



Research Article

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Perception of the Urban Space of the Waorani Nationality in Shell Township, Pastaza, Ecuador

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Abstract

The township of Shell in the Province of Pastaza, Ecuador was initially an exploration base and later, a missionary base for evangelization of the peoples and nationalities of the Amazon. It plays an important role in the Waorani nationality and its social, cultural and economic dynamics, especially in the Nuevo Amanecer neighborhood, which is home to approximately 43 Waorani families whose epicenter has become a strategic space for their territorial dynamics. The research, through ethnographic methodologies and field work, has allowed to establish the perception from the Waorani nationality to the urban space. During the development of this study two sources of information were applied: methodological bibliography and thematic content reference. The study of 120 members of 43 Waorani families of the Ecuadorian Amazon and a process of direct observation, as a participant observer during the years 2019-2020-2021-2022, resulted in a conceptual model Bailey (1996), where the Waorani use preferences of displacement, economic attributes of the area, location of residence, representation of the spatial-urban structure, space-action, time of stay, activity space and objective spatial structure of the urban environment; and a transect as a very effective method to recognize population movements, sectoral differences, topographic slopes and social dynamics presented in the territory from a plan and elevation view. Human beings adapt easily to new spaces, in spite of cultural and social differences, their assimilation processes will depend on their capacity to approach and accept the environment. The Nuevo Amanecer settlement has motivated families to move to peri-urban or urban spaces in intermediary cities, which has provoked a forced adaptation and assimilation due to the same processes involved in rural-urban relations.

Keywords: Urban anthropology; urban space; Waorani; urban perception, settlements

1. Introduction

There is an emerging literature that considers the indigenous linkage with urban spaces as part of a much more complex dynamic, in which processes of re-territorialization and re-indigenization are

also considered (Eloy 2015, Peluso 2015a), for example, Jaramillo's (2009) studies that deals with the urban problem in the Amazon. Therefore, anthropology (Jaramillo, 2009) and geography (Soja, 2005), among other disciplines, have initiated a process of rediscovery of the presence of indigenous communities in the cities in order to understand the characteristics and conditions of the presence and movement of these communities to the cities of the Amazon region. However, there is little progress in social sciences studies on this issue.

The question that sets the starting point of this article is: How are Amazonian urban spaces formed and what are the perceptions of the Waorani nationality? One of the essential characteristics of the demographic processes in Latin America has been the urbanization and migration of indigenous populations to the urban centers of the region. "They constitute, probably, the most important migratory phenomenon in Latin America in this century" (Stavenhagen, R., 1992:73).

According to Espinosa de Rivero (2009), on the Amazon region of Peru "we can find Amazonian indigenous people living not only in large cities and regional capitals such as Iquitos, Pucallpa or Puerto Maldonado, but also in intermediary cities such as La Merced, Satipo, Tingo Maria or Jaen. This new situation raises important questions about the different ways in which indigenous societies relate to the urban".

Urban anthropology, ethnography and sociology to understand perceptions of urban space: In this paper it is understood urban anthropology, inspired by the tradition of Thompson (1979), as a "set of behavioral models and world views shared by a community as a result of both, the selective accumulation of past experiences and responses to present challenges". The "city emerges as a representation from the place that the subjects themselves occupy" (Angier, 1999:16). Therefore, urban description should focus on singular examples, "captured live", not with the aim of drawing a quantitative or "naively realistic" vision, but in order to make known a double and uncertain city.

The anthropological style of knowing has something peculiar to reveal about the forms of multiculturalism (Garcia Canclini, 2004). In this sense, the approach to urban space from the perception of a community like the Waorani gives multiple answers to these ways of inhabiting the urban and their perceptions about it.

To understand the behavior, adaptability, integration and ruptures of these human groups in the urban context where they live, their interrelationships must be explored with an integral and transversal scope. It could be synthesized by using Clyde Kluckbohm's (1994, p.9) definition of anthropology as the "science of human similarities and differences".

This view from up close and within implies traditional social ties; the existence of groups, networks, systems of exchange, meeting points, institutions, agreements, paths and many other mediations through which the citizen, neighbor and resident effectively participates in the daily life of the city. The simple strategy of accompanying one of these individuals on their usual journeys would reveal a map of displacements predetermined by significant contracts, in contexts as varied as work, leisure, religious and associative practices. It is at this level that the close-up and insider perspective appear, capable of learning the behavioral patterns, not of atomized individuals, but of the multiple, varied and heterogeneous groups of social actors whose daily life takes place in the urban landscape and depends on its facilities and infrastructure (Guilherme Magnani, 2022, 17).

Urban space and anthropology: Gulick (1984) proposes a transition from the micro to the macro, where the frames of reference and problematization are the following: (a) studies done in the city; (b) studies of social problems where the city appears as a specific referent, without detracting from the social problem; (c) studies of the city more akin to urban planning. The city is no longer considered as the backdrop of micro social realities whose characteristics are to be studied, but rather it is at the center of the scene, in one of the following two perspectives: either as a spatial and social reality that generates and conditions attitudes and behaviors; or as a spatial and social reality that identifies itself, that is constituted by those behaviors and attitudes (Signorelli 1999).

Initially simplifying these forms of approaching the urban, "Anthropology in the city" is based on the recovery in the urban context of the traditional objects of study/research: family and kinship; local groups and neighborhoods; traditions and rituals. Together with microsociology, they have

shown how the traditional forms of social structure and cultural heritage do not dissolve in the urban context; on the contrary, these forms are redesigned and refunctionalized to the point of becoming important elements not only in the integration of migrants, but in the restructuring of the city.

On the other hand, the “Anthropology of the city” vision is the perspective that considers that the urban is not the framework of micro social realities, but is the center of the research scene: spatial and social reality that generates and conditions attitudes and behaviors. Gulick (1989), identifies two major levels of connections: social networks in large cities, which he designates as micro and macro scale support systems, micro scale connections being based on personal bonds (territorially, as neighborhoods and vicinities or networked spaces) and macro scale connections based on subcultures of a universal type (ethnic, social class, life cycle) or on collective lifestyles. Ulf Hannerz, in his *Exploration of the City* (1986: 15, 277-288), emphasizes that Urban Anthropology should not be devoted to the study of villages or urban communities, but rather focus on specialized and extensive spaces in the context of a plurinational city. In this regard, this investigation of the Waorani community in Shell township follows this concept.

In the case of Ecuador, the development and growth of an urban Amazonian space began in the 1970s with the discovery of crude oil reserves in the north of the region, giving rise to Texaco’s oil exploitation in the province of Sucumbios, although a few years later, the exploitation was extended to the provinces of Napo and Orellana (Tapia 2004). Subsequently, human settlements grew and expanded, generating urban centers through enclave economies, which eventually became strategic service centers (Lago Agrio, Coca) for industrial facilities (Tapia 2004; Acosta 1995).

However, in the Amazonian Shell township, this process is previous. Since the mid 1930’s it has been key in the processes of consolidation of the exploratory advance by the North American company after which the township is named. In 1936, the Leonard Exploration Oil Company abandoned the area and in 1937, under concession, the Shell Company began the exploration of oil wells in more than two million hectares. By appropriating the lands of the settlers, the Shell Company set up its camps in what is today the Shell township and this is how this place became a major center of oil operations in the Amazon (Cordova, 2015).

The Amazonian urban space: Taking Tapia’s (2004) definitions, “urbanization observed in the Amazonian context necessarily starts from the rural as the primary element from which a progressive urbanization arises through the opening of roads and highways that make possible the emergence of new settlements and enclave economies that favor the growth of urban centers with greater accessibility to services, generating permanent mobility”. According to Nel-lo (1998), there is an “oil slick” growth that goes from peri-urbanization to rurbanization.

Three quarters of Ecuador’s Amazonian urban population growth are located in second-tier cities and smaller urban areas, usually recently converted into cities (Davis, 2008).

For this reason, this article works on the scale of a small city (due to its structure and physiognomy) where urban and rural areas converge, such as the Shell Township in the Mera canton of the province of Pastaza. Shel township is a Decentralized Autonomous Government (GAD).

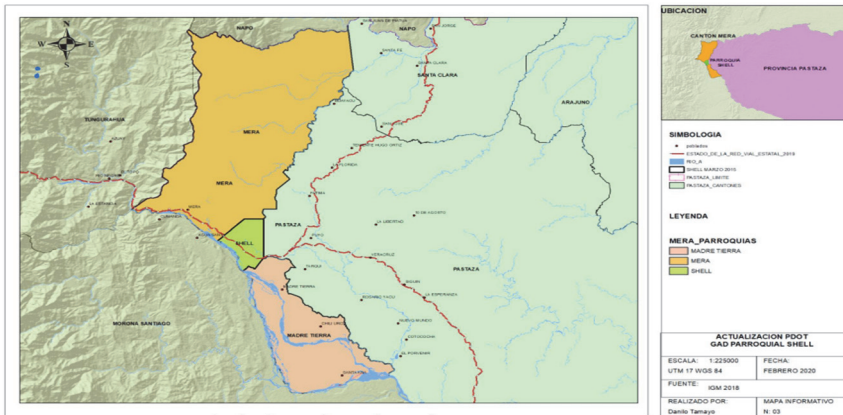


Figure 1. Township location provided by IGM (2018)

Small and medium-scale urban formations undergo intense processes of reconfiguration of new ruralities (Amoroso & Dos Santos, 2013; Costa & Lasmar, 2011; Ortiz, 2003). There, changes and exchanges that shape relationships and perceptions of urban, peri-urban and rural space take place.



Figure 2. Aerial view of the Nuevo Amanecer settlement obtained from GEO-Engineering, 2020

The urban environment is also susceptible to modifying the way of life as well as personal and social values. Four elements play a preponderant role in this process: the notions of density, socioeconomic categories, age groups and the habitat quality (Bailly, 1979). “The understanding of the different spaces depends on the activities and concerns of each person ... Outside these well delimited areas, man no longer grasps an environment that is not functional for him. The space between the area where one lives and the urban center, often crossed for various reasons, is perceived, in a particular way. Certain poles, located along the axes of displacement are valued for different reasons: functional, historical or cultural” (Bailly, 1979, 49-50).

Perception of urban space: We echo the question with which Bailly (1979) begins his work “The Perception of Urban Space”: Why conduct research on the perception of urban space? Spatial reference systems condition, on the one hand, the way habitable space is hierarchized

and used; on the other hand, the mode in which the image of a place is shaped, therefore, the way space is understood (Gooycolea Prado, 2005).

Salcedo (2016) raises a problem that has not been sufficiently addressed in urban studies, due to the need to formulate descriptions and concepts that, in broad terms, have served urban planning to understand urban identity, change and citizenship, as processes generated from the state for the inhabitants of cities: "Said problem is the perception in urban spaces, meaning to perceive our actions, what we say, change and our bodily disposition in relation to the rules in the city, and to the reproduction and repetition of what Marcel Mauss calls "techniques of the body" (1992) regarding to a language of anticipation to what is new or to what may seem strange and incomprehensible" (Salcedo, 2016).

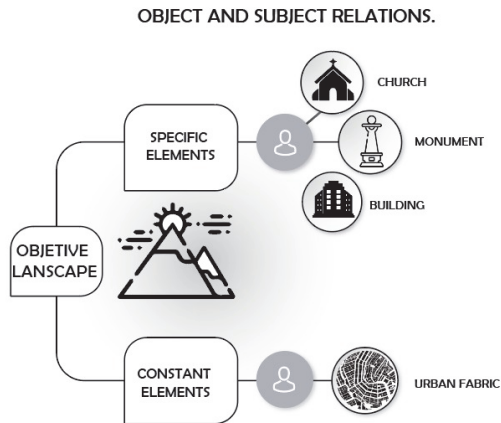


Figure 3. Object and subject relations, Quishpi F., 2023.

The subject-object relationship allows us to analyze the subjective urban landscape (Figure 3). It is first necessary to clarify a typology of the object, which is composed of two groups of elements: singular elements and constant elements. Singular elements are the landmarks that structure the landscape, such as a church or a monument. The constant elements constitute the essential part of the urban fabric that make it homogeneous. These elements have urbanistic and architectural characteristics. This article focuses on the urbanistic characteristics that, following Bailly's analysis (p.57), depend on six components:

- A. Implementation of constructions (grouped or dispersed habitat).
- B. Type of grouping (banding, crowded, around courtyards, etc.).
- C. Distribution of spaces (open or closed, streets).
- D. Scale of the spaces (width of the axes, height of the buildings), and their characteristics.
- E. Characteristics of the people (Introverts, extroverts)
- F. Presence of plants and nature.

In the analysis of the urban space of Bogotá, Salcedo (2016) explains that there is a connection between practices of sensory perception, habits, representation and cultural difference. The interpretative principle that guides it, is the relationship between the notions of mimesis and otherness, as understood from a sociocultural and historical perspective in recent post structural approaches. "The appearance or physiognomy of a space is a representation of its social interactions in conjunction with the architectural space as well as with the social and sexual division of labor, but at the same time it is a representation of unconscious actions linked to the way of inhabiting a space, and these actions are traces of practices from the historical past and the relationship with technology and the media." (Salcedo, 2016). Capturing in the urban environment, not only perception, activities

or behaviors, but also and above all, the existing links between space and the whole of these phenomena (Bailly, 1979).

Horton and Reynolds (1971) have proposed a conceptual model to define and measure the actions of individuals in urban space according to their perception of urban spatial structure (Figure 03). On the one hand, it is necessary to inquire about familiarity to understand the nature of the link between urban environment and symbol: the representation of the urban structure and the objective spatial structure of the urban environment. Both constitute the space – action in which a person, a family or a community (in this case the Waorani) prefers to be located, to remain in that place of residence, how and where to move, to develop their activities (social, cultural and economic).

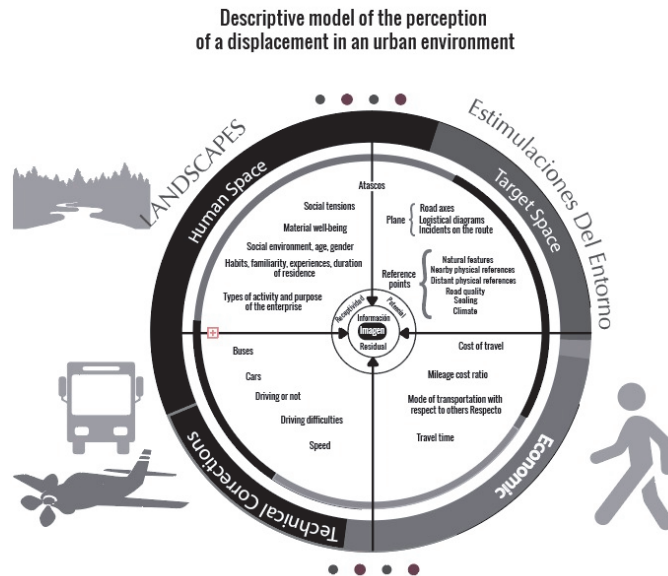


Figure 4. Descriptive model of the perception of a displacement in an urban environment, Quishpi F., 2023.

Certainly, the city is made up of streets, parks, buildings and infrastructure, but also of the institutions and the people who live and lived in there, as well as what happens and happened in it. Hence the importance that sociologists and urban planners recognize to the urban image and memory as a factor of identification and social cohesion (Gooycolea Prado, 2005). For a resident of a neighborhood, the environment is so familiar that he captures it better than any other person; objects and people are there, in the area, with their identity and characteristics. The information and stimuli of the environment do not provoke identical reactions in every person (Bailly, 1979).

“The unique impetus to survive the changes that the urban confronts people with, in order to understand what urban life is and how individuals share it. An urban ‘second nature’, a tactile quality that allows people to explore differences through imitation and the perception of it or familiarization with urban spaces and, at the same time, to produce forms of uniformity that represent expressions of complacency or rejection with respect to crises and changes. Understanding the migrant and the phenomenon of migration, as well as the production of heterogeneity in the city, involves addressing this perception of imitation. The migrant copies and produces imitations to face the ruptures” (Salcedo, 2016). Space only exists through the perceptions that the individual may have of it, which necessarily condition all his or her subsequent reactions. For this reason, this space is far from being

equivalent to itself (Moles, 1972). Urban spaces are appropriated and divided by each individual (as well as by each community? as it was developed in this study on the Waorani community) according to their own systems of reference (Bailly, 1979).

This reproduction of practices and “improvisations” serve people to interpret their “membership to society” (Holston and Appadurai, 1996) or their citizenship, in societies where the meaning of modernizing is still sought, and where in contrast, the transgression of norms and subway mechanisms are socialized to contribute the understanding of everyday life practices, as continuities between body, action, place and the mechanical reproduction in what would be an exploration of the sensorial tactility of the city in a context of multiple expressions, not only of a verbal nature but also involving the interlocution of three levels: 1) a special horizon; 2) the knowledge and understanding of a situation and common experience to the actors engaged in the practice of an action; and 3) an evaluation of the situation lived and shared by the ethnographer as a passerby (Salcedo, 2016).

Urban space, mobility and indigenous communities: The dynamics caused by the urbanization process are complex. There is a process of deterritorialization, in the sense of dispersion outside the territories. However, as McSweeney and Jokisch (2007 and 2015) point out, it would be a mistake not to recognize the fact that the same process of de-territorialization also implies new simultaneous forms of territorialization.

“Urban territoriality is the behavior by which people who use similar spaces identify themselves with that space, while at the same time they wish to accentuate their control over it, resisting intrusions from neighboring areas” (Norcliffe, 1974).

“The generalized idea of the Amazon as a region composed mainly of forest populations is outdated: a large part of the indigenous or rural population lives in, or is strongly linked to, urban centers. Said trend does not necessarily imply a process of exodus or abandonment of rural spaces or a simple deterritorialization; rather, it establishes a new regime characterized by mobility, economic diversification, and a multi sited, distributed as well as dynamic residential and territorial appropriation pattern” (Alexiades, 2016, 1).

The reason for this research is to study the complexity with which the Waorani assimilate a space that is not their own and contrast their ways of life with urban cultures foreign to their roots. The following research questions have been posed: How have the Waorani, native Amazonian peoples, built an urbanization process in the Shell Mera parish? What factors influenced the construction of an urban space by the Waorani in Shell, Mera? How has the way of life of the Waorani been transformed in the process of urbanization? What are the difficulties for the Waorani to maintain their culture in an urban space?

Among the main objectives is to identify the urbanization process and urban adaptations of the Waorani in the Shell Mera parish. Raise the typologies and subsystems of Shell's new dawn settlement. Characterize the factors that influenced the construction of an urban space by the Waorani in Shell, Mera. Analyze the transformation of the ways of life of the Waorani in the process of urbanization in the Shell parish, Mera. Finally, determine the difficulties for the Waorani to maintain their culture in an urban space.

The first recorded events about the Waorani date back to sightings in the bed of the Tiputini, Yasuni, Shiripuno or Cononaco rivers in the 19th century, remaining until then as hidden groups. In the Ecuadorian national fabric, they are considered an ethnic minority. According to the life plan, Waorani refers to four large main groups Guiketairi, Piyemori, Bahuai, Huepeiri, they were endogamous, autarkic, and their life dynamics were articulated to periods of war and peace between these groups, their family unit was the nanincabo as a residential unit that encompassed between 6 and 12 extended families (Rival, 1994; Álvarez 2020; Naranjo 1994).

Forty years ago, the Waorani culture has experienced a series of drastic and accelerated permutations, both in its social and cultural dynamics that burst into its form of production, kinship, and settlement. The aforementioned violent changes have two main causes due to the intervention: the evangelizing contact of the Summer Linguistic Institute (ILV) and oil exploitation (Rivas and Lara, 2001).

Today, the Waorani face these problems and respond to them with adaptation, change and cultural resistance. The phenomena that occur in their traditional culture are linked to the colonization of their territory, oil exploitation and contamination, community plans, a demographic growth never contemplated by their ethnicity and hidden sociocultural changes.

2. Methodology

Ethnographic work requires “being there” by observing; listening to key informants (and checking data provided by them). Observing beyond what seems common and day-to-day. Whereas research in the urban, with a holistic vision, requires varying lengths of stay; adapting to the norms of the community. The qualitative and extended work facilitate dense readings of social interactions (García Canclini, 2004). The purpose of this research is to show the effects of the adaptation of a native people, such as the Waorani, to the urban environment. The research, through ethnographic methodologies and field work, has established the perception from the nationality to the urban space. The present study was developed on the basis of two sources of information: methodological bibliography and thematic content regarding the study; additionally, structured interviews have been conducted with the leaders of the nationality, obtaining as a result, vital field information during several periods of stay through the years 2019-2020-2021-2022, participating as a full time active observer with 120 members of a total of 43 Waorani families of the Nuevo Amanecer settlement located in the rural township of Shell, Mera canton, Pastaza Province in Ecuador. Finally, a descriptive model of perception in an urban displacement is proposed, based on the analysis of four dimensions or quadrants: physical, economic, technical and social.

3. Results

The urban transition in the Amazon region does not respond directly to a process of industrialization, in many cases it is characterized by highly complex displacement and settlement patterns, including large rates of rotational mobility and multisite settlement (Eloy et al. 2015, Winklerprints, 2002). Therefore, urban transition in these contexts does not necessarily imply disjunction between urban and rural, but rather the opposite: a new and even more intense articulation, and, consequently, co-production of hybrid, and continuously transforming, spaces and social forms (Tacoli 2006).



Figure 5. Pikenani y waorani, 2022.

The sense of place results from the links that a subject maintains with a space. A community is not created only as a consequence of psychological proximity; it requires cooperation and exchanges, as well as mutual dependence. Territoriality constitutes the geographical expression of social, ethnic, economic, cultural and political motivations (Bailly, 1979).

Urbanization occurs from a dialectical process of “explosion” of road and extractive infrastructure, and “implosion” of urban services. On the other hand, this process generates an urban network whose nodes provide the infrastructure of basic and necessary urban goods and services, although it has arrived with much delay in the Amazon region (Zarate Botia, 2018). According to Bailey’s conceptual model; the Waorani of the Nuevo Amanecer settlement use travel preferences, economic attributes of the area, location of residence, representation of the spatial-urban structure, space-action, time of stay, space activity and objective spatial structure of the urban environment. Through observation and accompaniment of various leaders and actors of the settlement the following results were provided.

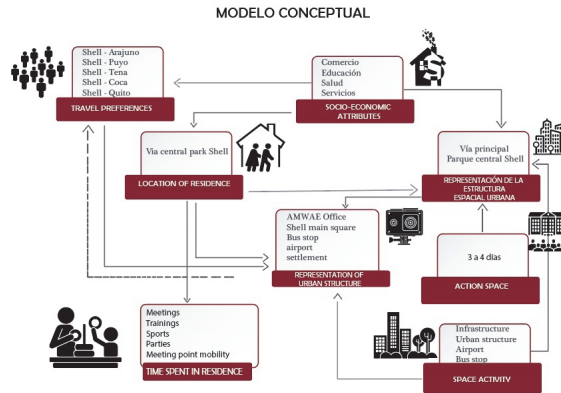


Figure 5. Conceptual model developed by the author.

First, not all indigenous peoples in the Amazon relate to the urban area in the same way. According to Chaves and Nova (2008), in conceptual and methodological terms, the urban indigenous people of the study regions propose three types of strategies to resolve this dilemma. “Firstly, there are the indigenous people who have a long history of linkage with the urban environment and who, in their urbanization, propose a “re-brutalization” through the search for the titling of a reservation, prior conformation and recognition of an urban council. In this case, the request for land is inserted in the logic of generating agricultural self-sufficiency, the practice of agricultural activities that have historically been developed and, incidentally, the access to a tangible heritage. Secondly, indigenous people who have migrated to the cities from their reservations, either voluntarily or as a forced alternative to escape the war or the harassment of anti-narcotics fumigations. In this case, it is common for indigenous people who urbanize themselves, to encounter obstacles to maintain their links with their native reservations, in consequence, individually or collectively, they seek to acquire plots of land by purchasing them in areas not too far from the urban center, as in the previous case. Their acquisition would allow families, and especially the elderly, to produce food for direct consumption and for the sale of surpluses in the cities. Finally, indigenous people who maintain a network of relatives that circulate between the city and the reservation were found, thus the links between the place of origin and the city are fluid, and the sources of supply and income combine the multiple possibilities of both spaces. A bid for re-ruralization, a post-migration search to a rural heritage, or a multifocal residence that involves the circulation of goods and people between rural and urban spaces define three modalities of indigenous articulation with urban environments” (Chaves and Nova, 2018, 77-78).

Amazonian studies coincide in pointing to patterns of intra-Amazonian displacement and rural-urban-rural migration, which reflect that urban dwellers “are not really absent from rural areas” (Barbieri, Monte-Mór, and Bilsborrow, 2009; Alexiades and Peluso, 2016). This points to the

dispersion and multiplicity of households as an “organic” extension of a “rurban” continuum, in addition to a change in the built social landscape and consumption patterns. The emergence of urban communities and suburbs configure new territorial articulations within urbanization processes characterized by urban networks, systems and regions (Barbieri, Monte-Mór, and Bilsborrow, 2009).

Rotational mobility, migration, intensified contact with the city and the market, the formation of multiple residence patterns, as well as an increased reliance on complex and extensive social networks (often immersed in the informal or even illegal economy) form a key and integral part of this new set of social, economic, political and territorial relations (Godfrey, 1992; Tritsch et al., 2014).

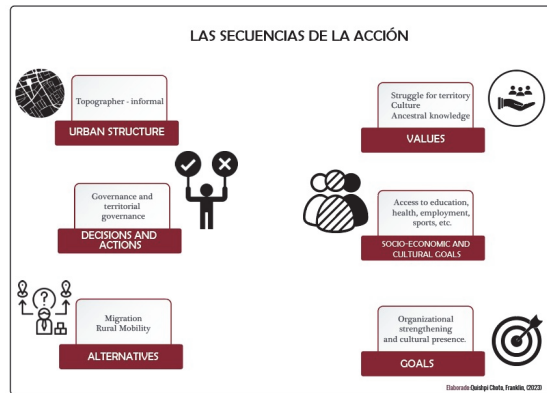


Figure 6. Sequences of the action elaborated by the author.

Eloy and Lasmar (2012), examine the diversification of production systems, resource management and social articulation strategies employed by indigenous families in the face of the multiplicity of conditions and constraints imposed along the urban-rural continuum in the region of São Gabriel da Cachoeira (Rio Negro, Brazil). The authors describe a multi-sited model of land use, characterized by a high rate of individual mobility and a multiplicity of residential and production areas, which in turn allows people to access urban goods and services on one side without losing contact or usufruct rights in their territories of origin.

Peri-urban spaces often become very important zones of intermediation and thus transformation of social relations (Eloy and Lasmar, 2015). The fact that the “citizen Indians” circulate widely throughout the city in their most diverse daily activities: taking advantage of the urban space to obtain seed and raw material for handicrafts, attending meetings and gatherings of indigenous peoples associations, accompanying decisions and votes of the city council, moving between communities to perform male initiation rituals, shopping, going to parties and events where they can sell their handicrafts, circulating looking for work in the field of civil construction, meeting with other ethnicities to play soccer matches in the city fields, among many other activities (Alves Diaz de Andrade, 2010). This analysis of the evolution of the Amazonian urban network, briefly, shows that there is a special development of indigenous communities in the region (as seen in examples from Ecuador, Peru, Brazil and Colombia) that is reproduced in an expanded fashion in the territory.

The axes of displacement can be considered as a subsystem of the urban environment in which each individual elaborates a subjective geography. Indeed, since spatial behavior depends on the evaluation that each person makes of his or her surroundings, and therefore on the image shaped by them, the perceptual problems of the time-space relationship are fundamental to our knowledge of the city (Bailly, 1979). The essential factor is space-time, linear and chronological, which is formed and constructed as people travel (Bertrand, 1974). Everyone possesses, as a consequence of multiple daily movements, an image of the city that depends on a set of spatial relations. The image of the city

is divided into sectors (known as neighborhoods), but its sectors are linked to each other by linear and punctual visual flows, which correspond to modes of displacement (Bailly, 1979).

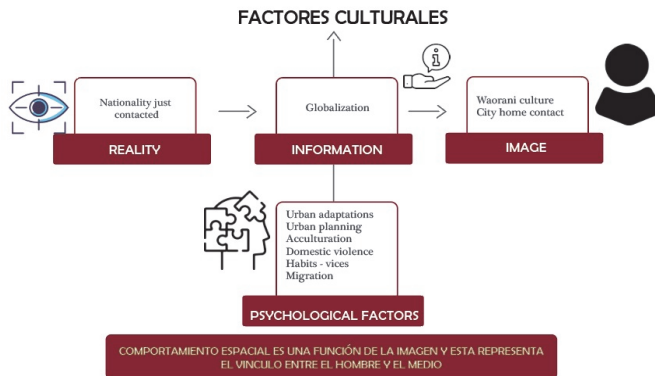


Figure 7. Image formation, cultural factors elaborated by the author.

Bailly (1979) developed a descriptive model of perception in an urban displacement, based on the analysis of four dimensions or quadrants: physical, economic, technical and social. It is under this diagram that it is going to be developed, through anthropological and ethnographic analysis, an analytic study of the perceptions of the members of the Waoarani community in the Shell township.

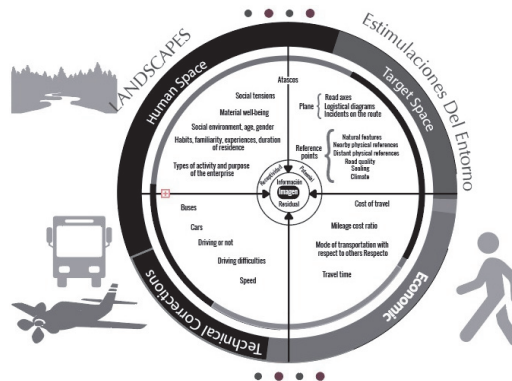


Figure 8. Descriptive model of the perception of a displacement to an urban environment, elaborated by the author.

Urban mobility is the movement of subjects through the territory. This notion presents a physical and a social approach, the first is the socially constructed space that supports humanity; The second is a social practice that involves patterns and norms of behavior during the processes of displacement of subjects, mobility constituting a social capital of the individual. Assuming mobility as social capital implies knowledge of the physical space, sociocultural dynamics and subjective competencies that allow thinking about the territory from three dimensions: material, mental and experienced by the subject themselves in a social context.

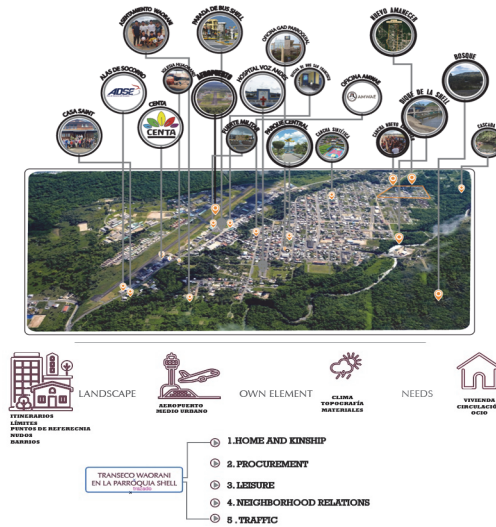


Figure 9. Urban mobility of the Waorani in the Shell parish elaborated by the author.

Different activities in the city lead the city’s inhabitants to go to a wide variety of places. The city is a place where everyone can cross paths with countless strangers. The urban anthropologist must examine the ways and degrees of interrelation between five major spheres, according to the repertoire of roles or existential situations of each individual, namely: 1) home and kinship, 2) provisioning, 3) leisure, 4) neighborhood relations and 5) traffic. Provisioning means asymmetrical access to material resources, production and consumption practices, minimal interaction traffic, defined by respect for rules and the desire to avoid collisions; the public spaces of streets, squares, promenades and other places.

4. Discussion

Urban anthropology and ethnography as a contribution of the Chicago school has allowed the generation of inputs and the corresponding information on the Waorani nationality in an urban space. Likewise, for Bailly, the perception of urban space goes through the relationship between man and the environment; the float and object relationship, a conceptual model; the perception of the urban model; the sequences of action; the formation of the image; and the visual and social memory. The first Waorani to migrate to the Shell township and look for their own space are Manuela Ima, Gilberto Nenquimo, Patricia Nenquihui, Saul Nihua, Tomas Nihua, who identify this peri-urban space and strategically detect its proximity to the main Amazonian city: Puyo, likewise, they consider that this area allows them an agile and safe mobility with the interior of the Waorani territory, access to health, education and social relations with other nationalities is considered another of the reasons for their settlement. The presence of the association of Waorani women of Ecuador with an office in the Shell township is considered key, this organization manages their production processes of cocoa farms and handicrafts throughout the territory and its office is the center of collection and marketing throughout the country and outside the country, the families are consolidating and the peri-urban area is taking the form of a residential neighborhood. The first houses granted by a government program in 2015, motivates more Waorani families to seek their urban space. In 2023, the government housing increased in the settlement, they received assistance from the Municipal Government with water, sewage, roads and entertainment spaces. Sacha Inchi commercial association where several Waorani families sell Amazonian food, the urban image is modified and the space and perception of

the Waorani towards a territory not their own is consolidated, as a reference of community organization and territorial resistance, all this in a period of about five years.

In the central park of Shell, there is a monument to its history and the beginning of the peaceful contact, it is as a replica of the Piper PA-14 aircraft, whose imaginary of the Waorani reminds them of the historic contact of the 50's, when 5 North American missionaries died at the hands of their ancestors, currently "Alas de Socorro" continues to serve the Waorani people with air mobility.

The conservation of the Waorani ancestral territory was one of the most important motives, thus, from the Shell township a process of legal litigation against the state was initiated, this allowed a consolidation of the settlement, logistics, calls, organization of marches, preparation of manifestos, everything was managed from this corner of the Amazon in order to protect the Waorani territory and its resources, a struggle that resulted in the non-exploitation of oil in the Waorani territory of the province of Pastaza.

The COVID 19 pandemic that occurred in 2020 and 2021 was also a reason for the families of the Nuevo Amanecer settlement in Shell to consolidate their presence in the township. It was identified that families from the Waorani territory migrated to the city, especially to obtain food and cleaning supplies, food and fuel.

In the last six years, the Waorani nationality has strengthened relationships with three Amazonian provinces from the Nuevo Amanecer settlement in Shell township. Starting with the resistance for the territory, to the strengthening of the women's association and going through the governance of the NAWE council, the known peri-urban Nuevo Amanecer settlement has become a determining factor for urban expansion and the achievement of new settlements.

Mobility with the provinces of Napo and Orellana is strong; it is employed public and private transportation, and light aircrafts, such as Areokashurco, Alas de Socorro, and Aerofor, to remote areas.

Mobility to the Arajuno canton is frequent, its constant relation is the entrance to Waorani communities such as Obepare, Dayuma, Pitacocha, via land transportation, and to communities such as Daipare, Kenaweno, Tonampare, and Nemompare, by waterway.

Nemonte Nenquimo, owner of a property within the settlement and inhabitant of the Shell township, leader of the Waorani organization of Pastaza, was awarded the Goldman Prize 2020. That same year in September, her work for resistance and territorial dispute was recognized by the Time magazine as one of the 100 most influential people in the world, and on November 24 of the same year she was designated by the BBC as one of the 100 inspiring and influential women in the world. Finally, in 2021, they won a lawsuit against the state to prevent oil exploitation in Waorani territory in the province of Pastaza.

Patricia Mencay Nenquihui, president of the Waorani Women's Association, whose headquarters are located in the Shell township, has won several conservation awards due to her work over the last ten years, through the production of organic chocolate and handicrafts, which has allowed her to generate an economic contribution to the Waorani women's families.

Gilberto Nenquimo, president of the NAWE, has achieved a consolidation in the governance of the nationality for the first time consolidating the Nawe, Amwae, Conconawep, and international cooperation in sustainable processes such as environment, economy, tourism, and sustainability in the Amazonian territory. One of the achievements of the Nawe's management is the opening of a student center of the State University of Milagro in the township, allowing Waorani young people living in the Nuevo Amanecer settlement to access higher education studies in the online modality.

The leaders and families of the different Waorani organizations are settled in the Nuevo Amanecer neighborhood of the Shell township.

5. Conclusions

The human being adapts easily to new spaces, in spite of having cultural and social differences, their assimilation processes will depend on their ability to approach and accept the environment.

The Waorani population is enigmatic, hence its greatness and permanent curiosity to know every little corner of it by the community in general. Delving in part of their territories immediately turns a person into an explorer and lover of natural life. This temporary approach and empathy towards them require time, something that in many cases the scientific production system and a vast part of the internal “guidelines” of each academic institution is not willing to assume. Having pointed out the need for time, a lot of time, to observe, to know, it is necessary to analyze:

1. How they communicate between the different communities and the Shell township settlement as well as how warning signals are established.
2. What the political organization at the time of making transcendental decisions for the Waorani community is. Both to feed themselves or to obtain new resources, as well as to resist exogenous elements that threaten their communities and life elements.
3. How the urban ways of living/ capabilities for rural-urban relations are seen.
4. To deepen in the causes of the migratory waves and displacements of the Waorani community towards an urban space.
5. Conduct comparative studies between different Waorani communities.
6. Ability to preserve culture.
7. Analyzing the rural Waorani exodus and its effects.

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