Lund University
Department of Political Science

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Supervisor: Catia Gregoratti

The Fight to Protect the Amazon

The Environmental Discourse of the Waorani Resistance Movement

Charlotte Severns

Abstract

Ecuador has experienced a drastic political transformation since the return to neoliberalism under the reign of president Lenin Moreno. Political contentions between the government, environmentalists, and indigenous peoples have led to increased social resistance, protesting the use of extractivism and other neoliberal policies to increase economic growth and relieve national debt. In 2019, the Waorani, an indigenous population living in the Amazon, filed a lawsuit against the Ecuadorian government while simultaneously starting a resistance movement. The lawsuit was successful and has set a precedent for indigenous communities to fight for their right to self-determination throughout the Amazon. The research will build upon the theory of discursive democracy by highlighting how members of civil society through coordination of spontaneous order can achieve democratic deliberation with nature. Using a qualitative content analysis of documents from the narrative of the Waorani throughout the resistance, this research will assess the environmental discursive storyline of the Waorani resistance lawsuit and its effects. The analysis concludes that the Waorani resistance discursive storyline can be situated in the categories of green consciousness and green politics within the discourse of green radicalism. It is further concluded that the effects of the Waorani discourse have implications for other indigenous communities in the Amazon, Ecuador and beyond.

Key words: extractivism, the Amazon, Waorani, environmental discourses, social resistance movements

Word count:10,060

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1. Introduction

Many Latin American countries have maintained a neoliberal economy since the 1990s, reaping the fiscal benefits of natural resource extraction and the high commodity price of oil. An immense level of resistance to neoliberal reforms emerged from leftist social movements due to increasing inequality and poverty, which received widespread support from transnational networks (Williford, 2018). The resistance elevated transformative ideas that criticized US hegemony and traditional notions of development and capitalism (Williford, 2018). Left-wing movements like the Citizens' Revolution in Ecuador paved the way for the presidential election of Rafael Correa in 2006 with the philosophy of *buen vivir*, or "good living", and it included in a new constitution which highlights anti-global capitalism, the rights of nature and indigenous people (Quick & Spartz, 2018). Despite this recognition of rights, Correa revealed that his plan to achieve those development objectives was by increasing state control over the extractive sector in the Amazon rainforest, territory largely inhabited by indigenous peoples. Indigenous and environmental activists used various methods of resistance to mining and extractivism throughout Correa's presidency to protect the Amazon as well as indigenous peoples' health and self determination. Correa's response was reminiscent of authoritarianism, by shutting down protests and oppressing those that expressed opposition to extractive activities (Torre, 2018).

In recent years, under the new president, Lenin Moreno, a reversal of Correa's state-oriented macroeconomic policies occurred due to discontentment with Correa's neo-extractive and oppressive government (Torre, 2018). Although the shift in political power has not yet seen a decrease in extractive activities, nor in resistance and protest to them. Despite some monumental acts of resistance against the government, there is an apparent gap in the literature on the mobilizations that have occurred thus far during Moreno's administration. This research intends to build on the theory of discursive democracy by analyzing how actors in civil society through social resistance can achieve a more sustainable equilibria for both natural and human systems. This will be accomplished by assessing the environmental discursive storyline of the 2019 Waorani resistance lawsuit and the immediate social, political and institutional effects of their discourse.

1.1 Relevance and Scope

Previous research has linked social resistance and protest to the environmental paradigm in Ecuador, and its results have emphasized the contradictions, exploitation, repression and discourses that have emerged during Correa's administration. Largely due to recency, the social resistance movements during president Moreno's administration remain completely unexplored. My thesis will address a gap in the research on Ecuador's ever-changing political atmosphere and environmental discursive contentions by attempting to understand what environmental discourse led to the Waorani resistance lawsuit in 2019. The significance of this research has multiple factors. The Waorani case is very unique in that the lawsuit addresses violations that occurred nearly eight years prior while simultaneously protecting the future bidding of over 1,800 square kilometers of their territory to extractive oil companies (Amazon Frontlines, 2019). The lawsuit was conducted alongside protest and a social media movement to bring awareness and support in the hopes to achieve a positive outcome. Though the true significance is that the Waorani won the lawsuit, an appeal, and had the ruling ratified, which is a stark contrast to the outcomes of resistance movements that attempted to fight against extractive governmental policy in Ecuador during Correa's administration. This research intends to serve a broader purpose by building on the theory of discursive democracy and demonstrating how civil society can further promote the rights of nature and environmentalism. This will be achieved by navigating the discursive environmental storyline of the Waorani resistance, lawsuit, and the effects that have emerged from the case. In order to do this, a research question has been formulated. *What environmental discursive storyline led to the Waorani resistance lawsuit in 2019 and what are its effects?*

2. Background

2.1 The Pink Tide and Contentious Politics in Ecuador

In the past fifteen years there has been a significant divergence from the common neoliberalism in countries like Ecuador, Bolivia, Venezuela, and even Brazil more recently (Zaitchik, 2019). Neoliberalism emerged when the World Bank and IMF offered loans to a host of Global South countries, in return for the state's adoption of austerity packages and opening to trade and finance. These policies were designed to decrease the role of the state by reducing public spending across all sectors and increasing the role of private capital. A drastic increase in resistance to neoliberalism included indigenous peoples, farmers, the landless, and the unemployed, all of which elevated transformative ideas that criticized US hegemony and traditional notions of development and capitalism (Williford, 2018). Some Latin American countries have responded to the post-neoliberal movement by electing left-wing political leadership and altering their economic and social policy. Commonly referred to as *neo-extractivism*, countries began stressing the government's control over extractive industries, defining the oil sector as a strategic asset. This asserts that the state, not foreign firms, ostensibly extracts oil with attention toward using oil rents to support social services and improve infrastructure (Lu et al, 2017).

The indigenous movement in Ecuador saw the election of Correa 2007 as a great success. A new constitution was approved by a landslide in a popular referendum in 2008, which augmented a set of rights that had been at the center of previous indigenous-led struggles. Those included the plurinational state (coexistence of different ethnicities and cultures), legal pluralism, participatory democracy, and the right to administer ancestral territories, and the rights of nature (Lalander et al, 2019). After his first term, Correa's reelection in 2009 and through 2017 was a tremendous shift in the political stability of Ecuador. The National Plan for Good Living (2009-2013) & (2013-2017) were the National development plans that characterized Correa's administration due to the inclusion of *buen vivir*. The more recent plan (2013-2017) defines buen vivir as "the style of life that enables happiness and the permanency of cultural and environmental diversity; it is harmony, equality, and solidarity. It is not the quest for opulence of infinite economic growth" (Williford, 2018). In the first years of Correa's presidency there was also change in

governance; people from grassroots movements were incorporated into ministries and communication between civil society and the state was enhanced (Lalander & Merimaa, 2018).

However, the relationship between the indigenous movement, environmental activists and Correa quickly shifted, as the promises of safeguarding the rights of nature and indigenous territories had consequently clashed with Correa's neo-extractive economic policies (Lalander & Merimaa, 2018). The exploitation of nature for human need is an accepted part of most theories of modernity, but it is incompatible with buen vivir as a philosophy, and contradicts the tenets found in the National Plan for Good living (2009-2013) & (2013-2017) (Williford, 2018). The National Plan for Good Living acknowledged a process of long-term structural change, but lacked a timeline for when the contradictions in values and practices would actually see a commitment to counter-hegemonic change in Ecuador (Williford, 2018).

Correa's decision to stop the funding for an indigenous institution *(Council for the Development of Indigenous Peoples and Nationalities of Ecuador*)(CONAIE) and the removal of the autonomy of the *National Directorate for Intercultural Bilingual Education* that had previously been controlled by CONAIE was interpreted as attempts to discipline indigenous groups that had criticized the government's economic policies and supported the anti-mining movement (Lalander & Merimaa, 2018). Correa showed other autocratic tendencies, he concentrated power; controlling the courts and accountability agencies; rewriting the constitution in favor of centralism; attacking the media; curbing NGOs and civil society; creating top-down "grassroots" movements; criminalizing protest; and indiscriminately treating critics as enemies (Torre, 2018). Under Correa's administration, corruption became widespread.

2.2 The Return to Neoliberalism and The Waorani Resistance

In the 2017 presidential election, Correa used all his powers to boost his favored candidates into office. Lenin Moreno won with 51.2 percent, and despite the assumption of being a mere extension of Correa, this signaled a reversal of Correa's state-oriented macroeconomic policies (Torre, 2018). Moreno's election marked a socio-political opening, as Moreno opened dialogue with oppositional sectors in the first months of his presidency (Lalander & Merimaa, 2018). In December 2017, after a two-week, 200-mile march by Indigenous activists from the Amazon to Quito, the capital, Moreno declared the ending of all

new mining and oil concessions unless prior consultation with affected peoples is held according to the constitution (Lalander & Merimaa, 2018). This, however, was a short lived reality. In a 2018 televised address, Moreno stated that "it's time for the private sector to invest", arguing that private partnerships in the infrastructure, oil, energy, mining and telecoms sectors could generate seven billion dollars (US) of investment by 2021 (Loki, 2019). Despite this contradiction, recent literature has suggested that Moreno's government has been an overall improvement in democracy, as he has let civil society groups function without fear of repression and has been working to depoliticize the institutions of justice and accountability (Torre, 2018).

The shift towards neoliberalism has not seen a decrease in social resistance in Ecuador. One case in particular has set an incredible precedent for all indigenous peoples and the protection of the Amazon. In February of 2019, hundreds of indigenous Waorani elders, youth and leaders went to the city of Puyo to protest while simultaneously launching a lawsuit that if they won, would stop the government from ever auctioning off their ancestral lands to oil companies in the future (Loki, 2019). The lawsuit specifically accused the Ecuadorian Ministry of Energy and Non-Renewable Natural Resources, the Secretary of Hydrocarbons and the Ministry of the Environment of violating the Waorani from Pastaza's right to free, prior and informed consultation before an oil auction in 2012. As reparation for the violation, the Waorani demanded that the State refrain from permitting any new auctions or concessions related to extractivism without complying with the international norms of consultation. After many hearings, protesting, testimonies, and international support, the Waorani succeeded in their resistance. Even after an appeal, the judges ratified the ruling in favor of the Waorani, permanently protecting their rainforest from extractive projects (Amazon Frontlines, 2019). This thesis will assess the Waorani's environmental discursive storyline and its effects. This will provide an in-depth understanding of how an environmental discourse can help improve democracy by inclusion of actors outside of traditional political institutions; which then can result in the inclusion of the rights of nature.

3. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for my research is inspired by Lalander & Merimaa, (2018) but will focus specifically on Dryzek's (2002) conceptualization of deliberative democracy. By drawing a distinction between the traditional theoretical classification of deliberative democracy and his own more critical strand of the theory, Dryzek's *discursive democracy framework* will be utilized to understand how the rights of nature can be included in democratic deliberation by spontaneous order with civil society and social resistance. Dryzek produces a theoretical lens that encompasses the complexity and relationship between social resistance and inclusion of the environment as an entity that should be represented. While discursive democracy will provide the theoretical foundation for the research, Dryzek's (2013: 17) analytical tools for the assessment of environmental discourses and their effects will then guide the data analysis. The analytical tools will aid in contextualizing the Waorani's environmental discursive storyline and how it has impacted the contentious environmental politics in Ecuador.

3.1 Discursive Democracy

Democratic legitimacy has come to be seen in terms of the ability or opportunity to participate in effective deliberation on the part of those subject to collective decisions. As defined by Dryzek (2002: 1), deliberation as a social process is distinguished from other kinds of communication in that deliberators are amenable to changing judgements, preferences, and views during the course of their interactions. The essence of democracy has altered widely towards deliberation as opposed to voting, interest aggregation, constitutional rights, or even self-government. In the traditional view of the deliberative democrat, accepted forms of communication are conditional, and the boundaries of those conditions are relatively contested- but the limits of what constitutes a deliberative democratic can be quite restricting (ibid: 1). Political scientist Lynn Sanders believes that deliberative democracy is actually undemocratic, since it excludes those who are less likely to present their arguments in ways that we recognize as characteristically deliberative (Curato et al, 2017). Many critics also hold the perspective that deliberative democracy is too idealistic and ignores power and politics (Bächtiger et al, 2018).

Dryzek's (2002: 3) discursive democracy does not seek to dismantle the fundamentals of deliberative democracy, but to create a variation that is critical in its orientation to established power structures and that distinguishes itself from the model confined to politics of liberal constitutionalism. The basic characteristics of discursive democracy according to Dryzek should be pluralistic in accepting the necessity to communicate across difference without erasing difference, reflexive in questioning orientation to established traditions, transnational in its capacity to extend across state boundaries into settings without constitutional framework, ecological in terms of openness to communication with nature, and dynamic in its openness to the constant changes, constraints, and opportunities for democratization. These factors address the general theoretical points that differentiate discursive democracy from its derived theory, deliberative democracy, but for the purposes of my research I will take my main theoretical frame from Dryzek's conceptualization of green democracy- the importance of non-human deliberation.

3.2 Green Democracy

One of the most distinguishing features of Dryzek's (2002: 141) discursive democracy is the concept of green democracy. Often political and democratic theorists are adamant that democracy is only for human beings, but communication in ecosystems *can* be connected with communication within the human world. Dryzek argues for an essential extension of democracy that transgresses the boundaries between humanity and the non-human world. This suggests that entities such as nature deserve to be represented and consulted in democracies. Dryzek insists that discursive democracy is better placed than any alternative political model to have engagement with natural systems, as it is able to cope with the challenge of the ecological crisis. Authentic deliberation involves reflection upon preferences induced by communication in a non-coercive way, and there is no reason why communication needs to have a human source. The answer to how that is possible is not literal equality in the capacity to speak, but Dryzek suggests that equality between humans and non-humans means two things. One is equality in the capacity to be represented, which involves treating something as present which is nevertheless not present literally or in fact. Even if nature cannot receive equality in the politics of presence, it can receive equality when it comes to the politics of ideas (ibid: 154).

The other kind of equality addresses the fact that democracy is about much more than representation. A capacity for effective and egalitarian listening is an essential component of a discursive democracy, and it helps in undermining unequal power distributions. A number of institutions for listening already exists- such as mandatory state-of the-environment reporting, and cumulative regional impact assessment. When communication between the non-human world and humans exists, then ecological communication needs to be interpreted. But unlike liberal democracy, the communication does not have to be meditated by material interests. Dryzek (2002: 159) notes that there are many potential ways of achieving co-ordination in collective decision-making, including hierarchies, markets, bargaining, law, coercion, violence, discussion, partisan mutual adjustment, and moral persuasion, among others.

3.3 Civil Society and Co-ordination through Spontaneous Order

The environmental problem-solving capacity of the state is unlikely to change in the near future. Though an ecological perspective points to methods of co-ordination that are not organized through the state but rise as emergent properties as the scale of ecological and social organization rises. Dryzek (2013: 158) calls this a spontaneous order, which can co-ordinate where the state does not or cannot. This co-ordination exists in connection and in association with the organizations of civil society. In connection with the organizations of civil society, organizations bring international dimensions to particular issues and help to bring an international perspective to particular governments. The co-ordination in association with civil society is discursive. When a state's institutions are weak or absent, discourses as social phenomena can and do co-ordinate the understandings and actions of disparate actors (ibid: 169). Spontaneous orders deal with conflicts with other centers of power; they will prevail sometimes, and sometimes not (ibid: 160). They can come into existence, grow, and die along with the importance of various issues.

Discursive democracy encompasses the activist in civil society as a legitimate actor in deliberation (Dryzek, 2002: 101). Dryzek argues in response to those who believe waves of public protest leave behind only burned-out activists, that social movements can produce lasting effects in political culture by legitimating particular forms of collective action. Dryzek (2002) situates social movements in discursive democracy within civil society by recognizing that pressures and movements for democratization almost always originate in insurgency in civil society. The Waorani resistance lawsuit embodies the concept of a

spontaneous order as a means to co-ordinate between humans and the rights of nature. Discursive democracy serves as the theoretical basis for this thesis and will build upon the concepts of green democracy and spontaneous order.

3.4 Environmental Discourse Analysis

The Waorani lawsuit and resistance to mining concessions in Ecuador exemplifies the discursive environmental paradigm on a broader scale. But specifically, the discourse that led to the Waorani case is an important insight for understanding past discourses of resistance, current environmental contentions and future implications for the environmental and developmental paradigm in Ecuador. My data analysis for the Waorani case will utilize Dryzek's (2013: 10; 17) categorizations of environmental discourses. Dryzek classifies discourses as a "shared way of apprehending the world". It enables people to interpret pieces of information and put them together into different stories. Every discourse rests on assumptions, judgements, and contentions that provide the basic terms for analysis, debates, agreements and disagreements; discourses allow stories to be told and can be abbreviated a storyline (ibid: 17). I will frame part of my analysis by categorizing the environmental discourse of the Waorani case within the main discourses presented in Box 1.1 (ibid: 14-16). In order to understand the categorization of the discourses, a few concepts must first be addressed. Environmental discourses situate themselves as departures of industrialism, which can be perceived as the commitment to growth in materialism. The departure can be reformist or radical; the distinction forms one dimension for categorizing the discourses. *Prosaic* departures leave the political-economic structures as a given set by industrial society, and do not require a new formation of society. *Imaginative* departures want to redefine the structures, as environmental problems are seen as opportunities for change.

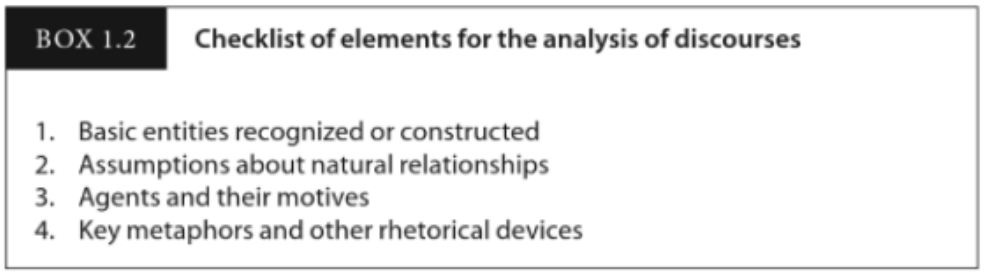
BOX 1.1 Classifying environmental discourses

	Reformist	Radical
Prosaic	Problem solving	Limits and survival
Imaginative	Sustainability	Green radicalism

(Dryzek, 2013: 16)

The first category, *environmental problem solving*, is defined by Dryzek (2013: 15-17) as maintaining the political-economic status quo while need of adjustment for coping

with environmental problems. This can take the form of putting prices on environmental harms and benefits or even institutionalizing environmental concern and expertise. *Limits and survival* is a discourse generally viewed as the idea that exponential economic expansion and population growth will at some point exceed the Earth's ability to support human agriculture and industrial activity. It advocates for an entire reorientation away from perpetual economic growth. *Sustainability* is imaginative attempts to dissolve the conflicts in environmental and economic values that drive problem solving and limits discourse. It is essentially the less radical version of limits discourse; in that it removes the imminent apocalyptic outlook. Finally, *green radicalism* rejects the basic structure of industrial society and traditional conceptualizations of the environment. It favors a variety of differing interpretations of humans, their society, and their place in the world. There are four tools that Dryzek uses to analyze environmental discourses that I will also employ for my analysis, as seen in Box 1.2.



BOX 1.2 **Checklist of elements for the analysis of discourses**

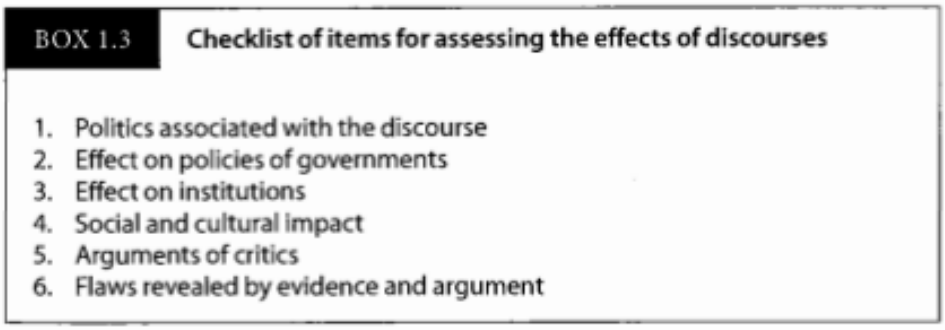
1. Basic entities recognized or constructed
2. Assumptions about natural relationships
3. Agents and their motives
4. Key metaphors and other rhetorical devices

(Dryzek, 2013: 20)

Dryzek (2013: 17) classifies the first element as the ontology of a discourse. This means that there are different discourses that view things differently in the world. While some discourses may organize their analyses on rational, egoistic human beings, others may believe in a variety of human motivations. The second element deals with the various notions of what is natural in relationships between different entities, that which all discourses embody (ibid: 18). The third element points to different use and portrayal of actors within different discourses, that the same actor can be an expert administrator or a selfish bureaucrat depending on the discourse. The final element includes the use of metaphors as rhetorical devices that are deployed to convince listeners or readers by portraying something in a particular way. Each element of the discourse analysis will help inform my own analysis of the environmental storylines of the actors involved in the Waorani case.

Dryzek's (2013: 21) intent in providing the tools for environmental discourse analysis is to promote critical comparative scrutiny of competing discourses of environmental concern. However, this thesis is not a comparative study. But by using the tool for assessing the effects of discourses in box 1.3, the analysis will provide a base for future comparison of

cases and environmental discourses, provide a more in-depth outlook on the Waorani case, as well as highlight the implications from the discourse that emerged from the data. The structure for assessing the effects of the Waorani discourse is based on Drysek's methods for discursive assessment found in Box 1.3, which will help place my research within the broader debates of contentious environmental discourse in Ecuador.



BOX 1.3 Checklist of items for assessing the effects of discourses

1. Politics associated with the discourse
2. Effect on policies of governments
3. Effect on institutions
4. Social and cultural impact
5. Arguments of critics
6. Flaws revealed by evidence and argument

(Dryzek, 2013: 21)

The implications of different discourses can highlight their utility and further understanding for what to expect of discourses in future contributions to the environmental debate, analysis, and action. Dryzek (2013: 19) views the *politics associated with the discourse* as an evolution of the political aspects of the discourse towards other political issues and movements. Sustainability moves towards business-friendly "green growth", and green radicalism moves towards a greater stress on justice. The *impact of a discourse* on policies can be reflected in both governments and international organizations (ibid: 20). Environmental discourses can *affect institutional innovations,* for instance problem-solving discourse helped extend the openness and reach of liberal democratic control of environmental affairs since the 1970s. Discourses can also become embodied in institutions, which allows discourses to constitute the informal understandings that provide the context for social interaction. Sometimes discourses do not have direct effects on policies or institutions but can be felt directly on *society and culture*. Contemporary social movements often target how people think, and their success can be viewed in those terms. When possible, to assess the impact of a discourse fully, the *arguments of critics* should be considered. Dispute does occur across boundaries of different discourses and helps to identify *flaws in a discourse*. Identifying flaw can also be helped by attention to the practical implications of the discourse in politics, policies, institutions, and beyond (ibid: 21).

4.Methodology

4.1 Research Design

This research is a case study that encompasses the duration of the Waorani resistance lawsuit and its outcomes. The utility of case study research lies in addressing complex relationships that can't be easily reduced to a causal explanation or statistical tests (Yin, cited in David, 2009). The aim of the research is to build upon Dryzek's (2002) theory of discursive democracy through analyzing the discursive storyline that circumscribed the Waorani lawsuit as well as its effects. The structure of the analysis is guided by Dryzek's (2013: 17) four analytical tools for the *assessment of environmental discourses* in Box 1.2. The tools highlight which of the four categories of environmental discourses found in Box 1.1 that the Waorani resistance subscribe to and allow for further analysis within the context of that discourse. In order to understand more clearly the immediate effects of the Waorani's discursive storyline, this thesis also uses Dryzek's (2013: 21) tools for *assessing the effects of discourses* in Box 1.3.

The method employed for the execution of my research is a qualitative content analysis. Webber (Halperin & Heath, 2012: 319) classifies qualitative content analysis as the assumption that it is possible to expose the meanings, motives, and purposes in the text and dialogue which can lead to the inference of valid underlying meanings of interest to a researcher. It is sensitive to the context in which texts are produced, and can inform us about meanings, norms, values, motives, and purposes- as well as latent dimensions of texts. In the absence of fieldwork throughout the occurrence of the lawsuit, the research is conducted using the closest alternative data to provide a narrative for analysis. Given the limitations and purpose of the thesis, a qualitative content analysis provides the best means for interpreting the discursive storyline of the Waorani lawsuit by using primary, narrative texts from the Waorani perspective.

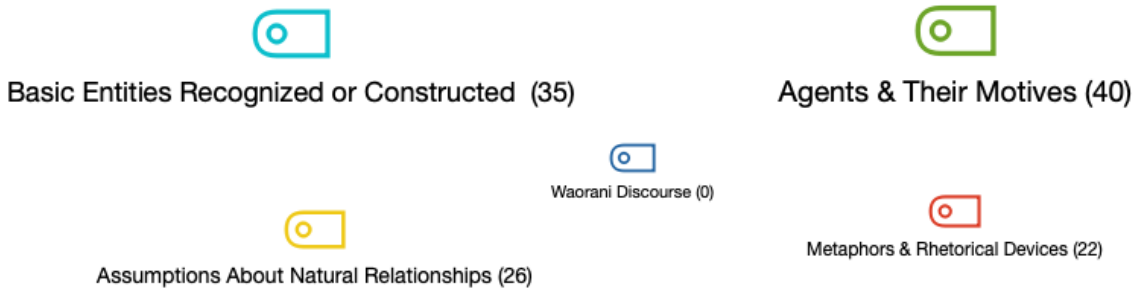
4.2 Data Collection and Analysis

The data was selected in order to analyze the discursive storylines of the Waorani resistance in the most unadulterated way possible. The material used in the thesis consists of nine primary sources from the representative of the resistance movement- Amazon Frontlines and its partner organization, Waorani Resistance. A comprehensive list of the documents can be found in the Appendix of this thesis in Box 1.4. The documents include news articles, press statements and a resistance statement from the narrative of the Waorani's representative, as well as direct quotes from leaders and members of the Waorani resistance. In order to ensure that the documents were selected without bias, the texts are available and accessible to the public in a pre-existing archive that can be found in the Appendix in box 1.4. The texts that were selected are a comprehensive representation of the scope, facts, narratives and actors involved in the Waorani resistance lawsuit. The data was coded manually using the computer program MAXQDA. There were two stages in the coding process. Themes were identified and categorized based on the analytical tools for assessing environmental discourses designed by Dryzek (2013) that can be found in Box 1.2. After assessing the discourse of the Waorani resistance, the codes were then further categorized within the context of the discourse by following Dryzek's checklist for identifying the effects of discourses found in Box 1.1. The data analysis provides a comprehensive and in-depth overview of the discursive storyline of the Waorani resistance, its effects, and its implications in the broader field of environmental discourses and discursive democracy.

Step one:

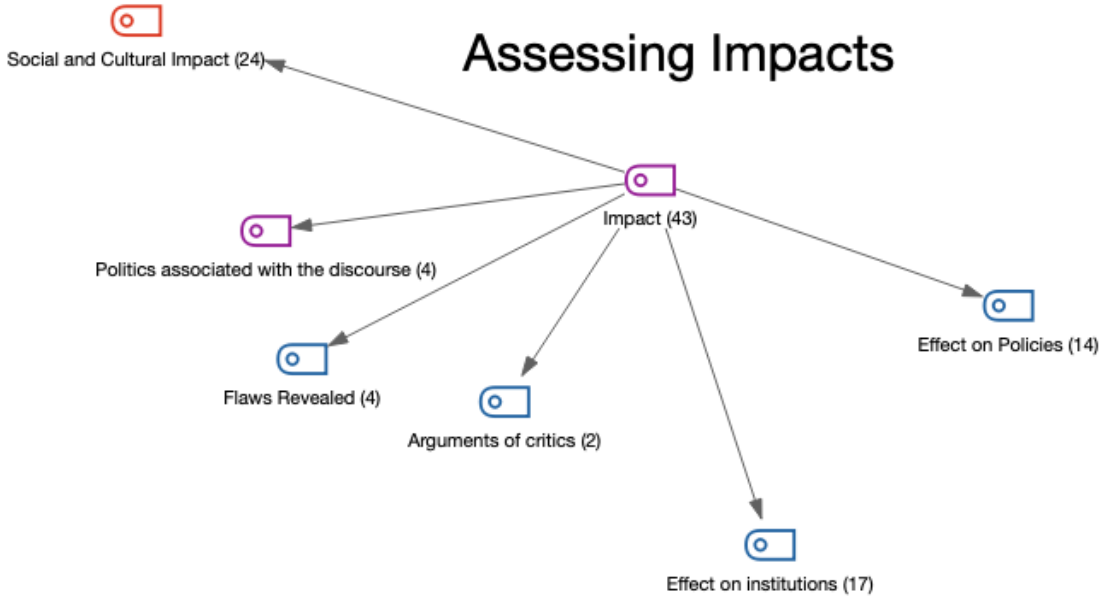
Box 1.5

Assessing the Environmental Discourse



Step two:

Box 1.6



4.3 Limitations

There are various factors that must be considered when understanding my research and its limitations. The limitation of using a case study is that it only represents one occurrence and does not necessarily provide a tough test of a theory (de Vaus, 2001 p.225). This provides little external validity as it does not provide the basis for generalizing to a wider population beyond the case. One other limitation is that the national language of Ecuador is Spanish, and the Waorani have a separate native language, Sabela, so many news articles, press releases and direct quotes are in Spanish or Sabela. Unfortunately, without literacy in Spanish or Sabela, the documents that I use in my research are either in English or translated through an online translator. Using a translator may impact the meaning and interpretation of certain words, phrases, or sentiments, which as a result can impact the reliability and validity of the research. However, that can be true of the interpretation of certain words, phrases, or sentiments in English as well. The interpretation of the data, though structured through a coding protocol, will have some margin of error. Despite the texts used in the research being primary sources, an additional limitation is that using data such as interviews would have helped create a more cohesive and holistic outlook for the Waorani discourse and its effects.

5. Analysis

The analysis of the data will be presented in three main sections. Each section will answer all of the elements of the research question - *What environmental discursive storyline led to the Waorani resistance lawsuit in 2019 and what are its effects?* First, the Waorani's environmental discourse will be presented. Then, contextualized by the discourse, the evidence that was used to assess the Waorani discourse will be presented in two subsections using Dryzek's (2013: 17) four tools found in box 1.2. Finally, the immediate effects of the Waorani case that emerged from the data will be highlighted following Dryzek's (2013: 20) checklist for assessing the effects of discourses.

5.1 The Dimensions of Green Radicalism

Throughout the process of coding and disseminating the data, it became abundantly clear that the Waorani discursive storyline adheres most similarly to green radicalism. Following the categories as seen in Box 1.1, the Waorani discourse takes a radical departure from the context of industrialism in an imaginative way. The entire political-economic structure of industrial society requires a complete change in the intentions of imaginative radical discourse. In the data, the intent of structural change was highlighted throughout documents in the social media campaign and the lawsuit. The Waorani's discourse treats the environment as the heart of society and its cultural, moral and economic systems, rather than as a source of difficulty outside these systems (Dryzek, 2013: 15; Amazon Frontlines, 2019).

Green radical discourse does not host a singular ideology. It contains a great variety of ideologies, parties, movements, groups, and thinkers. Green radicalism is defined by two categories: changed consciousness and green politics. Social movements are often found within the array of green radical ideologies and groups since they aim to change both the way people think and so behave in one respect, and political and economic institutions and collective decisions in another (Dryzek, 2013: 84). The Waorani discourse cannot be placed within just one specific ideology or movement or group. It contains factors that relate quite closely to certain groups, but the specific context of the Waorani resistance makes its discursive storyline unique within the overarching discourse of green radicalism. Thus, the Waorani resistance can be situated somewhere in both discursive categories of changed

consciousness and green politics. The consciousness shared by the Waorani resistance is driven by a way of viewing the environment through their connection and respect for nature while sustaining themselves largely from nature. One aspect of the Waorani's intent is to try to change others' consciousness and perception of nature and economic growth. The Waorani resistance can also be placed in green politics because the method used to express their intent to change people's consciousness includes a wider vision for structural change. Another aspect of their intent to challenge and change institutions, policies, and set a legal precedence for other indigenous communities is as much a part of the Waorani's discursive storyline as their intent to change people's perspectives and consciousness.

5.2 Green Consciousness

The Waorani resistance can be situated in the category of green consciousness because of their value system, culture and intentions. The method this research used to place the Waorani discursive storyline within green consciousness was through Dryzek's (2013: 17) four tools for assessing environmental discourses. The following section will present the storyline of green consciousness change and how it relates to the Waorani's discourse by first highlighting the ideology that most closely adheres to the Waorani storyline and then presenting the data's evidence of that adherence.

5.2.1 Ecological Citizenship

Many green ideologies share a similar intent- to live a life that coexists with nature rather than imposes on it. That is the basic tenet of ecological citizenship but separates itself from other green consciousness ideologies because it places emphasis on a commitment to a stewardship ethic and obligations to future generations and other species no matter where they live. It includes an awareness of how the ecosystem supports life, and of life's vulnerabilities (Dryzek, 2013: 193). The Waorani discursive storyline adheres most closely to ecological citizenship, unlike other forms of green consciousness, because it is completely removed from industrialized society and emphasizes the commitment to protecting and coexisting with nature for the future of their population, but also the world. The Waorani have accumulated an abundance of knowledge that utilizes the earth around them, including plants to heal and cure ailments and even a natural blowgun dart poison that is used as the primary

muscle relaxant around the world (Waorani Resistance, 2020). Their ecological consciousness is forged in their culture of living a healthy, vibrant, fearless life in the forest.

> "…Songs are used to teach life's lessons and raise children, rear children, memorize history and understand the complexities of the forest. The Waorani dance to promote family ties and healthy social structure. Their culture also bears an incredible repertoire of cultural- identifying crafts and iconic weaponry such as chonta wood blowguns and feather-laden spears" (Waorani Resistance, 2019).

The Waorani consciousness involves nature as an essential, sustainable means for survival but also acknowledges nature as its own entity. A repetitive theme in the data showed that aside from their demand for rights to self-determination, ancestral collective territory, and free, prior and informed consent to actions on their land, the rights of nature are just as strongly prioritized (Amazon Frontlines, 2019).

5.2.2 Assessing the Green Consciousness Discursive Storyline

The *basic entity whose existence is recognized and constructed* in green consciousness change is nature and natural systems. Nature takes precedence both as its own external entity as well as internal entity through the nature within humanity. Green consciousness change combines the two based on human sensibilities and obligations, while emphasizing that consciousness change would move away from unnatural practices that industrial society has instilled in people (Dryzek, 2013: 197). The Waorani resistance exemplifies the aim to change the practices of industrial society through consciousness in the ideology presented throughout the lawsuit and the social media campaign. The lawsuit was filed specifically for a past violation to free, prior and informed consent to extractive activities on their territory. However, the underlying intent was to change the perspectives and ideas of the judges of the case, the Ecuadorian government, and the public, all as a means to protect the Amazon, their way of living and their culture (Amazon Frontlines, 2019). "Our fight is not just about oil. This is a fight about different ways of living. One that protects life and one that destroys life" (Nemonte Nenquimo, cited in Amazon Frontlines, 2019). The intent of the consciousness change links with ecological citizenship by the prioritization of nature and preservation of their culture for future generations.

> "We demand that our rights be respected. For our children, for other indigenous communities. You judges, you have the responsibility to defend our rights, because what happens in our territories is our decision and our territory is not for sale. Our

> territory is part of our lands. We will fight to the end, not just here in this court. That is my last word, with all my heart and all my soul" (Nemonte Nenquimo, cited in Amazon Frontlines, 2019).

Green consciousness change *makes assumptions about natural relationships* that are based in nature. The relationships that emerge from assumptions about relationships between different green consciousness ideologies may differ in terms of nature's natural order, with some seeing hunting as innate, and others see harmony between humans and creatures. Ecological citizenship is rooted in the egalitarian view that there is no hierarchy that puts humans above everything else, including nature (Dryzek, 2013: 198). Understanding the Waorani's assumptions about natural relationships can be seen by the ways in which they live. Their relationship to nature is built on its ability and necessity for sustaining their lives, culture, and future (Amazon Fronlines, 2019). Throughout the data there were many instances that highlighted the detrimental effects of mining and extractivism can have on the Amazon. The intent to protect the Amazon from extractivism showed evidence of a mutually beneficial relationship with nature that does not place humans above it. "Today we have protected our forest form oil drilling; we have protected our children from sickness" (Oswando Nenquimo, cited in Amazon Frontlines, 2019).

Oil drilling would lead to poison in the creeks and fishing holes, that which they depend on for food and water. Explosives would be placed in their hunting grounds for seismic testing that could kill them and other animals and would destroy the earth. Building roads or pipelines or platforms for oil drilling would cause deforestation, impacting the air the Waorani breathe as well as the whole planet (Amazon Frontlines, 2019). The association between oil extraction and its negative consequences implicates how they perceive natural relationships- through cooperation and egalitarianism. The Waorani depend upon the land in order to survive, and this dependence is not rooted in anthropocentrism- the philosophy that humans are of the utmost significance- but in a profound respect that does not place their existence above the existence of the nature in which they live.

In the cultural aspect of green consciousness change there is cultivation of alternative kinds of ecological subjectivity. Every person can be an *agent with motives* and has the ability to create an individual relationship to the natural and human world. People are subject to themselves in how they forge and appropriate orientation to life. In the discourse of green consciousness, collective actors like governments or corporations are ignored or condemned. Though some individual actors can be more ecologically enlightened and can show others the way- which leads to changing the ideas and consciousness of others (Dryzek,

2013: 199). The agents in the Waorani discursive storyline display the structure between the natural and human world as detached from Western society and its industrial and economic structures. There are many remarks in the data that portray the actors in the Waorani discourse as ecologically enlightened, and those in industrial society as shallow or inconsiderate (Amazon Frontlines, 2019). However, the Waorani discourse does not explicitly suggest that anyone or any collective entity prescribe to their orientation to life, but rather uses implicit methods to assert their motive of consciousness change.

The Waorani portray themselves as actors protecting the rights of nature, their own survival and future, but the survival of the rest of the world, too. They link the preservation of the Amazon through the outcome of the lawsuit to giving millions of people air to breathe and a victory against climate change (Amazon Frontlines, 2019). The government and oil industry are actors portrayed as short-sighted and inconsiderate of indigenous lives. "For short-term economic gain, the Ecuadorian government and the international oil industry are prepared to cause irreparable harm to a millenary indigenous culture, threatening the forest and the rivers that the Waorani depend on for survival" (Waorani Resistance, 2019). Since ecological citizenship places emphasis on the preservation of life for future generations and species, the ascription of agency does not have to stop with human beings. Agency can exist in nature too. The agency of nature that exists in the Waorani discourse is implicit, as it is not described as a living, feeling entity, but an entity that has agency because of its integral role in the lives of the Waorani. This is exemplified through the frequent occurrence of a theme in the data- the rights of nature. The rights of nature are displayed in the Waorani discourse through the right to exist without destruction and human intervention. "Amidst the backdrop of decades of contamination and cultural disruption in indigenous territories across the Amazon by oil operations, the Waorani's court victory stands as a landmark victory for indigenous nations fighting to protect the last bastions of wild-standing forest" (Amazon Frontlines, 2019).

All of the various ideologies that advocate for green consciousness, including ecological citizenship, use a broad range of biological and organic metaphors. *Key metaphors and other rhetorical devices* are often used as a way to encourage others to experience the world in terms of green consciousness. Changing how people experience the world is crucial to green consciousness, and sometimes making an argument is simply not enough. Rhetorical strategies in green consciousness go beyond reason to passion and attempt to convince listeners to have an empathetic orientation to nature (Dryzek, 2013: 200). The Waorani lawsuit and resistance is armored with metaphors and rhetorical devices through emotional

appeal. The violation of their right to free, prior and informed consultation is used as the legal grounds for their case, however the entire resistance uses the legality in conjunction with many appeals to emotion, passion and intuition. In order to achieve an online presence and support from the international community, Waorani leaders and community members use the phrase "Stand with the Amazon" (Amazon Frontlines, 2019). This, not meant literally, signals an intent to change the perceptions of not just the Ecuadorian government or the judges of the case, but humanity on a much broader front. They also use statements such as "what my grandparents did, we are doing now, not leaving footprints", and "our rainforest is our life" as a way to allude to the importance of the lawsuit and its implications for nature and their survival (Amazon Frontlines, 2019).

> "The Waorani defend our forest because it gives life to our people, but it also gives life to the world. And that's why we are asking the world to stand with us. Together we must save the lungs of the earth from oil drilling" (Nemonte Nenquimo, cited in Amazon Frontlines, 2019).

The lungs of the earth refer to the Amazon and its ability to provide air to breathe to the world. Though the Waorani's appeal to emotion was not present only in the social media campaign, testimonies and statements during the lawsuit. During a hearing in March of 2019, Waorani women broke out in song in court and didn't stop until the hearing was suspended (Amazon Frontlines, 2019). They were protesting an unfair selection process that disregarded the approval of Waorani elders. The song used phrases like, "we do not want war as our ancestors did, we only want to be heard. We want peace, compassion and to understand" (Amazon Frontlines, 2019). The song was used as a way to evoke the emotion of the judges. As a result, it promoted consciousness change by enforcing the respect of their cultural norms. Thus, argument was not enough to persuade the court or bring attention to the public, and metaphors and rhetorical devices allowed the Waorani to make a consequential impact through methods of green consciousness. The use of emotional appeal in their metaphors and rhetoric can be placed specifically in ecological citizenship simply due to the intent of the devices to not only change the consciousness of others, but to protect and sustain the Amazon for the future.

5.3 Green Politics

The other category within green radical discourse is green politics. As the Waorani discursive storyline is situated in both green consciousness and green politics, this

section will again present the analysis of the data via Dryzek's (2013: 17) tools for assessing environmental discourses but will focus solely on the political elements of green radicalism. First, the Waorani discourse will be linked to a specific movement within green politics. Then, Dryzek's tools for assessing discourses will provide evidence of that link.

5.3.1 Environmentalism of the Global Poor

Like green consciousness, green politics holds a variety of different ideologies and schools of thought. The Waorani resistance shares some similarities to social ecology, in that hierarchy is the root of evil, at least in terms of nature being dominated by people (Dryzek, 2013: 210). The Waorani share the view with social ecologists that nature is a cooperative place that can be a model for a harmonious human society. It differs in that the Waorani resistance discourse comes from a non-western perspective, and as a result includes factors specific to their lived experiences that social ecology does cannot encompass.

Environmentalism of the global poor most closely adheres to the Waorani resistance discourse in green politics. It stems from the populations in the world that experience degraded environments very directly as a result of deforestation, falling water tables, soil erosion and physical displacement by large environmental projects. This discourse ofte results in social movements such as non-violent civil disobedience, hunger strikes, occupations, demonstrations, media publicity, and seeking support from NGOs. The movements often link environmental protection with social justice. Being preoccupied with immediate needs that affect their lives can be distant from more ecocentric greens in the developed world (Dryzek, 2013: 215-16). Martinez-Allier (2014) classifies environmentalism of the global poor as part of the wider 'environmental justice movement'. She contextualizes environmentalism of the poor in indigenous rights by highlighting the clash between economy and the environment through the social metabolism of industrial economies- that energy cannot be recycled and thus must be obtained from the "commodity frontiers" which are often in poor communities. Many movements in environmentalism of the global poor include more than environmental issues; independence struggles, anticorruption, political reform, and democracy are some of the other factors. Being in a disadvantaged position in the world, the main method for real impact is through the help of NGOs and international attention (Dryzek, 2013: 210).

The Waorani resistance can be placed most closely within environmentalism of the global poor due to the issues of pluralism, self-determination and cultural preservation in

addition to environmental concerns that led to the lawsuit and the social media resistance movement- both facilitated through the NGO Amazon Resistance (Amazon Resistance, 2019). Their discourse can also be placed in environmentalism of the poor since the resistance stems partially from the immediate threat of environmental degradation of extractive activities on their land, an issue that normally only occurs in populations of the global poor.

5.3.2 Assessing the Green Political Discursive Storyline

Similarly to green consciousness, the *basic entities whose existence is recognized or constructed* in green politics is in nature through the form of complex ecosystems, that requires humans change their ways. Though green politics differs in that necessary change is not simply cultural or consciousness. It is also necessary to enforce change in political and economic structures (Dyzek, 2013: 218-219). The political and economic structures that the Waorani resistance intend to change are all specific to the immediate threat of extractivism, an element that overlaps with environmentalism of the global poor. The underlying intentions of the Waorani resistance as addressed in section 5.2.2 are facilitated through their political intentions- to change the Ecuadorian government's policies and institutions surrounding extractivism. Though in the Waorani case, changing governmental policies and institutions actually just requires accountability for rights *already* set in the constitutional and international law (Amazon Frontlines, 2019).

It is through that accountability that the effectual change occurs in institutions and policies. If indigenous territories are properly consulted before any extractive activities or even oil bidding, communities have the right to refuse (Amazon Frontlines, 2019).
The Waorani explicitly state the need for institutional accountability due to the impact extractivism has on the Amazon, and their survival as well as other indigenous communities. What is implicated through these explicitly addressed changes is much broader. If extractivism in the Ecuadorian Amazon stops due to indigenous communities refusing to consent to it, the political and economic institutions as well as governmental policies will be forced to change. Through these elements, the Waorani's discursive storyline displays their adherence to elements of green political discourse and specifically to environmentalism of the global poor.

> "The interests and agreements of ministerial officers, private companies and economic agreements cannot be imposed on the lives of people and territories; Justice, previously

> submitted to the executive and its interest, today guarantees Constitutional rights, as it always should have been" (Amazon Frontlines, 2019).

The *assumptions about natural relationships* in green politics is similar to that of ecological citizenship in the green consciousness discursive storyline. It assumes a natural relationship of egalitarianism, at least in terms of the capacity to engage in reasoned communication about collective ends. Hierarchy reinforced by modernity is condemned. In green politics, in the relationship between humans and nature, humans are set apart by their reasoning capacities but that does not warrant the hierarchy of humans dominating nature (Dryzek, 2013: 219). In the specific political context of assumptions about natural relationships, the Waorani discursive storyline demonstrates that the hierarchy in modernity is rejected. The Waorani resistance uses the hierarchy in the government system through the lawsuit only as a means to enact political change, and not as acceptance of modernist structures. This is exemplified through the Waorani women singing in the courtroom to insist on the need for ample notification held in the city of Puyo in order to guarantee the travel and participation of witnesses and leaders, as well as to ensure that any translator used is approved by the elder leaders in line with Waorani tradition (Amazon Frontlies, 2019).

> "We cannot continue to allow the indigenous nations to be discriminated against, yet the Waorani today suffered from that discrimination. That's why they began to sing at the hearing, as a mechanism to be heard because the western world once again was trying to impose on them" (Marlon Vargas, cited in Amazon Frontlines, 2019).

Their rejection of modernist and human-nature hierarchy can be situated specifically in environmentalism of the global poor through the facilitation of the lawsuit with an NGO, the legal system of industrialized society, and social resistance as the means to cause change to a multitude of issues, including environmental protection, social justice, anticorruption and political reform.

In green politics, agency is given to a number of actors- not just individuals as in green consciousness. Collective actors in green politics can be movements, parties, states, and international organizations as well as individuals, however, largely ignores nature as having agency. The motivation of most green political ideologies and movements is multidimensional, including competition and cooperation, violence and peace, instrumental and communicative, selfish and public-spirited (Dryzek, 2013: 220). The *actors and their motives* in the Waorani discursive storyline aligns with green politics due to the inclusion of collectives as actors. Indeed, the Waorani themselves are individual actors, but in their social resistance movement can be seen as a collective with the motive to promote change through

elements of both green consciousness and green politics. The need for the collective actor, Amazon Frontlines, allows the Waorani resistance to be placed specifically in line with environmentalism of the global poor.

The political side of green radical discourse allows metaphors that are less vivid and colorful than those featured in green consciousness. *Key metaphors and rhetorical devices* in green politics differs from green consciousness because it involves arguments, not appeal to emotions. The rhetoric of the argument strives to achieve ideals of progress beyond the current industrial order rather than completely returning to a primitive form of living (Dryzek, 2013: 220). In relating the key metaphors and rhetorical devices used by the Waorani to its green political side, there are plenty of instances that display their use of arguments rather than emotional appeal. This is displayed in its most obvious form by the use of the lawsuit, which cannot function or hope to win without legitimate arguments. One of the defining arguments made by the Waorani resistance during the lawsuit is that "according to governmental data, Ecuador's proven oil reserves will be gone in under a decade- an amount equal to what the world consumes every two weeks" (Amazon Frontlines, 2019). The Waorani claim that the State already had the intention to bid the Waorani territory prior to the invalid consultation that took place in 2012. They also highlight the fact that the invalid consultation highlighted only benefits of the activities to which the indigenous population would access as a result of the extractive projects and did not include any information regarding possible social damages and negative environmental impacts. Nor did any of the language used in the invalid consultation provide a translation of the terms and their meanings in a way in which members of the community could recognize (Amazon Frontlines, 2019).

However, the Waorani do follow argument with emotional appeal quite often. This highlights why it is appropriate to place the Waorani discursive storyline in both green consciousness and green politics. Though, further following green politics, the rhetoric of the Waorani's arguments do also strive for progress beyond the current industrial order rather than the implementation of Waorani culture onto the rest of society. This is perhaps one of the most distinctive features of their discourse. The Waorani resistance does not suggest that the industrial society adopt the practices and culture of the Waorani or other indigenous communities in the Amazon. Rather, adapting industrial institutions to allow for the rights of nature the survival of their communities, and the right to self-determination is the intent (Amazon Frontlines, 2019). Changes to culture, consciousness and people's ideas could be a consequence of the changing institutions but is not the sufficient variable for their intended outcome. The Waorani's political rhetoric, like argument, can be placed in environmentalism

of the global poor through their use of social resistance movements in order to display their arguments. Appeals to emotion can bring a cause further by reaching past reason and argument- but has no ground without a foundation in argument and reason.

5.4 The Effects of the Waorani Discourse

What distinguishes the impact of green consciousness change from the impacts of green politics is that green consciousness discourse wants people to be different, not just the policies of governments and economic and political institutions and practices. The assumption is that once others' consciousness is different, positive ecological consequences will follow. When social movements use green consciousness as a means to change society, the impact is often felt through changes in culture, ethics, and people's behavior (Dryzek, 2013: 201). But changing of the macro structures of society like political and economic institutions that are so entrenched in industrialism may be an impossible task through green consciousness change. Social movements in green politics, on the other hand, have the rhetorical ability to change the terms of policy debate, create fear of political instability, the production of ideas, and the embarrassment of governments (ibid: 222). Structurally, movements have to ability to force social justice and environmental issues onto the agenda of both governments and economic organizations. Though the intent of green politics is not necessarily to demand a blueprint for an alternative society and political economy. There lacks a coherent outlook on a world that restructures its political economy, let alone a plan for how it could occur. What green politics does have is ideas that can mold a decentered approach to the achievement of a greener society. This would allow various general orientations to be given by green discourse, with specifics varying quite substantially depending on the context (ibid: 229).

The Waorani discursive storyline cannot be placed in only one of the two green radical discursive categories. As was displayed throughout the analysis, the Waorani resistance discourse holds features that overlap with various green ideologies and movements. Though the only way to truly represent the Waorani discourse is to classify it as its own identity within the realm of ideologies, movements, groups and thinkers in green radicalism despite drawing upon various elements of ones that already exist. Due to the recency of the Waorani lawsuit and its verdict, the long-term impacts of the verdict and movement are still unfolding. The following section will present the immediate impacts of the Waorani resistance that have emerged from the analysis of the data through the lens of green

radicalism. The structure will follow Dryzek's (2013: 21) checklist in Box 1.3 for assessing the effects of discourses.

5.4.1 Assessing the Effects

The *politics that are associated with the Waorani resistance discourse* have impacted activists, organizations, and NGOs that are interested in protecting the Amazon and indigenous rights. The Waorani discourse "has built a global movement of solidarity with the struggle, garnering more than 110,000 signatures" that caused the social media movement to mobilize further international recognition and support as well as hold the Ecuadorian government accountable (Amazon Frontlines, 2019). The Waorani resistance discourse has also set a political precedence for other movements and communities that are facing issues of extractvism, discrimination or violence.

> "Today's lawsuit has the potential to set precedent for future legal strategies in defense of indigenous lands and against the violation of indigenous rights across the Amazon and around the world" (Amazon Frontlines, 2019).

The Waorani's discourse has *affected the policies of the Ecuadorian government* in two ways. One impact is that the lawsuit caused a "major setback for the Ecuadorian government's plans to develop oil resources across the Southcentral Amazon" (Amazon Frontlines, 2019). The policy implications have caused president Moreno to reassess the use of extractivism for further economic growth. The other policy impact of the Waorani discourse is that the ruling led to a reparation including a substantive process "which guarantees the participation of the authorities and representative organizations or indigenous communities and peoples, as well as of people directly interested, … through autonomous consultation protocols according to indigenous customs, norms and traditions" (Espinosa, 2019).

The *effect* of the Waorani discourse on political *institutions* have lasting implications in Ecuador. The lawsuit, which was filed against the Ministry of Energy and Nonrenewable Resources and the Ministry of the Environment, shows the corruption and discrimination towards indigenous rights that have long impacted the actions taken by those institutions and imposed on indigenous societies despite clear constitutional and international law (Amazon Frontlines, 2019). The Waorani resistance has allowed the rights of nature and indigenous peoples to be more democratically involved in decision-making concerning their territory and the environment. As the Ministry of Energy and Nonrenewable Resources and

the Ministry of the Environment both facilitate the country's environmental practices, upholding the Waorani's constitutional rights for free, prior and informed consent has led to increased accountability and obligation to respect indigenous right to self-determination within institutions.

The *social and cultural impact* of the Waorani resistance discourse is exemplified through the rulings' implications on the Waorani's existence, cultural traditions, and way of life. The most obvious social and cultural impact is that winning the lawsuit enforces the standard that the Waorani and those that live in the Amazon are able to maintain distance and autonomy from industrialized society while upholding their livelihoods and traditions without fear of the consequences of extractive activities.

The *arguments of critics as well as flaws that have been revealed* throughout the analysis of the data are quite subjective. Opponents to the Waorani resistance lawsuit view the extractive industry as a necessary means for economic growth and social welfare within Ecuador. The problem with any discourse is that it is difficult to understand the perspectives and discourses that are different from it. In the Waorani resistance discourse, there aren't any acknowledgements of the economic burden of not using the extractive sector as a way to boost the economy or relieve some of the national debt. Though this does not suggest that the Waorani discourse is flawed. There are just different issues that, on either side of the argument, seem at odds with one another. The effect of these contentions through the Waorani discursive storyline has caused the Ecuadorian government to "disobey the judges of Ecuador" and maintain the potential to sell the oil blocks in the future (Amazon Frontlines, 2019). Still, the eventual effects of the Waorani resistance discourse remain to be seen.

6. Conclusion

This research was conducted for the purpose of understanding the complexities and significance of the Waorani resistance lawsuit by assessing the Waorani's environmental discursive storyline. The Waorani case builds upon the theory of discursive democracy via green democracy by demonstrating how the Waorani social resistance movement used co-ordination through spontaneous order -the lawsuit and resistance movement- in order to represent the rights of nature. The analysis has shown that the environmental discourse that led to the Waorani resistance adheres to green radicalism. The discourse reflects characteristics of both categories of green radicalism- green consciousness and green politics. The Waorani's motives and methods of expressing them throughout the resistance highlighted that it does not adhere to one specific ideology, group, or movement, but reflects elements of many. The Waorani's discourse clearly shows that using social mobilization and appeal to emotion in conjunction with sound arguments can induce impacts in many ways. The Waorani case has had an effect on politics, policies and institutions, and culture within Ecuador, as well as their own self-determination. As the long-term effects have yet to unfold, future research could assess the long-term effects of the Waorani case as well as compare it to other environmental discursive storylines using social resistance. The Waorani resistance has proven to be an incredible example of how the use of social resistance and green radicalism can have substantial impacts on environmental protection and indigenous rights.

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8. Appendix

Box 1.4	Link to the Archive: https://www.amazonfrontlines.org/news/		
Name of Document	Date Written	Type of Document	Code
Indigenous Waorani People of Ecuador's Amazon Launch Lawsuit to Protect Their Ancestral Lands from Oil Auction	February 28th, 2019	Press Release	Doc1
Waorani Women Forces Judge to Call Lawyers to the Bench, Hearing for High Stakes Lawsuit Suspended Until Further Notice	March 13th, 2019	Press Release	Doc2
On the Violation of the Right to Free, Prior and Informed Consultation and Self-Determination Against 16 Waorani Communities	April 19th, 2019	News Article	Doc3 (Translated)
Waorani People Win Landmark Legal Victory Against Ecuadorian Government	April 26th, 2019	News Article	Doc4
The Consultation Without Consultation of 2012	May, 2019	News Article	Doc5 (Translated)
Waorani Launch Global Campaign to Save their Amazon Homeland from Oil	June 25th, 2019	Press Release	Doc6
Waorani People Face Off with Ecuadorian Government in Appeals Court to Defend Legal Victory Protecting their Amazon Homeland from Oil	July 1st, 2019	Press Release	Doc7
A Powerful Message from Waorani Women to the United Nations	July 24th, 2019	Press Release	Doc8
In Defense of a Forest Homeland	2020	Resistance Statement	Doc9