

**TEEN PREGNANCY ON THE OIL ROAD:
SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF TEEN PREGNANCY IN AN INDIGENOUS
COMMUNITY OF THE ECUADORIAN AMAZON**

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ABSTRACT

Dayuma Albán Campaña: Teen Pregnancy On The Oil Road: Social Determinants Of Teen Pregnancy In An Indigenous Community Of The Ecuadorian Amazon
(Under the direction of Mark Sorensen)

Teen pregnancy in Tiwino is related to traditional marriage patterns. Nevertheless, it is currently influenced by the context of oil exploitation and its correlation with development and modernity. Before the colonization of their territory and through the present day, some women under 19 years of age began to have children, within socially recognized marriages arranged by older people. Teen pregnancy in the community currently takes place both within and outside of marriage. Oil extraction and development has led to a number of social transformations that affect gender roles, produce changes in forms of being an adult, and the experience of teen pregnancy, through three ways: increased wage labor; insertion into formal education; modernization and development of the community. Oil extraction, which is connected with the demands of the world economic system, is not only shaping the national Ecuadorian economy, but also impacting local communities in significant ways, with effects on intimate relationships and marriage, gender roles, women's bodies, and cultural conceptions of adolescence and adulthood, and fertility.

I dedicate this work to *Trilce Carmina*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMWAE	Asociación de Mujeres Waorani de la Amazonía Ecuatoriana (Association of Waorani Women of the Ecuadorian Amazon)
DF	Decolonial Feminism
ENIPLA	Estrategia Nacional Intersectorial de Planificación familiar (National Intersectional Strategy for Family Planning)
FPE	Feminist Political Ecology
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
MSP	Ministerio de Salud Pública del Ecuador (Ministry of Public Health of Ecuador)
NAWE	Nacionalidad Waorani del Ecuador (Waorani Nation of the Ecuadorian Amazon)
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics

INTRODUCTION

Last summer while visiting Tiwino, in the house of one of the oldest female leaders, I found a yellow hardhat, filled with tangled purple-dyed chambira fiber [a palm fiber] on the floor. That hardhat belonged to her son, who used it in his work with the oil company. But she used it to dye fibers for weaving handicrafts, such as bags, that will be used by her or her son in everyday life in the crops or in the jungle, or perhaps for her to sell.

The image of the yellow hardhat dyed bright purple perfectly captures the dynamic between men and women that exists due to oil extraction in the community. The same object, present due to the oil work, has taken on different meanings for the different genders.

The present work considers the question of teen pregnancy in the Waorani community of Tiwino in the Ecuadorian Amazon, a community that has seen important changes as a result of oil extraction and development. In this project I will examine the social determinants of teen pregnancy among the Waorani by investigating attitudes regarding to teen pregnancy and examine how these interact with social changes produced by oil extraction.

The Waorani were the last indigenous group to be colonized and integrated into Ecuadorian society. This took place in 1958 and was carried out by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). The history and background of this colonization is intertwined with the development of oil exploration and extraction in the country. The Waorani are lowland tropical rainforest horticulturalists and foragers. Some communities are more involved in subsistence economy activities, while others are involved in market economy activities, especially those related to oil exploitation (Lu and Sorensen 2013). Tiwino is one such village. It is located along the oil road, close to the oil-drilling field, and deeply influenced by the dynamics surrounding the process of oil drilling.

Since the decade of the 1970s, oil extraction in the Amazon region has been a main source of income for the Ecuadorian state (Kimerling 2013; Acosta 2009), due to selling oil to meet international demand. Since the beginning of oil exploitation, indigenous groups of the Ecuadorian Amazon have suffered a period of marked cultural, social, economic, and territorial change, along with contamination and degradation of the environment. The oil boom has occasioned the construction of highways, the colonization of territory by outsiders, and deforestation. This period has also seen increases in the size of urban centers, integration of indigenous groups into the market economy (Lu and Sorensen 2013), and the beginning of operations by state-run institutions. In this new context, indigenous groups have experienced changes in economy, gender roles, marriage customs, and forms of education, all of which are connected with the way in which teen pregnancy is experienced, perceived, and viewed as a “problem.”

Teen pregnancy in Ecuador: numbers, public health, and academic discourse

Ecuador is one of the countries with the highest rates of adolescent fertility in Latin America. The rate increased from 84 per 1,000 in 1989 to 100 per 1,000 in 2004. Among Ecuadorian women aged 15 to 19, 20% experience their first pregnancy before the age of 20 (Goicolea et al. 2009; MSP 2008a). According to the Ecuadorian Ministry of Health (MSP 2010) in the report, “Health situation of the indigenous youth of Ecuador. HIV, AIDS, and teen pregnancy” (“Situacion de salud de los y las jóvenes indígenas en Ecuador. VIH y Sida, y embarazo en adolescentes”), indigenous communities face a high incidence of teen pregnancy. Of indigenous people in the 15-17 age group, 7.6% are mothers, and the figure increases to 31% in the 18-19 age group. Geographically, the Amazon basin has the highest adolescent fertility

rates in the country, at 121 per 1,000. High levels of fertility in the Amazon are concentrated mainly in the indigenous and rural populations (Goicolea et al. 2009).

The current government of President Rafael Correa, with its national development plan *Buen Vivir* (2009-2013), declared universal access to reproductive and sexual healthcare fundamental and established a goal of reducing teen pregnancy by 25% (FCI et al. 2009; UNFPA 2010). Since 2007, the Ecuadorian government has undertaken a national plan of action in adolescent pregnancy prevention (Plan Nacional de Prevención del Embarazo Adolescente) because it is considered to be a public health problem associated with cyclical poverty (Goicolea et al. 2009; UNFPA 2010). This national plan was articulated in the Andean Plan for the Reduction of Adolescent Pregnancy (Plan Andino de Reducción del Embarazo Adolescente), in which an agreement was made by the ministries of health of six Andean countries: Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela. In this document, these nations recognized the results of unintended teen pregnancy as a public health problem in their territories, as it presents a health risk to women and newborns, and keeps women from advancing in life, that is, receiving education and finding paid work (MSP 2008:11).

In 2010, the Ecuadorian government implemented the National Intersectional Strategy for Family Planning (Estrategia Nacional Intersectorial de Planificación Familiar, ENIPLA). One of its main objectives was preventing adolescent pregnancy via a sexual and reproductive rights approach, in order to avoid female impoverishment, maternal death, low levels of schooling, and the perpetuation of cyclical poverty. The strategy aimed to contribute to the development of conditions which would mitigate the aforementioned factors (MSP et al. 2010:12). This strategy was framed in the Ecuadorian constitution, incorporating sexual and reproductive rights and health in accordance with the agreements of the International Conference on Population and

Development (ICPD) which took place in Cairo in 1994, and the Fourth World Conference on Women, which took place in Beijing in 1995 (MSP et al. 2010). By presidential decree, ENIPLA was supplanted in November of last year by Plan Familia Ecuador. This new strategy of preventing teen pregnancy questioned the previous one, arguing that it was not based on family values, and that it promoted “hedonism” instead of abstinence among teenagers¹. This decision has been criticized in many sectors, mainly by feminists and women’s social movements, which are calling for a human rights approach instead of a moral approach to national sexual and reproductive health policy². Currently this change of strategy is the center of an active public debate in the country.

In Ecuador, in the face of high teen pregnancy and the demand for information by state institutions in order to create public policy, sociocultural studies have been carried out to explain its causes at national (Santillana and Castello 2010) and capital-city levels (Varea 2008). Also, literature has emerged which focuses on the indigenous population (MSP 2010). Studies dealing with the Amazon region are scarce. The main research has been done by Isabel Goicolea (Goicolea, Sebastián, and Wulff 2009; Goicolea 2009; Goicolea et al. 2009; Goicolea 2010; Goicolea et al. 2010) and has focused mainly on the Orellana province, without a deep analysis of ethnic variations. Studies undertaken on the Amazon’s indigenous groups are mainly related to the Kichwa population (Vallejo n/d). To my knowledge there have been no studies conducted on teen pregnancy among the Waorani people.

A large body of research on teen pregnancy has been conducted by demographers, sociologists, anthropologists, feminist scholars, and activists, with the goal of informing policy.

¹<http://www.elcomercio.com/actualidad/enipla-educacionsexual-rafaelcorrea-embarazoadolescente-monicahernandez.html>

²<http://www.elcomercio.com/actualidad/plan-familia-criticas-sexualidad-abstinencia.html>

These studies mention gender inequalities and gender violence as being among the main causes of teen pregnancy in Ecuador. Gender is also central to the human rights approach, which focuses on promoting access to contraceptives and sexual and reproductive health services (Santillana and Castello 2010; Goicolea 2009; Varea 2008). Additionally, these studies mention the broader sociocultural factors that relate to teen pregnancy (Santillana and Castello 2010; MSP 2010), and recognize indigenous cultural differences in the conceptions of adolescence, adulthood, and marriage patterns that influence teen pregnancy (MSP 2010).

In the Ecuadorean Amazon, research by Goicolea (2009) explores the connection between teen pregnancy and lack of knowledge about sexual and reproductive rights and health among adolescents. This work situates gender domination and violence as the determinants of sexual and reproductive health, along with lack of education of teen women. Moreover, the study argues that teen pregnancy in the Ecuadorian Amazon, particularly in the Orellana province (where Tiwino is located) is a reflection of the general neglect suffered by the population in terms of socioeconomic development, despite the oil boom.

I will contribute to the understanding of teen pregnancy in the Ecuadorian Amazon by arguing that what is needed is an analysis from an intersectional perspective that considers oil exploitation, modernization/colonization of the Amazon region, changes in gender roles, and the exploitation of women. Current discourses on teen pregnancy in the Ecuadorian Amazon do not consider how cultural concepts and practices related to teen pregnancy are shaped by a broader economic system based on resource extraction, the modernization of the region, and its concomitant new social dynamics. Moreover, I will argue that before considering teen pregnancy as a problem it is important to question when, why, how, and for whom it is a problem.

Anthropology in the northern hemisphere has long debated the distinction between what is culture and what is nature during adolescence (Mead 1928). This has made it possible to consider the question of why teen pregnancy is or is not pervasive in certain societies, and to discuss how different societies regard changes to the body during adolescence and how the adolescent body is constructed. Many, but not all, cultures recognize adolescence as a period between childhood and adulthood. As a biological transition, this time is marked by changes in the body and the development of sexual characteristics that create reproductive capacity (Schlegel and Barry 1991). Nevertheless, adolescence is a socially constructed phase of life, which varies in its timing and duration, and does not exist in all cultures. Even though women are able to reproduce during this period, in the West it is generally viewed in a negative light if they do so. While adolescent motherhood is discouraged and debated as a public health issue, and, due to its adverse health outcomes, considered a social problem from Western point of view (Foster 1986; Baker et al. 2007; Farber 2009), it is a prevalent phenomenon in other parts of the world (Kramer and Lancaster 2010). In many cultures, the socially determined period between childhood and adulthood can be relatively short, with the expectation that marriage, parenthood, and the assumption of greater social responsibility occur within a short period after the onset of puberty and menarche (Schlegel and Barry 1991).

Objectives, Methods, Results, and Framework

One objective of this research is to analyze the social determinants of teen pregnancy in the Waorani people in the village of Tiwino, and to explore their concepts and practices regarding teen pregnancy. I will question how these concepts and practices interact with the social changes generated by the oil industry, and the outcomes this interaction produces. Although important aspects of environmental and social disasters caused by oil extraction have

been recognized and seriously dealt with, little has been said about the consequences suffered by women (Martínez 2012). Therefore, another objective is to analyze the gender dimension of oil exploitation in the Waorani community, with the understanding that although women are affected by oil drilling, they also respond to it with creativity.

The main questions that led to my research were:

1. What are the social determinants of teen pregnancy in Tiwino?
2. Is teen pregnancy a traditional pattern in Tiwino?
 - 2.1. Is teen pregnancy supported by the family?
 - 2.2. How are adolescence and adulthood conceived of by Waorani people?
3. What is the relation of teen pregnancy to insertion into the market economy, oil exploitation, gender role changes, and incorporation into formal education?

To answer these questions, in addition to reviewing literature pertaining to the theme, I interviewed 37 informants—men and women over 18 years old—within the community during June and July of 2014. These consisted of parents, grandparents, young adults (some of whom first became mothers as teenagers), and community leaders. I also spoke with informants outside the community, such as Waorani general organization leaders and women’s organization leaders, as well as ten representatives of NGOs, public health institutions, and women’s and youth social movements. Above all, this work is focused on the interviews with community members and indigenous leaders. These were conducted using semi-structured guides. Later, the interviews were transcribed and encoded using the ATLAS.ti qualitative research program.

The results indicate that teen pregnancy in Tiwino is related to traditional marriage patterns. Nevertheless, it is currently influenced by the context of oil exploitation and oil exploitation’s correlation with development and modernity. Before the colonization of their

territory and through the present day, some women under 19 years of age began to have children, within socially recognized marriages arranged by older members of the community. Today, some Waorani women get married in adulthood, over the age of 20, but others get married or begin to live with their partner, and become pregnant, during adolescence. Teen pregnancy in the community currently takes place both within and outside of marriage. Some teenage women have children while in marriages arranged by elders, and others do so while in marriages they arrange themselves, or while living with a partner, and others do so while single. The latter occur either due to romantic relationships or through the commodification of the female body by men from outside the locality who are involved in the oil industry and community development (mainly construction). Oil extractivism introduced social changes that shape teen pregnancy and generate gender differences, changes in forms of being an adult, and the experience of teen pregnancy in three ways: insertion of the community into wage labor; insertion of the community into formal education; modernization and development of the community. In Ecuador, oil extraction for international export is shaping not only the national Ecuadorian economy, but also the dynamics of local communities, and having effects on intimate relationships, gender roles, and cultural conceptions of adolescence, adulthood, and fertility.

I built my theoretical framework using a Feminist Political Ecology (FPE) approach, with some added elements of Decolonial Feminism (DF), to examine how the oil industry affects gender relations and teen pregnancy in the Waorani community of Tiwino. I used the classical framework of FPE to approach the ways in which the political ecology of a place is mediated by gender, and also how it affects gender roles and relations. Secondly, I used concepts of the body from the field of FPE to understand how gender relations, as well as economic, social, and cultural change and modernity are manifested, and how these affect women's bodies, the

experience of femininity, and teen pregnancy. Thirdly, I used elements of Decolonial Feminism to approach how gender is constructed as part of a modern/colonial system that is represented by oil exploitation activity in the Waorani community.

This document is divided into three chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter presents the historical context of the Waorani, and the creation of the community of Tiwino, introduces their evangelization by the SIL, and the intrusion of oil companies into their territory. In addition, it details the general characteristics of Tiwino: its location, economy, and political organizations. The second chapter defines a theoretical viewpoint and contains a review of relevant literature, articulated with elements of Feminist Political Ecology and Decolonial Feminism. The third chapter contains an ethnographic description of the results, answers the main questions that drives my research, and narrates the dynamic of teen pregnancy in the community in the current context of oil exploitation, modernization, and development. The discussion in this chapter also contrasts this information with the phenomenon of teen pregnancy before evangelization, oil exploitation, and development.

CHAPTER 1: TIWINO, HISTORY AND CHARACTERISTICS

Figure 1: Map of Ecuador



The Waorani are located in the northwest of Ecuador, in the high Amazon basin. They have traditionally occupied the territory limited by the Napo River to the north, and the Curaray to the south, within the limits of the provinces of Pastaza, Orellana, and Napo. The Ecuadorian state currently recognizes 687,000 hectares as constituting Waorani territory (Lara et al. 2002:9). The Waorani population is estimated at approximately 2,000 individuals (Lu and Sorensen 2013). Tiwino is found in the extreme northwest of province of Pastaza, in the Curaray parish of Arajuno

canton, on the border with the province of Orellana. The population has built their dwellings between the oil wells Tiwino 1, 5, and 6, around roads that offer automobile access to the wells, and near the margins of the Tiwino River, on waters navigable by small watercraft. The community is found at the end of the Auca road, the roadway constructed to facilitate oil drilling. It adjoins another community known as Tiwino Colono, together with the encampment of the Petrobell oil company, and a police checkpoint.

The Waorani were the last indigenous group to be colonized and integrated into Ecuadorian society. There are two moments that have had a strong impact on the life of this community. The first was put into effect by members of the evangelical organization Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and the second was brought on by oil companies.

In this project, I view process of evangelization and activities conducted by oil companies in Waorani territory as a new form of colonization, as well as the continuation of a colonial process that started 500 years ago, when the Spanish came to South America in search of resources and introduced new social, economic, and cultural practices that drastically altered the local cultures, ecology, and the environment. Even though oil extraction has a different modality, and is carried out by corporations and the state, it shares similar goals, namely to bring benefits to outside economies at the expense of local economies, territories, and ways of life (Acosta 2013; Gudynas 2013; Machado 2011; Alimonda 2011). Following Acosta (2013), extractivist activities are those that remove large quantities of natural resources, which are not locally processed, but instead exported: “Extractivism is a mode of accumulation that started to be established on a massive scale 500 years ago. The world economy—the capitalist system—began to be structured with the conquest and colonization of the Americas, Africa, and Asia” (Acosta 2013:62),

and continues operating in a way that affects indigenous territories and livelihoods in the present day (Gudynas 2013).

The Summer Institute of Linguistics and the evangelization of the Waorani

The SIL is a North American scientific organization, founded in 1934, dedicated to the study of indigenous languages, and whose members belonged to different evangelical groups. At that time its mission was to translate the Bible and effectuate bilingual literacy programs. The SIL arrived in Ecuador in 1952. At that moment it was already carrying out activities in other Latin American countries, with other Amazonian groups. Before contact with the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the 1950s, the Waorani lived without permanent association with either Ecuadorian society or other neighboring groups. For years they occupied areas far away from the large rivers that came to be trafficked over time by colonists and rubber plantation workers, who threatened their autonomy and territory. They were nomadic, living in groups composed of families amply distant from one another.

The evangelization of, and first permanent contact between, the Waorani and outsiders occurred in 1958. SIL missionaries convinced Dayuma Caento, a Waorani woman who was living as a worker on a *hacienda* near Waorani territory, to return to the forest where she had lived as a child and help the missionary-linguists relocate her relatives to a permanent settlement, teach them to live as Christians, and translate the Bible into their native tongue (Cabodevilla 1994). When the SIL initiated the evangelization they determined four Waorani groups that amounted to around 500 people spread over approximately 20,000 km² (Yost 1985). The missionaries converted Dayuma's group in 1959, while other groups were converted in the following years (Cabodevilla 1994). The SIL, leveraging the increasing demand by the Waorani for goods they did not produce themselves, such as axes, machetes, and metal cooking pots, was able to

concentrate them in the town of Tihueno, founded in 1959 on the shores of the river of the same name (Cabodevilla 1994; Yost 1985). This became the first community conceived in such a way and was the original site of the concentration of the Wao population. It was there that the process of transculturation and religious conversion began.

Dayuma was the intermediary and principal figure in this process, which marked the history of the Wao people. When she returned to her group she possessed two essential advantages: 1) the knowledge of the ways of living, behaviors, and customs of the foreigners, and 2) a thoroughly favorable level of relations with them (Yost 1985). This situation placed her in the role of intermediary in the process of conversion as well. According to Yost (1985), the power acquired by Dayuma Caento in this context created a new form of leadership in the community, different from the traditional circumstantial and gender-equal leadership that prevailed before contact with the SIL.

During the years of contact with the SIL (from 1958 to 1982)³ and the evangelical conversion, the Waorani saw a transformation of their demographics, material culture, social and political organization, subsistence patterns, and vision of the world. They went from being a socioeconomically autonomous ethnic group to being dependent on goods and services that they could not produce by their own means (Yost 1985). They became sedentary. They changed their hunting and fishing patterns, making use of firearms. The evangelical missionaries were able to greatly change them as a people and leave the path open to future relations with other indigenous groups, the mestizo population, the Ecuadorian state, other religious groups, adventurers, researchers, NGOs, and tourism, as well as lumber and oil companies (Yost 1985).

³SIL officially began its work in Ecuador in 1958, and the presidential decree of 1982 ended a great part of its activity in Waorani territory and Ecuador (Rival 1996).

The intrusion of the oil companies in Waorani territory

The drilling of oil in the Ecuadorian Amazon constitutes a determining factor in the colonization of Waorani territory and was the source of profound environmental and sociocultural changes (Kimerling 2013; Rival 1992). From 1920 until the end of the 1940s, the Ecuadorian government granted various concessions for oil exploration to transnational companies (Acción Ecológica 2006:18). During this period, the oil companies that explored the Amazon did not have any significant impact on the Waorani people. However, there are stories of attacks against Shell company employees that were exploring the headwaters of the Napo and Curaray rivers, as well as attacks carried out by company workers in order to facilitate exploration (Naranjo 1994:37; Cabodevilla 1994). The Waorani defended their territory from intruders for centuries. They were the only group in the Ecuadorian Amazon known to have survived the rubber boom of the first half of the 20th century as free people (Cabodevilla 1994; Kimerling 2013).

In 1967 the Texaco-Gulf consortium found large hydrocarbon reserves in the northeastern Ecuadorian Amazon and constructed a 513 km oil pipeline with a capacity to transport 250,000 barrels daily from the Amazon region, across the Andes Mountains to the Pacific coast (Acción Ecológica 2006: 18, 19, 20; Kimerling 2013). In August 1972 the consortium conducted the first extraction of oil in the Ecuadorian Amazon, which gave way to the country's oil era (Kimerling 2013; Naranjo 1994:155). At the beginning of this period the majority of the Waorani population was living in the evangelical community of Tihueno. In Narváez's account (Narváez 1996:38), the oil companies that wound up operating in Waorani territory (Esso Hispano Oil in Block 8, Petrocanada in Block 9, the Braspetrol-Aquitame-Britoil consortium in block 17) were able to do so thanks to the sedentary lifestyle and evangelization produced by the SIL.

Oil extraction and the creation of the Tiwino community

As a consequence of the oil boom, in 1972 the Texaco Company opened the Tiwino oil field. The field is a grouping of installations, wells, teams, and sites that make the production of hydrocarbons possible. Its location corresponds to the province of Pastaza, in the Arajuno canton and Curaray parish (covering a total area of 80,000 hectares, partially within Waorani territory). This field opened in the area from which Babe Ima, the ancestral leader of the Tiwino community, and his group had originally been taken to the evangelical community in 1969. They were mobilized to facilitate the extraction of oil in what had been their ancestral territory. Cabodevilla (1994: 392, 403) mentions that in that year, during Cepe-Texaco's explorations to the south of the Napo River, some laborers crossed paths with Babe's group, who violently interrupted their work. At that time the oil companies already had relations with the SIL. They created a strategic alliance in order to progress with hydrocarbon exploration, the former organization advantage of the fact that the latter were the only ones who had successfully made contact with Waorani groups. Years later the Tiwino community was created around the wells of this oil field. The Waorani tell that the origin of the settlement dates back to the 1980s, when they abandoned the settlement known as Golondrina.

To understand how Tiwino was created, it is important to discuss events related to the life of Babe Ima and his family, because they founded the current permanent settlement of Tiwino in their ancestral territory, after it was occupied by oil companies. Babe's group left the evangelical settlement formed by SIL following a polio epidemic in order to establish Golondrina. They later relocated from this settlement and founded Tiwino (Cabodevilla 1994, 2007). The people I spoke to do not remember the exact date where they relocated. Cabodevilla (2007) situates it in 1988, and Rival (1992: 150), in 1989. There is also no consensus as to the motivations that provoked the

abandonment of Golondrina and the creation of Tiwino. Based on the testimony recovered from the late Babe and his wife Olga, it is known that their son Cuwemo died in Golondrina after being attacked by a boa constrictor while swimming in the river, and his body was later found on a beach. This episode constituted the principal motive for abandoning the settlement: “If my son had not turned up dead we would still be living in Golondrina, because there we had planted enough yucca and plantains” (Olga). Babe and Olga maintain that the death was caused by curses sent by Kichwa witches. Additionally, they had learned from the mouths of those same witches that the entire family was to be cursed.

Furthermore, another reason for Babe to leave Golondrina was that he was already aware that a roadway was going to be opened up in his family’s ancestral territory. This roadway is known as the Auca road. Constructed in 1979, it was a second-class road that began in Coca, crossing Waorani territory until arriving at the Cononaco oil encampment, very close to the Shiripuno River, and extending to the Tiwino River, where another oil field had been laid down. Babe knew very well that the roadways brought with them outsiders of all kinds, which is exactly what happened. Since the area of Tiwino is considered by the Ima family as their ancestral territory, Babe felt that it was up to him and his family to come out in its defense, confront the colonists, fight for the land, and put up barriers to stop the colonists from going deeper, even at the cost of his own life.

Babe left Golondrina together with Yety, his sister Ene’s husband. Yety told me that Babe planned for and encouraged his family to go live in Tiwino, near the roadway, since for him it was clear that they were running the risk of losing their territory. Babe recounted that when he arrived, together with Yety, in the area where Tiwino is currently located, he found that settler families had already occupied his ancestral terrain. For the first time, he saw coffee and cacao crops on his

land, and wells and oil encampments that the outsiders had constructed. He saw soldiers and the roadway that led to the Tiwino River. At that time, the state oil company, Cepe, which had acquired Gulf stock in 1976, operated in the Tiwino field. In 1992 Texaco left Ecuadorian territory and the state-run company Petroecuador assumed exploration and extraction. In the same year the Tiwino oil field came to be operated by that company. In 1998 the government of Jamil Mahuad opened five oil fields operated by Petroecuador that yielded marginal production—that is to say less than 1% of national production—for international bidding (Almeida 2005). Tiwino was one of those marginal oil fields handed over in the first round of bidding to the Colombian company Petrocol (Almeida 2005). Since the year 2000 the field has been under the control of the Colombian company Petrobell.

Babe remembered that he fought to expel the settlers from his territory, but they resisted abandoning their houses and crops: “I put annatto on my face, I tied my hair up with string, and without clothing, *durani bay*, I went to scare the settlers in their homes.” Olga commented that the settlers fled terrified, thinking that numerous Waorani had come to kill them. However, it was only Babe, Yety, and their wives.

When I spoke to Babe, to contextualize the reasons for which he expelled the settlers, he told me, “It was all *chakras* (crop fields), houses, animals, bananas. If I were to go to Quito and take a piece of land and build a house and start to live there, you’re not going to like it. You’re going to talk and you’re going to say, ‘What business do you have in coming here?’ And we thought the same thing.”

The Tiwino community was initially composed of the families of the couples Babe-Olga and Yety-Ene. In subsequent years other groups of grandparents arrived with their children and grandchildren. The community is currently composed of the four pairs of interrelated

grandparents, and their children, spouses, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. The inhabitants of Tiwino have some link of kinship with the four families and recognize the ancestral leadership of the Ima family, headed in previous years by the now deceased Babe.

General characteristics of Tiwino

According to information supplied by staff of the Health Center of Tiwino, and based on the last community census in 2012, there were 227 inhabitants and 40 families registered. Most of the population of children, adolescents, and young adults has some level of education and are bilingual (in Waorani and Spanish). The adult and elderly population, especially the women, speak for the most part only Waorani.

The oil companies, in exchange for the possibility of operating in Tiwino, were tasked by the Ecuadorian government and local leaders with bringing modernity and western culture to the community by means of healthcare, education, living spaces, services, and infrastructure. In the last few years, owing to the change in the country's oil policy, the Ecuadorian state has been charged with bringing modern living in exchange for income generated by oil extracted in the Amazon.

As for infrastructure and Western services, the community possesses running water, although untreated, provided by the oil company, and electricity from the public grid. They lack a sewage system. Since the year 2000 they have had a health center, run by the Orellana Province Department of Health, which provides permanent primary health care. In addition, they can make use of the oil company's medical dispensary in cases of emergency.

The community has a primary school founded by the state oil company CEPE, in addition to a junior high school. The two establishments are public and receive aid from the oil company. In 2012 they had a total of 13 teachers and 130 students (85 in the elementary school and 45 in the

secondary).

The services provided by the company, added to the growing forms of commerce established by the colonists, along with education and healthcare, continue to mold the new way of life for the Waorani of Tiwino. Access to remunerations, bonuses, and salaries, either from oil drilling, the sale of handicrafts, or tourism (and years earlier, the sale of wood), has made it easier for families to obtain necessary food, bringing profound changes to the daily diet. Access to remunerations has also brought the possibility of access to consumer items such as electrical appliances, cell phones, and more, which have provoked changes in Waorani customs and social organization.

Current political organization, oil, and the role of men

The Waorani, as an indigenous nationality, created an organizational structure in 1990 with the purpose of having an entity, which could legally dialogue with oil companies, the state, and the different institutions, which intervene in their territories, and defend the rights of their people. This structure was initially given the name Organization of the Huaorani Nation of the Ecuadorian Amazon (OHNAE in Spanish), affiliated with the Confederation of Indigenous Nations of Ecuador (CONAIE in Spanish).

With the forming of the OHNAE, the Waorani began a process of radical change away from their traditional political structures, based on familial clans, where leadership was circumstantial—which is to say, nobody enjoyed constant power, and there was gender equality with respect to leadership (Yost 1985; Rival 1992). The OHNAE, established with a legally recognized charter and whose posts have generally been occupied by men, has become the “voice” of the communities. This organization has found itself in unfavorable and unbalanced situations with difficult negotiation processes, especially with oil companies and other institutions

that have, one way or another, intervened in their territories. The organization has suffered from a constant process of internal conflict, resulting in its directives regularly having problems finishing on time and reaching their objectives. Recently the organization changed its name to the Waorani Nation of the Ecuadorian Amazon (NAWE in Spanish). The central offices are located in the city of Puyo, in the province of Pastaza.

Tiwino, as a community, is structured around familial relationships, where families are the basic social group. The political structure of the community is ordered and centered on the extended family and the male leadership of the Ima family. At the same time, Tiwino has an additional formal, legally recognized political structure, or *directiva*. This *directiva* makes decisions for the community, which must be approved by the leaders, since they have greater influence than the *directiva*. The activities that the *directiva* realizes generally consist of representing the community before governmental institutions, NGOs, and principally before the oil company in order to make complaints; petition for construction, work, and production projects; sign agreements; etc. The posts of the *directiva* are generally, although not always, occupied by men, since they have better access to formal education and greater knowledge of Spanish than the women.

The oil companies have fortified the leadership of men. Since they were the ones who, in the role of warriors, violently opposed oil drilling operations, the companies have granted them the power to negotiate and decide overall what oil drilling means for the community: development, modernity, capital, salaried work, use of territory and resources, etc. Unlike what happened with the intermediary Waorani women at the time of evangelical conversion in Tiwino, men are currently the intermediaries with the oil companies and the Ecuadorian state, and therefore the ones who have accumulated power and leadership roles in the community. This has

created an imbalance in both gender roles and community relations. Evangelization and oil drilling have introduced differences in gender to the Waorani community where they didn't exist before.

If one follows the decolonial feminist María Lugones (2014), the Eurocentric capitalism established by the colonization of pre-Columbian America introduced previously non-existent gender differences into certain indigenous communities, which formerly had conceived of gender in an egalitarian manner and not in terms that wound up being imposed upon them. Additionally, “The system of gender imposed by colonialism encompassed the subjugation of women in every aspect of life” (Lugones 2014: 64). Following these reflections, one can infer that the extraction of oil and the consequent need to rely on hierarchical decision-making structures, the rise in salaried work, and the creation of the divide between public and private sectors gave birth to the political and economic subordination of women in the Waorani community. However, this situation has awoken in these women the need to organize themselves independently. They created the Association of Waorani Women of the Ecuadorian Amazon (AMWAE in Spanish) in the decade of the 2000s. This group's purpose is to confront extractivism, help women to organize, and look for alternative female economies, distinct from the income provided by work for oil companies, such as the making of handicrafts and the cultivation of organic cacao. In the present day the elaboration of crafts to be sold at market has become popular among the female population. This practice is promoted by AMWAE, which is responsible for sale in stores in Puyo and Coca. The families consider the money raised by this activity important income.

Economic activities

The community's economy has mixed characteristics: it is based on traditional subsistence and reciprocity activities together with activities integrated with the market economy, such as salaried work and the sale of goods and services. Traditionally, the Waorani have been a society of hunting, gathering, and horticulture. In spite of the changes experienced in recent years, in the present day the population of Tiwino still depends on these activities, in addition to fishing. Hunting is principally carried out by men, while agriculture is undertaken by women and not destined for the marketplace. Both men and women take part in fishing. However, in Waorani society, the division of labor is not rigid, and men as well as women may perform activities generally carried out by the opposite sex (Rival 1996a). Some families have taken to seasonally raising poultry and fish in pools, which they use for self-consumption and sale. They do not raise animals such as swine, cattle, or horses, as their colonist neighbors do. They sporadically sell jungle animals, either alive or for their meat.

Tiwino is a visible manifestation of the acculturation process, a place where sedentary living has gained ground. Although it is still possible to live from hunting, fishing, and produce from *chakras*, their economic model has transformed due to notable dependency on the wage labor in oil companies. They have arrived at agreements, understandings, or simply verbal arrangements with these companies that enable them to access capital and other material, technical, and financial resources. As opposed to the situation before 2008, new state policies regulating the relations between the community and the oil company have resulted in the latter eliminating certain benefits such as welfare for the elderly and support in other areas. The change in the relationship between the company and the community, and the negative effects of oil extraction in the community, have been the motive for several protests by the Waorani of Tiwino

and Bataboro village. The most recent was in January 2015⁴, when Waorani of Bataboro attacked the encampment of the Petrobell oil company.

Tourist activity, which was important years ago, has nearly disappeared, owing to the forced removal of the tourism company by pressure exercised on the part of the Waorani. The felling and sale of lumber, which years before was one of the principal incomes, fortunately is entirely prohibited. Wage labor in oil companies, tourism lumber and selling game are activities mainly carried out by men.

Owing to the intense changes that the community is experiencing from the exhaustion of the forest's resources, the contamination of the water and soil by oil drilling, the scarce opportunities for paid work, and the lack of sustainable economic alternatives, the Waorani of Tiwino, in the not-so-distant future, will have to face intense economic problems which will place them in a never before experienced situation of marginality.

⁴<http://www.elcomercio.com/actualidad/tiguino-petrobell-trabajadores-petroleo-ecuador.html>;
<http://www.elcomercio.com/actualidad/ecuador-recuperacion-campo-petrolero.html>

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL LENS AND LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I will use a Feminist Political Ecology (FPE) approach with some elements of Decolonial Feminism (DF) to examine how the oil industry affects gender relations and teen pregnancy in the Waorani community of Tiwino. I will also analyze gender relations prior to the presence of this industry, to address how it is affecting gender relations, and the pregnancy of adolescent girls.

First, I will use the classical framework of FPE to investigate how the political ecology of a place is mediated by gender, and how it affects gender relations and roles. Second, I will use concepts about the body from the field of FPE to understand how gender relations, economic, social and cultural change, and modernity are embodied, and how these affect women's bodies, the experience of femininity, and teen pregnancy. Third, I will use Decolonial Feminism to approach how gender is constructed as part of a modern/colonial system that is represented by oil exploitation activity in the Waorani community. With this framework, I will show how oil pipes go not only through the ground of the Waorani territory and forest—but also how they metaphorically transgress the bodies of women in the community. I will situate the teen body as a symbolic ground in which the politics of the environment take effect.

Teen pregnancy has become a controversial issue in Ecuador. Various institutions, organizations, activists, and professionals have expressed concern, conducted studies, and developed and implemented preventative projects and programs. In the eyes of the government, many NGOs, and feminist development discourse, teen pregnancy is considered a problem

related to teenagers' lack of sexual and reproductive rights, lack of education, and lack of knowledge about and access to contraceptives. Nevertheless, I would argue that this theme has not been analyzed from a perspective that combines oil exploitation (that shapes the country's economy), modernization/colonization, gender changes, exploitation of women, and their bodies. This perspective will be my contribution.

Feminist Political Ecology: definitions, framework and genealogy

Feminist Political Ecology (FPE) emerged as an academic field in the 1990s, as a feminist critique of sustainable development and post-structural feminist critique and expansion of Political Ecology (Rocheleau and Nirmal 2014). An important event was the publication of the book, *Feminist Political Ecology*, edited by Dianne Rocheleau, Barbara Thomas-Slayter and Esther Wangari in 1996. It put together and analyzed the findings and questions generated by a diverse range of feminist scholars and activists involved with gender, women and development, environment issues, and eco-feminism.

However, there is currently a wide stream of thought and praxis in Feminist Political Ecology that covers a variety of themes in academia, activism, and advocacy. In its beginnings, FPE claimed that gender was a critical variable in shaping the relationships between people and environments, interacting with class, caste, race, culture, and ethnicity. Scholars sought to understand and interpret local experiences in the context of the global process of environmental and economic change (Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, and Wangari 1996). In its first stage, Feminist Political Ecology's theoretical framework links three themes in order to understand how gender influences interact with the environment, and how the political ecology of a place affects gender relations: 1) Gendered science of survival, 2) Gendered environmental rights and responsibilities,

and 3) Gendered environmental politics and grassroots activism (Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, and Wangari 1996).

The first theme, gendered science of survival, makes reference to gendered knowledge that is the product of everyday actions for creation, maintenance, and protection of healthy environments at home, work, and in regional ecosystems. Women, while exposed to different political and economic systems, may be involved in commercial activities while also being responsible for managing the needs of everyday life, such as food, water, fuel, clothing, taking care of children, and attending to family members' health (Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, and Wangari 1996).

The second theme, gendered environmental rights and responsibilities, refers to the legal and customary rights governing women's and men's access to, and control of, resources. This theme suggests that it is important to ask who controls and determines the rights over resources, environmental quality, and the definition of what is a desirable and healthy environment. It also recognizes that rights to environmental access and control are gendered, as are responsibilities for procuring and managing resources in the home and community. Besides the gendered division of resources, there is also a gendered division of power to preserve, protect, replace, rehabilitate, and restore environments and to regulate the actions of others (Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, and Wangari 1996).

The third theme, gendered environmental politics and grassroots activism, claims that environmental issues are inherently political, and decisions related to the environment are not politically neutral. Current global ecological circumstances, the impact of structural adjustment policies on women, and the political marginalization of the majority of women have been

shaping women's environmental activist movements, which place women as the protagonists of environmental struggles (Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, and Wangari 1996).

From this first and "classic" stage of FPE, I would like to address the main ideas in order to analyze the ways in which oil exploitation has a gendered dimension in the community and how that affects men and women differently. There are three ways in which oil exploitation generates gender differences that are embodied in teen pregnancy:

1. Insertion in wage labor
2. Insertion in formal education
3. Modernization of the community

Since oil exploitation in Waorani territory and Tiwino began, a whole new way of life has been introduced. Insertion in wage labor has produced power inequalities between men and women and new forms of modern adulthood. The dominance of men working in oil companies has situated them in a position to acquire money, thus relegating women to the traditional domestic sphere. While men are working and earning a salary, women are expected to take care of children and the household, a distribution of work that did not exist before. This labor division, introduced by oil extractivism, causes power differences between men and women, and produces unequal access to new economic resources, trends that never previously affected the Waorani. Furthermore, oil companies negotiate only with men, introducing a power dynamic in which men have more power to negotiate land, territory, and resources.

The FPE framework helps us understand how Waorani women are exposed to a different political economy than men, situating them in a position of managing the needs of everyday life for the domestic household, while men are more involved in the public sphere. This distinction causes power differences, but at the same time, it situates women in a different role regarding oil

and timber exploitation. For instance, Waorani women have created their own organization, ANMWAE, as a response, and alternative, to oil exploitation. These women have argued that oil exploitation affects them differently and makes them more vulnerable than men, because they must take care of children affected by water and air polluted by the oil activity. They also suffer from the decrease of game around the community due to the presence of oil activity. Additionally, women living close to the oil roads and work complexes are victims of harassment from oil workers.

The relationship between wage labor and formal education has also created a change in cultural notions of adulthood. Before oil exploitation (and the trappings of modernity it brought), the Waorani got married when they were ready to build a house, maintain a crop, hunt, and fish without the help of their parents. Now, in the context of oil exploitation, the Waorani say they are adults (who are ready to get married and have children) when they have finished secondary school, have a paid job, and can manage all the traditional survival practices. In this new context, being a teen mother is a problem that didn't exist before. Traditionally, teen pregnancy was (and still is) accepted when it happens within marriage, otherwise, outside of marriage, it was seen as a problem (and continues to be seen as a problem today). Nevertheless, now that men are privileged to better access wage labor and education, teen pregnancy inside or outside of marriage has situated women at a great disadvantage to men.

Oil exploitation in the community has been negotiated with Waorani leaders as a way to bring modernization to the community. First were the companies who provided water pipes, concrete buildings, community infrastructure, and who supported public education and provided western healthcare. Now the government, which turned extractivist politics toward a post-neoliberal project, has accepted the role of modernization. Community modernization, along

with oil exploitation, has brought large numbers of men to work on these projects. These workers are taking advantage of teenagers' lack of education, access to work, and money, creating damaging sexual dynamics of body commodification among adolescent women. These women exchange sex for material objects or money. These activities have resulted in several teen pregnancy cases in the community.

I define the exchange of sex for money between adolescent women and workers as body commodification because it is a way to access to economic resources in a setting of material and monetary scarcity. This context was created around the Waorani beginning with their insertion into the market economy. Women's bodies have acquired a certain value, which is to provide access to money and material objects that Waorani do not produce by themselves. To Sharp (2000), the human body (and its parts) has long been a target for commodification in several ways, and prostitution is one of them.

Lock (2002) argues that all forms of commodification involve a complex interaction of temporal, cultural, social, and political factors. The body is not originally a commodity, but it may become commodified. Therefore it is important to consider how, and under what conditions, bodies accrue value. Following Nguyen and Peschard (2003), although there is a debate as to whether sex work represents a form of commodification, it does appear that increased inequality facilitates the exchange of sex for access to economic resources. Materialism intensifies the commodification of the body, and deepened inequalities that have emerged under the sign of globalization call attention to the increasing status of the body as product (Nguyen and Peschard 2003). In the Waorani community of Tiwino, the expansion of a global market economy introduced the use of money, which is not accessible to all the villagers, and engendered the

commodification of teenagers' bodies in order to satisfy women's economic necessities. This is one of the causes of teen pregnancy.

FPE, body politics, embodiment, sexuality and reproduction

Following Harcourt & Nelson (n.d.), and Rocheleau & Nirmal (2014), there is a second stage, or new Feminist Political Ecology, engaged with a variety of theories, such as Poststructuralism and Science and Technology studies, that problematize human subjectivity and gender subjectivity. New perspectives in the field of gender and environment are also embedded with the politics of knowledge production, which include discussion about the division between theory and practice. In this stage, questions arise regarding how theoretical approaches to problems help in the face of real-world urgent environmental issues. There are also questions about how categories of analysis emerge and how the subjects and objects of gender and environment theory have been constituted (Hawkins and Ojeda 2011).

For the purpose of this work, an important aspect of FPE to take into account is the discussion of the body. In paying attention to the body, FPE has examined how gender, race, class, and other categories are made concrete through spatial and social practices (Hawkins and Ojeda 2011). Wendy Harcourt focuses on the body to gain an understanding of gender, race, nature, and culture, observing the connection between environment and body in networked relations of power (Hawkins and Ojeda 2011; Rocheleau and Nirmal 2014).

For Harcourt (Harcourt 2009), it is important to address the debate in feminist literature around the need to go beyond essentialism, or reducing women and men to an essence determined by their biological, maternal, or procreative sexual functions. The female body is not as straightforward as it appears; it is a highly complex category constructed in sexual scientific discourses and other social practices, and gender relations are inscribed on bodies. When taken

into account, this statement helps us understand how the teen body is constructed by public health discourse, development discourse, and also how it is shaped by gender relations that are linked to social, economic, and environmental changes in the Waorani community.

Following Harcourt (2009), particular aspects of female embodiment (such as pregnancy, rape, and aging) become privileged sites of significance bearing on how female experience is lived and changed. In order to understand the body in its physical and social particularities, it must be conceived not as an object, but as a subject central to power, gender, and culture. As Harcourt notes, “Recognizing the fleshy bodies of women—in birth, breast feeding, menstruating, their material experience of sex, pregnancy, violation, rape—and thus bringing the experience of bodies into political discourses” (Harcourt 2009: 24). These ideas suggest that teen pregnancy in Tiwino is embedded with power, gender, culture, and environmental dynamics, and social change.

According to Harcourt (2009), social, economic, and environmental changes lead to alterations of reproductive behavior and sexuality. For example, adolescence can be understood as a relatively new life stage in most cultures; even in the West it has a history of only a hundred years. In other cultures exposed to development, adolescence has been introduced, along with other cultural changes, through the process of modernization. In cultures where adolescence is introduced by of modernity, that period can be troubling: “Young people can escape many areas of responsibility during these new years of transition from childhood to adulthood, while not being catered to successfully by the new institutions of the state. For young women in particular, this can have bad consequences, as active sexual lives, unacknowledged by parents or other authorities, can lead to pregnancies, which might prevent them from succeeding in other areas of life” (Harcourt 1997).

A similar situation is happening in Tiwino, where oil exploitation and formal education, as well public health programs, are introducing a new period between childhood and adulthood that didn't exist before. Some Waorani women are going through a period of adolescence that their mothers did not experience because they transitioned directly from childhood to adulthood. Currently, Waorani women are experiencing adolescence while oil and construction workers commodify their bodies, taking advantage of their lack of money, clothes, shoes, and other necessities, all of which were created by modernity (this issue will be developed in the next chapter). It is paradoxical that a modern/colonial project of the State and oil companies, which has brought adolescence and its associated problems to these young women, also provides public health programs to prevent teen pregnancy, but does not address the structural causes of the issue.

Following Harcourt (2009), I would like to introduce the idea that the female body is not only a site of normalization and commodification, but also a site of resistance, where social norms of being female are inscribed. The body is a site of contestation in a series of economic, political, and sexual struggles. That is the case of the Waorani women who decided to create their own organization, AMAWE, to confront oil exploitation. These women argue that they have suffered from extractivism in a different way than men due only to the fact that they are women.

FPE and the decolonial turn

The second stage of FPE is engaged with the decolonial turn and indigeneity (Rocheleau and Nirmal 2014; Harcourt and Nelson), which problematize the geopolitics of knowledge production and accept the epistemic status of different kinds of knowledge as equal and authoritative, like the well-recognized *diálogo de saberes* (a dialog of ways of knowing and

being in different worlds, including more than the human world). It also considers other developmental alternatives, such as the *Buen Vivir*, analyzing the pertinence of the appropriation and transportation of these concepts to places far away from their sites of conception (Rocheleau and Nirmal 2014; Harcourt and Nelson).

Decolonial FPE also problematizes gender concepts, from intersectional perspectives that recognize the entanglement of patriarchy, racialized processes, and colonialism (Rocheleau and Nirmal 2014). Following this line of analysis, I will use concepts of decolonial feminism from Latin America to analyze how gender and inequalities are constructed in the Waorani community by oil exploitation, which operates as a sort of colonization.

Decolonial feminism

Decolonial feminism in Latin America is rooted in academia and social movements as an answer to European Anglo-Saxon feminism, which has universalized ideas about feminism, women, gender, and patriarchy (Espinoza Miñoso, Gómez Correal, Ochoa Muñoz 2014). The category of gender must be analyzed in its relationship with the process of colonization, with gender being entangled in the modern/colonial system (Lugones 2014). Following Lugones (2013), during the colonial intrusion in what is now Latin America, it was indigenous men who were given much more extensive power than they used to have, since they were the ones to negotiate with white European men, and are now negotiating with the nation state. The nation state reinforced patriarchal hierarchies and women were relegated to the domestic sphere, where their political agency was reduced.

In the Waorani community, gender differences and inequalities are being introduced by social, economic, and cultural dynamics related to oil exploitation and modernization that serve as forms of colonization. Oil exploitation has created a new political force that privileges men.

Furthermore, it has created hierarchical differences between men and women relating to the use of, access to, and decisions regarding resources.

Decolonial feminists, such as Bethy Ruth Lozano (Lozano Lerma 2014), propose that we should consider gender from a non-western viewpoint that goes beyond the Eurocentric dualist perspective. This view claims that there is not just one feminism, but multiple, diverse feminisms—as diverse as we women are. Lozano (2014) argues that gender has been encapsulated as an ethnocentric category that does not consider other cultural forms of thinking about the body. The Waorani have a different ontology of men and women’s bodies. For example, women’s bodies and blood are considered linked with the forest and territory, and do not have a negative connotation. Questions to consider are: Is this body ontology the origin, and cause of, the non-hierarchical gender relations that existed before oil exploitation and modernity? How are oil exploitation and modernity also changing the ontology of women’s bodies? In the ritual of burying the placenta (present also in Colombian black communities on the Pacific coast) in ants’ nests, Waorani women’s bodies are linked to the territory, and the placenta is given as a special gift to the ants. How is this “local model of nature” (Escobar 2008) that connects the female body with the terrain changing as a result of oil exploitation and modernity?

CHAPTER 3: TEEN PREGNANCY AMONG WAORANI IN THE CONTEXT OF OIL EXPLOITATION

In this chapter, based on ethnographic interviews with members of the community including parents, grandparents, young adults, community leaders; and informants outside the community, such as Waorani general organization leaders and women's organization leaders; and my own observations, I will address the main research questions that guided my research:

1. What are the social determinants of teen pregnancy in Tiwino?
2. Is teen pregnancy a traditional pattern in Tiwino?
 - 2.1. Is teen pregnancy supported by the family?
 - 2.2. How are adolescence and adulthood conceived by Waorani people?
3. What is the relation of teen pregnancy with insertion into the market economy, oil exploitation, gender role changes, and incorporation into formal education?

Teen pregnancy in Tiwino is related to traditional patterns of marriage in late adolescence. Nevertheless, it is currently influenced by a context of oil exploitation and its correlation with development and modernity. Before the evangelization and appearance of oil companies in their territory, and in the current day, women began to have children before 19 years of age, within socially recognized marriages arranged by older members of the community. Teen pregnancy in the community currently takes place both within, and outside of, marriage. Some teenage women have children while in marriages arranged by elders, and others do so while in marriages they arranged themselves, or while living with a partner, and others do so

while single. The latter occur either due to romantic love or to exchange sex for money patronized by men from outside the locality who are involved in the oil industry and community development (primarily in construction). Due to acculturation, sedentarization, wage labor, formal education, and changes in family formation, teen pregnancy is currently experienced in a different manner than it was before the time of colonization.

While the data for this chapter are qualitative, and based on the attitudes and opinions of people interviewed, data provided by the staff of the Tiwino Public Health Center show the composition of the population according to age groups and the number of teenagers in the community in 2014:

Table 1: Tiwino Population by age groups, census Tiwino Health Center, 2014

Children	Number	Teenagers (10-19 years)	Number	Adults	Number	TOTAL
<1 year	11	10 -14 years	29	20-35 years	72	
1-4 years	27	15 – 19 years	27	36-49 years	14	
5-9 years	29			50-64 years	11	
				>65 years	4	
Total	67	Total	56	Total	101	224

It was not possible to obtain data pertaining to teen pregnancy in Tiwino in 2014, so I will instead present data from 2012. In that year, Tiwino Healthcare providers registered a total of 227 inhabitants and 40 families. There were 62 adolescents (aging from 10 to 19 years of age, according to the Ecuadorian Ministry of Health’s definition), of whom 29 were men and 33 were women. Twelve teenage women pregnant or with children were recorded (37% of the total population of teenage women in Tiwino). Seven of them were married or living together with their partner (21%), while five were single mothers, and / or pregnant (15%) (RIOS 2012).

Waorani traditional marriage and teen pregnancy

In the past, during the time of *duranis* [ancient Waorani], families lived in big *malocas* [longhouses], separated from one another, and they took care of single girls. Families came into contact with each other mainly during celebrations, and it was there that people got married” (G.E., elder Waorani female).

Before evangelization in 1958 we see that Waorani extended families used to live in an isolated manner. Single people and potential couples were distant from one another, and they were married off during festivities when elders made the decision that they should be together (Rival 1996).

Adult women who got married and had their first children before the beginning of oil exploitation and development told me that, at the time, parents or grandparents arranged the marriages. Marriage alliances were organized without the intervention of the bride and groom. The groom’s parents made a visit to the bride’s parents’ house, generally in the evening. If both grandparents, or parents, agreed to the marriage, the wedding took place during the harvest festivities of *chonta* [peach palm], *yuca* [manioc], *plátano* [plantain], or *maní* [peanuts]. These women also mention that when they were young, it was the norm to wait to have sexual relations until after marriage, without a phase of pre-marriage courtship. Furthermore, it was not common to have children out of wedlock.

Before they got married first, and now everything has changed. The first kid is born when the mother is single. I think it’s because of how the people from outside are changing everything. Before it wasn’t like that. Now they’re not the same. Now, just like the people from outside, they fall in love and have children in secret. They get pregnant in secret and later they get married. I think it should go back to the way it used to be, because I see that so many of them are coming back like the people from outside, and for me this is very bad. I have a bad opinion of this. Before, they didn’t know how to become single mothers. This didn’t happen before. In other times, before having a child, a mother had to plant a *chakra* so that her child could later come to harvest what the mother planted, for food. They knew how to do this (G.E., elder Waorani female).

During family encounters at festivities, the bride and groom were seated in a hammock while older men and women sang around them and gave them advice for their future lives. After this rite, they were allowed to start a household and family together. Parents' expectations were that women and men were ready to get married when they mastered subsistence activities such as agriculture, hunting, fishing, and house building, all of which were necessary to maintain a family. Recently married couples would wait several years before having children, during which time they worked hard cultivating manioc and plantain crops. Women recount that this form of marriage existed before contact with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and the beginning of oil exploitation, however, one cannot account for the extent to which these descriptions of marriage may have been influenced by Christian ideals, such as the prohibition of sex before marriage.

Laura Rival (1996), who did extensive fieldwork in a Waorani community in late 1980s and early 1990s⁵, gives a description of a traditional Waorani wedding ceremony, emphasizing that the bride and groom did not choose each other or intervene in the arrangement process. It was the families that chose the best partners in order to strengthen alliances between the families.

Huane and Hueica's wedding, celebrated a few years ago, was a traditional marriage. The future husband and wife were suddenly presented to each other by their grandparents during a large celebration with drink of yucca. Huane [the husband]'s parents were unaware and weren't even present at the ceremony. Since Huane's older sister had married Hueica's brother a few years earlier, the wedding with Hueica was "good"; it reaffirmed an alliance between the two groups that had had no previous relations. Huane and Hueica weren't cross cousins; the decisive factor in this case was that two weddings – with the possibility of a third in the future – united two familial groups in the same generation (Rival 1996: 124.)

Huane was just as unsettled and scared as Hueica. He had never seen her before, and in reality he didn't know that her relatives had planned this marriage for quite some time (Rival 1996: 121).

⁵French academic, wrote her PhD dissertation (in the London School of Economics) on the changes introduced among the Waorani by the public school at the end of the 1980s.

“[During the celebration] young people came from far away and looked at each other. They made jokes and pretended to be married. The elders observed everything, found out who came with whom, and made sure to marry off the fitting pairs in a future party. If they observed two young people who were really attracted to each other, they sat them in a hammock without delay and sang the wedding melodies. In the past it was good to get married’ (His wife adds, ‘Yes, these weddings were good’)” (Yeti, quoted in Rival 1996: 127).

During interviews and informal conversations with adult women, I found different reports of the age of marriage between Waorani before the time of evangelization oil exploitation, modernity, and development (1958). Some women reported that at that time, men and women got married in late adolescence, around 17-19 years of age, “When we were grownups.” Other women said that, in the past, people got married when they were *pika* [adult in the Waorani language], or over the age of 20. In general, the Waorani, according to their conceptions of time, do not count years. The elderly especially are not able to calculate years with accuracy, so it is impossible to confirm if those age estimations are correct. Nevertheless, they underline the importance of the idea of reaching adulthood before marriage. Those I spoke to argued that marriage at an early age is a negative, because adolescents are not ready to work and maintain a family, and that it was also a negative to have sexual relations at an early age because a woman’s body is not ready, and childbirth at that time presents a risk to both the mother and baby.

Other informants reported that in the past, some, but not all, women got married very young, even before menstruation began. One of the elder women of the community said that when she was a child her father had died and her mother gave her to her husband, who was much older, when she was a young girl. She lived with him first as a daughter until, two or three years after she began to menstruate, they began to live as a couple:

I got married when I was small, when I was a girl, before I started menstruating. So that’s how I grew up. My husband made me grow up. When I became a woman and had lived longer, I had my first son with him. In older times it was customary for mothers and fathers to give away little girls [for marriage]. Yes, after two or three years of

menstruating, I had my first son. He [husband] took care of me without having relations with me. He took care of me like I was his daughter (G.E., elder Waorani female).

I have a story that my grandmother told me before she died. When she was nine years old they gave her to her husband and her husband had to raise her as a daughter, and when she was older she was then treated as his wife (J.H.P., Waorani male, 20 years old).

Rival (1996: 1127, 1128) mentions that traditional Waorani marriage for men and women occurred two or three years after their earlobes were pierced by their grandparents. That ritual, which is no longer practiced, occurred for women when they began to menstruate and for men when they started experiencing changes to their body in puberty. It marked the passage from childhood into adulthood. Rival recounts that ear piercings were gradually made larger using balsa expansions, until they reached a width of five centimeters. By this time the young man was considered physically ready for marriage. For Rival (1996: 145), the piercing ceremony, which prepared young people for marriage, was the sole responsibility of the household, and adulthood was reached through parenthood:

As a consequence of the earlobe-piercing ceremony, the adolescent child acquires a higher social status. For a girl, this occurs after the first menstruation, and then her father takes her hunting. It is part of a child's upbringing to become a good hunter and a great warrior, and this includes enduring long periods of fasting and other practices in the jungle. The piercing ceremony, like everything else in the Huaorani culture, is given in a spontaneous and improvised manner. An elder, either the grandmother or grandfather, performs it when the child is returning from a hunt or successful raid. After seizing upon the teenager (or adolescent) and piercing their earlobe with a chonta-wood needle, the elder recites songs and stories, and begins to teach the responsibilities of Huaorani social life. The needs to work hard, and obey and follow ancestral customs, are constant themes of these moral teachings. Other adults join these lessons (Rival 1996: 128).

What is common to both informants' and Rival's narratives is that some marriages (except in the case where pre-adolescent women were given to older men) and some first pregnancies occurred during adolescence, but did not during the first years of that life stage, and children were usually born to couples in marriages previously arranged by elders.

Waorani marriage today and teen pregnancy

Today some Waorani women get married in adulthood, that is, over the age of 19, but others marry, or begin to live with their partner, and become pregnant, during adolescence. In Tiwino, teen pregnancy currently occurs in the context of:

- Marriage by arrangement of elders
- Marriage or cohabitation by the decision of the couple, with or without parental consent
- Women being unmarried

Arranged marriages still happen, but cases of young girls being given to older men no longer exist. Still, during some traditional festivities or other events related to modern life, such as the founding of a community, grandparents and other elders with status will choose a couple, marry them, and give them advice on how to live together. Some couples began living together or get married without the approval of their parents while they were living in cities. Other couples chose to leave the community altogether and cohabit without their parents' consent. Some of these marriages that occur by arrangement of the couple have weddings during festivities, in which the bride and groom appear, and the elders perform a ritual around them, thus socially recognizing the union.

The most notable changes after evangelization and occupation by oil companies are couples living together by their own choice or getting married against the will of their parents, interethnic marriages, and changes to the nuclear family model. According to the testimonies I collected, today the majority of marital relations occur when both partners make the free choice to live together. There are only a small number of marriages following the previous custom of arrangement by parents or elders. Furthermore, another aspect that differs from past practice is

marriage with people from non-Waorani nationalities of the Amazon, such as Kichwa or *mestizos*.

The Waorani of Tiwino argue that one of the differences between the present and the past is that couples fall in love before they get married, and they decide to live together without the permission of their parents and grandparents, which previously did not happen. As one elder woman stated, “Currently they fall in love, they go live together, and they have kids” (G.O.). Old people complain about romantic love and the fact that the youth are getting married without their consent. Rival’s quote precisely demonstrates the attitude of the elders toward these changes:

Are we wild peccaries [wild pigs] because we get married without getting our parents’ permission first? “Weddings need to take place during holiday festivities, otherwise people will say that the newlyweds are only good to ‘sleep together [which implies that they’re not ready to work] and have children’” (Rival 1996: 124-125).

According to Rival (1996), changes in marriage and wedding patterns are caused by sedentarization. As I mentioned, before colonization, the Waorani used to live in large “*malocas*” separated from one another, but since evangelization, they live in communities where extended families are gathered and single youths can meet each other. Furthermore, they have adopted Ecuadorian standards of marriage, based on free choice.

Oil exploitation has strengthened sedentarization and community formation. Tiwino is an example of this. The community formed around oil camps and the oil road, as a way for the Ima family to claim their territory. Due to investment in development and infrastructure, it is no longer a traditional Waorani community, but bears more resemblance to a *mestizo* town, with concert houses, a school, high school, and infrastructure built by oil companies and the government as part of compensation for oil drilling activities in the area.

Teen pregnancy is currently accepted and socially recognized when it occurs within marriage, especially those that are arranged. Nevertheless, it is criticized when it occurs within

non-arranged marriages, when couples fall in love and decide to live together, and when the mother is single. A marriage recognized by family and community legitimizes teen pregnancy:

When parents give away their young children [for marriage], the children don't say anything to them. They don't complain because once they're given away they have to live happily with their partner. It's happened many times in the community that some time after their parents have given them away, and they already have three or four children (M.W., Waorani female, 46 years old).

There are cases of single teenage women who get pregnant by Waorani men or outsiders, most of whom are involved in oil work. Elder women of the community report that this did not take place before. In the past, if a single woman got pregnant, she would abort using plants. The Waorani claim that single-teen motherhood is related to changes that have taken place in recent years. They argue that previously, sexual relations before marriage were not permitted, and that this, along with the concept of romantic love, are new ways by which people relate to each other. However, it is possible that these opinions regarding sex outside of marriage carry the charge of Christian morality, due to evangelization. Elder women, and other informants, such as organization and community leaders, and young men and women, stated furthermore that teen pregnancy due to outsiders involved in oil or construction work is caused by new forms of sexual behavior before marriage, romantic love, and the commodification of women's bodies.

Age of marriage and first pregnancy today

Elder Waorani state that the situation today is different from that of the past, in that women now get married and have kids in early adolescence, at 12-14 years old. "Young men take young girls away from the community and they live together" (G.Ñ., elder Waorani woman). According to the opinion of one prominent Tiwino female and Waorani women's organization leader, due to romantic love, free-choice marriage, and acculturation, today women

are getting married and getting pregnant younger than ever before, in the first years of adolescence (except in the cases of young women who have been given to older men):

From my point of view as an elder Waorani, in older times if a woman were mature, or “developed” as they say, as an adult, she would be married off at this age. Additionally, a father could marry off his 13 year old daughter to a man, but the man would have to respect her [not have sexual relations] until her body was like that of an 18 year old woman, and then at that time they could have relations in order to have children. It was normal for us. In the past the Waorani took care of this themselves, but now Waorani society, with its contact with the Western world, is very bad because young men and woman have seen a lot of things from the outside world on television and they think its a game and sometimes they get pregnant at 12 or 13 years old. This is very bad for us and there are complications when the parents don’t work, because how are they going to support their children? Because of this, sometimes parents have sex and bury the children in order to not have any additions to the family (C.A., female NAWE leader, around 40 years old).

Here, everybody gets married as a minor, at 14 years old. [Before] some got married older, as adults, but some asked their parents for permission to get married as minors. Today they’re different because they’ve become like the people from outside. They fall in love. Before they didn’t fall in love, they simply asked for their parents’ permission and that was it (G.E., elder Waorani female).

Rival quotes an old Waorani man saying that ages of marriage and first having children are among the aspects of society most affected by colonization:

When I was a young man and was married for the first time, I remember that we were careful... we didn’t want to have children right away. We waited three chonta [peach palm] harvest seasons before having our first child. Today the young are like peccaries [wild pigs], they have a lot of children and they grow up too fast. It’s not good (Rival 1996: 164).

According to the opinions of informants, and Rival’s arguments, there are a variety of estimations of the age of marriage and first pregnancy in the time before colonization and the present day. Some have said that in the past, women got married and got pregnant when they were grown adults, and others when they were still teenagers. Others said that it happened both ways. Nevertheless, the majority of informants have stated that in the present day, women get married and have children earlier than ever before.

What is common to these narratives is that in the past Waorani got married and had children when they were ready, that's to say, when they were grown-up and adult (except in the cases of very young women being given to older men). This has led me to speculate that what has changed after colonization is the notion of adulthood, which is related to the arrival of formal education and wage labor through oil companies. Waorani informants remarked that in the present time, to be ready for marriage it is necessary to not only master subsistence activities such as maintaining crops, hunting, fishing, house building, weaving hammocks, and constructing fishing nets, but also to have a formal education and paying job.

Oil exploitation, wage labor, formal education, modernization, development, and teen pregnancy

The Waorani have experienced extreme changes in their territory and social life since oil exploitation began in their homeland in the Ecuadorian Amazon region. Teen marriage and pregnancy did occur among the Waorani before colonization, but in modern Tiwino these factors are shaped by the dynamics relating to oil exploitation in the community. Extractivism introduced social changes that shape teen pregnancy in three ways (which generate gender differences, changes in forms of being an adult, and how teen pregnancy is experienced):

1. Insertion of the community into wage labor
2. Insertion of the community into formal education
3. Modernization and development of the community

Insertion into wage labor and gender changes

Before the SIL's evangelization and the beginning of oil exploitation, economic activities were not divided in terms of productive and reproductive, nor public and private. Both instances were part of the same domestic world. Traditionally, subsistence activities were not separated

along strong lines of gender, nor was more value placed on activities performed by either men or women (Rival 1996). Furthermore, community leadership was circumstantial, and not based on gender differences (Yost 1985), which is to say nobody enjoyed constant power and there was gender equality with respect to leadership.

Before evangelization and the arrival of oil companies, the Waorani did not rely on money to survive and thus did not have wage labor. Economic activities were relegated to subsistence, such as hunting, agriculture, fishing, gathering, and also reciprocally sharing (Naranjo 1994; Rival 1996; Lu and Sorensen 2013; Yost 1985). The preferred marriage arrangement was bilateral cross cousin, with uxori-local residence the norm. Both polygyny (usually sororal) and polyandry (always fraternal) occurred (Beckerman et al, 2009 in Lu and Sorensen 2013). The fundamental unity of Waorani society was the *nanicabo*, a residential unit of 30 to 50 related family members living in a longhouse. These were economically self-sufficient and autonomous (Lu and Sorensen, 2013). Sharing within the residential unit was widespread, whereas exchange with the outside world was minimal. Due to the preferred marriage pattern being uxori-local, married sons rarely lived with their parents (Rival 1992; Lu and Sorensen 2013). Pre-evangelization, the Waorani were extremely mobile, and their lifestyle was characteristically nomadic (Yost 1981; Lu and Sorensen 2013).

According to Rival (1996), before colonization, a minimum division of labor, even between men and women, existed within the *nanicabo* (the extended family group). There was also the lack of valuing some activities of others. In regards to power structure, Yost (1985) notes that through the religious conversion of the Waorani by the SIL, the egalitarian system that had characterized the political structure of their social organization was replaced with a status system, which transformed egalitarianism and circumstantial leadership into the consolidation of

authority (Yost 1985:272). The women who acted as mediators between the SIL and Waorani during the years of conversion have advantages over the rest of the community, such as: knowledge of Spanish or Kichwa languages, and of the foreigners and their customs. This situation placed them in the role of intermediaries in the process of conversion as well. The power acquired by these women in this context created a new form of leadership, different from the traditional circumstantial leadership that prevailed before contact with the SIL. Those women exercised great influence in a variety of situations (Yost 1985).

Oil companies introduced wage labor into Waorani society and demanded the formation of a legally-recognized political organization which could negotiate oil drilling in their territory, which privileged the participation of men (Hidrobo 2013; Rivas Toledo and Lara Ponce 2001). In the early 1990s, 90% of the adult male population had worked at least once in teams for oil companies operating near their villages (Rival 1996:169). In the early 2000s, Waorani men were more involved than women in commercial activities and wage labor, whereas women were more involved than men in domestic activities (Lu 2007). In recent years, wage labor in oil companies was mostly a male-centered activity (Hidrobo 2013).

This situation allowed for Waorani men to have greater access than women to monetary resources, and more power to make decisions affecting both the territory and community. These circumstances created inequalities between men and women that did not exist previously:

The work was only for the men. There was no work for women, only for men. Women needed to stay at home, that's how it was. That's why if they saw other women's organizations they trained them, they told the women that they had to come out ahead and they shouldn't let just the men work. So that's how the Waorani women went about educating themselves in everything. They saw how it was. They got together to make a woman's association, to help train the women in communities, so that they would come out ahead and give them work and help them start projects. In the past these differences between men and women didn't exist, because until 1990 my mother [Dayuma] controlled things. She was the leader, she handled everything. Dayuma governed three provinces (E., female AMWAE leader, around 50 years old).

Since the time the oil companies arrived, the men worked and worked and earned money. Then they went and got drunk and started causing problems. The men work, and their wives, since they don't have work, spend their time at home. All of them go off to work and their wives stay at home. They [the men] earn money and go out to drink. The poor women are left wanting by husbands, who go out with their friends and drink beer and forget to bring anything home for their wives. So they go home empty-handed, without anything for the home, without any clothing for the women, without anything. So we formed a woman's association because the men were hunting a lot and had to be educated. Man kills, women don't hunt. They hunted a lot and sold it and used all the money to get drunk, and left nothing for the home, for their children, for food. That's why we had the women get organized. We held a workshop to inform the men that they shouldn't take the meat out of the community, that it's to eat, it's for their own children. That's food for your children at home; you have to feed them well. They have to catch food and that's why they were trained like that.

That's why the women trained them. Then they were strong and the men didn't need to hunt. Now they don't hunt much and they work with the environment. They said they're going to start a project: planting cacao and raising fish, so that they have something for their children. The men have to do work too, to help their wives in everything. Now the men understand a little, they took advantage of the education and made progress. Now they go to the market and they do well. Before we didn't know a thing, so we would have done poorly, now they understand something, all of it. They need a lot of time for cacao because once they harvest it, they need to wait four months for it to dry (E., female AMWAE leader, around 50 years old).

Female Waorani leaders state that due to the power and economic inequalities introduced with the arrival of oil companies, they decided to create the AMWAE - Association of Waorani Women of Ecuadorian Amazon (*Asociación de Mujeres Waorani de la Amazonía Ecuatoriana*). The organization has proposed alternative methods of generating income, such as making handicrafts, cultivating organic cacao, and small fish farming. These exist in contrast to logging, game hunting, and negotiation with oil companies, activities that are associated predominantly with men. The women of different communities in Waorani territory, including Tiwino, created, and participate in this organization as an alternative to extractivism, and as a feminine response to oil drilling and the negative effects it produces on women, since they found themselves affected by it differently than men. Additionally, they oppose the negative repercussions of oil drilling on the forest, animals, and water, which are their sources of subsistence:

The women don't agree [with oil drilling]. We suffer because we're women that have

lived from the earth and the harvest. We're women who have suffered. The men think they're going to negotiate [with the oil company], but if they negotiate, where are we going to get our water? Where will we have land to produce our yucca and plantains? And where are the Taromenani [an isolated subgroup of the Waorani] going to live? So this worries us, and it's much better to just not let them drill. And the men say that they do agree [with oil drilling], but some men don't want it because they're already seeing the kind of world that the highway brings. They say, "it's true what you're saying, that's very bad for us," and now that they're putting a jail in the workplace they're definitely saying: It's right that you're defending the Waorani, you're absolutely right, because if you don't defend it, the government is going to ruin everything. They're going to make a law in Ecuador that doesn't respect the rights of the Waorani people, so they agree that we should continue with our work (C.A., female NAWAE leader, around 40 years old).

Since it's everywhere [the oil company], we at AMWAE have to fight so that they don't drill any more wells, even though there are some that we don't want there and they're going to drill oil anyway. These are doubts that we have now (E., female AMWAE leader, around 50 years old).

Well, since we're women, we have the right to make handicrafts, to eat, to buy clothes, notebooks, food, and do all of this to work, for our children. Before we didn't have it, not even our mothers, but now this work is a Waorani woman's prerogative, because only the men work for the oil company. When the oil company came they cut down the Chambira palms, and left garbage everywhere... Yes, garbage. We [the women] don't want this. (O., female AMWAE leader, around 40 years old).

AMWAE reflects the position of other nationalities of indigenous women who have made clear their opposition to oil extraction in the Ecuadorian Amazon. They have described the viewpoint from their situation as women who feel, act, and receive the effects of oil exploitation differently than men. For example, in October of 2103, a group of around 300 indigenous women of the Amazon, including Waorani, marched from Amazon region to Quito, the capital city of Ecuador, to demand that the central government respect their ancestral lands without extracting oil, and to defend the Yasuní ITT project that claimed to leave the oil underground. They also protested peacefully during the 11th Oil Licensing Round, an auction of ancestral indigenous

land for oil exploitation⁶. Additionally, Kichwa women of the Sarakayu community have started actively fighting to expel oil companies from their territory (Martínez 2012).

Wage labor, formal education, and teen pregnancy

The necessity of having a paid job and the privilege of male access to them make it so that teen pregnancy in the community is experienced in a different way than before oil extraction, development, and contact with modern society. The requirement of wage labor and formal education has created a shift in the cultural notions of adulthood. Before oil exploitation (and the trappings of modernity that accompanied it), the Waorani got married when they were ready to build a house, maintain crops, hunt, and fish without the help of their parents. Currently, men need to know how to hunt, and women to maintain a chakra, but it is also important to be educated and have work to generate money:

In the past, before getting married, a woman first had to learn to spin fabric to make hammocks, and she had to learn to work in the chakra [field crop], but men had to learn how to fell trees, hunt, and construct homes. In the current day this should still be customary for them, but they're forgetting... (G.E., elder Waorani female)

Before they waited to be pikes [adults] to have children. In the present day a lot of the elders say, "They get married to get married but they don't think of how to maintain a household." In the old times, they said that to keep a home you had to work, to had to hunt, and they said, "If you're a lazy man it's better you don't get married, so you don't suffer." I see it like this from my point of view: Right now, having a family demands that anyone work, so how do we expect to maintain families? How do we expect to educate people? Because of this we have plenty of problems in households, in families.

Before, they had to know how to hunt, build a home, and make their gardens. This was so they knew how to maintain their family. Modern life has changed completely. Now you have to have a job to maintain the family, to obtain food, clothing, education, and healthcare. It's different than before. Now, as young people, we have to look out of

⁶ <http://www.elcomercio.com/actualidad/ecuador/mujeres-amazonicas-movilizan-quito-defensa.html>; <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/insight/wp/2014/11/03/3211/indigenous-women-fighting-oil-amazon/?hpid=z10>; <http://www.eluniverso.com/noticias/2013/10/20/nota/1603276/lucha-amazonica-rostro-mujer>

the community for a job in order to be able to stay afloat and get educated, it's incredibly important. Before it wasn't like that, and now life has changed completely.

Here we work in the oil field, since we're young people who are growing up and have to look out of the community in order to maintain the family. It's important to work outside the community to be able to provide education to your children. It's also because if you've only completed high school, there aren't any sources for work, and you have to keep studying in the university in order to get a job. Of course it makes sense that it's necessary to have an education in order to work and make money. Before everything happened without money. Now you have to work and get money in order to get out of all the problems there are (D.H.P., Waorani male, 32 years old).

Right now I think that young people have to prepare themselves before getting married. They have to work hard to earn money, then get married, men and women alike. They have to work in the chakra [field] and men also have to learn how to hunt. [Before] women first had to learn how to spin thread to make hammocks and then learn to work in the chakra, but men had to learn to fell trees, hunt, and make homes. Currently this should be their custom, but they're forgetting. Durani used to say that, "Everyone has to teach their children how to live. If you don't know how, how are you going to teach your children?" (Ñ., female community leader, around 50 years old).

Now, in the context of oil exploitation, the Waorani say they are adults (who are ready to get married and have children) when they have finished secondary school, have a paying job, and can manage all the traditional survival practices.

Before they had kids at an older age, but right now they're really young. They're 12, 13, 14, 15 years old, so they don't have any way to maintain a family, and that creates a problem. So both men and women should think before doing this. Sometimes the family doesn't work and they decide to live off their parents, and this causes a lot of harm. There are serious problems in the community now, so they should exercise some caution on that end. At the age of 20 or 22, depending on the person, it's good to get married, since at that age one already can think about how to maintain a family and find work, and how to support their children (D.H.P., Waorani male, 32 years old).

Now the *pikenanis* [adults] see the difference from how it was before. That means everyone tells the story of our dear Waorani *pikenani* grandparents that lived like before, that means without the goal of studying. Today everybody lives for one thing. Before they lived to be a worker, to be a hunter, to be better, and that's why they were given women. The parents saw the men were hunters, and would have given them any girl without the men even choosing, so that the women would survive. Now the *pikenanis* are realizing that if you want to get married, first you have to study. First see how things are. (J.H.P., Waorani male, 20 years old).

In this new context, being a teen mother is a problem that didn't exist before. Teen marriage was traditionally (and still is) accepted when it occurred with marriage – otherwise it was seen as a problem, and continues to be seen as a problem today. Nevertheless, now that men are privileged with better access to wage labor and education, teen pregnancy inside or outside of marriage has placed women at a great disadvantage to men. Furthermore, the Waorani argue that when young couples get married and have to work for money, conflicts may arise if the women cannot find paying work, and this can lead to separation.

When I got pregnant I was in the second year of high school. When I got married, I left school and went to live with my father-in-law. When I was pregnant I didn't have anybody to look after my son, so that's why I left school. It was my personal decision and I'm saying that it's no good to leave school, I regret having done it.

It's not good to get pregnant so young, like I did. Because when I was pregnant I left school and I regret not continuing my studies. I want my daughters to finish their studies before they have children, because it's not good to get pregnant so young. For me it was difficult to have children. It wasn't easy. It was hard to get around; the parents have the right to tell you what to do. It's not good. When my child was only six months old, I got pregnant again. It was difficult. I think that I want to go back to my studies when they're older [the children]. And I don't want to have any more kids (A.T., Waorani female, 22 years old).

The previous quotation demonstrates the circumstances of an adult woman who got pregnant at 17 years of age and had to drop out of high school. Teenage pregnancy has negative effects for women especially because they have to end their studies, and thus lose the possibility of getting wage labor in the future. Women of different ages are excluded from forms of wage labor that in some cases demand education. Before colonization, this sort of inequality did not exist between men and women in Waorani society. The introduction of wage labor as a source of capital accumulation has, at the same time, introduced the valuing of productive work over reproductive work, and a notion of poverty that is prejudiced against women. These new dynamics—the division between private and public, productive and reproductive work—make it

so that teen pregnancy is now a great problem for females, even more so if it takes place outside of marriage.

In 2012 (RIOS 2012), female and male adolescents and young leaders of Tiwino elaborated a standard lifeline, in order to give the general idea of the situations and important events in the life of a person in the community from birth to 19 years of age:

Table 2: Lifeline for young people of Tiwino

Men		Women	
Age	Important Event	Age	Important Event
	Birth		Birth
5	Begin school	4	Begin school
7, 8	First hunt with father	13, 14,	Finish school
10, 11, 12, 13	Begin high school	13, 14, 15	Get married
12, 13, 14	Go hunting alone, without father.	13, 14, 15,16	Have first child (some are married, others single)
17, 18 and up	Get married and build a house.		When they finish studying or get married they do not have paying work, this is done mainly by husbands. Only a few women are prepared for wage-work.
17, 18 and up	Have first child		
17, 18, 19, 20	Finish high school		
21, 22	Start working for money (oil company, tourism, as teachers). Some continue studying in university (not all have these opportunities).		

One of the most visible differences in the lifeline of teenagers is that women marry and have their first child at an earlier age than men. Furthermore, men have greater chances of continuing on to high school and, as adults, finding paid work, than women. According to data provided by health center staff in 2012, of 12 teens married or cohabitating out of wedlock, 10 were women (RIOS 2012). Even though focus group participants mentioned that finishing high school is important for both genders before marrying and having children, in order to find a paying job and support a family, they recognize that when women get married or pregnant, they wind up dropping out of school, while men can continue with their studies (RIOS 2012). A 22 year-old woman who was married and pregnant at the age of 15 reported that she dropped out of

school at that time, and later returned to her studies as an adult in order to get a paying job in the future:

It's a shame; it's no good to get married at that age. It's not good for one's life to have kids so young. It's hard to have kids at that age. It's hard to have a kid and work too. Women don't understand this yet; they're still too young [to have children]. It's good to finish your studies before having a kid and having to support it. It's not fair to have them [children] without work.

I'm studying now [in the third year of high school]. I have two children. Sometimes my mother helps me, and sometimes my sister. It's hard and that's why I'm saying that it's not good for other girls to do the same thing. It's not good for them to get married before finishing their studies. It's better after you graduate, and that's why I regret it now. I went back to high school so that I could work as a teacher when I graduate (A.V., Waorani female, 22 years old).

Due to the new need for money introduced by development and modernity, Waorani adults have aspirations for their sons and daughters to get an education in order to have access to paying jobs.

Some women like working [for the oil company]. Some have graduated high school. When there are jobs, they apply and get those jobs. Some don't have diplomas. There's a great lack of education and that's why school should be for everybody (E, female AMWAE leader, around 50 years old).

In Gareno, a community similar to Tiwino in that it is involved in oil exploitation and located on the road leading to the oil fields, Lu and Goff (2013) reported that in 2009 informants said they wanted their sons to have paying jobs. The most commonly desired job for boys was as a teacher in the community. Other jobs mentioned were working in construction for oil companies, or as engineers. The majority of parents wanted their daughters to have paying work as well, but after having studied in order to begin a career as a teacher, doctor, secretary, or other skilled position.

During fieldwork, when I spoke to people about the benefits of living in a community close to the road and oil companies, they emphasized the access to high school, which most of the communities away from the oil road do not have. Young Waorani leaders of Tiwino argue

that education is important for their future, while before colonization it was not necessary to have education in order to sustain a family. Notions of adulthood have changed as a result of oil drilling, development, and modernization.

Oil exploitation and formal education are introducing a new life period between childhood and adulthood that didn't exist before. Education also presents new ideas of what it is to be an adult and the ways in which pregnancy is experienced. During the period of oil exploitation that came after evangelization, schools were founded in Waorani territories. In Tiwino, a primary school was created by CEPE in 1990, the Ecuadorian State National Oil Company at the beginning of the community (RIOS 2012). In fact, many elements of modern living, such as schools, plumbing, and a health center were introduced into the community as a compensation for oil drilling. Oil companies and the Ecuadorian state offered the previous as compensation in negotiations for oil extraction performed in Tiwino and other Waorani communities.

Formal schooling in Tiwino, along with wage labor in oil companies, have introduced new ways of conceptualizing adulthood which shape how teen pregnancy is experienced today. However, following the same line of reasoning, authors like Rival (1996a: 276, 278; 1996b:168) have argued that schools were the main channels of introducing modernity into Waorani culture and transforming their way of life after religious conversion. She mentions that a direct consequence of schooling was a remaking of the social space, with a creation of the public sphere, and the introduction of new divisions of labor based on the redefinition of production and the promotion of integration into the nation state.

As soon as the state grants a school to a village, it appears on the map of Ecuador, and the Huaorani villagers, now formally recognized as Ecuadorian citizens, especially in their parental capacity, are faced with new obligations and administrative formalities. They must vote, get birth and marriage certificates, and own identity cards (...).

In conclusion, the school introduces new ways of interacting with the environment, new habits, and new experiences. It is through the reform of ordinary practices, particularly those centered around the body and the domestic space, that social practices are reorganized and social identities reshaped (Rival 1996b:160).

Other authors have also pointed out how modern schooling around the world has served to inculcate the skills, subjectivities, and discipline that undergird the modern nation-state. While offering new opportunities and freedoms, at the same time they lure students into dominant projects of nationalism and capitalist labor formation, or bind them even more strongly to the system of class, gender, and race inequality (Foley, Holland, and Levinson 1996).

In the case of the Waorani of Tiwino, school and wage labor have introduced the public sphere into everyday life. Wage labor has especially separated the productive sphere from the reproductive, though both are entangled in a system which privileges the public over the domestic in terms of power to make decisions over community and territory, and the productive over the reproductive in terms of which generates more money. In the public sphere, as well as in the productive process of wage labor, men play a greater role. Before oil exploitation, the Waorani didn't divide their political and productive spaces in these terms. In this new context teen pregnancy is an issue that places women at a disadvantage to men.

Certain questions arise, such as: How do these new ways of experiencing adulthood involved with education and wage labor fit with Waorani ontological notions of men and women's bodies? And, to what extent are the new gender differences changing the ontology of women's bodies? In Tiwino there are two visible notions that determine that women and men are ready to get married and begin to have children. The first is related to the necessity of money, which means having a paying job, and therefore, education. The second is related to life in the forest, connected to the past where education wasn't necessary and adult bodies of marrying age were compared with trees and macaws:

When a woman's body is completely mature, then they start to have children. Young men are like trees; they normally grow fat, tall, with many leaves. That's how young men grow up. And like the Ara macaw, women have long, beautiful hair. That's how we describe it. All the young men are like large, beautiful trees, and the women like *minta* [Ara macaws]. Because they have long hair like the macaws' tails and they live together with their family. *Mintas* eat together, just like how they fly in groups (Ñ., female community leader, around 50 years old).

Community development, modernization and teen pregnancy

During my fieldwork I spoke with different informants, such as leaders of Waorani organizations and the community, young adults, and elders who made reference to certain cases of teen pregnancy in Waorani communities close to the oil road that were related to the presence of oil company and construction workers.

The presence of oil activity in the community has been "allowed" (because they do not have much choice) by Waorani leaders, mainly men, as a way of bringing modernity into their society. The first companies were those that provided pipes for plumbing, concrete buildings, community infrastructure, support for public education, and western health care. Currently, the Ecuadorian government has assumed the role of looking after the development and modernization of indigenous communities. The present government has changed from extractivist policies to favoring post-neoliberal projects that reinforce the role of the state in the regulation of the extractivist process.

In the majority of interviews, when I asked about the positive and negative aspects of oil companies and oil roads, most subjects expressed ambivalence. Older people generally stated that they detest the oil company, because it brings disease; contaminates rivers, streams, and soil; kills the crops; and makes animals scarce. They said they would prefer to live deeper in the jungle, but they remain because they don't want the oil company to take control of their ancestral territory without receiving some form of compensation. Nevertheless, young people can

recognize the previously mentioned negative effects of oil companies while also considering the positive developments they bring to the community:

Life is better where there aren't oil companies or roadways. It's simpler there because nobody bothers you. There's commotion along roadways... There's smoke, and that starts to cause harm to the children, and the *pikenanis* [elders] start to get sick as well. I'm also worried about it quite a bit.

I think that since oil comes from the community, these houses the government gave us are like a dream. That's how it should be, the government supporting the community. So on one hand I do agree that since they go on drilling, they should also help out. But also, the houses that they build don't interest me directly, they're for the children that are going to come in the future, they're for the kids. I'm fine with the fact that they keep supporting us with housing, healthcare, and education, so that in the future the children can say that the government has helped out. These cement houses are good, but they heat up when it's hot outside. It's better to live in a hut. They're prettier and cooler. When you're under cement and there's a lot of sun, it gets hot (D.P.H., Waorani male, 32 years old).

Community development and oil exploitation have brought large numbers of men into the area to work on these projects. They are in charge of constructing plumbing systems, concrete houses, and the concrete school and health center. Last year they built around 45 concrete homes in Tiwino, and several more in Bataboro, a community located around twenty minutes by car from Tiwino along the same oil road. The presence of these men is controversial because of their relation to several instances of teen pregnancy. My interviewees informed me that teenagers get pregnant during romantic relationships with these men because they want to have access to the outside world, and also because they exchange sex for money, clothes, and food. A young woman, 26 years old, who got pregnant by an oil worker as a teenager, told me:

Sometimes when you're walking they stop and say, "Can I give you a ride?" Some go with them in the cars, and some don't want to and keep on walking. Sometimes the workmen taunt and sometimes they want to bother us. Some are like that; I guess it depends on who they are. The parents don't like them bothering their daughters. They're saying that they want to stop the oil companies' drilling because the workmen are making trouble for their daughters. They make the work stop because of their daughters, and sometimes the worker is sent away.

Sometimes when the underage girls need money, they go with the oil workers. Sometimes they go with them [to have sexual relations] and they're given money or food

or something. These men are drivers, engineers. This doesn't happen in the communities where there aren't oil companies.

Sometimes the girls say that they want to be with somebody because they like them, that they want to have a kid with someone, and sometimes they just want to get to go and see where the guy lives. This happens with the people from outside, with the men who come to work in construction. The girls fall in love with the laborers and they have relations. The workers give them things too: money, food (H.E., Waorani female, 26 years old).

Last year in Bataboro, the Waorani speared and killed two outsiders⁷ that were working on the water piping system funded by Ecuador Estratégico, the government institution in charge of building infrastructure in Amazonian communities from which oil is extracted. The workers were killed after the death of a child in the community. Even though the victims were not involved in the death of the child, the Waorani attacked them because they were disturbing young women.

When I asked informants what they considered a better place for teen women to live, most of them answered that even though communities close to the oil road offer access to high school, those places also present risks associated with men who have entered the community to work in oil, construction, and in the past, lumber projects. In some cases young women decided to go away with these men, due to an attraction to the outside world, and also as a way of denying similarities to their mothers and placing their identity closer to that of the outsiders. In other cases, the workers are taking advantage of the young women's lack of education, access to work, and money, by creating a dynamic of commodifying their bodies. These women exchange sex for material objects or money. These practices have resulted in cases of teen pregnancy in the community. Other subjects also reported that adolescent women fall in love with these men, get pregnant, and are then abandoned.

⁷<http://www.elcomercio.com/actualidad/negocios/ataque-waorani-sego-vida-de.html>

The people that live far away live quietly. They leave their homes and go fishing, and everything is different than here. Doctors are an integral part of the community. Nobody can live without a doctor. The school is also fundamental, so that kids and young people can learn and get ready for life. It's better for an adolescent girl to live where there is education.

The workmen, employees of Ecuador Estratégico, came by here, and the drivers from the Petrobell company too, and made the girls fall in love with them. These men left children behind and never came back to recognize them as their own, it's shameful. The girls are still 16 to 18 years old; imagine that, it's such a pity. They thought that everything was going to be ok. Some of them need to buy clothes, so they need to travel to other cities.

This happened in Bataboro, another community near Tiwino. A girl well in love with a water resources engineer and this caused problems until a battle broke out against the water resources engineers and the man was killed. This was horrible to see.

It's because they want to live in the city. They don't want to keep working like our grandparents, our mothers-in-law. They don't want to work in the chakra and they don't want to help clean. They don't want to come back to the chakra. They want to leave this place and live like the people from outside. This happens (E.J.U., Waorani female, 24 years old).

Girls who live in communities further away live well, but the young women who live by the roadway don't. Everything has changed. When they're young they fall in love and go away to the city and then come back, and I think it's very bad for the children. The girls go out on their own and cross paths with the company men, the truck drivers, who take them away in secret and then bring them back pregnant. This is having negative effects on the family, as well as the community.

However, young women don't listen to their mothers when they give them advice. They say, "Mama, why does this matter to us?" And then they leave the community and their mothers get mad. They [the young women] go away with men from the company and then they come back pregnant and their mothers still receive them with love.

This doesn't seem good to us, although the mothers say that the girls themselves aren't educated and don't respect themselves, and they go and get pregnant and have big families. We don't like this. We really don't like that young girls are doing this.

After a young girl has a kid, she doesn't want to take care of it. They don't have much money to help their babies out and they do business with the people from outside the community. They give their children up for adoption (G.E., elder Waorani female).

The presence of the market economy is related to the creation of new necessities, which require money, and the commodification of the teenage body in order to access money and modern materials. Young women mentioned that some adolescents sell their bodies to oil workers in exchange for money, shoes, and clothes. As a result of these transactions, some teenagers in the community became pregnant:

[A girl] was going to Coca [a city in the Ecuadorian Amazon] because she had already agreed to have dates with several men who would give her clothes, shoes, and perfume. Sometimes a girl chooses expensive clothes. I don't like to do so. For example, my cousin told me that an oil engineer wanted to meet me (Ñ.M., Waorani female, 24 years old).

The oil workers caused problems for all the women and young ladies, they abused them. The men came around looking for women and the women would think that they were smart, nice, and likeable. The women fell in love for a while. This was for money. They gave themselves away for ten dollars, five dollars. People from outside [the oil company workers] came here and said, "Here they haven't mistreated their women, and here the women are healthy." And that's why they started to take advantage of the women right away (Ñ.M., Waorani female, 24 years old).

Oil extraction in the Ecuadorian Amazon is entangled with the presence of brothels around the oil camps. At the end of the 1990s, the Waorani suffered a Hepatitis B epidemic, which caused several deaths, and it has been argued that the origin of this epidemic can be traced to the presence of brothels around oil fields (RIOS 2012). Additionally, the presence of oil companies in other Waorani communities has caused the exchange of sex for money previously discussed in this chapter. Rival (1996a:170) offers accounts of it, and Lu and Goff (Lu and Goff 2013: 70) mention it as well, although in passing.

In Ecuador, the interconnection between extractivism, gender, and feminism has mainly been addressed by women's social movements and women's indigenous organizations working with feminist academics. The feminist collective group Critical Feminist Viewpoints of the Territory (*Miradas críticas del territorio desde el feminismo*) published the book *Life In The Center and the Crude Under The Earth (La vida en el centro y el crudo bajo tierra, 2014)* that compiled interviews, speeches, and articles supporting the Yasuní ITT project, an initiative of the Ecuadorian government to curb the exploitation of oil in the Amazon. In this text the collective argues that a strong reason to support the project is because extractivism patriarchalizes the

territory, reinforcing gender differences through wage labor and introducing the use of alcohol and the spread of prostitution and symbolic violence against women.

Martínez (2012), an ecofeminist and member of the aforementioned collective, and one of the advocates for the Yasuní ITT project, mentions that women are more vulnerable than men to the effects of oil extraction. Near Ecuador's oil wells, 32% of deaths are caused by cancer, and women face the effects of this disease more than men. Additionally, she recounts that 65% of the mothers in the Amazonian city of Lago Agrio (which has emerged around the oil complexes since the oil boom) are single mothers. This is due to the large number of men who arrive to work in oil drilling, "single" (that's to say, without family present), and with economic resources. Furthermore, Martínez remarks that Lago Agrio has a significant number of gender-violence-related legal complaints, although the majority of the victims remain in silence. Regarding the indigenous population, Martínez reports what a woman told her: In the community of Sarayu, which was struggling against oil exploitation years ago when the Shell company started exploring Kichwa territory, three women were raped in an oil camp by workers from outside the area. Martínez argues that the Waorani have suffered from men's alcohol consumption due to the arrival of oil companies, and this has also affected family relations. In general, since the appearance of oil companies, indigenous women are more vulnerable than men to the effects of oil extraction because they are confined to the domestic sphere with a great workload because their husbands are working for the oil companies, negotiating over the territory, and selling game meat to the oil camps. Both works (Martínez 2012; Colectivo Miradas Críticas del Territorio desde el Feminismo 2014) make general reference to the gender dimension of the extractivism of the Ecuadorian Amazon, but do not specifically address the situation of Waorani communities.

Gartor (2014), a feminist journalist in Ecuador, notes that oil activity in the Ecuadorian Amazon and mining activity in Cajamarca, Peru, or the Soy Route in Argentina all share a common reality. These three places have been affected by extractivist activities. The arrival of large quantities of male workers has produced drastic increases in the size of the sexual marketplace, alcohol use, rates of violence, and instances of sexual exploitation of women. Inside the fields of feminist political ecology and ecofeminism, activist academics like Vandana Shiva (Shiva, Flores, and Martínez 2014; Shiva 2010), and Terisa Turner have documented how development and resource extraction projects have ended up affecting women and reinforcing the patriarchy. The latter have also worked on the effects of oil drilling in Africa and the fight against Chevron (Colectivo Miradas Críticas el Territorio desde el Feminismo 2014). This leads one to conclude that extractivism in several parts of Latin America and the world's southern regions is a male-centered activity that negatively affects local women.

In the context of oil extractivism and modernization of Ecuadorian Amazon, the female body is the place where social conditions are inscribed. It serves as a text in which the experiences of alienation and domination are recorded. Teen pregnancy among the Waorani people can be read as the embodiment of social complexity, as the intermixing of traditional ways of living with dynamics related to the expansion of capitalism and market integration. But at the same time, the embodiment of inequality calls attention to the ways in which the body serves as a register for, or the site of a struggle against, forms of domination. It leads one to consider the responses of Waorani women and Waorani women's political organizations have had when faced with the effects of oil exploitation on them, the community, and the environment. In this sense, the body is a heuristic category, which is not only related to the realm of nature, but also to culture, symbolism, economic systems, and power.

CONCLUSIONS

The current situation of teen pregnancy in Tiwino is a response to cultural and traditional patterns of teen marriage shaped by new dynamics related to oil extraction and modernity. Such dynamics include insertion into wage labor and formal education, changes in gender roles and marriage patterns, and the commodification of adolescent girls' bodies.

Post-neoliberal extractivism is not only shaping Ecuador's national economy, but also local community dynamics, and having effects on intimate relationships, gender roles, and ways of living as teenagers and adults. Through wage labor, oil companies introduced the division between public and private, and productive and reproductive, into the domestic and economic spheres of Waorani society. Oil extraction demanded the formation of a legally recognized political organization that could negotiate drilling in their territory, while privileging the participation of men. This allowed for Waorani men to have greater access than women to monetary resources, and more power to make decisions affecting both the territory and community. The need to have a paid job and the privilege of male access to the same appear to result in teen pregnancy in the community being experienced differently than before oil extraction, development, and contact with modern society. The requirements of wage labor and formal education have created a shift in the cultural notions of adulthood.

The occupation of Waorani territory by oil companies brought with it the commodification, or occupation, of teenage women's bodies by oil and building workers. Extractivist activity promoted the exploitation of resources, the creation of gender hierarchies

and patriarchy, and the exploitation of women's bodies, which makes oil extraction, in essence, a process of colonization and female subjugation.

Although environmental and social degradation created by oil exploitation have been recognized and even registered on a larger scale, little is said about the impact of oil exploitation on women and how they respond to it. Oil extraction creates gender hierarchies between Waorani, which did not previously exist. In the face of the negative social and environmental effects of the oil industry, Waorani women have organized and created a response that reclaims sustainable livelihoods for their communities. In the Ecuadorian Amazon, Waorani women's organizations reflect the position of other nationalities of indigenous women, who have demonstrated their opposition to oil extraction in the rainforest. They have defined their situation from the viewpoint of women who feel, act, and receive the effects of oil exploitation differently than men.

Future Inquiries

In its constitution, Ecuador has recognized the rights of Nature and *Sumak Kawsay* or *Buen Vivir* (Good living), concepts proposed by indigenous peoples of Andean countries to denote a new economic and political project, and model for society and state, which considers a new vision with respect to nature. *Buen Vivir* is a project aligned with the theory of post-development (Escobar 2010). This begs the questions, in this new constitutional framework, is it possible to talk about *Sumak Kawsay* in an extractivist context? How can we achieve *Sumak Kawsay* beyond extractivism? From the perspective of indigenous women's organizations and movements, what form could *Sumak Kawsay* take beyond extractivism? And what is the relation of *Sumak Kawsay* with depatriarchalization of political organizations and economic activities in the country?

Future inquiries also must address Ecuadorian public policy related to teen pregnancy. How is indigenous women's fertility conceived in the national and global imagination of women's reproductive and sexual health? Is it a problem of "development"? In national and global discourses, how are indigenous women's reproductive and sexual health represented? Does the state conceive of teen pregnancy in the Ecuadorian Amazon in the same way, and has this meant the promotion of certain public health or infrastructural developments in the region with the goal of reducing teen pregnancy? To what extent are national/global discourses about women's reproductive and sexual health reaching into the region and being picked up by different actors?

Related to the idea of sexual body commodification, another future inquiry must focus on unpacking the mechanisms by which new desires and necessities are being created in the community. This work would examine exposure to the media, parental aspirations regarding their children, and peer expectations. Such a work would also look into the factors that are causing adolescent women to enter into relationships of different sorts with men involved in oil work.

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