they worked for most of the time for free for the hacienda, and for 1-2 days a week they could work on their own small plot of land for the food they needed to survive on. Selverston (2004) equates the huasipungo system to bondage, if not slavery.

In the 1960s the state decided that the haciendas were not producing enough to support the nation, let alone make a profit. They broke up the haciendas into smaller farms which paid workers to work for them, thus altering the system of huasipungo. At around this time the Indigenous peoples took over land in the central and northern sierra and took control of some of the haciendas. Melo states that although these takeovers were violent the state did not react, being more

concerned about production for export. This activity was accompanied by a new discourse of Indigenous rights and ethnic identification. This explanation is supported by Selverston (2004).
Melo explained that the Indigenous movement in the Amazon and Sierra started as two separate movements, only linking with the formation of CONAIE in 1986. He noted that in both areas missionaries were heavily involved in influencing the Indigenous peoples towards mobilisation.

Amazonian Indigenous organisations were first formed in the 1960s as a response to the influx of Andean colonists, which displaced Indigenous peoples such as the Shuar and Achuar, who moved into more isolated areas of the jungle. This also led local groups to create ethnic federations in order to defend their territory. Melo stated that their politics were not to recuperate the land that they had already lost but to keep the land that they still had, which was less accessible.

One of the earliest federations was the Federation of Shuar Centres (FICSHA) which formed in 1965-6 in the south and central Amazon basin and was supported by the Salesian religious order. Soon after, with support from the Josephite priests, the Federation of Indigenous organisations of Napo (FOIN) was formed. In the Amazonian province of Pastaza the Indigenous peoples formed their own federation, the Organisation of Indigenous peoples of Pastaza (OPIP).

These organisations then joined together to create the pan-ethnic regional organisation, the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadoran Amazon (CONFENAIE) in 1980, which united all the Indigenous peoples of the Amazon. CONFENIAE soon shifted from a defensive position to demand recognition and land as a right, thus entering the political arena. While first focusing on land, which Oxfam America (2003) suggests was linked to their early identification and mobilisation as peasants, the movement then added the right to culture, their own education and respect for Indigenous peoples. These areas,

together with the inclusive pan ethnic regional approach seen here, provided a solid foundation for a national Indigenous movement which would unite highland and lowland Indigenous peoples. This inclusive approach to ethnicity has contributed greatly to the power of the movement.

In the Northern Amazon, tribes such as the Huaorani had suffered invasion by first the rubber tappers and then the petrol companies and many had been killed in the fight against them. Whole villages had been wiped out, and people were both displaced and extremely demoralised. Religious orders had also set up missions in these regions, but with very different purposes than those in the Southern Amazon. Here it was at the encouragement of the government and with the goal of pacifying the Indigenous peoples so that they would accept the petrol companies, as the exploitation of petrol had become a national priority. CONFENAIE, OPIP, and FICSHA then supported the Northern Amazonian tribes such as the Cofan, the Secoya, and the Huaorani to form organisations and to continue to resist the invasions.

Oxfam America (2003) states that many of the first Indigenous organisations in the Sierra came from the peasant organisations based there, where educated Indigenous activists were frustrated by their continued marginalisation due to their Indigeneity. Several of these groups were launched and or supported by the Catholic Church or political parties.

In 1972 ECUARUNARI was formed. It was the first large Indigenous organisation of the Sierra, and its formation was supported by the Catholic Church. ECUARUNARI's primary discourse was of land rights for Indigenous peoples. They had a strong ally in the Catholic Church, especially in the bishop of Riobamba, Señor Leonidas Poroaño, and this increased their power. Señor Poroaño felt that education was very important, and set up a bilingual radio education program for Indigenous people, in Spanish and Quichua. This was the first time that Indigenous

people had received formal education, and this enabled them to improve their Spanish without losing their Quichua.

In 1986 ECUARUNARI and CONFENAIE formed an alliance and created the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), the national Indigenous representative body. Melo notes that in 1986 CONAIE held the first national congress, and also began questioning their relationship with the Church. Due to their more extreme political approach, CONAIE then broke formal relations with the Church. The Church wanted Indigenous peoples to have equality with the rest of the population, whereas CONAIE demanded specific Indigenous rights. The Church was also not supportive of the political fight that CONIAE was advocating, however they remained allies.

In 1990 CONAIE led the first general uprising, demanding Indigenous citizenship rights and formal recognition of Ecuador as a multiethnic and multicultural state. CONAIE also demanded legal recognition of communal Indigenous land tenure. MacDonald (2004) notes that prior to this the Indigenous response was local level only in Andean areas and more regional in the Amazon. This uprising was the first merging of Andean and Amazonian Indigenous issues. Melo stated that this first uprising, which took place in Quito and across the sierra, was a new form of non-violent political activity. In Quito they started with taking control of a Church, then thousands of Indigenous people arrived in Quito, and closed roads and demonstrated. They demanded increased autonomy, use of their own languages, and increased Indigenous rights. Melo noted that this changed the mainstream population's view of the Indigenous population who until that moment were seen as "stupid and equal to dogs". Melo also stated that from this point CONAIE became a very important political actor.

During the 1990s Indigenous leaders worked to increase the visibility of CONAIE and to strengthen or formalise relationships with the state, while maintaining

representation and legitimacy from base level communities. Melo stated that in 1992 there was another demonstration which started in the Amazon and was against the government's attempt to implement a law to privatise water. This started as a march from Sarayacu in the central Amazon to Quito in order to demand land rights, and began with 400 people. The march took 2 months and when it finally arrived in Quito there were thousands of Indigenous marchers. They were greeted in Quito by the local population throwing flowers at them and being very supportive. Under this pressure the government legalised their land rights and handed over large amounts to organisations such as OPIP. However these land rights were given with one condition – that they did not oppose petrol exploitation. This demonstration also had a big impact upon Ecuador, along with the average Ecuadorian's view of Indigenous peoples. Melo believes that as a result racism did not disappear but changed – whereas before Indigenous people were seen as "stupid animals", they were now respected and sometimes feared.

In the following years many developments occurred that also contributed to the changing situation of Indigenous peoples in Ecuador. In 1996 a new law was introduced that allowed the formation of additional political parties and the Indigenous party Pachakutik was formed, which allowed Indigenous peoples to end alliances with other political parties and create an independent body that represented indigenous concerns and issues. Pachakutik also attracted some non-Indigenous supporters, due to its policies on free trade agreements and other issues that were relevant to the general population. In 1998 a new constitution was drafted, which recognised broad collective and individual Indigenous rights, and emphasised the need for Indigenous participation in all aspects of policy and practice that affected them. Elections also took place in 1998 and here Pachakutik gained additional seats and the government of Jamil Mahuad agreed to regular dialogue with CONAIE. However this stalled and the funds promised to Indigenous communities became unavailable.

In 1999 CONAIE called another uprising which was widely supported and brought Ecuador to a halt. This led to the government agreeing to dialogue with CONAIE and other civil society sectors, but more financial problems halted this.
In 1999 the continued alienation of Indigenous peoples led to them forming an alliance with young army officers and launching a coup in 2000, which deposed Mahuad and took power for several days. Indigenous leaders called for a tripartite governing arrangement of the military, social movements and Indigenous movements, but the military just replaced Mahuad with his deputy Noboa. CONAIE challenged Noboa's 'neo-liberal' economic policies and called another uprising in 2001, which was met with government violence. This was nationally and internationally condemned. Noboa then agreed to meet with CONAIE leaders and together they drafted a 20 point document which detailed open dialogue with CONAIE to resolve Ecuador's financial, social, commercial and monetary policy issues. CONAIE also included non-Indigenous sectors in this dialogue, thus advancing its agenda of plurinational governance.

In 2002 Gutierrez was elected president, with much support from Indigenous peoples. Pachautik was also successful, with 9 seats in congress, 9 members in provincial councils, 55 seats in municipal councils and 2 Indigenous cabinet members. During this period Gutierrez created great rifts within the Indigenous movement by providing substantial financial support to some organisations and leaders while excluding others. In 2003, after disagreements on policy, Gutierrez dismissed the Indigenous cabinet members, and both CONAIE and Pachakutik abandoned support for Gutierrez.

In 2004 there was an assassination attempt on the CONAIE president, Leonardo Iza, and several Indigenous organisations lost international funding due to corruption. 2004-5 has seen Indigenous organisations struggle to rebuild both the unity that was lost via the partnership with the Gutierrez government, and better relationships with the international development community.

Why the Indigenous movement emerged and grew in Ecuador

It is frequently asked why the Indigenous movement in Ecuador is so much more advanced than in other Latin America countries. The reason appears to be a combination of the following factors.

As discussed above, both in the Amazon and the Sierra, Indigenous peoples received external support to mobilise. This was generally in the form of religious orders, many of whom practiced liberation theology and, to a lesser extent, political groups. Research, such as Fox (1996) conducted in Mexico, has shown that civil movements benefit greatly from the support of an external agent.

Another factor was the peaceful development of democratic institutions after the transition to democracy in 1979. While Ecuador has experienced individual murders and local level violence, it has not witnessed the large scale civil wars, which have generally been waged between poor or Indigenous peoples and the state, or state sponsored violence, experienced by other Latin American countries such as Guatemala and Colombia.

Smith (2004) holds that national Indigenous unity, which has been a strength for the Indigenous movement, and has enabled the achievement of several successes, was the result of a shared history. She states that the majority of Indigenous communities were in a similar situation of virtual slavery (huasipungo) and had little opportunity for independent political and social organisation until the late 60s. Thus when the government moved to constitute independent Indigenous communities, and incorporate these communities into the national administrative hierarchy, they were formed on the basis of ex-haciendas. Indigenous peoples had similar backgrounds, faced similar problems of how to represent themselves and were undifferentiated by class or education. Smith states "Leaders of the Indigenous movement devised a nationwide hierarchical system of organisation parallel to the government's administrative structure. The common history and

shared Quechua language of Indigenous communities in Ecuador allowed them to organize a powerful national movement, minimizing differences between communities and reinforcing common ground".

Van Cott (2004) states that the Indigenous movements political successes, taking of space and consolidation were also facilitated by Ecuador's fragmented and volatile party system, together with "the deep regional intra-elite cleavage that waylays elite consensus on government policy". She notes that, for example, if the party system in Congress were not so fragmented, Pachakutik's small delegation would not be such an influential political player. She notes also that the contributions of the movement's domestic and international allies aided the movement greatly.

A final factor that appears to have contributed to the strength of the Indigenous movement is its inclusive approach, both between Indigenous groups and with the non-Indigenous population. Discussed in greater detail below, the fact that the Indigenous movement has made a concerted effort to address issues that concern all Ecuadorians and has sought not to exclude the non-Indigenous population has ensured support, or at least a lack of opposition, from the general population.

One factor that does not appear to have contributed is the Indigenous percentage of the population. For example, in Guatemala the Indigenous population is estimated to be around 75%, compared to an Indigenous population of 33-45% in Ecuador, and yet has not achieved a fraction of the gains made in Ecuador. Van Cott's (2001) study on the impact of the size of Indigenous populations supports this conclusion.

Nature and approach of indigenous movement in Ecuador

As discussed above, the Indigenous movement started on a local or village level, extending to provincial, regional and national levels over time. This, together with a

structure that formalised a hierarchy which ensured strong representative links from grassroots organisations to sub-regional then to regional and finally to national, enabled the movement to remain both cohesive and representative.

The movement has also been able to focus upon a shared Indigenous identity, even amongst different ethnic groups who have different needs, perspectives and interests, some of whom were traditional enemies. This inclusive approach extends also to the non-Indigenous population of Ecuador, with the movement often focussing upon similarities rather than differences between Ecuador's Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Indigenous leaders state that they have been overtly inclusive, and have sought positions on issues that affect all Ecuador such as Free Trade, as they do not want to be considered a separate thread, but an intrinsic and interwoven part of the Ecuadorian population, as discussed in Oxfam (2003).

The focus of the Indigenous movement has also developed. Blanca Chancoso of CONAIE (Oxfam America, 2004) states that the movement first focused on peasant issues such as land, but then broadened to include the right to culture, their own education and respect for Indigenous people. Oxfam (2004) also notes that CONAIE shifted focus from single issues that were specifically indigenous in focus, to develop a wider platform that focused on the goal of Ecuador as a plurinational state.

Indigenous leaders also acknowledge shortcomings in their approach. In Oxfam (2003) Gilberto Talahua, a CONAIE leader, states that the movement has concentrated on politics and not economics and that this needs to change. He believes that they need to address the issue of poverty via an economic plan that may involve an indigenous bank or financial corporation.

Also, although the Indigenous movement's alliance with Gutierrez was a somewhat bitter experience, Efren Calapucha, director of CONAIE, noted that they believe

that such political alliances are necessary and that the movement must align itself with other sectors that have common goals, if it is to gain increased political acceptance. He stated that CONAIE's Indigenous leaders also want to strengthen international ties with non-Indigenous organisations, who work at the grass-roots, and even with other governments.

Relations with government

Despite, or perhaps because of, its numerous successes, which include achieving control over bilingual education, and some aspects of development in Indigenous areas, the Indigenous movement has had turbulent relations with the Ecuadorian government. Due to the power of the Indigenous movement, the various governments, of which there have been six in nine years, have each had different policies towards and relationships with the Indigenous movement. The Mahuad and Noboa governments agreed to Indigenous participation, but delayed putting this into practice. The Gutierrez government, brought to power with strong Indigenous support, signed many agreements, even selecting 2 Indigenous members of cabinet, however again failed to honour its commitments. Gutierrez also employed a policy of divide and conquer, favouring certain Indigenous leaders, often with financial donations, and excluding others, according to Mario Melo of CDES. This caused much internal turmoil within the Indigenous movement, from which it has not yet recovered.

As discussed below, while the Indigenous movement has made substantial gains, such as the 1998 changes to the constitution, acts of violence and repression targeting the Indigenous movement still occur. Recent examples include an assassination attempt on Leonidas Iza, President of CONAIE in January 2004. While he was unharmed, three members of his family suffered gunshot wounds. At mobilisations in response to this attack four protesters were shot by the authorities. In February 2004 equipment, including six computers, was stolen from the Pachakutik office, and other organisations such as ECUARUNARI have been

broken into. Furthermore in December 2003 the president of ECUARUNARI reported that he was detained by the police immediately after criticizing the president of Ecuador, Lucio Gutierrez, on television.

The military have also intimidated and attacked members of the Amazonian Sarayacu community in efforts to force the Sarayacu to desist asserting their right to prior informed consent to oil development in their territory.

International links and the role of external agents

A wide range of external agents have had great impact, both positive and negative, upon the Indigenous movement and its organisations in Ecuador since their inception. Martin (2004) notes that the majority of authors, such as Selverston (1994) and Zamosc (1994) have failed to identify the important role of international actors here. These date from the early involvement of such religious orders as the Silesian brothers, who supported Indigenous communities to organise and mobilise in front of the threats posed by new colonists and extractive industries. The Indigenous movement has since distanced itself from the religious orders, and has been receiving support from international non-government organisations during the past 20 years. Martin (2004) states that this involved the provision of both technical assistance and funding. As discussed below, this support has however decreased in intensity over the last five years, and this has had great repercussions for the Indigenous organisations.

Multinational corporations, predominantly extractive industries, have also had a great impact upon the Indigenous movement. The impact on Indigenous peoples and their territories has been extremely negative, a notable example being the Texaco contamination of Huaorani territory. However the aggressive incursions of these companies have also forced Indigenous organisations to improve co-ordination and become better equipped in order to fight the extractive industries, who are often aided by the Ecuadorian government.

Martin states that the impact of multinationals has been ignored by many researchers, including Meyer (1998). Furthermore, Martin holds that multinational corporations have begun to negotiate directly with Indigenous organisations, thus bypassing the state. She stresses the importance of this development, noting that Ecuador is the 2nd largest oil producer in Latin America, and over 50% of its national income is from petroleum exports. Some researchers, such as Martin, hold that this direct negotiation has forced Indigenous organisations to develop capacities in negotiation and lobbying, while others, such as Scurrah, hold that the approach of the extractives has ensured only increased exploitation and marginalisation for the majority of Indigenous organisations in Ecuador.

With the support of international NGOs such as Oxfam America, Indigenous organisations are also negotiating directly with international courts such as the Inter-American Human Rights Court. In 2005, the Sarayacu have taken their case to the court, and have succeeded in obtaining an injunction to stop the extractive company Burlington (supported by the Ecuadorian government) continuing to test for oil in their territory.

Another important group of external actors are those local intermediary organisations which support the Indigenous movement. One of the strongest supporters of the Indigenous movement, and specifically their legal rights, has been the Ecuadorian organisation the Centre for Economic and Social Rights, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Achievements

Through these activities and the uprisings the Indigenous movement in Ecuador has made perhaps more gains than any other Indigenous movement in the world. Chauvin and Fraser (2003) hold that perhaps the greatest gain has been in self-respect, and the respect earned from wider society, although racism still exists. This renewed sense of identity has also encouraged Indigenous organisation. In

Oxfam (2003) Nina Pacari, a CONAIE leader calls it "a self-affirmation of identity" and holds that it has led to the national "recognition of diversity and an intercultural process that has become part of political practice".

The inclusive nature of the Indigenous movement has helped it to achieve the formation of a cohesive national movement. The Indigenous movement has also succeeded in developing alliances with other sectors of society, notably the social movements and the military. Based on the Indigenous movement's approach of looking for similarity rather than difference with others, these alliances have enabled the movement to gain ground and wider acceptance with the general public.

A major achievement is that, due to Indigenous pressure, in 1998 the constitution was altered and now recognises Ecuador as a "pluricultural and multiethnic" society, stating that the state must "strengthen national unity in diversity" and "respect and stimulate the development of all languages of Ecuadorians". Although Spanish is the official language, Quichua, Shuar and other Indigenous languages are recognised as official for their speakers. Legally, for example, defendants are required to be informed in their own language of any legal action against them.

In 1998 Article 84 was also added to the constitution. It lists 15 collective rights that can be claimed by any Indigenous peoples, including the maintenance and strengthening of traditions and identity, the conservation of community lands (which are inalienable), participation in the use and conservation of renewable resources from community lands, to be consulted about plans and programs for the exploitation of non-renewable resources on their lands, access to bilingual education, to participate in official bodies that determine the law, to maintain the systems, knowledge and practice of traditional medicine and to formulate priorities and plans for development and improvement of their economic and social conditions among others.

In 1998 the Council for the Development of Nationalities and Peoples of Ecuador, a government body, was founded, and it featured representatives of various Indigenous groups. Its role was to define and implement projects and plans, primarily for Indigenous peoples. However the council's effectiveness has suffered from government intervention. For example in 2003 President Gutierrez tried to direct appoint the executive secretary, instead of a leader that was chosen by the members, which reflected the conflict between him and the Indigenous movement.

During previous decades around 7.3 million acres of land have been titled as Indigenous territories, the result of numerous local and regional protests. However this titling does not include subsoil resources.

The Indigenous movement instigated the fall of presidents in 1997 and 2000, and Gutierrez won the 2002 elections because of strong support from the Indigenous movement. Although this coalition broke down in 2003, there were important local level gains, including 27 Indigenous mayors, 5 Indigenous prefects, and over 600 local council members. Chauvin and Fraser (2003) note that many of the mayors are "instituting mechanisms for citizen participation and oversight", such as consultation on the use of budget funds.

The Indigenous movement achieved control over bilingual and intercultural education in the 1980s, with Indigenous people becoming literacy teachers in their communities and gradually entering the education system. In 1989 the National Intercultural Education Office was established, and is controlled by the Indigenous movement. These achievements in the education area, specifically Indigenous language classes and radio, have also contributed to building Indigenous communities' unity, political awareness and motivations.

Current issues for the Indigenous movement

There remain a series of unresolved issues, however, which continue to challenge

the Indigenous movement and prevent it from achieving its overall objectives. These will be discussed below and, in order to provide a comprehensive analysis, include not only the opinions of Indigenous leaders, but also those of researchers and supporters, together with my own observations.

Despite the great progress in the constitutional changes, one problem has been putting these reforms into practice. Chauvin and Fraser (2003) note that "without legislation, constitutional principles remain only ideals, and without a regulatory framework, even national laws go unenforced". In addition laws on Indigenous political rights, water and traditional medicine have languished in congress, they state.

Chauvin and Fraser (2003) also cite an Ecuadorian sociologist, Jorge Leon, who states that land and territoriality are two separate issues, and that even if Indigenous people have their land, they also need collective rights over this land, such as power to decide regarding the use of resources (not only renewable), power to teach their language and oversee the education together with power to exercise jurisprudence and implement laws. If these rights are not achieved, Leon believes that Indigenous peoples will continue to disappear. He also believes that a plan for managing their territory is essential for Indigenous peoples. Leon's position is supported by the experience of Indigenous Australia, where land title has been granted without any consideration of local sovereignty or semi-autonomy, and which frequently led to little change in the welfare of Indigenous peoples.

The Indigenous movement has encountered pitfalls in moving from rights based groups to political actors. While very effective as rights based groups, the movement appears to flounder, or at least to be outmanoeuvred, when it achieves political power. This was most clearly shown in the brief alliance with the military in the presidential coup in 2000, where Indigenous leader Antonio Vargas was part of a governing triumvirate for only several days before being replaced by the previous

vice-president. The same issues were also clear in the short lived 12 month alliance with Gutierrez in 2003. While the successes of the Indigenous movement led to invitations to work more closely with the Gutierrez government, this government then worked in a way which divided the movement, resulting in grassroots groups accusing regional and national level organisations of not representing the grassroots. According to Mario Melo of CDES (interview, July, 2005), Gutierrez also provided substantial resources to certain regional organisations and national actors, excluding others, and thus created much rivalry and jealousies within the Indigenous movement.

Furthermore, the short-term political gains have not been reflected in concrete political, economic or social programs that would address Indigenous poverty or marginalisation. Oxfam America (2003) notes that there is a gap between political and economic progress. Several indigenous leaders, including Luis Maldonaldo, cited in Chauvin and Fraser (2003) stated that a period of reflection and analysis is necessary, as is the definition of medium and long range plans and policies. Maldonaldo states that the documentation of progress made is also necessary. He also notes that to date the movement has focused on ideological problems, and that a change in strategy is necessary as the movement has achieved many of its original goals, such as constitutional recognition. Maldonaldo notes that in the 6 years after the new constitution, no legislation on Indigenous rights has been approved. He states that Indigenous organisations need to work to put these rights into practice.

There are fundamental issues with the constitution itself, which for example calls for communities to be consulted regarding the extraction of non-renewable resources, but does not require governments or companies to abide by communities' decisions. Another issue is that bilingual education is only until high school, and university costs still prohibit the attendance of most Indigenous people. While a university, supported by a Spanish university, does exist in the Amazon, it

is only for teachers.

Problems exist surrounding land title which is not enough alone as this does not include subsoil rights, and extractive companies are still being granted large titles here. Chauvin and Fraser (2003) hold that Indigenous communities need a say in how these resources are extracted and used, as well as development plans that ensure their own use is sustainable. This position is supported by Cathy Ross from Oxfam America who states that land title is not enough, Indigenous communities need the technical and organisational capacity to defend their territory and resources from external threats.

A review completed by Oxfam (2003) notes that the rapid political progress in Ecuador has led to other internal challenges. These include the scarcity of Indigenous leaders (made obvious when Gutierrez appointed several leaders to government posts), the lack of training for future leaders, the inclusion of women in leadership roles, and the maintenance of continuity when new leaders take posts. Oxfam states there is ongoing need for Indigenous groups to know their rights, understand national legislation and be able to defend these rights. External organisations, such as extractive industries, often press Indigenous organisations for rapid decisions, which are difficult given that decisions are generally made through consulting the grassroots affiliates, as this can take time and be costly. However if this consultation does not take place, leaders may distance themselves from the grassroots and weaken their organisations.

Selverston (1994) and Van Cott (1995) note that that there has been disagreement within the movement, particularly between the highland and lowland organisations, and between CONAIE leaders and the local communities. Van Cott notes that there have been allegations of corruption and self-serving ambition among Indigenous leaders, particularly those in Congress, and important rifts between Pachakutik and CONAIE. She states that CONAIE has been accused of blocking

access to the state and to NGOs by rival movements like the national campesino organisation FENOCIN and the national evangelical group FEINE. Furthermore she notes that there have been disagreements between the organisations over access to the funds of a World Bank project. Yet neither author discusses the current funding crisis facing Indigenous organisations in Ecuador, which revolves around the decreasing level and changing focus of external assistance.

The Indigenous movement's financial dependence upon external actors is a major problem. In the 70s and 80s many Indigenous organisations started up with assistance from the Catholic Church, NGOs or political parties, and some started independently. However by the late 1980s - 1990s most were highly dependent on funding from international development agencies or NGOs, and structures were created based on this international funding. It does appear that Indigenous issues are not as fashionable for the international development community as they were 10-15 years ago. This is a serious problem as many of the Indigenous organisations in Ecuador were structured with external funding readily available, and now cannot continue in this way. For example the regional organisation OPIP is designed to have 8 full time staff, and currently has funding for one staff member. Even CONAIE has no funds to pay staff salaries or buy computers, although NGOs currently finance technical support staff for projects.

The current conservative political climate has had a strong impact on international support for Indigenous organisations in Ecuador. Examples of this include the US government's definition of Indigenous organisations as potential terrorist organisations, together with many donor governments' definition of poverty in absolute terms. This has meant that much of the funding previously directed via NGOs to Latin America to support diversity and human rights activities is now being channelled to Africa to feed the starving, where there are several countries with GDPs much lower than Ecuador. There is also increased donor focus on 'harmonisation' which basically involves providing increased funding to

governments of developing countries, and reducing funding to non-governmental organisations.

Efren Calapucha, director of land and territories of CONAIE, noted that a serious problem for CONAIE and the Indigenous movement's cohesiveness is the way that many NGOs finance local and regional Indigenous organisations directly, which diminishes the authority of CONAIE.

It appears that corruption within Indigenous organisations, and the response of NGOs, is an additional issue. The external funding, accompanied by a lack of proper accountability mechanisms or staff training, has sometimes resulted in certain leaders becoming corrupt. Often an NGO response to this is to cut funding to the indigenous organisation, whereas perhaps more intensive support in the form of financial training and monitoring for several staff, or the design of internal accountability mechanisms, may be more effective. It appears that better monitoring, transparency and two-way accountability would benefit both donors and Indigenous organisations.

Furthermore some Indigenous leaders have been tempted by individual power, which weakens both their links to Indigenous organisations, and the cohesiveness of the organisation. An example is Antonio Vargas who was part of a 3 person governing council that briefly seized presidential power, much to the displeasure of several Indigenous organisations.

Currently, due to the lack of funding, many NGOs are funding only certain activities of Indigenous organisations, and are themselves deciding what they will fund. In worst case scenarios donors push their own agendas. Martin Scurrah, Director of the Oxfam South America Regional Office notes that this dependence on NGOs is problematic. He states that ideally there would be a dues system where members pay to ensure the core survival of the organisation, and Oxfam could provide

support for certain non-core activities. He notes that this would give members a greater sense of ownership, but also acknowledges that the extreme poverty of many communities makes this difficult.

The following section will explore the nature and approaches of specific NNGOs currently supporting the Indigenous movement in Ecuador, and the relationships they have formed with the Indigenous organisations. It will then describe three Indigenous organisations, from grassroots, regional and national levels, and their objectives and approaches, finally examining their views of the support that they receive from NNGOS and the relationships that they have with them.

Northern NGOs

The crucial importance of international non-government organisations (NNGOs) to the Indigenous movement in Ecuador is demonstrated in the statement of Belen Paez, Country Director of the International NGO Pachamama, who stated that "Indigenous organisations exist only with funding from International NGOs, but they are never sure of this funding". This is because, according to Ruth Arias, an Ecuadorian woman who has worked with several Indigenous organisations, most Indigenous organisations were created from the 1970s to early 1990s, when there was an abundance of international funding for Indigenous issues. The organisations were thus created with structures that were heavily dependent on permanent external funding, each with several full time positions, and no thought of income generation to ensure their own sustainability.

Since the late 1990s the donor community has experienced dramatic shifts in focus, deciding to concentrate resources on the very poorest of countries with the lowest GDPs, most of which are in Africa. In recent years these changes in donor priorities have forced many international NGOs to withdraw from Ecuador. As a result there are few international donors that continue to provide support to the Indigenous organisations in Ecuador. According to Mario Melo of CDES the most

active NNGOs supporting the Indigenous movement include the Dutch organisation IBIS, the American NGO Pachamama, Oxfam America and Norwegian Peoples' Aid.

Of these NNGOs, those who rely heavily on international donors for funds, as opposed to the general public, such as IBIS and NPA have also had the scale of their programs greatly reduced. For example, Norwegian Peoples' Aid (NPA) has been working in Ecuador since 1985, but in 2005 the scale of the program was reduced by 70%, due to policy and focus shifts of NPA's primary donor, NORAD, which is the Norwegian Government's official aid agency. Likewise, Arturo Cevallos, Country director of IBIS stated that they currently have much less funds because IBIS' new focus is on financial poverty, and the poorest 18 countries are in Africa. It is interesting to note that these analyses do not consider internal income inequalities in countries. Oxfam America, which receives a large amount of donations from the general public, has not been affected by these shifts in funding priorities and has been able to continue its programs.

Arturo Cevallos also noted that more European funding is being directed to their neighbours to 'Europeanise' them and make them more suitable members of the EU. Arturo believes that funding indigenous movements is now felt to be politically risky for some donors, as the Indigenous movement is about questioning structures, and pushing for collective rights. He added that, furthermore, many of the Indigenous organisations now fit under the Bush administration's new definition of terrorist organisations.

While there are other donors, such as the World Bank and the United Nations operating in Ecuador, this research concentrates on those international non-governmental organisations (NNGOs) that openly work in solidarity with the Indigenous movement. These include Pachamama, a small American organisation with projects only in Ecuador (since 1995) and with an annual budget of

US$500,000. Pachamama is not donor-dependent as 95% of its funding comes from 1000 Americans who pay a fixed annual donation, with only 5% from IBIS in Ecuador. Working in Ecuador since 1994, IBIS is a Dutch International NGO, with an annual budget of US$500,000. With only 2.7% of funds coming from private donations in 2004, IBIS received 75% of its funding from the Danish government, and is thus heavily reliant on this, together with such international donors as the European Union. Norwegian Peoples' Aid (NPA) is the largest NNGO in Norway and is member-based, drawing from the national trade union movement. However around 85% of its budget in 2005 came from official donors, notably the Norwegian government and USAID. Thus both IBIS and NPA are somewhat restricted in the size and allocation of their international budgets, although they appear to have achieved some power to decide locally what projects and organisations they fund. Also active is Oxfam America, an influential American NGO, Oxfam has no office in Ecuador but has been providing support to Indigenous organisations in Ecuador since 1984. In 2003 Oxfam provided US$293,000 to local partner organisations in Ecuador.

The next section will compare the various goals, approaches, strategies and activities of these NNGOs. This is important in order to identify both the variety of approaches used by the different NNGOs, together with any general themes or issues that the majority experience. It is hoped that this will enable a more general understanding of relations between NNGOs and Indigenous organisations, rather than the experience of an individual NNGO.

Northern NGOs' Goals and Approaches

All four NNGOs possess similar broad goals of supporting the Indigenous movement and or its member organisations to exercise their rights and participate fully in Ecuador's decision-making processes. For example, the Oxfam goal is to reduce the political, economic, cultural and social exclusion of Indigenous peoples, while NPA states its focus is Indigenous peoples' rights, including collective rights,

and democracy and the right to participate via the opening up to local civil society spaces. All donors also have a focus on supporting Indigenous organisations to defend their territories and territorial and collective rights against the intrusion of extractive industries' mining and exploration activities.

In addition all NNGOs support CONAIE's goal of a plurinational state, with the IBIS country director holding that this is the only way for a true democracy. Following the development community's recent focus on gender, three of the NNGOs, IBIS, NPA and Oxfam also state that one of their goals is to strengthen the involvement of women in Indigenous organisations, the Indigenous movement and leadership roles in general.

It appears that in terms of goals, the similarities are more substantial than differences for these NNGOs. However one notable difference is that IBIS and NPA both state that they support CONAIE as the leader and voice of the Indigenous movement. These two NNGOs appear to support the regional or local organisations primarily in their roles as members of a cohesive Indigenous movement, led by CONAIE, rather than independent organisations. For example, NPA country director Natalia Wray noted that NPA has concentrated on strengthening the capacities of regional organisations such as ECUARUNARI not as separate autonomous organisations, but in order to strengthen their role in the movement, specifically that of representing the grassroots to the higher levels, together with strengthening the movement. This suggests more focus on the Indigenous movement as one entity instead of a group of individual organisations working at various levels which may be seen to be the approach of Pachamama, who have a history of supporting individual grassroots organisations and have only recently begun to support the regional and national levels. To some extent, the same could be said of Oxfam, who started working only with the National level, and have moved down to the grassroots.

Another difference is NPA's goal of 'interculturality', which, according to Natalia Wray, involves encouraging Indigenous and non-Indigenous organisations to work together at the local level, towards creating the type of state they would like. No other NNGO discusses this, rather preferring to focus on the Indigenous movement in isolation.

As with goals, all four NNGOs have strong similarities in their approach, or way of working. They all use a rights based approach, which focuses on the inherent and universal rights that people are born with, and the duty or obligation of governments to ensure that these rights are met. All organisations also use the partnership approach, stating that they work in solidarity with the Indigenous movement and organisations. This issue will be discussed in further detail later.

Finally, in addition to funding Indigenous organisations directly, each of the NNGOs funds intermediary organisations, often local Ecuadorian NGOs, to work with the Indigenous movement and organisations.

While the general approach of the NNGOs appears very similar, there are several differences. One is that only NPA overtly aims for Indigenous empowerment via the way that they work. For example, Natalia Wray noted that when monitoring and evaluating projects, NPA always uses an Indigenous person and a consultant to work together. She noted that this ensures that Indigenous people themselves evaluate their projects and can thus measure improvements or changes according to their goals and values, and not just respond to external requirements. Another difference regarding NPA is that they also hold that the forms of support are more important than the projects or themes of work. For example NPA supports Indigenous organisations to develop their own strategies, with a focus on improving their internal and external dynamics, via increasing the dialogue capacity within and between organisations, and improving their internal functions. Projects may involve the defence of natural resources, but it is up to the Indigenous organisation

to decide what the project involves. Natalia stated that the subject of the project is not the important element, but rather the fact that the Indigenous organisations have selected the project, control it, and learn from it.

In contrast, Pachamama appears to have more of a directive approach than other NNGOs, with Belen, the country director, stating that as part of their organisational development activities they pay Indigenous organisations' office bills monthly to ensure that the money "goes where it should". Furthermore Pachamama, the only NNGO that is not part of a much larger international structure, differs from the other NNGOs in that they work very informally with 5 year evaluations being undertaken by informal meetings, and only recently developing operation plans, which remain very flexible.

A final difference in approach is seen within Oxfam America. Their stated approach apparently involves facilitating negotiation processes and seeking or creating opportunities to promote positive dialogue between the state, extractive companies and Indigenous peoples. This differs from the 'protest and opposition' approach used by other NNGOs.

In terms of strategies and activities, it appears that the similarities far outweigh the differences. Claiming to support the Indigenous movement, each NNGO provides support, generally in the form of funding disparate projects, to a range of local or grassroots, regional and national Indigenous organisations. One example of a local level project is the financial support Pachamama provides to the Achuar for an aviation project, which involves three small charter planes run and piloted by the Achuar. This project started four years ago, and Pachamama got involved as they want to support the Achuar to travel in and out of their territory in Pastaza province. At the national level both NPA and IBIS fund CONAIE to push for a new biodiversity and collective rights law. IBIS' support has involved funding many workshops for CONAIE's members. Natalia Wray of NPA noted that she was not

sure whether this was the most appropriate support that NPA could provide, but that it was CONAIE's decision which was the most important thing. Finally, on a regional level IBIS funds ECUARUNARI to change its structure and move from representing provincial federations which represent the communities, to directly representing the communities.

Given the internal dissension and lack of trust between many Indigenous organisations within the movement, the NNGOs also all state that they work to try to strengthen the links between both the different levels of organisations, and those organisations on the same level. For example Oxfam funds CONAIE on the national level, ECUARUNARI the regional Andean federation, CONFENAIE the regional Amazon organisation, and the Sarayacu and FIPSE on a local level. Other NNGOs fund a similar mix of specific organisations.

All donors also appear to struggle with whether to work directly with the grassroots, or whether to work at the regional or national levels and let the Indigenous representative bodies work with the grassroots, suggesting that it is difficult to find a balance between strengthening the legitimacy of the representative organisations, and strengthening the grassroots communities capacities to input into and influence the movement. For example Natalia Wray stated that NPA previously funded ECUARUNARI to develop and implement a project to develop administrative and other organisational systems for their members, but this resulted in ECUARUNARI running meetings with member organisations for 12 months to decide on the strategy, and then attempting to force member organisations to obtain certain qualifications and standards that were set by ECUARUNARI. Natalia Wray noted that this was not a successful project, and that now the focus is more on supporting local level to increase their capacities and have more input into ECUARUNARI. Highlighting this issue, in its 2005 evaluation, Oxfam notes that it needs to define the roles of representative Indigenous organisations, together with grassroots organisations, to achieve its strategic

change objectives. Oxfam also states that it needs to determine how Oxfam can promote broader representation within Indigenous organisations, and how it can relate to the grassroots organisations within the movement, without interfering internally.

All NNGOs also support 'fronts' which are groups of Indigenous organisations working together on specific issues. For example IBIS support the Block 24 Front, which was formed in the Southern Amazon to fight the Texan oil company Burlington, whereas Oxfam and Pachamama support the Amazon Defence Front, a federation of Indigenous peoples and campesinos based in the Northern Amazon. The Amazon Defence Front was formed to try and force Texaco, the American oil company, to clean up the toxic wastes left behind after extracting petrol.

Furthermore, all four NNGOs provide a range of similar types of support, including funds, leadership training, human rights and legal education, accounting or finance training or staff, strategic planning support, general capacity building around program design and management, and monitoring and evaluation. In response to the threats from extractive industries, NNGOs also provide similar support such as building local capacities to gain legal title to their lands, defend their territories and manage their natural resources. While all four also fund local NGOs to provide support to the Indigenous organisations, it is interesting to note that no NNGO provides capacity building to these local NGOs.

Additionally, each NNGO provides institutional strengthening support to Indigenous organisations on local, provincial, regional and national levels. However each differs in their definition of institutional strengthening, with NPA describing this as supporting the organisations' understanding of governance and also supporting them through any processes they are currently undergoing, and Pachamama as building financial and management capacities and the payment of office costs such

as electricity, telephone and rent, together with some staff salaries.

In terms of women's activities NPA and IBIS both support women's leadership activities such as leadership schools that are controlled by women. IBIS has a particular emphasis on women's activities, funding two leadership schools in the central and southern Amazon, and another supporting the Tsa'Chila women to maintain their traditional values in daily life.
All fund several intermediary organisations including CDES, a local intermediary organisation, to provide technical assistance to Indigenous organisations. For example Pachamama has funded CDES for the previous four years to both investigate into the petrol companies' impact on environment and people in Ecuador, and to train Indigenous peoples how to conduct these investigations themselves. It is interesting to note that an Oxfam external evaluation in 2004, while positive overall, did highlight some concerns regarding the strategy of supporting Indigenous organisations via local NGOs. The evaluators suggest that Oxfam should monitor these alliances more closely in order to avoid relationships of subordination and dependency, and should also monitor the quality of the technical assistance and the methodologies used. They also recommend that Oxfam provide training to those local NGOs that support Indigenous organisations in advocacy or project work to help them to maintain the equilibrium in their activities with Indigenous organisations, and not become lead actors.

With regional programs that span Latin America, NPA, Oxfam and IBIS also support the strengthening of the Ecuadorian Indigenous movement's regional links, and the opening up of regional spaces for dialogue on Indigenous issues.

The few differences that exist between these NNGOs in terms of strategies and activities include the fact that IBIS' projects appear to focus more on incorporating elements of traditional life such as justice and education into contemporary life. They currently fund projects on getting agreement between traditional and state

justice, and the reintroduction of the traditional governance system with the highlands Cayambe community, together with the Tsa'Chila women's project mentioned above. Another difference for IBIS is that its funding to Indigenous organisations is generally for 5 year projects, whereas often other NNGOs fund Indigenous organisations for only 1 year.

Oxfam differs from the other NNGOs in that it appears to undertake more advocacy activities in its own voice, and to provide increased advocacy training to Indigenous organisations (i.e. empowering them to make their voices heard), than other NNGOs.

NNGOs describe their program orientation as working closely in solidarity or in partnership with Indigenous organisations. For example, on their website section for South America, IBIS states "We have a commitment in solidarity with the deepening of democracy carried out by the civil societies in Andean-Amazonian countries. In solidarity with indigenous peoples, IBIS supports the strategy of the indigenous movement and its efforts for advancing towards:

- a plurinational democracy that serves as the basis for a new state;
- a society where the recognition of ethnic and cultural plurality and the exercising of collective rights is promoted"

Also, when questioned regarding the nature of their relationships with Indigenous organisations, the NNGOs discussed here focus primarily on the trusting relationships they have with Indigenous organisations, together with their joint efforts against the state and or extractive companies. Rarely do they raise issues of disagreement, or discuss the complexities of partnership with Indigenous organisations. For example, while Belen from Pachamama criticises the lack of coordination between NNGOs, stating that when CONAIE had 10 donors they were forced to provide separate and differently formatted reports to each donor, she did not discuss the specific problems experienced between NNGOs and indigenous organisations in funding relationships.

Oxfam America comes closest to exploring these issues, documenting some findings and challenges from its work with Indigenous organisations. For example the Rising Voices report notes that as most Oxfam staff are non-Indigenous, it has been a challenge to understand how indigenous identity has been perceived and felt by Indigenous people. Martin Scurrah, Oxfam's Regional Manager, states that Oxfam is committed to defending cultural identity as a right, but "the challenge is to know whether we are supporting something that is genuine, gives people continuity and provides them with a sense of self-respect". He added "for non-Indigenous people, there's always the temptation to idealise 'the other'".

During a workshop in October 2005 in Guatemala, Martin Scurrah also presented the following findings from Oxfam's work with Indigenous peoples in South America. Scurrah stated that the social context, which is dominated by relations of clientism and paternalism, generates similar relationships between Oxfam and its partners. Scurrah said that campaigning and lobbying work with Indigenous organisations requires a fluid collaboration between Oxfam, a representative Indigenous organisation, and one or more local NGOs. He also noted that dialogue and negotiation, used as mechanisms to resolve conflicts between Indigenous organisations and powerful actors, are seen as tools for the control and manipulation of Indigenous peoples, and that the styles of communication that Indigenous leaders learn during their careers within Indigenous organisations, can be counterproductive in communications with the non-Indigenous world. Scurrah recommended that Oxfam's employees, the representatives of Indigenous communities and organisations, and the organisations that interact with them (i.e. state agents, businesses, international organisations) need to develop their intercultural capacities. He said that alliances between non-Indigenous and Indigenous organisations are necessary to achieve change in policy and practice, but are not easy and require an important investment in actions that generate confidence. These comments demonstrate that Scurrah has a detailed understanding, from an NNGO perspective, of some of the issues that arise when

NNGOs partner with Indigenous organisations.

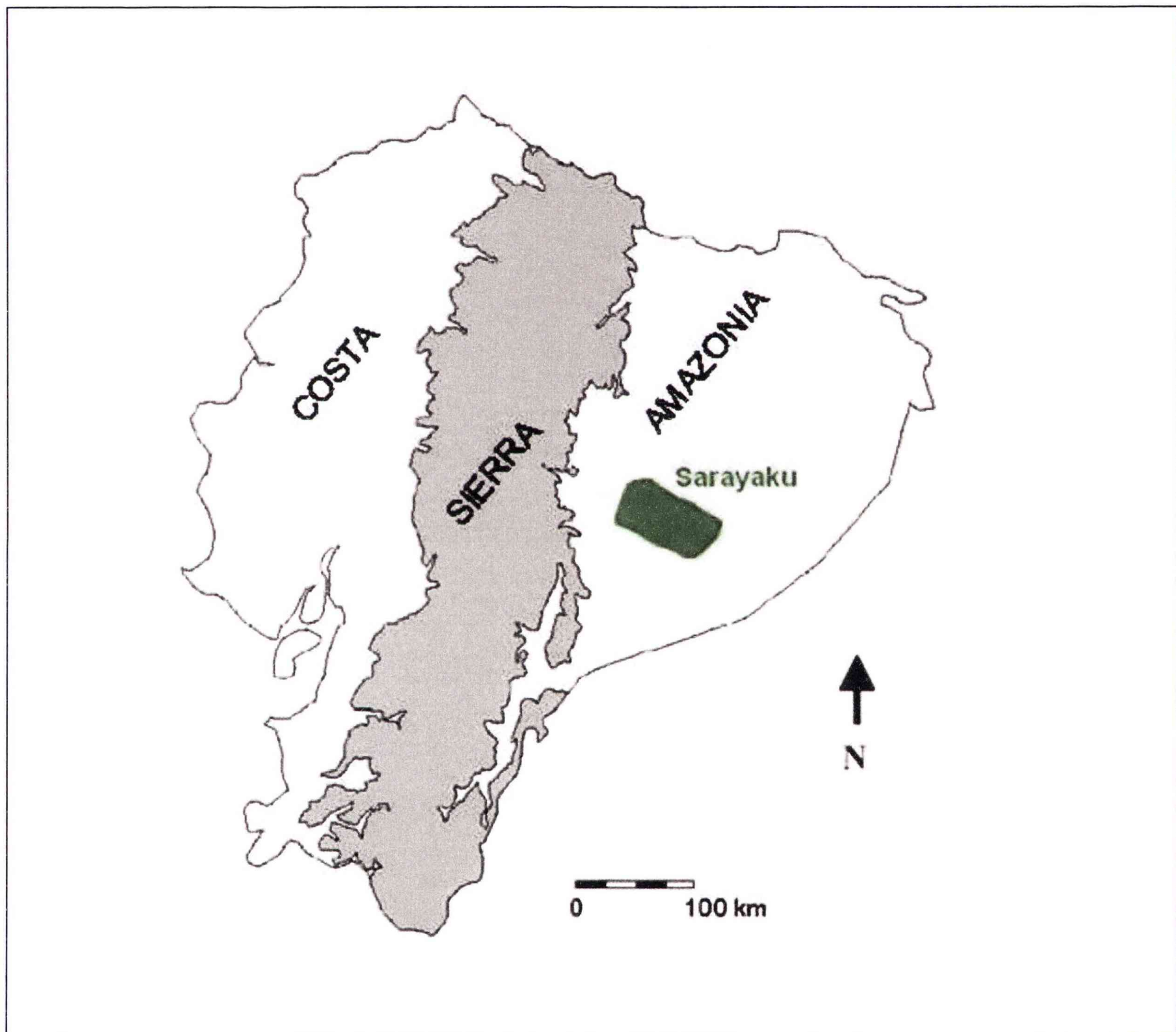
Indigenous Organisations

Having explored the NNGOs goals, approaches, and strategies, together with their views of relations with Indigenous organisations, we will now examine the Indigenous organisations' views of those NNGOs that support them. During July 2005 interviews were held with leaders of Indigenous organisations at local or community level, regional level and national level. The following section provides a brief introduction to three of these organisations – the Tayjasaruta from the Sarayacu community, FINAE which is the regional Achuar organisation, and CONAIE the national representative body, together with a summary of their opinions of Indigenous organisations' relationships with NNGOs. It is hoped that exploring the perspectives and issues faced by organisations at the various levels will enable the identification of common themes and issues.

Located in the central Amazon province of Pastaza, the indigenous Sarayacu community has 2800 members. The Sarayacu are represented by Tayjasaruta, whose members are elected annually. Tayjasaruta features a president, 17 directors (each of whom looks after a specific area i.e. women, international relations, etc), a secretary and accountant in Puyo. Tayjasaruta is a member of OPIP at provincial level, CONFENAIE at regional level and, via CONFENAIE, CONAIE at national level. However due to the current internal crisis within CONFENAIE the Tayjasaruta currently deal directly with CONAIE. The Tayjasaruta and 1100 Sarayacu have expressed opposition to the incursions of extractive companies, who have started to search for oil on Sarayacu territory, despite the fact that they lack the permission legally required from the community representative body. Despite violence and threats from the extractive companies and the Ecuadorian government, the Sarayacu have organised a community defence unit, which has been marking out Sarayacu territory, and have staged protest marches. In support of this position, several NNGOs and donors, including

Oxfam and Pachamama have developed direct funding relationships with the Sarayacu. Oxfam, together with IBIS and NPA also funds CDES to provide legal accompaniment and advice to the Sarayacu.

Figure 3: Sarayacu territory in Ecuador



In an interview in July 2005, the President of the Tayjasaruta, Hilda Santi, stated repeatedly that the Sarayacu were now living in 2 worlds, that they need the right education for each world, and specifically more education for the occidental world, with the local university in Puyo training Indigenous people to be teachers only. Hilda stated that they also need their own lawyers and journalists. She also noted

that the Sarayacu are politically advanced, and have been asked by many other tribes to come and work with them, but that they are not advanced regarding education, health or development. She believes that they should develop small projects, such as fish farms for their own consumption, to improve the quality of their lives.

Hilda stated that due to the current threat from the extractive companies and the state, the Sarayacu are now receiving a range of support from NNGOs, and have become much stronger than the organisations that are supposed to support them, such as CONFENAIE and OPIP. Hilda stated that currently Pachamama also supports them with institutional strengthening, which Hilda described as the funding of secretarial and accounting staff in Puyo, telephone bills, a monthly flight from Sarayacu to Puyo, and US$150 per month for the leader. Hilda added that this does not cover all expenses, as she must regularly travel to Quito for meetings and lobbying. Oxfam America has also supported the Sarayacu, funding 3 workshops delivered by CDES, which were aimed at increasing peoples understanding of their human rights. In Hilda's opinion these workshops were the best support that the Sarayacu have received. Hilda stated that they would like to use similar leadership training that CDES has developed, but with their own cosmovision. Cosmovision has been defined as "The way a certain population perceives the cosmos or world. It includes assumed relationships between the human world, the natural world and the spiritual world. It describes the perceived role of supernatural powers, the relationship between humans and nature, and the way natural processes take place. It embodies the premises on which people organize themselves, and determines the moral and scientific basis for intervention in nature" (Haverkort et al, 2003). She noted that while they were receiving much verbal and lobbying support from NNGOs, there was less funding available, and the NNGOs controlled tightly exactly how this funding must be used. She stated that it was impossible to just get money that they could use for their own goals, and the funding was only if the Sarayacu goals matched the NNGO goals. She also

noted that the Sarayacu had seen NNGOs and donors 'come and go' a lot with Indigenous organisations, so they were trying not to depend too heavily on this support, but to channel it to long-term results, such as a university.

The Interprovincial Federation of the Achuar Nationality or FINAE shares some of the issues of the Sarayacu. FINAE was created in 1993 to represent the Achuar Communities in the Southern Amazon. During an interview in July 2005 Ruben Samarin, Director of Territories for FINAE, stated that they have received some support from NNGOs but this has not been constant, and there have not been many NNGOs supporting FINAE. Current supporters are IBIS, Pachamama and Ecorai, an Italian organisation, but they support only projects and not the organisation itself. Allianza and Pachamama also support lobbying activities. Pachamama funds organisational strengthening, which Ruben described as providing funding based on the FINAE strategic plan and auditing spent funds, but this support is not enough. FINAE has 64 member communities and needs to work on education and health. Ruben stated that in order to continue FINAE needs core organisational costs and other projects to be funded.

Another major issue for FINAE is that projects funded are for a short duration, from 2-9 months to a maximum of 1 year. Generally FINAE has between 1-4 projects per year. Ruben explained that means that they are constantly searching for new funding and writing reports for their current projects, which takes up a lot of time. Ruben stated that they need increased funds as well as longer term support to really develop projects. He believes they have been abandoned by the state, which is not delivering regarding health, education, or economic resources. Ruben was very critical of NNGOs, stating that they fund Indigenous organisations to improve their own image to their home populations, but that they never give enough to ensure that the Indigenous organisations can be healthy. He also stated that all the indigenous organisations, from local to state, never have control over their projects, with this resting with the NNGOs.

Established in 1986, The Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador, or CONAIE, is the national representative body of Ecuador's indigenous communities and organisations. CONAIE is managed by a team of directors who are elected each 3 years. During an interview in July 2005 Efren Kalapucha, Director of Territories, stated that currently CONAIE's objectives are the unification of the Indigenous movement, the promotion of Indigenous peoples' cultural identity, and the defence of their territory. He noted that they are also pushing for local semi-autonomy, which would involve governance of those territories that are legally theirs, together with the legalisation of those territories that have not yet been returned to Indigenous peoples.

Efren believes the greatest achievement of CONAIE is the improved self esteem and respect of Indigenous communities in Ecuador. He noted that they are now respected by the state with their own legal identity and are also in the constitution, which now acknowledges collective rights. The national bilingual education programs are also a great achievement, and a way of fighting continuing colonisation in areas such as the Amazon, he states. However in addition to these achievements, CONAIE also faces internal problems and divisions. In an interview with Oxfam America (2004) Luis Macas, head of CONAIE stated "One of our priorities is to return to what we once were, articulating the unity of the indigenous movement. We have been in a kind of limbo since we got involved in electoral politics. We need to return to the central themes that brought together the indigenous movement, which are territory and education. And we need to leave behind the issues that have created division, including participating in politics. The desire for power created by our political participation caused us to lose sight of the key issues that are demanded by the communities".

Despite the fact that these issues and goals require strong external assistance, CONAIE currently receives very little support from NNGOs. They receive no funds

from the government, although they have asked. The directors are not paid and most of the staff, who are from the provinces, have no support to be in the capital, and live in the same building as they work, stated Efren. Also, they do not have extremely high levels of education, and often find it difficult to follow the strict reporting requirements of donors. Furthermore CONAIE receives no support for the organisation, only for projects. Efren stated that CONAIE is so poorly funded that the directors don't have computers. He noted that CONAIE only has two old computers from 1994 that the secretaries have, which makes seeking funds and doing work very difficult.

Efren stated that due to the politics of CONAIE, which pushes for structural changes to the state, it is difficult to find funding from NNGOs. This problem is heightened by the fact that in past projects CONAIE has had lowered credibility regarding reports to donors, which have sometimes been late or not said things donors approve of. Efren noted that there has been accusations of corruption, but there has not been corruption within CONAIE. Efren stated that CONAIE is very strong politically but not financially, or with project management for donors, and that they want to increase their capacity, and credibility, in finance and administration.

Efren noted that CONAIE receives no support from the UN and nothing from Pachamama currently, although once they received US$1,000 from Pachamama for specific activities. At present CONAIE receives some funding from IBIS and NPA regarding the promotion of their biodiversity law, which involves public presentations and seeking of approval from Indigenous organisations, but only small amounts for parts of this single project are funded. Despite the limited funding and controls, Efren stated that CONAIE has good relations with NPA and IBIS, and have credibility with them, especially regarding the biodiversity law. These donors fund a small amount for the salary of the technical staff that work with CONAIE on the project, but not the salaries of CONAIE staff. Furthermore,

previously CONAIE had projects with Oxfam America, but because of their administrative weakness, which involved late or controversial reporting, these stopped. They have recently asked for US$40,000 from Oxfam but are not sure if they will get it.

CONAIE also works with CDES regarding the human rights of the Sarayacu and other communities such as the Huaorani, but Efren noted that even a local organisation such as CDES also wants to execute the projects directly and not finance CONAIE to do this.

In terms of the procedures to obtain funding, Efren explained that generally CONAIE present a project to donors that has been designed with set activities, and a specific request to donors to fund certain activities. However donors do not fund the requested activities, instead selecting things they would like to fund, and set amounts also. Efren stated that some donors may think that spending the money on other things is corruption, but this is not the case – rather CONAIE is responding to evolving needs of the Indigenous peoples. No donors give CONAIE funds to spend as they wish, but rather to achieve the objectives of the donor. Also no donors provide any type of capacity building. CONAIE has asked for this, but donors always respond saying that they don't have enough funds for this. Efren stated that donors generally require 6 monthly reports, which they provide specific formats for, and require both financial and narrative reports. CONAIE is forbidden to change the budgets or activities previously set, even if they inform the donor at the time of the change and the reason for it. This makes project delivery difficult as the contexts are always changing, he explained.

Efren stated that throughout the 1990s many NNGOs invited CONAIE to international conferences to explain the situation in Ecuador. However now they invite other NNGOs that are working in Ecuador to explain the situation, instead of the Indigenous directors of CONAIE.

According to Efren, one of the biggest current problems for CONAIE is that most donors prefer to work directly with grassroots local organisations and not the national representative organisation of CONAIE. Efren believes the donors and NNGOs are dividing the Indigenous movement by doing this; however when CONAIE complains about this, it leads to even less funding for CONAIE.

He also claimed that there are many NNGOs in Ecuador, but they want to directly implement projects that are in partnership with CONAIE, and CONAIE has said no to this as it should be the Indigenous peoples that implement their projects. He stated that most NGOS here refuse to fund this. When asked about CONAIE's partnership with NNGOs, Efren laughed and said that true partnership is not where one group has all the power and money, and the other has the role of the beggar, which is the general situation with CONAIE and development organisations.

These comments and opinions from the directors of the community level organisation, the Tayjasaruta, the regional level organisation FINAE, and the national level organisation CONAIE do possess several similarities. Perhaps the most notable is that each discusses their organisation's lack of funds and ongoing need for external funding. With each Indigenous director repeatedly emphasizing the control that NNGOs maintain over funding allocations, this financial inequality appears to dictate the relationships between the Indigenous organisations and the NNGOs that support them.

They all also mention that NNGO support is inconsistent and transient, with Ruben Samarin from FINAE stating that most project funding is for 2-12 months. Furthermore, despite expressing interest in this, none of the organisations appear to receive organisational capacity building in terms of building human capacities or skills. While local organisations such as the Tayjasaruta do receive funds for some organisational costs, the national representative body does not receive any

organisational support. With Hilda Santi noting that this support has enabled the Sarayacu to become stronger than the organisations that are supposed to be supporting them, it will be interesting to see the impact this type of support, which does not focus on supporting the movement as a whole but rather individual organisations, will have in the long term.

Findings

These issues, so central to Indigenous organisations, were not discussed in the NNGO interviews. Even Martin Scurrah's comments, while detailing issues that arise within partnerships with indigenous organisation, stop far short of those comments made by the Indigenous leaders. The reason for this may be explained by the comments of Arturo Cevallos of IBIS, who noted that the foundation of the problems between Indigenous organisations and donors is cultural difference, stating that even if NNGOs want to help, they still want Indigenous organisations to work 'their way', whereas the Indigenous organisations follow a different cosmovision and logic, not western but indigenous. His opinion is supported by Ruth Arias, a metis woman who worked for CONFENAIE while they received funding from Oxfam Great Britain. During an interview in July 2005, Ruth noted that there were always problems and conflicts with communications between Oxfam Great Britain and CONFENAIE, whether it was because the reports were late, said the wrong thing, or that people had different understandings of needs, concepts and even words.

Indeed it does appear that each group is speaking from a very different perspective. Given this large gap between NNGOs and Indigenous organisations, it appears that true partnership may be difficult to achieve. For example (with the exception of Norwegian Peoples' Aid who note that their funding of the CONAIE project on the proposed biodiversity law is perhaps not the best use of their funds but was the decision of CONAIE, adding that this was the most important aspect), it appears that NNGO fund activities which support their own previously set

objectives, and that the objectives of the Indigenous organisations are not considered as the primary objective. This also applies to the way that NNGOs implement projects.

It also seems that the two groups (Indigenous organisations and NNGOs) have very different perceptions of the relationships that exist between them. For example, NNGO staff did not discuss their relationship with Indigenous organisations at length, merely stating that their relationships were trusting and in solidarity, positioning themselves as 'partners' of the Indigenous organisations. They appeared to assume that naturally the Indigenous organisations felt the same way. However the interviews with the Indigenous organisations demonstrate very different perceptions, as illustrated by the above comments from Indigenous leaders Efren Kalapucha, Hilda Santi and Ruben Samarin.

This gulf between the NNGOs and the Indigenous organisations is not one they appear to be able to easily bridge, given their different world views. It suggests that a space exists for a local intermediary organisation, which could develop effective relationships with both groups. The Ecuadorian Centre for Economic and Social Rights (CDES) is an intermediary organisation working with Indigenous organisations and donors in Ecuador, and appears well-placed to act in this bridging role. CDES claims that its technical expertise and highly qualified staff have enabled it to develop more horizontal relationships with donors, and its local Indigenous staff have enabled closer relationships with Indigenous organisations. The next chapter, via examining the external relationships and internal structure of CDES, will explore whether CDES has indeed been able to successfully negotiate between the two groups to effect positive outcomes that support the objectives of the Indigenous organisations.

Chapter 4: CDES - Centro de Derechos Economicos y Culturales

This chapter will explore the role and nature of the Ecuadorian organisation 'Centro de Derechos Economicos y Sociales' (CDES). It will first discuss the aims, history and programs of CDES, and will then explore CDES' internal structure, external relationships, and finally achievements, strengths and weaknesses. Due to a lack of documented materials and limited firsthand interviews, the chapter relies heavily on three external evaluations that were undertaken at CDES' request in 2004 and 2005. These evaluations will be compared to interviews undertaken with CDES staff, supporters and associates, together with impressions gained from spending one month working in the CDES office, during my field visit in July 2005, and will themselves be evaluated. My research furthermore undertook original interviews with interns, a group whose relations with CDES was not discussed in the three external evaluations, but which provides strong evidence of the relationship that CDES has with NNGOs.

It should be noted that all source documents exist only in Spanish, and that all interviews were undertaken in Spanish. These were translated specifically for this research in order to make the processes and achievements within the Ecuador context visible and useful to English speakers in Australia.

CDES: role and objectives

Created in response to the changing Latin American context, notably a decrease in dictators and state-generated violence but ongoing poverty and an increasing gap between the rich and poor, the Centre for Economic and Social Rights (CDES) is an Ecuadorian non-governmental organisation that promotes and defends economic, social and cultural rights. CDES believes that Latin America's most pressing issues are currently indigenous rights, corporate accountability,

environmental destruction, trade, foreign debt and structural adjustment programs. According to CDES it is necessary to develop new strategies to address these abuses, and here CDES hold that economic, social and cultural rights, protected by national constitutions, international treaties and judicial bodies, offer potential.

In 2005, CDES consisted of a staff of nine, and was led by four Ecuadorian economists and lawyers, who were committed to catalysing positive social change. The organisation was divided into teams which looked after the Amazon program, a globalization program, and a promotion program. One of the lawyers was Mario Melo, who was in charge of the Amazon program, which involved the provision of support to the Indigenous movement, and who provided much of the following information via a series of interviews in July 2005. In addition the director of the Amazon School, Celestino Wichum, was interviewed several times. Other CDES staff included an economist named Jorge Acosta who managed the Globalisation program, and Juana Sotomayor an economist who managed the Promotion program. The general coordinator was a lawyer named Patricio Pazmino. The internal structure of CDES, together with relationship dynamics, will be discussed in detail in the Internal Structure section.

CDES has succeeded in building strong ties with both representative Indigenous organisations and international donors, including a number of Northern non-governmental organisations. The internal functioning and external relations of CDES will be examined in this chapter, in order to provide a clear example of the nature and role of intermediary organisations, specifically in providing support to Indigenous organisations.

Economic, social and cultural rights (ESCR) include the right to an adequate standard of living, which includes food, clothing and housing, the right to work, the right to physical and mental health, the right to social security, the right to education and the right to a healthy environment. After World War II, these rights,

together with civil and political rights, were recognised formally in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They are currently a foundation of many national constitutions and international treaties. In the last 15 years they have become a foundation of non-governmental organisations' and social movements' campaigns. ESCR place responsibilities upon governments and businesses to ensure that their activities do not disadvantage populations and that people have access to basic services, including health care and education. Furthermore, they allow people to have a voice in decisions that affect their well-being, providing a legal framework to hold governments accountable for their actions and policies.

While some claim that economic, social and cultural rights are not justiciable or possible to monitor, the American Centre for Economic and Social Rights notes that most countries have enshrined these rights in their constitutions, and that both international and national courts have upheld decisions to protect them. Successful legal cases include those opposing forcible evictions, the banning of unions and the failure to provide primary level education or basic health care facilities. In Ecuador, CDES has run several legal cases reclaiming these rights, some of which have been successful. These will be discussed below.

Mario Melo, Amazon Area Program Coordinator of CDES, was interviewed for this project in July 2005, when he stated that the organisation's methodology focuses on research, advocacy, collaboration and education. Actions or projects in CDES generally start with research, which involves investigating and documenting development and environmental problems and advocacy, such as putting public and legal pressure on governments or corporations. Another major activity for CDES involves supporting and collaborating with local organisations to build capacity around the defence of economic, social and cultural rights, as well as promoting national and international coalitions.

Developed in 2004-5, the CDES Strategic Plan (2005-2010) signals a change of direction for the organisation, as will be discussed below, and includes, for the first time, a vision and mission. The vision states “the social sectors traditionally excluded and discriminated against in Ecuador and the Andean-Amazon region have an impact on the construction of societies that are diverse, equitable and inclusive, that are based on human rights, with an emphasis on economic, social and cultural rights”. CDES' mission is “to support those movements and social organisations in the discussion, development and implementation of an alternative economic, social and political model via lobbying around public policy, multidisciplinary investigation, campaigns of pressure and denouncing, citizens participation and vigilance, legal actions, capacity building and promotion of economic, social and cultural rights.”

History of CDES

The origins of CDES began in 1993 with the creation of the Centre for Economic and Social Rights (CESR) a US NGO based in New York. In 1994 the CESR issued a report on Texaco's violations of rights in the Ecuadorian Amazon, which included a scientific study featuring substantive proof of water contamination and related health impacts. Texaco had been dumping billions of gallons of toxic waste in the Ecuadorian Amazon rainforest for over 20 years, resulting in widespread health problems to local communities and contamination of the environment. This report was the basis of a US lawsuit on behalf of Amazon residents which charged Texaco with violating the rights to health and a healthy environment.

CESR followed the report with a series of workshops with local communities to support their advocacy efforts and helped them to establish a network of communities and institutions to confront irresponsible development – the Amazon Defence Front. CESR was also involved in an international campaign against the oil industry to raise awareness and confront the abuses in the Amazon.

After 3 years of work in the region, CESR opened a local office, Centro de Derechos Economicos y Sociales (CDES), in Quito in 1997, with the goal of introducing and promoting the little-known concept of economic, social and cultural rights to the people of Ecuador and the Andean countries. Growing rapidly in size and influence, in 2000 CDES became a legal Ecuadorian non-profit organisation. CDES remains closely affiliated in mission and collaboration to CESR, but is financially independent, attracting its own donors, and not receiving any funding from CESR.

Programs and Tools

CDES' initial work in the Amazon has expanded to include the Amazon Area, Globalisation and Promotion programs. In response to petrol companies' exploitation of the Amazon, CDES' Amazon Area program provides legal and capacity development assistance to Indigenous Amazonian groups, in order to equip them to better defend their territories. Their legal actions are around community rights and development, and are aimed at developing national precedents, which would ideally have an international impact, together with drawing attention to the governments' obligations and accountability. As CDES' primary means of supporting Indigenous organisations, the Amazon Area program will be explored in greater detail below.

CDES' activities in the Globalisation program involve the analysis of the Ecuadorian government's external debt and repayment strategies, budgeting and the impact of free trade agreements, monitoring international financial institutions, and actions to increase the awareness and involvement of the general public. CDES holds that the general public's lack of awareness of these rights, together with a lack of jurisprudence and corporate or government accountability, are barriers to defending ESCR abuses, and that an engaged and active civil society is necessary to address these problems.

CDES holds networks to be fundamental. Its role generally involves active membership in local, regional and international networks, together with the provision of support to local networks, most recently between Indigenous groups. CDES is a steering board member of the Amazon Alliance, which links 9 Amazon countries with US NGOs, and the Inter-American Human Rights Platform, which consists of hundreds of NGOs in 15 Latin American countries. In 2004 CDES became a member of the International Federation of Human Rights Organisations, which links 141 local human rights organisations from 110 countries, and is a founding and council member of the International Network for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. On a local level, CDES worked with the Shuar and Achuar peoples to support the creation of an alliance, and has supported local organisations' participation in regional and national federations such as CONFENAIE, ECUARUNARI and CONAIE.

As discussed previously, the focus of this research is on the role of CDES and its relationship with and support to Indigenous organisations, and thus the research on CDES will focus on the Amazon area program. However relevant areas of the organisation as a whole will be analysed in order to explore mutual internal influences, and the way that these internal elements thus impact on the external support that CDES provides to other organisations.

Amazon Area Program

Following the start of oil exploitation in 1972, the Amazon has witnessed many conflicts between petrol companies, who are given almost unrestricted licenses and support by the government, and local Indigenous peoples and environmentalists. Issues include threats to rainforests and their inhabitants, together with local control over development, resource distribution and national economic policies. CDES' principal activities here have involved capacity building with local Indigenous organisations, lobbying, social pressure and legal actions, using national and international human rights instruments. To a much lesser

extent, CDES has worked on Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) and territorial rights issues, as discussed below.

From 1997-2001 CDES worked in the Northern Amazon, where oil extraction had already caused damage, following directly on from the work of the American Centre for Economic and Social Rights (CESR). The first stage worked with both indigenous and campesino counterparts, and supported a local coalition called the Amazon Defence Front. Generally the objective of the counterparts was not negotiation with the extractive companies but their withdrawal from the territories, or payment for damages already caused.

In 2001 the focus changed to the Central and Southern Amazon in response to the Ecuadorian government's decision to launch a 9th round of granting petrol licenses in these areas in 2002. During this stage, CDES' work involved two primary strategies. One was the preparation and capacity development of Indigenous organisations for the 9th round. The second strategy focused on legal actions and lobbying to stop petrol companies working in blocks 23 and 24, which are Shuar, Achuar and Quichua territories, and had not been previously exposed to oil extraction. While this decision was controversial both externally and within CDES, it did allow the organisation to consolidate its relationship of support with the Indigenous movement in Ecuador.

Another important development in the 2nd stage was the decision to develop a macro-regional strategy of Indigenous capacity development for the Amazon, which included the development of the Amazon School and the Indigenous Diploma. The Amazon school is an annual intensive training camp for Indigenous leaders, and will be explored in detail below. The Indigenous diploma, situated in Quito, was designed to increase awareness of ESCR and collective rights for the Indigenous urban population. However, the participation of non-indigenous professionals and government officials was very high, and due to ongoing failures

to recruit Indigenous students the diploma was halted after the 2004 course.

Several external commentators, including two external evaluators state that in focusing on these activities CDES has concentrated primarily on resistance and not on promoting debate and analysis of alternative development for the Amazon. However, it should be considered that perhaps the urgency of the situation left CDES little alternative, especially given their own limited resources.

In 2001 CDES commenced awareness building and capacity development activities regarding collective rights and ESCR with the Shuar, Shiwiar and Zaparas communities, those who would be primarily affected if licenses were granted in the 9th round. In addition, CDES worked in co-ordination with CONAIE, CONFENAIE and other organisations of the region and country to influence public opinion and increase social pressure to stop the 9th round of petrol licensing. Mario Melo, Amazon Program Co-ordinator, noted that in 2001 CDES conducted forty capacity building workshops on collective rights and ESCR in 2001, and in 2003 thirty were held. In 2004 CDES ran only 10 workshops, but these had a regional focus, and were larger and longer. Another action involved the provision of support to CONAIE and Pachakutik, the Indigenous political party, with capacity development activities such as training and mentoring regarding external debt and petrol policies.

CDES' lobbying actions have been strengthened by their alliances and actions with other organisations in Ecuador and Latin America. CDES worked closely with Indigenous organisations such as the Independent Federation of the Shuar People of Ecuador (FIPSE) to establish alliances with other NGOs, and with the Shuar-Achuar Federation, supporting them to maintain a unified position. CDES has in addition supported public mobilisations which, via international allies, reached the petrol company Burlington's Texas offices and contributed to the company stopping work in blocks 23 and 24.

Faced with the urgency of the situation, CDES has increasingly used judicial actions as the principal political tool to support indigenous territorial defence. In 2001 and 2002 CDES' work focused on block 24 in the central Amazon, and included follow-up of the case presented by FIPSE to the ILO, which resulted in a favourable decision for Indigenous rights, and denouncing abuses before the anti-corruption commission. CDES undertook similar activities in late 2002, when the Argentine petrol company CGC, who had the licence for block 23, entered Sarayacu territory without the consent of the Sarayacu representative organisation, the Tayjasaruta. The Sarayacu sought the legal support of CDES to stop CGC's exploration and exploitation.

In front of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in 2003, the Sarayacu were successful in obtaining precautionary measures aimed at protecting the community. The Ecuadorian Government failed to respect these measures and in 2004 the Commission referred the matter to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, which ordered the government and CGC to refrain from abusing the Sarayacu's rights. The government again failed to comply and in 2005 renewed its orders. The case is still pending before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

The Amazon Area focused on these, primarily legal, activities for 2003 and part of 2004. In addition CDES staff held meetings with senior government staff and congress members to support both their legal actions and the Sarayacu's actions.

Regarding territorial rights, the primary action was, at the request of CONAIE, capacity building and production of a publication. This involved several workshops with Indigenous organisations and the development of a territorial network, which apparently did not function actively due to a lack of dedicated resources. However Melo contends that the workshops contributed to a process of reflection with grassroots organisations for the development of a law on territorial rights.

In 2004 and 2005 CDES commissioned three external evaluations. The first had an organisation-wide focus, and was conducted by Lourdes Barragan and Mamerto Perez in 2004, and the second focused on the Amazon area, and was conducted by Mamerto Perez in 2005. In order to facilitate understanding the evaluation conducted by Barragan and Perez in 2004 will be called the Barragan evaluation in following paragraphs. The third evaluation was conducted in 2005 and concentrated on the Amazon School, a project located within the Amazon Area program, and was undertaken by Cristina Santacruz. All comment on the positive and negative aspects of the Amazon Area program. Mamerto Perez, author of the 2005 Amazon Area program evaluation, concludes that both CDES' rights focused capacity building activities with Indigenous organisations and communities have had uncertain results and impact. He holds that this type of planned activity is structurally weak as CDES has never had the resources to ensure the sustained process of capacity building that is necessary to guarantee the results for Indigenous organisations, and that this knowledge should push CDES to think of other options to achieve the capacity building of Indigenous organisations. He suggests such possibilities as training Indigenous leaders to become capacity builders, forming community-based capacity building teams, and using mass communication methods to support the capacity building by disseminating information. However Perez does not discuss the impact that the capacity building has had on individuals, and this appears to have been substantial (interview with Celestino Wichum, July 2005). In contrast the evaluation of CDES' Amazon School project, undertaken by Cristina Santacruz in 2005, discussed in the Amazon School section below, shows that this has been effective, and has furthermore had a bottom-up positive impact on several Indigenous organisations in the region.

Both the Barragan and Perez evaluations acknowledge that the Amazon Area's legal actions have been highly effective, achieving perhaps the most notable successes for CDES. These include stopping the entry of several petrol companies, forcing others to respect the law and or leave, and providing important

legal precedents for the defence of collective rights.

The Barragan evaluation noted that CDES must consider the limits of judicial actions, in order to construct sustainable political processes. They hold that CDES' response has focused on resistance, and that this approach has succeeded in stopping the petrol companies for the moment. However they state that CDES needs to develop actions that are more proactive and focus on solutions to the foundation of the problems. They suggest that this should be addressed via dialogue with Indigenous organisations, and note that CDES is in a position to lead on this nationally.

Both the 2004 Barragan and 2005 Perez external evaluations note that CDES has not systematised the processes, strategies and conceptual elaboration of this work, thus limiting the learning for themselves and other organisations in the region.

Amazon School

The Amazon School is an annual four week intensive school which aims to provide local leaders with practical skills, strategies and information for research, monitoring and advocacy efforts in defence of their territories and environments. It condenses and transfers CDES' knowledge of defence of ESCR and collective rights. The School Director noted that the training is more of an apprenticeship, and uses a 'learning by doing' methodology. The objectives of the Amazon school are to strengthen the capacity of Indigenous and campesino leaders to organise effective campaigns in defence of their environment and human rights in Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. The school is directed at leaders of grassroots organisations that are already active in political advocacy.

In 5 years of the Amazon School, 88 students have graduated, representing around 30 Indigenous and campesino organisations. The impact was highest in Ecuador, with 52 students from 16 organisations, with 12 Peruvian students from 5

organisations, 10 Colombian students representing 5 organisations, and minimal representation by Bolivian and Venezuelan students.
The Amazon School is a joint project of CDES and Earth Rights International, a North American International NGO. It is modelled on Earth Rights' Burma School in Thailand, which started in 1998 in order to support Burmese environmental activists along the Thai border with training in monitoring and advocacy techniques around human and environmental rights. After five years of operation, in 2005 CDES and Earth Rights International requested an external evaluation. This evaluation, conducted by Cristina Santacruz, provides valuable information regarding the school's impact on both Indigenous leaders and their organisations, and is discussed in detail below.

In addition to economic, social and cultural rights, the course content focuses on development issues, campaigning and advocacy methods, how to harness the media, and internet use. During a meeting with Mario Melo, the Amazon program co-ordinator, and Celestino Wichum, the school director, in July 2005, they noted that the School's content varies from year to year, primarily because it tries to respond both to requests from students and contextual changes. In 2005 students had requested collective Indigenous rights, instruments such as the ILO convention 169, and free, prior and informed consent guidelines, together with resolutions that provide examples of Indigenous legal victories. Based on this, they decided to produce a document that shows people where their rights are enshrined in various international conventions. They also evaluated the 2004 school, with the goal of improving the way students can evaluate their learning.

Mario noted that, for the 2005 school, CDES wants to support students to compare their situations across the 5 countries regarding free, prior and informed consent and the ILO convention, and wants to cover how Indigenous justice systems address violence in the Amazon. They plan to include a reflection on the current fractures and weakening of Indigenous organisations, with the hope that students

will develop methods of resolving this, or at least become more aware of the consequences of these rifts.

Celestino and Mario discussed an ongoing problem, which is that the students prefer to be taught in the traditional method with a white person up front and a lot of notes to take. Apparently when CDES facilitators try to teach in more participative ways, people ask "When is the real learning going to start?" Some of the older men refuse to be involved in drawing activities. CDES staff believe that there is much that students can learn from each other, but have great difficulty in convincing the students of this.

Joanna Levitt, a Fulbright scholar working with CDES in 2005, was involved in the school and was facilitating the units 'What kind of a world do you want?', and 'How to write a press release and improve campaigning skills'. She noted that the school is very participatory, with former students frequently returning to facilitate. Joanna stated that after participating, students are expected to teach their fellow community members what they have learnt. Also involved in the planning of the school curriculum is Kenny Bruno from Earth Rights International, an expert on environmental law. He will present such modules as 'How extractive companies work' and 'How to do fact finding and social impact assessments." This year the school will visit the Huoarani tribe to work on real-life press releases, research and public speaking.

It appears that the relationship between Earth Rights International and CDES is the only relationship covered within this research that possesses several elements of an equal partnership, based on Alan Fowler's criteria for the definition of a partnership, which states that "partnership is about working together to accomplish agreed results and accepting joint responsibility for achieving them, and that there are defined mutual roles and responsibilities, together with an agreed level of mutuality and balance or equality" (p. 6, Fowler, 2000). It appears that both

organisations have different skills and resources to contribute, and both are equally committed to the Amazon School as a joint project. However, according to Fowler's definitions, while CDES and Earth Rights International are working in partnership on the Amazon School, their relationship is more of 'development allies' in that they have agreed on an agenda or objective, being the Amazon School, that they wish to pursue together. Fowler defines partnership as "full, mutual support, for the work, the identity and all aspects of each organisation, with no limits", which is clearly not the relationship between CDES and Earth Rights International. The issues around partnership and the various relationships between development organisations are discussed in detail in the section on partnership, which is located in the 'Concepts' chapter.

According to Cristina Santacruz, who carried out a lengthy external evaluation on the School in 2005, while both CDES and Earth Rights have specific duties in the project, these were not always clearly documented, and this appears to have had a detrimental effect on the partnership. This supports Fowlers comments regarding partnership in the concepts chapter, where he states that it is very important for potential partners or allies to discuss and agree upon the rights and obligations of each, ensuring a joint understanding of the weight of different elements, in order to ensure balance.

CDES' role revolves around the execution of the Amazon School and includes the definition of the curriculum, the design and development of materials, facilitation of modules by CDES' interdisciplinary staff, recruitment of students, logistical administration for the course, housing the School Director, management of budgets, providing a local presence, and expertise in the human rights focus.

Having developed the original idea to create an Amazon School in Ecuador based on the experience of the Burma School in Thailand, Earth Rights International's role includes managing the grant from the Ford Foundation, co-ordinating the

environmental focus, and contacting and contracting other facilitators. In addition, Earth Rights facilitates modules in documentation and environmental advocacy campaigns.

According to Mario Melo (interview, July, 2005), it was planned for the organisations to jointly manage the Amazon School Director, and for the role to provide a bridge between the organisations, enabling closer working relations, but this has not eventuated. As the director is based in the CDES office, it appears that he sees himself as a member of the CDES staff, and this influences his workload. During the period around the central course, which ranges from 5-13 weeks, the director works full time co-ordinating the school with such duties as recruiting students, establishing contacts, running the central course, and finally collecting and documenting data from evaluations. Outside this period the director states that he dedicates 25% of his time to the Amazon School and 75% to other activities within CDES. Santacruz suggests that the director should be dependent on both organisations and should facilitate communications between them. However she does not discuss the structure for daily management or evaluation of the position.

In addition to this issue, other tensions and concerns between CDES and Earth Rights International appear to exist. Within CDES there exists a perception that the relationship between CDES and Earth Rights International is weak, that Earth Rights International's budget information needs to be more transparent, and communication mechanisms need to be improved (Santacruz, 2005). These conclusions were supported by Mario Melo during an interview in July 2005. Earth Rights staff explained to Santacruz that they felt isolated from the management of the school, stating that as CDES has been responsible for running the Amazon School, the school has been vulnerable to CDES' changing dynamics and Earth Rights International has had less influence on key decisions. Examples of this include in 2003 when, based on a decision of the CDES board of directors, the school was placed under the exclusive responsibility of the director, and set apart

from the other programs. Earth Rights International would like to change this dynamic, together with its role as an international donor disconnected from local realities, by perhaps employing a local representative. Finally, Earth Rights International has expressed their frustration that, despite previous agreements, CDES has failed to seek funding for the Amazon school. (Santacruz, 2005)

There does seem to be a need for better coordination between the organisations and Santacruz believes that CDES and Earth Rights International must develop a conscious interdependence, together with improving communication and clarity of roles and contributions. In order to allay the financial concerns of CDES she recommends that Earth Rights International present the Ford grant budget and allocation to CDES, and make clear to CDES the process and costs involved in obtaining and managing this grant. CDES should perhaps explain why they have not tried to obtain funding, as previously agreed. Again this supports Fowlers comments in the concepts chapter that transparency in the negotiation of a relationship, be it a partnership or other form, is essential in order to avoid future issues. Also relevant is Fowlers' suggestion that organisations discuss and agree the 'weight' of their various contributions.

During interviews, students noted that the Amazon school training helped them to develop their ability to form persuasive arguments based on human rights, to better understand what a campaign is, their ability to manage and implement strategies and their capacity to document environmental impact.

The School appears to support the cross-cultural nature of the local Indigenous idea of leadership, defined as "the set of qualities which permit the leader to give direction to processes of reflection within the organisation, to provide new knowledge based on information accumulated from the outside world, to learn the language of the other, and above all about cross-cultural experience". These qualities are the capacity to express oneself – understood as more than simply

being able to articulate a political discourse, but moreover being able to speak eloquently about issues from the external non-indigenous world, while at the same time reinforcing indigenous cultural values. The school's approach fits well with this vision of leadership, as it provides new information and reinforces important existing knowledge. Furthermore, it provides a cross-cultural space of exchange, together with supporting reflection about the arguments behind the organisations' struggles (Santacruz, 2005).

It seems that the training received is most effective when the students insert themselves into the process of defence being carried out by their organisations. Some have gained decision-making positions in their organisations after the school, and then carried out effective replica workshops and actions. However, most commonly students 'get lost', according to their friends and colleagues. Some students maintain sporadic communication with the school, whereas no communication is maintained between students (Santacruz, 2005).

Before examining the school's impact on local organisations, it is necessary to understand the current context of Indigenous organisations in the region. According to Santacruz "the organisational model for the representation of Indigenous peoples – the institutional strength and validity of their organisations – is currently weakening." It is true that currently many Indigenous organisations face divisions and some are splintering into factions (interview, Mario Melo, July 2005). While this is often provoked by the extractive industries and their strategies to divide local communities and organisations, my research and interviews with Indigenous leaders and NNGOs in July 2005 suggest that another contributing factor appears to be that the organisations, and specifically certain leaders, are unprepared for the power and influence they suddenly achieve regarding government or industry. This is discussed in further detail in the chapter on the Ecuador context.

Due to this fracturing of the movement, it appears that there is no common agenda, but rather some actors and leaders that have a clear set of objectives regarding territorial defence, with Mario Melo noting that there are over 150 peoples and 200 organisations in this region (interview, July 2005). The Amazon school is thus a space for training and capacity-building, and for dialogue and exchange of knowledge and experiences between the participants, both indigenous and non-indigenous.

Apparently, in some cases, students have been able to effectively include their new skills within the campaigns of the organisations they work for, and here the critical thinking and tools have generated innovative actions and tactics. Thus, via the individual capacity development of these students, the school has had a local impact on organisational strengthening and advocacy in several organisations. These students often implement replica workshops, fill important positions within their organisations or facilitate direct advocacy actions in their organisations and specific struggles (Santacruz, 2005). This support Rick James' comments in the concepts chapter that individual capacity building is an essential part of capacity building, and is necessary for change on a wider level to take place.

Santacruz' study shows a clear link between the student's impact and the health of the organisation they work with. It seems that the students have only had impact within organisations that already have clear objectives regarding political, legal and organising actions, and regarding collaboration with NGOs. It appears that successful actions were not carried out as individual or spontaneous actions, but rather as conscientious efforts which took account of the context and the bigger picture.

A clear example of this is the Bolivian organisation 'The Indigenous Head Office for Communities of Conception' (CICC), which is an affiliate of the Chiquitano Indigenous Organisation, covering 45 communities. The Chiquitano movement is

considered solid, has not suffered internal divisions and has maintained a consistent line of action. They organise resistance to mining and logging threats, and for 2 years have refused to allow the Bolivian-Peruvian companies that have been granted the concessions into their territory. At the same time CICC works to reform the Bolivian constitution, and has a strong representation in the local municipal governments (Santacruz, 2005).

The 2005 president and the main organiser of CICC attended the Amazon School. They then travelled to all 45 communities to share and discuss strategies regarding the proposed oil and gas law, as Bolivian society has demanded sovereignty over their oil and gas resources and Bolivia is reformulating the constitution. The students stated that the most important skills gained were the ability to think with a human rights focus, and their loss of innocence regarding the interests of the extractive industries, together with a change of awareness about their inalienable rights. The students continue to work as active members of CICC, which evaluated them after their participation in the Amazon School, and recognised their new skills (Santacruz, 2005).

The FIPSE case shows the same correlation, in this case the lack of impact of students on an unhealthy organisation. FIPSE, the Independent Federation of the Shuar People, is located in Southern Ecuador in Morona Santiago, representing around 500 Shuar people on 185,000 hectares of untitled land. In the late 90s FIPSE presented a legal injunction against the oil companies, ARCO and then Burlington, who had concession rights. They argued that the negotiations between the company and several individuals violated the collective rights established in the Ecuadorian Constitution and the ILO convention 169. In an unprecedented move, the court ruled in favour of FIPSE, and ordered ARCO to not approach any community within or outside FIPSE's territory without first reaching agreement with the legitimate leadership of FIPSE.

However the company has continued to make concerted efforts to pressure and weaken FIPSE, and this, combined with other internal factors, has caused FIPSE to become weak, with a leadership crisis, a lack of external representation, and a constant rotation of the governing council. FIPSE has not maintained continuity in its position or its work and currently has no clear political proposal. 7 students from FIPSE have attended the school. However it was not possible to locate any of them. As FIPSE does not have a governing council at present, it was not possible to contact any representatives to determine the impact of the Amazon School on FIPSE (Santacruz, 2005).

In my opinion, clearly FIPSE does not currently have clear political objectives, and thus there was no collective base into which the graduates could insert themselves. FIPSE is an example of the fragility experienced by many Indigenous organisations currently, which are unable to utilise such training. The impact that the Amazon School has had upon other Indigenous organisations will be discussed further in the later section which discusses CDES' relationships with Indigenous organisations.

Another issue that both the Barragan evaluation and Santacruz have raised is that of ongoing follow-up of students. It appears that Indigenous organisations have requested that the students not be left to work alone, but receive regular follow up and evaluation to identify and reinforce their achievements, and to analyse difficulties and propose new alternatives. However, as the evaluation pointed out, the Amazon School has maintained little contact outside recruitment and post-course evaluations. CDES staff Mario Melo and Celestino Wichum, during interviews in July 2005, confirmed that this was a problem for the school, and stated that they had tried to develop a newsletter which was not very successful, but that, given the isolation of the students, did not know what else they could do. It is interesting to note that while both external evaluations critique this lack of follow-up, they do not offer any solutions to the issue.

As the impact of the graduates appears to be associated with those organisations that have clear objectives and a stable base, Santacruz suggests that the Amazon School establish closer alliances with these organisations, holding that the school's impact will thus be maximised and that CDES and Earth Rights International will thus have more opportunities to support students' actions. She recommends that CDES and Earth Rights International support Indigenous organisations to reflect upon, plan and raise awareness for their struggles, and suggests collective training workshops, together with work on comprehensive political strategies. This recommendation appears to touch on the idea of the provision of organisational development by CDES to Indigenous organisations and the development of partnerships, which is also suggested by the Barragan evaluation, and is discussed in further detail in the section on 'Relations with Indigenous Organisations'.

The Barragan evaluation holds that the process of documentation taught by the school is a great tool with potential for future use. In addition, they note that while students' evaluations are positive, they do identify such gaps as the low participation numbers of women, the absence of women's rights from the curriculum, the need to do more profound work both on environmental rights and indigenous rights regarding traditional knowledge. Indeed, it does appear that women's' issues could be focused on, with Natalia Wray of Norwegian Peoples Aid making similar comments in an interview in July 2005.

Moreover, there appear to be issues with student recruitment. The Amazon school tries to recruit students with significant experience, a solid leadership record and strong visibility in their organisations. However, often the organisations see the training as an opportunity for those who have not had prior opportunities, and send students that do not have the entrance profile requested by the school. Those students without the required profile have generally not had great participation in the school or impact in their organisations afterwards (Santacruz, 2005). During discussions with the Amazon School Director, Celestino Wichum, in July 2005 he

acknowledged that this had been a problem, and that for this reason, the 2005 selection process required potential students to provide a document written in Spanish, a 2nd or 3rd language for many, which explained why they should be selected.

All Indigenous leaders interviewed in July 2005 recognised the Amazon School as important for the Indigenous movement. Santacruz supports this, noting that it is perhaps the only political initiative in the region, and that this is important in a context of conflicts with and interventions by extractive industries. The school is a valid project, and has had impact at local level, with some national and international impacts, but little at the Andean regional level (Santacruz, 2005). In an attempt to increase the impact of the Amazon School, the 2004 Barragan evaluation suggests a new scheme of training at the regional level that is more decentralised, remaining under the control of CDES but run by a local NGO in each country. As the Amazon School provides a very high level of training to regional Indigenous leaders, replication at local level may reduce the standards of the training, and would perhaps prevent regional exchanges of experiences between Indigenous leaders, thus may not be the optimal approach.

Mario Melo, who was the Amazon Area co-ordinator, explained that the Amazon School's major sponsor is the Ford Foundation, which has given US$240,000 to Earth Rights International for the Amazon School over past 3 years. He noted that other minor amounts were also received, with US$25,000 being given to Earth Rights and US$37,000 to CDES (interview, July 2005).

The Amazon School is located within the Ford Foundation's portfolio of funds dedicated to strengthening civil society, which is the foundation's main interest, and enhancing advocacy skills, with the objective of amplifying local voices into global voices. The foundation expects that the school will enable its students to become active in global networks. Here there appears to be a potential problem as the

Amazon School does not create ‘global voices’, and was not conceived to achieve this goal (Santacruz, 2005). However the Ford Foundation currently appears content with the objectives and achievements of the Amazon School.

The fact that the school depended on one donor which had expectations different to the results being generated by the school was regarded as a weakness by Santacruz, especially for Earth Rights International, which received the funding. Despite this, Earth Rights International has not developed plans to address such concerns (Mario Melo, interview, July 2005). The evaluation argued that it was necessary to define a long term funding strategy for the School, and that for this it was necessary to maintain the Ford Foundation’s support. Santacruz did not suggest that Earth Rights International should not seek another donor in the short term but rather that Ford should be more involved in the Amazon School, using its networks and other resources to support the students. In my opinion, CDES and Earth Rights should be seeking other donors to diversify funding sources, and decrease their dependency on the Ford Foundation.

Planning

CDES has experienced many problems across the organisation due to a lack of planning. All that currently exists are annual plans, which are developed individually for each program, and sometimes do not match the organisational objectives. Furthermore, CDES lacks a system or tools to evaluate its programs. The lack of capacity within CDES regarding planning, monitoring and evaluation prevents them from passing this much-needed expertise on to the staff of Indigenous organisations. The result is that both CDES and the Indigenous organisations it supports have no long term plans, a clear handicap in their ongoing battles with extractive companies.

Although CDES’ lack of a planning and evaluation framework has not yet caused problems with donors, this is perhaps because most projects are short term. As the

maximum length of projects has been only one year, this has meant that donor's concerns or demands regarding impact and efficiency were not major, as they would be with long term or large budget projects. However it appears essential that CDES has the capacity to both set program objectives that fit with the organisational objectives, and to measure the achievement of these objectives or impacts. The comprehensive measurement of achievements is only possible with a planning and evaluation system, and this information is invaluable when seeking new donors, a priority for CDES.

After recommendations from all three external evaluations that CDES develop a long term strategic plan, CDES has done this. While the plan introduces substantial structural, policy and staff changes, for the purposes of this research perhaps the most important change is the change of target group. Although the three external evaluations recommended that CDES expand its work into deeper partnerships with Indigenous organisations, CDES has decided to reduce the Indigenous focus and expand its focus to cover all vulnerable populations in Ecuador.

Internal structure and management

The organisational structure of CDES was designed to be very flat, with one general coordinator, whose role is to coordinate, not direct, the 3 technical staff. Decisions are made by consensus and staff noted that this fits with the organisational objective of collective decision-making where all can voice their opinions. Direction was to come from the board of directors, two of whom were founding members of CDES and current directors of the American Centre for Economic and Social Rights. This structure clearly fits with CDES' political approach, which critiques the neoliberal model and aligns itself with the Indigenous movement. Indeed, according to Hilda Santi of the Sarayacu, decision-making via consensus is common practice within Indigenous organisations in the Amazon.

In 2005 CDES consisted of 9 staff, and in interviews conducted in July 2005 staff

themselves noted that the turnover was high. In these interviews staff stated that violent arguments occur when the technical staff are not in agreement over projects or politics, and that CDES has no process of resolution for these disputes, which are perhaps worsened by the co-operative structure and lack of hierarchy within the organisation. Staff mentioned that CDES is run more like several small organisations than one institution and that many of the projects are run individually and not linked to each other (interviews in Quito, July 2005).

In reality CDES has apparently experienced many problems with this structure, and has designed an openly hierarchical structure in its new strategic plan, in line with recommendations from the 2004 Barragan evaluation. The evaluation held that a major issue was the total autonomy of program coordinators, citing the fact that when the institutional objectives and strategies were redefined in 2001, the programs were not altered, despite being designed in 1997. In turn this observation of the evaluation is supported by interviews conducted in July 2005 in which staff members stated that the technical co-ordinators in charge of these programs saw them as their personal domains, and fought to maintain their original form and mandate.

The Barragan evaluation holds that CDES has continued to regularly change internal structure, and that this has been because the organisation has been permanently seeking a more efficient way to achieve its mission, vision and objectives. In my opinion, given the serious issues that CDES is facing in regard to organisational structure, planning and evaluation, together with a lack of capacity in these areas, the organisation appears to be currently unable to provide any support to Indigenous organisations in these areas.

Technical Capacity

During my fieldwork in Quito, it became clear that the technical co-ordinators are all highly qualified lawyers and economists who possess great expertise in their

specific fields of work. However it was obvious that CDES has lacked staff with management or planning expertise, and this has resulted in the problems discussed above. While CDES has managed to deliver high standard projects, the lack of planning or management expertise has greatly increased the stresses and pressure placed on staff, and has apparently contributed to the high staff turnover (interview with Mario Melo, July 2005). This is a common issue for many NGOs, which link management to the corporate world, reject this and thus place importance on technical skills only. CDES' recent appointment of a General Co-ordinator with management and planning expertise seeks to remedy this problem. However the General Co-ordinator's political position is more conservative than that of the technical co-ordinators and this appears to be causing friction, as was noted in interviews with CDES staff in July 2005.

Donor Relationships

CDES was established in 1997 with US$75,000 from two private American foundations, the Ford and Macarthur Foundations. These foundations continue to support both CDES and CESR. CDES has gradually expanded its funding base with more diverse projects, and donors have included the Public Welfare Foundation, the Pachamama Foundation, the European Human Rights Fund, Oxfam America, IBIS, the Dutch Embassy, Intermon (Oxfam Spain) and the Rainforest Action Network among others. The majority of funding comes from North American and European Foundations, and to a lesser extent, from NGOs, networks and European Governments. CDES accepts no funding from US or Latin American Governments. This information has been obtained via interviews in July 2005, and from the CDES website (www.cdes.org.ec).

Without any self-funding mechanisms or local fundraising expertise, CDES has been forced to rely on international donors' project funding for its survival. The majority of these donors fund only project activities, and not the core or institutional elements such as administration, rent and the majority of staff salaries. Of the

funding for projects, CDES is generally allowed to access only an average of 10-20% for core or institutional costs, stated Mario Melo (interview, July 2005). In its 2001 annual report, CDES states that overheads and institutional costs were less than 20% of funding with over 80% going to project work. Thus, to survive, CDES must have projects that are attractive to international donor organisations, and runs the risk of implementing projects that address the objectives of donors instead of CDES' objectives.

Another issue for CDES is the type of projects funded. For example, between 2001 and 2004 CDES implemented 29 projects which focused on the development of specific activities of promotion, defence and investigation of economic, social and cultural rights of the population. These projects were all short term small budget projects, with an average budget of US$12,000 and an average duration of one year. This lack of long term funding inhibits CDES' development as an institution, its capacity to link various activities, and its medium and long term planning opportunities.

Despite these constraints CDES increased its annual budget from US$220,000 in 2001 to US$420,000 in 2003 and to US$646,248 in 2005. CDES has maintained the same 5 donors throughout this period, and increased the total number of donors from 6 to 15, reducing dependency. While an increased number of donors is positive in that it reduces CDES' dependence on the demands or objectives of specific donors, it also means that CDES must adapt its internal structures to respond to increasing technical and administrative demands. In other words CDES must deal with 15 different systems for reporting, budgeting, monitoring and evaluating projects, as well as an increased volume of reporting, which could easily amount to 30 reports per year.

Mario Melo (interview, July 2005) stated that Oxfam America's support predominantly involved providing money to CDES, but that they have in addition supported with advocacy around the Texaco and Block 24 cases. He added that

initially Oxfam America was only funding CDES and CONAIE, but now they are also directly funding local Indigenous organisations such as the Sarayacu. Mario Melo has regular communication with Oxfam America, much of which is via a mailing list which he sends out, to which Cathy, the Oxfam staff previously in charge of the program, often responded. Oxfam is also involved in specific forums run by CDES, and Mario Melo goes to Lima at least once a year for annual meetings. However Oxfam provides no capacity building to CDES. CDES is required to provide six monthly reports to Oxfam America.

Another support that donors provide to CDES is that of staff which are seconded to work for CDES. CDES regularly has expatriates working with them, either in the form of interns, seconded staff or, more rarely, on local contracts and in July 2005 there were four. This project surveyed the expatriate seconded workers and found that despite the frequency of seconded staff and interns CDES does not have clear guidelines regarding the roles, responsibilities and processes around these roles. Some of the issues regarding seconded staff recorded for this project and detailed below provide examples of the power imbalances between CDES and its donors.

The expatriates working with CDES in July 2005 were:

- A Swiss economist working on a local contract in the promotions program, as support to the technical co-ordinator. His contract is 6 months duration, with the option of an extension.
- An American Fulbright scholar working on, among other projects, providing 'free, prior and informed consent' awareness to Indigenous communities and documenting the Sarayacu women's involvement in the fight against the petrol companies. She is based at CDES for one year.
- An American law student working as an intern for three months. Her role involves researching and documenting the free, prior and informed consent precedents in the Inter-American Human Rights Court.

- A German journalist seconded by the German co-operation for two years. Her role is to develop CDES communications policies and strategies.

Mario Melo (interview, July 2005) noted that there are always 'pasantes' (passers-by) like this, although recently CDES has become much stricter regarding who they accept, as it can be more work to brief and support the 'pasante' than any benefit received. While the concept of seconded staff appears to be sound, and a good way for international organisations to support a local organisation such as CDES, there are many issues around this. Problems that were visible in July 2005 revolved around the differing goals and objectives held by CDES and seconded staff or their organisations, together with CDES' lack of management control or expertise. This appears to be a very common experience for local organisations globally, regardless of race or ethnicity.

One involved the German journalist seconded by the German Co-operation. According to Mario Melo (interview, July 2005) CDES provided a detailed brief about the role to the German Co-operation, which involved developing and implementing a national communication strategy, together with a website. However she received a totally different brief from the German Co-operation, which was to work on mediation and conflict management in the Amazon, which is apparently a current focus of the German Co-operation. To quote Melo, "CDES asked for a banana and received an orange". During their first meeting they realized the different objectives, with the German woman noting that she had never seen the proposal written by CDES. She left to discuss the issue with her manager, and later reported to me that her manager, a German based in Quito, had instructed her to agree to some of the CDES brief in the short term, while maintaining her objectives from the German Co-operation as her long term goal, but not to discuss these with CDES. According to the Fulbright Scholar, similar scenarios had happened with other secondments from the German Co-operation for local organisations in Quito. Mario Melo explained that this put CDES in a very difficult

position, as they had no need for the post that the German Co-operation wanted to fund, but they did not want to offend such a large donor by telling them this. This is a good example of donors pushing their own agendas, and the difficulties of negotiating this support for local organisations, whose disempowered positions are often not taken into account during negotiations.

The second conflict is smaller and around the Fulbright scholar, Joanna Levitt, who has very good relations in the office with the local staff. However Melo noted that, despite her brief being to work full-time for CDES, she works only part time with CDES, devoting the other time to her own activities and projects. They often do not know where she is or what she is working on, and that she has discussed spending a month in Brazil, time in Colombia and time supporting other organisations. She does not appear to report directly to any one co-ordinator at CDES, although she works primarily with Melo, as he explained, on the Amazon Area Program. However she has stated (interview, July 2005) that her mandate is not to work exclusively with CDES but to complete an assignment for Fulbright, being housed by CDES and sometimes offering support. This issue appears to be the result of a lack of communication that CDES has not resolved due to a real or perceived incapacity to direct expatriate volunteers and seconded staff. Melo noted that there have been no such problems with the intern or the locally contracted expatriate (interview, July 2005).

Relations with Indigenous Organisations

CDES' support to Indigenous organisations is very different to that of Oxfam Australia, which provides long-term, intensive and sometimes wide-ranging support to a small number of organisations. Instead CDES provides specific technical support to a much wider range of Indigenous organisations, predominantly around strengthening individual staff or members capacities to deal with the government and petrol companies who are attempting to exploit traditional lands, together with technical advice and accompaniment. This support involves capacity building

workshops, research, legal advice and representation, advocacy and collaboration. It is concrete support with specific objectives, and fluctuates in intensity depending on the external pressures faced by the Indigenous organisations. It does not involve general organisational strengthening, something CDES knows little about. The Indigenous organisations supported range from community-based to regional to national.

CDES' support is often dictated by who is receiving the most severe threat or intrusion into their territory by extractive industries which, in Ecuador, are generally extractive companies. For example the Sarayacu are recently facing threats and CDES has provided intensive legal advice and representation.

Via the Amazon school, CDES provides individual training to Indigenous activists and leaders from Indigenous organisations, thus providing a much wider range of Indigenous organisations with very specific support. The various impacts that this training has had on their organisations will be discussed below.

Between 2002 and 2004 CDES taught a diploma on the Amazon and Human Rights, directed at Indigenous students in Quito. Despite CDES offering scholarships to Indigenous students, the last course had more mestizos (people of mixed Indigenous and Latin origin) than Indigenous students, which led to CDES deciding to discontinue the course. CDES staff remain unsure as to why Indigenous students did not attend, but noted that most Indigenous professionals in Quito do not work in this field. Due to the large mestizo population in Ecuador, many Indigenous people continue to deny their indigeneity, although this is reducing, stated Mario Melo (interview, July 2005). CDES are now moving towards developing alliances with universities, while maintaining the Indigenous focus.

Working directly with local organisations can sometimes cause problems with the regional or national federations. Efren Calapucha, a director of CONAIE stated that

“There are many NNGOs in Ecuador, but they want to directly implement projects that are in partnership with CONAIE, and CONAIE has said no to this as it should be the Indigenous peoples that implement their projects. Most NGOs here refuse to fund this. CONAIE works with CDES regarding the human rights of the Sarayacu and other communities, but CDES too wants to execute the projects directly and not finance CONAIE to do this. CONAIE is currently working with CDES regarding the case of the Huoarani and Petrobras.” However CDES’ approach is to support directly those communities that are immediately threatened by petrol companies, regardless of internal Indigenous politics or hierarchies. Furthermore, CDES does not provide financial support. For example, with the Sarayacu, CDES does not provide funding to the Sarayacu, but provides free legal support, although they do pay expenses for the Sarayacu representatives’ trips to Quito for meetings with CDES.

In addition CDES supports the ‘Comite Interfederational’, which is 3 Federations working against oil companies in block 24, and the ‘Frente de Resistencia’ (Resistance Front) of blocks 20 and 29, whose members are a mix of Indigenous and Mestizo peoples. Mario Grefa from the Pastaza provincial organisation OPIP noted that OPIP does not receive any support from CDES, but have co-ordinated activities with them.

In considering the impact of the Amazon School, it is valuable to look at a study done by Cristina Santacruz as part of the evaluation of CDES which she conducted in 2005. This involved following up participants of earlier Amazon School sessions. In doing so, her evaluation offered the only record of the links between the School and 9 of the organisations who sent members to take part from Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia and Peru.

From Colombia, OPIAC, (the Organisation of Indigenous Peoples of the Colombian Amazon) has had a high level of participation in the Amazon School. OPIAC’s work

focuses on struggling to legalise Indigenous territories and filing lawsuits against the state for Coca fumigations along the Ecuadorian border, as part of its campaign to defend collective Indigenous rights. In a context of armed conflict, Indigenous rights violations are common. To date, OPIAC has sent 10 students to the school, including 6 women. Two female graduates have held important positions within OPIAC and worked with local communities regarding human rights issues, facilitating meetings and workshops on environmental issues. They have since returned to their communities, noted Mario Melo.
Another organisation that has benefited from the Amazon School training is ORAU (The AIDESEP Regional Organisation of Ucayali) from Peru. Representing 14 communities and 12 Federations, ORAU is a regional affiliate of the Peruvian national Indigenous Federation AIDESEP. For the past three years ORAU has fought to defend the territory of the Ashaninka people, and they have succeeded in obtaining several rulings against the company Consorcio Forestal Amazonico. They are furthermore active in the battle of the Shipibo people against the Maple Gas Company.

In 2002, ORAU sent a president to participate in the Amazon school, and this led to 5 other ORAU members attending, including the 2005 president of ORAU, and a Shipibo leader. The students have been active in ORAU, initiating legal campaigns, generating regional alliances, holding replica workshops with local communities, and leading successful resistance actions. One action involved taking over nine oil wells and this led to dialogue with both the Maple Gas Company and the government. The students are organising the Senen Soi School, which is based on the Amazon School. Santacruz notes that Roberto Guimares, the 2005 ORAU president, stated that the Amazon School "permitted us to understand the complexity of the challenges that arise from outside interests that end up exploiting resources in our territories, permitted us to orient our processes of struggle, and gave us elements and tools that enable us to demand our rights that are recognised in national laws and international treaties and conventions."

Representing around 5,000 Achuar in the South of Ecuador and a territory of around 800,000 hectares, the Achuar Nationality of Ecuador (NAE) has also benefited from the Amazon School. Having battled against petrol extraction on their territories since 1996, NAE has successfully developed alternate development options, and has been a leader in organising territorial defence in Southern Ecuador, including creating federations with other organisations. NAE has sent 3 students to the Amazon School, all of whom currently occupy central positions, including the office co-ordinator, the co-ordinator of the collective rights campaign and the federation co-ordinator. These students stated that one of the principal skills they gained at the school was the ability to reinforce their arguments with rights' based justifications.

FENAP is the Federation of the Peruvian Achuar people, and consists of 3 organisations that represent around 10,000 Achuar. Having battled the oil companies Occidental and Burlington for years, FENAP has decided to oppose all proposed exploitation and to demand compensation from Occidental for existing damage. According to Santacruz, this position has isolated them from the national Federation AIDESEP. FENAP has sent three students to the school, including the 2005 president. Santacruz notes that he stated that at the school he gained tools for better arguing his position and confidence, together with a better idea of how his people's struggle fits into a regional context.

Having functioned for over thirteen years, the Amazon Defence Front (FDA) is a leading campesino organisation based in the Northern Amazon. This area has been greatly affected by the oil company Texaco's exploitation and dumping of toxic wastes for over 30 years, as well as Colombian coca crop fumigations. FDA has filed a lawsuit against Texaco, demanding that it cleans up the environment. The FDA has sent five non-indigenous students to the school, and they have all continued to work within the FDA. Activities have included training local communities via replica workshops, conducting environmental impact

assessments, and running environmental campaigns. Apparently, while these students have been extremely active, their actions have not led to a specific FDA campaign. Apparently the five graduates continue to share information via monthly meetings. Their goal is to develop a non-profit organisation and thus work together on projects (Santacruz, 2005).

These examples demonstrate that CDES' approach of providing specific skills training has contributed to the empowerment of Indigenous activists and that in turn this has strengthened some Indigenous organisations. CDES staff stated repeatedly in interviews for this project during July 2005 that they provided a service upon request by the Indigenous organisations, and were not 'partners', although they were committed to many of the same objectives as the Indigenous organisations. Moreover, they show that the relationship between CDES and the Indigenous organisations is primarily through contact with individuals via the Amazon School or workshops. In comparison the legal support CDES provides deals only with specific directors of the organisations.

It appears that the relationships that CDES has with Indigenous organisations would fall into Fowler's category of development allies (discussed in the partnership section of the Concepts chapter), which is where "two or more development organisations agree on working together towards a specific objective by, for example, exchanging information, sharing expertise. Funds are not the focus here." While it may appear that CDES, in providing a service requested by the Indigenous organisations, is merely a service provider/contractor, the work undertaken by CDES contributes to its own organisational goals, and could not be achieved without the involvement of the Indigenous organisations. Fowler states that another important element is the level of transparency within the relationship, and how the relationship is discussed and agreed between organisations. Given the fact that CDES' description of its role appears to reflect reality, and not an aspiration of a closer or more inclusive relationship such as partnership, and that

this vision is shared by the Indigenous organisations, it appears that there is a high level of transparency between CDES and the Indigenous organisations it works with. This is aided by the fact that CDES does not fund Indigenous organisations, which contributes to a more equal relationship.

The Santacruz and Barragan evaluations recommend that CDES commence providing organisational strengthening to Indigenous organisations. There does appear to be a strong need for organisational strengthening within the Indigenous movement, given the current fragmentation of Indigenous organisations. In addition, James (2001), as detailed in the capacity building section of the concepts chapter, states that capacity building must not stop at the individual level, but must additionally occur at the organisational level in order to have real impact. However CDES is itself experiencing organisational issues around planning and structure which it has not been able to resolve (discussed in further detail later), and has no knowledge of organisational development, thus does not seem to be the ideal provider of support in organisational development.

In addition all three external evaluations - of CDES, the Amazon Program and the Amazon School have recommended that CDES now move towards developing intensive partnerships with Indigenous organisations. This reflects the general belief in international development that partnership is the ultimate relationship that can exist between local and support organisations, and that all relationships should progress towards this. However, it may be that the relationships that CDES has developed are, given the context, more appropriate than partnership. As discussed by Fowler in the concepts chapter, partnership is not often appropriate and is often fraught with problems, creating dependency and power imbalances. Thus perhaps it is more appropriate for CDES to continue their approach of providing targeted technical support to a wide range of organisations, and inviting indigenous leaders from a wide range of organisations in the region to the Amazon school. Furthermore the support that CDES does provide is useful, successful and well

respected by a wide range of Indigenous organisations. Finally, pressure to enter into 'partnerships' may, given CDES' lack of resources, cause it to drop its very effective individual capacity-building training workshops, replacing them with organisational development activities. This would be a potentially risky change.

There are in addition issues with an approach that focuses on intense relationships with a limited number of organisations (which is generally what the partnership approach involves), as opposed to providing sector-wide support which also attempts to strengthen linkages between organisations. These include the fact that, given the large number of Indigenous organisations in Ecuador, developing intensive relationships with a few may increase inequalities and jealousies within a movement already facing internal fracturing, and thus negatively affect other relationships, and specifically the linkages between organisations. Furthermore, given that the context involves multinational petrol companies that are capable of rapidly changing their geographical focus in their search for oil, developing long term partnerships with a few organisations may hinder CDES' previously rapid responsiveness to new exploitation threats.

Learning, Change and Self-analysis

Until recently, it appears that CDES conducted no self-evaluation or analysis and was averse to change. However, CDES has experienced a remarkable change in its approach to self-analysis and change since 2004, when they commissioned the first external evaluation. It is interesting to note that this was not promoted by any donor, but was an internal desire. This first organisation-wide evaluation led to a second evaluation in 2005 which focused solely on the Amazon Area program, and a lengthy process of internal reflection which culminated in a strategic plan in 2005. The Amazon School was also evaluated externally in 2005. The new strategic plan restructures the organisation and creates the much needed Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation unit.

While the use of external evaluators is generally a positive approach, it appears that CDES may in future choose to be more careful in the selection of these evaluators. A clear example of this is the use of Mamerto Perez, a Bolivian working with a counterpart organisation based in Bolivia. Perez was selected to provide a peer evaluation and, according to Melo, the exercise was planned to be as much a learning exercise for Perez and his organisation, as for CDES. Yet Melo notes that Perez' lack of experience in several of the areas that CDES was working, led to inaccurate judgements with which Melo disagreed. However Perez' comments were written in the form of an external evaluation and carried extra weight, especially for the general coordinator and board of directors who lacked detailed knowledge regarding the Amazon Program's activities. For example Perez claims that it is not possible to measure the strengthening of Indigenous organisations, whereas in 'Impact Assessment for Development Agencies' Roche (discussed at length in the capacity building section of the concepts chapter) states that there are several methods to assess organisational strengthening, including stakeholder analysis, where the beneficiaries themselves discuss the changes that have occurred as a result of the capacity building, self-assessment, and mutual assessment.

While it is important for donors not to push certain methodologies onto local organisations, CDES donors' could perhaps have seen and responded to the fact that CDES was struggling with structure, planning and evaluation, perhaps simply via the fact that all programs used different planning and evaluation systems, and changed these regularly. The programs and activities may have greatly benefited if donors such as Oxfam America had offered capacity development in planning or organisational structure, in addition to simply money.

Record Keeping and Organisational Memory

CDES has conducted minimal record-keeping and maintains organisational memory only because the three key technical staff have remained with CDES for

long periods of time. However, via the external evaluations and the internal reflection process CDES has realized that this needs to be rectified. The new strategic plan seeks to do this, stating that one of the Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation units' primary duties will be the documentation of information. One major benefit of this documentation will be that it will facilitate CDES' proposals and reports for donors.

Achievements and Setbacks

CDES is widely acknowledged as a highly effective pioneer organisation in incorporating defence of economic, social and cultural rights into the fight for human rights not just in Ecuador but across Latin America. CDES is in addition recognised as having enabled the integration of economic, social and cultural rights into both social movements and the academic sector in the Andean Region via effective networking and relationship-building, notably with the Indigenous movement in Ecuador. According to Martin Scurrah of Oxfam, CDES is seen as an organisation that is activist and accompanies this with well documented judicial processes, and is moreover capable of involving, accompanying and strengthening social actors, especially Indigenous organisations.

CDES has developed a relationship of confidence with the national Indigenous representative organisation CONAIE and has legitimacy with Indigenous organisations. This is primarily due to the legal support it provides, as well as the capacity development in free trade and external debt issues. The Amazon School, its methodology and high level of professionalism or expertise is furthermore widely appreciated by the Indigenous movement as a whole.

However, it is important to note that some value aspects of CDES for the very reasons that concern others. For example, some value CDES because it does not try to limit Indigenous protagonism, while others think this should be limited. These divided opinions even apply to CDES' legal work. CDES' role in stopping the

incursion of petrol companies, and especially regarding the 9th round of petrol licensing, is widely appreciated, and its 2000 'Recurso de Amparo Constitutional' (2000) is seen as an important legal precedent nationally. However some observers, such as Barragan, who conducted the 2004 external evaluation states that legal successes are short term and not replacements for medium or long term solutions. Mario Melo noted that others, specifically Indigenous activists, demand an increased focus on long term strategies for the promotion of territorial rights and defence.

Yet all acknowledge that the legal successes have been crucial in promoting Indigenous rights in Ecuador. An important example occurred in 1999, when CDES supported the Shuar organisation FIPSE to win an injunction against the oil company ARCO. They argued that the Shuar had not given ARCO permission to exploit reserves on their land, and that ARCO had given individuals, families and some communities money to gain permission, and that these tactics violated the collective rights of the Shuar, as enshrined in the 1998 constitution. Appeals made by ARCO in 2000 and 2001 were rejected.

Although as yet unresolved, CDES holds that the Texaco legal case has been greatly appreciated. The 1997-2001 CDES annual report and the two external evaluations state that this case caused local communities to change their views on development, from an inevitable loss of land, jungle and clean water to a violation of basic rights that could be challenged and changed. One concrete result was that, with the support of CDES' workshops and technical assistance, the communities established a network to monitor oil related harms, and have gained national and international support and attention. CDES holds that this case sparked the development of new rules for government and industry in Ecuador.

Perez notes that, together with the Catholic Church and Indigenous community leaders, CDES organised a campaign that led to the 1st presidential decree

banning industrial development in 2 large tracts of rainforest that had been previously offered to oil companies. CDES in addition supported the Secoya community to elaborate a precedent setting protocol that now governs their dialogue with Occidental Petrol, and includes guarantees to respect all internationally recognized Indigenous rights.

The Barragan evaluation concludes that, despite internal structural and planning issues, CDES has made great achievements and maintained agreements with partners and donors. The evaluators add that CDES' external image is high and that its local level work has allowed it to express itself on national, regional and international levels, and vice versa. They note that in the Amazon area, CDES has focused on legal strategies to stop the incursion of petrol companies, which has been amply recognised and often successful.

In terms of strengths, Joanna Levitt, the Fulbright Scholar based at CDES for 2005, noted that CDES is extremely committed to principles and that staff share a common vision regarding the economic and social rights and dignity of local people. She stated that CDES takes on issues that look at the whole economic model. Levitt noted that CDES fills an important niche in the NGO scene by analysing government policies in a way that is accessible to the general public. Levitt believes that another important strength is the way that CDES effectively facilitates increased awareness regarding human rights in ways that do not just provide information but change the target groups' mentality, a Freirian approach. According to Levitt, CDES' relations with Indigenous organisations are positive and trusting, and she noted that this has been built up over the years. She noted that CDES acts with a lot of respect for Indigenous organisations and for their internal decision-making processes, thus minimising the creation of dependencies. Levitt stated that their approach is to say to local organisations 'you decide what you need and we can step in to provide a service'.

In terms of weaknesses, Levitt supported CDES' acknowledgement that there is a lack of cohesion and communication within the organisation. Levitt noted that there is no systematic way of operating, rather that CDES steps into opportunities and make the most of emblematic cases. She added that there is no constant relationship management, and that communication with Indigenous organisations can be sporadic. Levitt stated that the exception to this was the Sarayacu, with whom CDES are very constant and supportive. She noted that the quality of the individual work is very high, but the weaknesses are in organisational management. She held that there is unnecessary drama in interactions and loud disagreements when differences of opinion arise. She believes that these disputes often arise because people are working in isolation but, due to the structure, also comment on others' work. According to Levitt, internal disputes are resolved by deciding on a course of action, but there are fundamental issues that rest between people. There is no organisational process of conflict resolution. She added that there is no Indigenous reference group and minimal board involvement.

Conclusion

Thus the work that CDES is doing in Ecuador suggests that support to Indigenous organisations need not be only in the form of intense lengthy partnerships, but can be very effective as specific and time-limited technical support to a wider range of organisations. Furthermore, the specific services as provided by CDES are perhaps more appropriate as they do not risk creating dependency, given that no funds are exchanged. As CDES responds only to requests from Indigenous organisations for specific types of work, their support is in addition cost-efficient. The long-term, though fluctuating in intensity, relationships that CDES has with Indigenous organisations, and the trust that has been slowly built, appears to create solid relationships. As stated repeatedly in the concepts chapter, for effective relationships between organisations, trust and personal relationships must be built over many years, strengthened by working together for the same cause, and taking similar risks.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

Goals of the study

In my work as a program manager with international NGOs, I have been involved in implementing development projects in partnership with local non-governmental organisations in a variety of contexts, where I struggled with several fundamental issues. These were around the development of equal partnerships with and the provision of effective and empowering capacity-building to local organisations, specifically to Indigenous organisations. To inquire further into the effectiveness of these commonly endorsed strategies, I decided to focus on Ecuador, where the Indigenous movement has been relatively successful. I was asking the central question: 'What were the interactions in this situation between international non-governmental organisations and Indigenous organisations?' My subsidiary questions included 'What role did partnership play in these relationships?', 'How was capacity building done?' and 'What role did intermediary organisations play?'

I first examined literature and debates in such relevant areas as international development, capacity building, Indigenous development and partnership. This then led me to define several questions that I wished to explore via the reality of development practice in Ecuador, which are discussed in the sections below. I then undertook field and secondary research, focusing on the context of the Indigenous movement in Ecuador.

The research in Ecuador focused upon the nature and achievements of the Indigenous movement, exploring why it was so successful, and what these successes entailed. It also looked at the external support that the Indigenous movement received, and analysed the current relationships existing between NNGOs and Indigenous organisations. One chapter explored the role and achievements of the intermediary organisation the Centre for Economic and Social Rights (CDES), together with its support to and relationships with Indigenous

organisations.

International development

Within the international development section, interesting issues are raised by Crewe and Harrison (1998) who note that development often operates under the idea that 'knowledge' is brought to communities in the South, and Escobar (1995) who holds that actually the peoples of South have generated many forms of resistance to development, and that people often incorporate and adapt those parts of development that work for them. Importantly, Eade (1997) holds that while international development agencies have often viewed themselves as culturally neutral, they are being forced to appreciate the links between culture and development via southern voices, which state that a focus on culture and cultural strengths will contribute to a reduction in poverty.

These debates led me to explore how 'development' is defined and practiced by the various actors in the context of the Ecuadorian Indigenous movement, and its supporters.

While undertaking the research in Ecuador it became apparent that the Indigenous organisations as a whole held a different vision of development to that of the NNGOs in some aspects. It appeared that both Indigenous organisations and the NNGOs saw development not merely as a progression forwards but often as preventing change, perhaps a result of the incursions of extractive companies into Indigenous territories. However as a rule, my impression was that the Indigenous organisations vision saw development as inextricably political, involving also the need for some level of autonomy or self-government, or at least an incorporation of Indigenous systems of governance. Efren Kalapucha of CONAIE expressed this view when he stated that due to the politics of CONAIE, which pushes for structural changes to the state, it is difficult to find funding from NNGOs. Some Indigenous leaders believe the movement has focused too much on politics, with Hilda Santi

having stated that the Sarayacu are politically advanced, and have been asked by many other tribes to come and work with them, but that they are not advanced regarding education, health or development.

While all NNGOs stated publicly that they supported, for example, CONAIE's goal of a plurinational state, in practice it appears that most of the NNGOs do not wholly adopt the Indigenous movement's perspectives and objectives, but maintain a non-Indigenous perspective and support only those activities they believe appropriate.

It should be noted that there were notable exceptions to this, with Natalia Wray from Norwegian People's Aid noting that she was not sure whether funding CONAIE to promote a new biodiversity law was the most appropriate support that NPA could provide, but that it was CONAIE's decision which was the most important thing. Another exception was the approach of IBIS, which included incorporating elements of traditional life, including justice and education, into contemporary life.

The country directors of both NPA and IBIS appeared to have close contact and a deep understanding of the Indigenous movements' position and demands. However no NNGO provides untied funding to an Indigenous organisation, allowing them to do as they wish with the funds, which is something CONAIE has requested. In addition Ruben Samarin of FINAE stated that all the indigenous organisations, from local to state, never have control over their projects, with this resting with the NNGOs. Efren Kalapucha also stated that no donors give CONAIE funds to spend as they wish, but rather to achieve the objectives of the donor. These differing perspectives, objectives and levels of control have frequently led to a lack of understanding, conflicts and, understandably, lowered levels of trust.

Capacity Building

The recent literature on capacity building notes that to be effective it should occur on personal, organisational and sectoral levels (James, 2001 and Garbutt, 2001), and that NNGO staff need to build their skills in organisational management (Eade, 2000). Another crucial issue appears to be around ownership, with Lopes (2004) and James (2001) stating that although NNGOs often control capacity building initiatives, evidence shows improved results when the recipients take ownership, defining their own capacity building needs and taking responsibility for the process and outcomes.

During the case study research on Ecuador, I thus explored the different approaches, experiences and perspectives that the various actors in Ecuador had of capacity building.

The research in Ecuador suggested that there is a wide range of understandings of capacity building, both between NNGOs and Indigenous organisations, and between the NNGOs themselves. For example, although most NNGOs stated that they conducted institutional strengthening, a form of capacity building, they defined it very differently. Natalia Wray of NPA stated that it involved supporting the organisations' understanding of governance and also supporting them through any processes they are currently undergoing, whereas Pachamama explained it as building financial and management capacities and the payment of office costs such as electricity, telephone and rent, together with some staff salaries. The literature review, together with the research in Ecuador, suggests that the type of capacity building practiced by Pachamama actually appeared to increase dependency on NNGOs, rather than to strengthen organisational capacity.

While Indigenous organisations did not explain capacity building specifically, some did make related comments, which provide an indication of their desires regarding

capacity building. Hilda Santi of the Sarayacu stated that the best training they had received were workshops delivered by CDES that focused on increasing the Sarayacu's understanding of human rights. This appears to correlate more closely with NPA's explanation of capacity building, rather than Pachamama's. Ruben Samarin of FINAE noted that of the three NNGOs that currently funded FINAE, one of which was Pachamama, all supported projects and not the organisation itself. Thus Ruben's understanding of the support received from Pachamama appears to differ to that of the Pachamama staff. Efren Kalapucha of CONAIE also noted that they received no support from NNGOs for any type of capacity building, only project funding. He noted that CONAIE has asked for this, but donors always respond saying that they do not have enough funds for this. Thus, despite specifically requesting it, none of the Indigenous organisations appear to receive organisational capacity building in terms of building human capacities or skills from NNGOs, except perhaps on a small informal level from Norwegian Peoples' Aid.

Other findings in regard to capacity building include the fact that, when researching the intermediary organisation CDES, it appeared that the NNGOs funded CDES to provide technical assistance and accompaniment to the Indigenous organisations, but did not provide any capacity building (either funding for it or in the form of training) to CDES. Given that CDES provides substantial training and regular accompaniment to Indigenous organisations, it would appear to be beneficial to the indigenous movement as a whole if such intermediary organisations also had their capacities built, and thus could in turn strengthen the capacities of Indigenous organisations.

Perhaps the most effective form of capacity building identified by both participants and observers within this research was that of the Amazon School, which focused upon building the individual capacities of Indigenous leaders. While Santacruz' research demonstrated that individual capacity building can flow up to benefit the organisations these individuals work for, it appears that these organisations must

be healthy, with clear objectives and structures, and positions regarding collaboration with external actors. In contrast, if the organisation is unhealthy, it appears that these individuals are 'lost'. Unfortunately, after this research was completed in 2005, the Amazon School was closed, despite the positive evaluation from Santacruz. The closure of the school appears to be linked to the change in direction of CDES which, following on from the recommendations of the external evaluations, decided to change its focus from primarily Indigenous peoples to all marginalized members of Ecuadorian society. Apparently this change in direction, or repositioning, came about after the commencement of a new director for CDES in 2006, and caused great conflict within CDES, resulting in senior staff such as Mario Melo and another technical coordinator, Juana Sotomayor, resigning. According to an email from Mario Melo in 2006, the closure of the school was greeted with dismay by both Indigenous leaders and the NNGO Earth Rights International, who decided they were unable to continue without CDES' on the ground expertise. It appears that Melo is not currently associated with CDES, but continues to support Indigenous communities in Ecuador.

Indigenous development and external agents

Another area that I examined in the literature was Indigenous peoples' relationship with development, and the involvement of external change agents, notably intermediary organisations.

The literature review explored some different approaches promoted for development regarding Indigenous peoples, including the Australian Indigenous leader Noel Pearson, who promotes a conservative economic development model, the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, which found that sovereignty, strong leadership and appropriate governance are key elements for successful development, and finally a rejection of the entire development paradigm by some Indigenous peoples.

The literature also identified issues with development organisations supporting ethnodevelopment. While several authors state that endogenous development is possible, they note that international development organisations are not generally supportive (Haverkort et al). Hilhorst (2003) also found strong differences between the mainstream concept of development, and the Indigenous Philippino concept.

The role of external change agents is a central issue for this research and, according to Esman and Uphoff (1984) they are often required to catalyse changes to the status quo, promoting assisted self-reliance. Carroll (1992) also held external change agents to be necessary frequently, stating that their role may involve supporting local or grassroots organisations to develop strategies and skills for dealing with other actors, together with opening up spaces and acting as mediators.

One particularly relevant change agent is the intermediary organisation, national or regional organisations that provides technical or financial support to local, often representative, organisations. Carroll (1992) holds that some top-down support is essential to enable bottom up participation, and that although intermediary organisations often focus on building the capacities of local organisations, donors rarely provide them with training in organisational development or capacity building, or formally evaluate this work.

Following on from these discussions, I explored the objectives and approach of the Indigenous movement in Ecuador. I also asked whether there were specific approaches or ways of working that are used or especially effective for external agents to support and empower Indigenous organisations in Ecuador. Finally I looked at one intermediary organisation, focusing on its role, internal functioning and external relationships.

As demonstrated in 'Chapter 3: Ecuador - the Indigenous movement and Northern NGOs', the Indigenous movement is not currently unified and consists of a diverse range of different organisations, ranging from small community level to regional and national bodies. Thus the objectives of the indigenous movement are also diverse, and cannot be limited to one set of articulated goals. Perhaps the closest to expressing the goals of the indigenous movement are the goals of CONAIE, which, according to Efren Kalapucha, include the unification of the Indigenous movement, the promotion of Indigenous peoples' cultural identity, and the defence of their territories. These are certainly true for the local Sarayacu community, whose goals, as described by Hilda Santi, include maintaining their territories untouched by extractive companies. However the Sarayacu's organisation also holds the objective of improving the quality of life for their people, specifically regarding health and education.

The research undertaken for this project found that the Indigenous movement has an inclusive approach, which seeks similarities and joint issues with other groups, especially the poor, and that this has enabled the Indigenous movement to build alliances with other groups such as the military and the environmental lobby, which has helped their cause.

It appears that in Ecuador, Indigenous organisations are aware of their rights and are politically active or advanced, however that this has not resulted in a reduction in poverty. Luis Macas, former director of CONAIE, notes that they have concentrated on politics and now must take time to reflect on economics and what strategies they can develop. Even at the grassroots level it seems that Indigenous organisation have realized that it is not enough for the indigenous movement to concentrate on political involvement, but that poverty reduction is also crucial, as noted above by Hilda Santi.
Despite the overwhelmingly positive comments on the role of external agents in the literature review, in Ecuador external actors appear to have had both positive and

negative impacts. On the positive side, research suggests that the genesis of the Indigenous movement in Ecuador was assisted by such external supporters as the Silesian brothers and the Catholic Church.

Yet the more recent external supporters, and specifically NNGOs, appear also to have had far-reaching negative impacts on the Indigenous movement. As discussed in chapter three, many Indigenous organisations were created with external assistance during the 1970s and 1980s. However by the late 1980s and 1990s the funding provided by NNGOs had led to a large number of Indigenous organisations to become dependent on NNGOs, having created structures which could not survive without international funding. The ensuing reduction in funds as donors moved from Indigenous issues to other areas or continents has caused chaos in Indigenous organisations, which were often created with structures that included several full time staff and now lack the resources to employ them.

Linked to this is the issue of the way funding is currently provided by NNGOs. For example, the majority of NNGOs noted that it was difficult deciding which level of Indigenous organisations to work with, and each appeared to have a different opinion. It appears that, without even realising, donors have had undue influence on the cohesiveness, and sometimes the actual structure, of both Indigenous organisations and the entire Indigenous movement. NNGOs have differing strategies of who to fund, with some focusing on the grass roots level, others on the national level, and others on a mixture of different levels. These supports greatly affect the power relations between the different levels of the Indigenous movement, and do not appear to be well-coordinated by NNGOs. For example, Hilda Santi of the Sarayacu noted that they currently have a lot of international support, and are pushing CONAIE to act, but that if CONAIE does not or can not act, they will keep going themselves, with the international support. Efren Kalapucha of CONAIE also noted that one of the biggest current problems for CONAIE is that most donors prefer to work directly with grassroots local

organisations and not the national representative organisation of CONAIE, and that donors and NNGOs are dividing the Indigenous movement by doing this.

Intermediary organisations

The research findings regarding the intermediary organisation CDES have demonstrated the importance of two elements of intermediary organisations, internal functioning and external relations, and the impact that internal elements may have on external actions.

As a national actor, CDES demonstrates the valuable role that intermediary organisations can play, working effectively with both NNGOs and Indigenous organisations. Perhaps because CDES does not provide funding to Indigenous organisations, CDES' relationships with them does not suffer the power imbalances seen between NNGOs and Indigenous organisations. While these imbalances do exist between CDES and NNGOs, they appear to be minimised by CDES' technical and negotiation expertise, together with the wide donor base CDES has developed.

CDES has also built positive relationships with both Indigenous organisations and NNGOs as a result of its strong performance and successes in using economic, social and cultural rights as a legal basis to protect the rights of Indigenous communities. Its hands-on long term accompaniment, clear role and partisan positioning have enabled CDES to develop honest and trusting relationships with Indigenous organisations, who view CDES as an ally.

CDES has been able to achieve these accomplishments due to the technical skills and dedication of its staff, who are led by lawyers and economists. However the staff lack managerial, project management and organisational expertise, and this has impacted on the organisation, though at this stage predominantly on an internal rather than external level.

To date, CDES' weaknesses in organisational management and program planning have not greatly affected their relationships with Indigenous organisations, primarily because they provide specific technical support. However these weaknesses have perhaps impacted on the type of support provided to Indigenous organisations, and the strategies promoted by CDES. For example, CDES' lack of long term planning capacity has caused them to not support Indigenous organisations to develop long term plans, and perhaps contributed to the fact that many of their activities have focused on resistance and protest, generally via legal measures, rather than forward planning. In addition, the fact that CDES is weak in organisational management has meant that they have been unable to support Indigenous organisations in this area either.

Finally, while CDES' lack of internal structure, lack of planning and lack of monitoring skills have not yet negatively affected donor relations, there is a high possibility that this may happen in the future.

Partnership

Perhaps the most central issue in this research is that of partnership. Although partnership in the development world has been described as a "joint commitment to long term interaction, shared responsibility for achievement, reciprocal obligation, equality, mutuality and balance of power" (Fowler, 2000), it appears that while NNGOs often aspire to this type of balanced relationship, they fail to achieve it in practice. Authors note that in reality, the transfer of funds is often the central element of the relationship, and that, together with a lack of accountability from NNGOs to SNGOs, these are the primary issues that lead to relationships that more closely resemble master-servant relations than equal partners, with SNGOs very dependant on NNGOs (Fowler, 1991).

Another important issue raised within the literature is the actual use of the word 'partnership' to describe relations between NNGOs and SNGOs. This word implies

equality, shared decision-making and risk-taking, whereas in practice the relationship is generally inherently unequal, especially if resources transfer is involved. The use of this term thus masks and denies the existence of inequality, also limiting the opportunity to address this issue for SNGOs and NNGOs who genuinely want to create a balanced relationship.

In an attempt to overcome this inequality, Fowler suggests that NGOs should acknowledge the validity of many different types of relationships, if they are negotiated transparently around mutual rights and obligations. He proposes the use of a framework which features 5 categories of relationships, being partner, institutional supporter, program supporter, project funder, development ally.

The research I undertook explored how partnerships have been represented and experienced in Ecuador, specifically with relation to the Indigenous movement.

My research in Ecuador showed that while NNGOs do aspire to equal relationships, the relationships they have developed with Indigenous organisations appear to fall short. As discussed in chapter three, the NNGOs supporting Indigenous organisations state frequently that they work in partnership with Indigenous organisations, and emphasise shared goals and solidarity. With the exception of IBIS, they do not discuss the very different roles and motivations of NNGOs and Indigenous organisations. It appears that the NNGOs use of the rhetoric of 'partnership' has framed the way they view and manage relationships with the Indigenous organisations, and has prevented them from questioning these 'partnerships'.

In response to this, it appears that if NNGOs do not acknowledge difference with Indigenous organisations (and partnership does appear to focus on similarity), it becomes a central issue for Indigenous organisations. In chapter three, interviews with Indigenous leaders at grassroots, provincial and national levels showed that

they do not see the NNGOs as 'partners', and repeatedly cited examples of the inequality of the relationship. For example Hilda Santi, President of the Sarayacu people, stated that NNGOs refused to support the Sarayacu for their own goals, providing funds only when the Sarayacu's activities suited the goals of the NNGOs, and even then the funding allocations were tightly controlled by NNGOs.

These extremely different perspectives do not suggest that the relationships which exist between NNGOs and Indigenous organisations are 'partnerships'. Indeed the very use of the term 'partnership' appears to widen the gulf between the two groups.

The research suggests that the role of CDES, as an intermediary organisation, does at times create a different dynamic, although it does not resolve all partnership issues. CDES appears to be able to reduce the power imbalance with donors due to its technical expertise and growing funding base, however it appears that whenever direct resources transfers are involved, power imbalances are present. For example, this research notes that the relationship between CDES and Earth Rights International appears to be equal, with shared objectives and roles in the delivery of the Amazon School, and resulting healthy discussion regarding the allocation of tasks, among other issues. This is perhaps made possible by the fact that another organisation, the Ford Foundation, provides the funding.

The other type of relationship can be seen from examples such as those discussed in the CDES chapter, of the journalist provided by the German NNGO, which was not consistent with the request previously made by CDES, yet about which CDES then felt unable to complain. This shows that power imbalances between NNGOs and CDES are present with the transfer of resources. These power imbalances between CDES and NNGOs are also evident in the way that NNGOs fund CDES, with the majority providing only short term funding (which does not encourage CDES to develop long term plans) and funding only project costs for CDES.

Furthermore NNGOs do not appear to want to strengthen CDES as an organisation, and have not assessed CDES' internal weaknesses (which include no organisational plan, and no capacity to develop one), nor do they provide any capacity building to CDES. Their support is limited to providing funds for the implementation of projects, based on CDES' successful track record. Given that CDES has a large number of donors, it has avoided dependency on any one donor, but instead must write a large number of different reports in order to meet the requirements of all its donors.

In contrast, CDES' relationship with Indigenous organisations does appear to be relatively equal and transparent. CDES has achieved this via an 'anti-partnership' approach, which does not necessarily involve all-encompassing, long-term and intensive relationships (though the support can be long term and intensive), but instead is mobilized only in response to requests from Indigenous organisations and consists of the provision of specific technical support and accompaniment for these specific issues. This approach does not appear to create dependency or power imbalances.

The examples discussed above demonstrate that the transfer of resources between organisations appears to make partnership even more difficult to achieve, as then the power imbalances are much greater. In Ecuador it seems that the fact that NNGOs control the funds ensures that it is their objectives, and not those of Indigenous organisations, that are the priority. This was noted repeatedly by leaders of Indigenous organisations at all levels. This power imbalance is perhaps heightened also by the way that NNGOs provide funding, both to Indigenous organisations and to CDES. Instead of allowing the Ecuadorian organisations some decision-making regarding the allocation of funds, the NNGOs decide on this, funding only project and not organisational costs, and often funding small, short term projects.

While several authors cited in the literature review stated that partnership is very difficult to achieve, the Ecuador case study has demonstrated that it may well be not only difficult but perhaps impossible for NNGOs to achieve with Indigenous organisations. Furthermore, the example of CDES shows that it is possible to effectively support Indigenous organisations without attempting partnership. Both the NNGO and CDES relationships with Indigenous organisations, and with each other, suggest that the goal of partnership and direct resource transfers between these organisations are not compatible.

The implications for NNGO and SNGO workers on the ground is that the common assumption that 'partnerships' are the most desirable goal under all circumstances needs to be questioned. This research suggests that all such strategies carry heavy ideological burdens which mean that each side interprets them differently. In each case, therefore, a strategy like 'partnership' needs to be seen as only one possible approach and one which needs to be negotiated out in detail, rather than assumed to be fully understood and desired by all sides.

Significance:

As this thesis explores only the Ecuadorian context, and one specific intermediary organisation, it cannot provide conclusive answers to all of the questions raised. However, as a detailed examination of a context that is rarely examined in relation to the Australian Indigenous experience due to distance and the language barrier, this research does provide some insight and preliminary findings.

The research suggested that despite the large amount of rhetoric regarding capacity building and its importance in the practice of development, practice often falls short. This was seen in the way that most of the INGOs had different understandings of capacity building, and several implemented 'capacity building' activities that clearly did not lead to sustained increases in the capacity of Indigenous organisations, but rather increased dependency.

The inclusive nature of the Indigenous movement is also of relevance to the Australian context. In Ecuador the Indigenous movement appeared to consciously concentrate on their similarities with the non-Indigenous population, especially the working class, regularly protesting against issues such as the proposed free trade agreements, which would affect not only the Indigenous population. As a result, they achieved the support of non-Indigenous people, both on issues that affected the entire population and, interestingly, also on issues that were specific to Indigenous peoples.

One of the most significant findings was regarding the role of the intermediary organisation CDES, and the very effective bridging or linking role it played between INGOs and the Indigenous movement. Non-Indigenous intermediary organisations are almost nonexistent in Australia, and may prove to be very useful in bridging gaps between donors and Indigenous Australian organisations. CDES also provided an example of the various strategies and tangible activities that can be implemented by non-Indigenous organisations which support Indigenous organisations.

Another important discovery was regarding the issue of partnership. This research found that although many INGOs and some authors, such as Schwab, continue to advocate for 'partnership' relationships between INGOs and local organisations, there is a growing group of development practitioners, notably Alan Fowler, who reject the approach, for what appear to be very valid reasons. What was interesting in Ecuador was that while many of the INGOs supporting the Indigenous movement claimed to work in partnership with Indigenous organisations, this was rejected by the Indigenous organisations. In fact the very mention of the concept of partnership appeared to increase the distance between INGOs and Indigenous organisations, pushing Indigenous organisations to focus on the differences between the two groups. In direct contrast CDES, who claimed to provide a

specific service to Indigenous organisations and rejected the concept of partnership, appeared to have established close relationships based on trust and mutual respect with a wide range of Indigenous organisations.

Bibliography

Alfred, T. 2001 'From Sovereignty to Freedom: Towards an Indigenous Political Discourse' *Indigenous Affairs,* International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, vol. 3, no. 01, pp 22-34.

Altman, J. 2001 'Sustainable Development options on Aboriginal Land: the hybrid economy in the twenty-first century' Discussion Paper 226, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, viewed August 2003, http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr/discussion.php

Altman, J. 2004 'Economic Development and Indigenous Australia: Contestations over Property, Institutions and Ideology?' Topical Paper 09, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, viewed August 2003, http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr/topical.php#0409

Balkanu 2001 'Creating a Real Economy for Indigenous Cape York' Cairns, Balkanu Cape York Development Corporation Pty Ltd, Cairns, Australia.

Barragan, L, & Perez, M 'Evaluacion Externa 2004 – Centro de Derechos Economicos y Sociales (CDES), (2004 External Evaluation – CDES), Quito

Baviskar, A. 2006, 'Red in Tooth and Claw? Looking for Class in Struggles over Nature', Raka, R & Katzenstein, M. (eds) *Social Movements in India,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp 161-178.

Baviskar, A. 2005 'Adivasi Encounters with Hindu Nationalism in MP', *Economic and Political Weekly*, November 26, 2005, pp 5105-5113.

Bebbington, A. & Perreault, T. 1999 'Social Capital, Development and Access to resources in Highland Ecuador' *Economic Geography* vol. 75, issue 4, pp 1-37.

Beck, S.H & Mijeski, K.J. 2000, "Indigena Self-Identity in Ecuador and the rejection of Mestizaje." *Latin American Research Review,* vol 35, issue 1, pp 119-137.

Begay, M. A. 2003 "The Responsibilities and Challenges of Indigenous Leaders: Insights from Indian Nations.", *Northern Territory Building Effective Indigenous Governance Conference*, powerpoint, viewed June 2004, http://www.nt.gov.au/cdsca/indigenous_conference/web/html/Manley_Begay_powerpoint.ppt

Behrendt, L. 2003. *'Achieving Social Justice'*, 1st edn, the Federation Press, Sydney.

Blaser, M., Feit, H., & McRae, G. 2004, '*In the Way of Development: Indigenous Peoples, Life Projects and Globalisation*' Zed Books Limited, London.

Blunt, P. and Warren, D. M. 1996, (eds) '*Indigenous Organisations and Development'* , 1st edn, Intermediate Technology Publications Ltd, London.

Brehm, M. 2001 '*Promoting Effective North - South NGO Partnerships: A Comparative Study of Ten European NGOs'* Occasional Paper Series No 32, Oxford, International NGO Training and Research Centre.

Briggs, J & Sharpe, J 2004 'Indigenous Knowledges and Development: A Postcolonial Caution' *Third World Quarterly,* vol. 25, issue 4, pp 661-676.

Brown, P. 1998, "Cultural Resistance and Rebellion in Southern Mexico." *Latin American Research Review,* vol. 33, issue 3, pp 217-229.

Carroll, T. F. 1992. '*Intermediary NGOs - The Supporting link in Grassroots Development*', Kumarian Press, West Hartford, Connecticut, USA,.

Centro de Derechos Economicos y Sociales, 2004 'Plan Estrategico 2005-2010' (CDES Strategic Plan), Quito.

Chambers, R. 1997, '*Whose Reality Counts? - Putting the First Last*', Intermediate Technology Publications, London.

Chauvin, L. O. & Fraser, B. J. 2003, '*Rising Voices : A History of Indigenous Organisation and Political Participation in Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru*' Oxfam America, Lima, Peru.

Cornell, S., & Kalt, J.P. 1998. '*Sovereignty & Nation-Building: The Development Challenge in Indian Country Today*', John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, viewed July 2004, http://www.hks.harvard.edu/hpaied/pubs/pub_121.htm

Cornell, S. 2003, '*Starting & Sustaining Strong Indigenous Governance*', Northern Territory Building Effective Indigenous Governance Conference, research paper, viewed June 2004, http://www.nt.gov.au/cdsca/indigenous_conference/web/html/papers.html

Corntassel, J. 2003, 'Who is Indigenous?' *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, vol. 9, pp 75-100.

Corr, R. 2003 'The Catholic Church, Ritual and Power in Salasaca' in Whitten (ed), *Millennial Ecuador: Critical Essays on Cultural Transformations and Social Dynamics'*, University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.

Crawley, W. 1996, 'Beyond Aid: Homegrown Approaches in Bangladesh' *Asian Affairs*, Feb 96, vol. 27, issue 1, pp 20-30.

Crewe, E., & Harrison, E. 1998, '*Whose Development? An Ethnography of Aid*', 1st edn, Zed Books, London.

Croal, P. & Darou, W. 2002, 'Canadian First Nations' experiences with international development' in Sillitoe, P., Bicker, A. & Pottier, J. (eds) *Participating in Development - approaches to Indigenous Knowledge*, Routledge, London, pp 82-107.

Crough, G. 1997, '*Indigenous Organisations, Funding & Accountability: Comparative Reforms in Canada & Australia*', The North Australia Research Unit, Casuarina, Northern Territory.

Davis, S. H. & Ebbe, K. 1993, *Traditional Knowledge & Sustainable Development - Proceedings of a Conference*, 1st edn, World Bank, Washington DC.

Dodson, M. 2003, 'Capacity Development for Indigenous Leadership and Good Governance', *Northern Territory Building Effective Indigenous Governance Conference*, viewed June 2004, http://www.nt.gov.au/cdsca/indigenous_conference/web/html/papers.html

Dryburgh, A. '*Not the Master's Tools*', viewed April 2008 http://web.uvic.ca/-pjane/

Eade, D. (ed) 2002 '*Development and Culture*', Oxfam Great Britain, Oxford, UK

Eade, D. 2000, '*Capacity-Building - An Approach to People-Centred Development*', Oxfam Great Britain, Oxford, UK.

Escobar, A. 1995, '*Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World'.* Princeton University Press, Princeton, USA.

Esman, M & Uphoff, N, 1984, '*Local Organisations: Intermediaries in Rural Development*', Cornell University Press, New York.

Finlayson, J. 2004, '*Success in Aboriginal Communities*' vols 1 & 2,, Australian Collaboration, Canberra.

Fowler, A. 1991, 'Building Partnerships between Northern and Southern Development NGOs : Issues for the 1990s' *Development in Practice,* vol. 1, issue 1, pp 5-18.

Fowler, A. 2000, '*Negotiating NGDO Relationships',* Occasional Paper Series, no. 32, The International NGO Training and Research Centre, Oxford.

Fox, J. 1996, 'How Does Civil Society Thicken? The Political Construction of Social Capital in Rural Mexico' *World Development*, vol. 24, issue 6, pp 1089-1103.

Fukuda-Parr, S., Lopes, C. & Malik, K. (eds) 2002, *Capacity for Development: New Solutions to Old Problems,* 1st edn, Earthscan Publications, London

James, R. 2001,*'Power and Partnership? Experiences of NGO Capacity Building'* The International Non-governmental Organisation Training and Research Centre, Oxford, UK.

Garbutt, A. & Heap, S. (eds) 2003, 'Growing Civil Society in Central Asia' *Occasional Paper Series,* The International Non-governmental Organisation Training and Research Centre, Oxford, UK.

Grenier, L. 1998, '*Working with Indigenous Knowledge - a guide for researchers*', International Development Research Centre, Ottawa.

Gomez de la Torre, V. 2004, '*From 'Indios Miserables' to 'Nacionalidades Indigenas' : Discourse and the Construction of Ethnic Identity in Andean Ecuador*', viewed April 2007,
http://www.euskalnet.net/sjf/andeanlinks1.htm

Hately, L., & Malhotra, K. 1997, '*Between Rhetoric & reality: Essays on Partnership in Development*', Renouf Publishing Company, Ottawa.

Haverkort, B., van 't Hooft, K., & Hiemstra, W. 2003, '*Ancient Roots, New Shoots - Endogenous Development in Practice*', Zed Books, London.

Henriksen, J. B. 2001, "Implementation of the Right of Self-determination of Indigenous Peoples", *Indigenous Affairs,* International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, vol. 3, no. 01, pp 6-21.

Hillhorst, D. 2003, '*The real world of NGOs: discourses, diversity and development*', Zed Books, London.

Howes, M. 1997, 'NGOs and the Institutional Development of Membership Organisations: the Evidence from Six Cases' *Journal of International Development,* vol. 9, issue 4, pp 597-604.

Howes, M. 1999, '*NGOs & the Development of Membership Organisations: the Case of Saptagram*', IDS Discussion Paper 370, Institute of Development Studies, London.

Hoyer, H. 1994, 'Reflections on Partnership and Accompaniment', *Institutional Development,* vol. 1, issue 1.

Hudock, A. C. 1997, 'Institutional Interdependence: Capacity-enhancing assistance for intermediary NGOs in Sierra Leone and the Gambia', *Journal of International Development*, vol. 9, issue 4, pp 589-596.

James, R. 1998, '*Demystifying Organisation Development: Practical Capacity-Building Experiences of African NGOs*', International NGO Training and Research Centre, Oxford.

James, R. 2001, '*Power and Partnership? Experiences of NGO Capacity Building'*, The International NGO Training and Research Centre, Oxford.

James, R. 2002, '*People and Change - Exploring Capacity-Building in NGOs'*, The International NGO Training and Research Centre, Oxford.

Janet, S. C. 2002, '*Development, Minorities & Indigenous Peoples: A Case Study and Evaluation of Good Practice'*, Minority Rights Group, London

Kleymeyer, C. 1993 'Cultural Energy and Grassroots Development' *Grassroots Development : The Journal of the Inter-American Foundation',* vol. 16, issue 1, pp 22-31

Korovkin, T. 2001, 'Reinventing the Communal Tradition - Indigenous Peoples, Civil Society and Democratization in Andean Ecuador', *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 36, issue 3, pp 37-67.

Krishna, A. 2002, '*Active Social Capital - Tracing the Roots of Development and Democracy*', Columbia University Press, New York.

Kuramoto, J. 2002, 'Integrating Local and Global Knowledge, Technology and Production Systems: Challenges for Technical Cooperation' *Science, Technology and Society,* vol. 7, issue 2, pp 215-247.
Leger, M. 1994, '*Aboriginal Peoples - Towards Self-Government',* Black Rose Books, Montreal, Canada.

Lewis, D. 2001, '*The Management of Non-Governmental Development Organisations - An Introduction*', Routledge, London.

Lopes, C & Theisohn, T 2004 '*Ownership, Leadership and Transformation : Can We Do Better for Capacity Development?'* UNDP Earthscan, London.

Lumbu Indigenous Community Foundation, 2001, '*Making Connections, growing communities - summary of meeting*'. Brisbane.

Macdonald, T. 2004, 'Ecuador's Past Offers Direction for the Future', *Cultural Survival Quarterly,* vol. Fall 2004, pp 39-42.

Marsden, D. (1994). 'Indigenous Management' in Wright, S. (ed), *Anthropology of Organisations*, Routledge, London, pp 35 - 40.

Martin, D. F. 2001, 'Is Welfare Dependency 'Welfare Poison'? An assessment of Noel Pearson's proposals for Aboriginal Welfare Reform', discussion paper 213, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, viewed June 2003. http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr/discussion.php

Martin, D. F. 2003, 'Rethinking the design of indigenous organisations: The need for strategic engagement', discussion paper 248, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, viewed September 2004. http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr/discussion.php

Martin, D. F. 2004, 'Rethinking Aboriginal Community Governance: Challenges for Sustainable Engagement', in Smyth, P, Reddel, T. & Jones, A (eds) *Community and Local Governance in Australia,* University of New South Wales Press, Sydney.

Martin, P. 2002, '*The Globalisation of Contentious Politics: The Amazonian Indigenous Rights Movement',* Routledge, New York.

Martinez Cobo, J. 1986, '*Study of the problem of discrimination against indigenous populations*', viewed April 2004, on International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs website,
http://www.iwgia.org/sw310.asp

Mawdsley, E., Townsend, J., Porter, G. & Oakley, P. 2002. '*Knowledge, Power & Development Agendas - NGOs North & South'*, The International NGO Training and Research Centre, Oxford.

McDaniel, J. 2002, 'Confronting the Structure of International Development: Agency and the Chiquitanos of Bolivia', *Human Ecology: An interdisciplinary journal* , vol. 30, issue 3, pp 369-406.

Merlan, F. 1998, '*Caging the Rainbow: Places Politics and Aborigines in a North Australian Town*', University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.

Mies, M. 1993, 'The Myth of Catching-up Development' in Mies, M. & Shiva, V., *Ecofeminism*, Spinifex Press, Melbourne.

Mohidden, A. 1999 'Partnership: A New Buzz Word or Realistic Relationship?', *Journal of the Society for International Development,* vol. 41, issue 4.

Norwegian Peoples Aid, 2003, '*Policy Document for the Program Area Indigenous*

Peoples Rights' unpublished document, Norway.

Oxfam America, 2003, '*2002 South America Regional Office Report'*, Lima, Peru.

Oxfam America, 2004, 'Planeamiento Estrategico 2005-2009 Para el Cluster de Derechos Indigenas' (Strategic Planning 2005-2009 for the Indigenous Rights Cluster), Lima, Peru.

Oxfam Australia, 2001 '*Towards Global Equity – Strategic Plan 2001-2004',* Oxfam Australia, Melbourne.

Paradies, Y. 2005 'Beyond Black and White – Essentialism, Hybridity and Indigeneity', *Journal of Sociology, The Australian Sociological Association,* vol. 42, issue 4, pp 355-367.

Partridge, W., Uquillas, J., & Johns, K. 1996, '*Including the Excluded - Ethnodevelopment in Latin America'*, The World Bank, Latin America and the Caribbean Technical Department, viewed November 2004, http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/63ByDocName/IncludingtheExcludedEthnodevelopmentinLatinAmericaTheWorldBank1996PDFKB/$FILE/IncludingtheExcluded.pdf.

Perrault, T. 2003, 'Social Capital, Development, and Indigenous Politics in Ecuadorian Amazonia', *The Geographical Review*, vol 93.

Perez, M. 2004 'Evaluacion Externa del Area Amazonia del CDES', (External Evaluation of Amazon Area Program of CDES), Quito

Rahnema, M. (1992), 'Participation', Sachs, W. (ed) *The Development Dictionary,* Zed Books Limited, London.

Reynolds, H. 1996, '*Aboriginal Sovereignty - Reflections on Race, State and Nation'*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
Rist, G. 2002, '*The History of Development'*, Zed Books Limited, London.

Rivero, O. 2001, '*The Myth of Development'*, Zed Books Limited, London.

Roche, C. 2002, '*Impact assessment for Development Agencies - Learning to Value Change'*, Oxfam Great Britain, Oxford.

Santacruz, C. G. 2005 'The Amazon School for Human Rights and Environment: an Initiative of the Centro de Derechos Economicos y Sociales and Earth Rights International', External evaluation.

Schwab, R.G and Sutherland, D. 2002, 'Philanthropy, non-government organisations and Indigenous development', discussion paper 242, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, viewed November 2004, http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr/discussion.php

Selverston, M. 1994, 'The Politics of Culture: Indigenous Peoples and the State in Ecuador', in Van Cott, D. L., (ed), *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America,* St Martin's, New York.

Selverston-Scher, M. 2004, '*Ethnopolitics in Ecuador : Indigenous Rights and the Strengthening of Democracy'*, North-South Center Press, Miami.

Sen, A. 1999 '*Development as Freedom'*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Sirolli, E. 1999, '*Ripples from the Zambezi'*, New Society Publishers, Gabriola Island, Canada.

Smillie, I. 1995, '*The Alms Bazaar: Altruism Under Fire - Non Profit Organisations and International Development*', Intermediate Technology Publications, London.

Smith, C. 2004, '*Indigenous Movements in Guatemala and Ecuador : Different Histories, Different Social Contexts, Different Strategies?*' viewed in August 2006, http:///socrates.berkeley.edu:7001/Events/spring2004/03-15-04-smith/index.html

Stavenhagen, R. 1990, '*The Ethnic Question: Conflicts, Development and Human Rights*', UNU Press, Tokyo.

Theunis, S. 1992, '*Non-governmental Organisations of Developing Countries - and the South Smiles*', Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Dodrecht.

Van Cott, D. L. 2001, 'Explaining Ethnic Autonomy Regimes in Latin America', *Studies in Comparative International Development* , vol. 35, issue 4, pp 30-58.

Warren, K. & Jackson, J. (eds) 2002 '*Indigenous Movements : Self-Representation and the State in Latin America*', University of Texas Press, Austin.

White, S. 2002, 'Thinking Race, Thinking Development', *Third World Quarterly,* vol. 23, issue 3, pp 407-419.

Whitten, N. (ed) 2003 '*Millennial Ecuador: Critical Essays on Cultural Transformations and Social Dynamics*', University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.

Zamosc, L. 1994 'The Indian Movement and Political Democracy in Ecuador', *Latin American Politics and Society*', vol. 49, issue 3, fall 2007, pp 1-34

Organisational Websites

Action Aid website, viewed May 2007,
http://www.actionaid.org.uk/100008/where_we_work.html
Action Aid is a rights-based English NGO, with a head office located in South Africa. Their mission is to eradicate poverty and injustice globally.

CONAIE website, viewed July 2004,
http://conaie.org/
As discussed in the List of Abbreviations, Acronyms and Actors, CONAIE stands for the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador, and is the official national representative body for Indigenous peoples.

Concern Worldwide website, viewed June 2007,
http://www.concern.net/site-links/who-we-are/concern-partnerships.php
Concern Worldwide is an Irish NGO, with a head office in Dublin, which works towards the elimination of extreme poverty in the world's poorest country.

Oxfam Australia Website, viewed July 2004,
http://www.oxfam.org.au/world/
With a head office in Melbourne, Oxfam Australia works with communities around the world for solutions to poverty and social injustice.

Sarayacu website, viewed July 2004
http://www.sarayacu.com/
As discussed in the List of Abbreviations, Acronyms and Actors, Sarayacu is both the name of a small Indigenous community based in the Central Amazon, and the people from this community.