Chapter 6

Organizational Profile of NGOs Participating in PLANAFLORO:
History, Mechanisms of Accountability and Sources of Funding

This chapter will establish the organizational and political profiles of NGOs participating in the PLANAFLORO process (Table 6.0). These profiles will include: 1) a brief history of the formation of the NGOs participating in PLANAFLORO’s governing organs; 2) a description of the organizational structure of each NGO (i.e., different levels of decision-making, mechanisms of accountability, methods of action) and 3) institutional status and sources of funding.

Table 6.0 List of NGOs profiled in this study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of NGO</th>
<th>FETAGRO, OSR, CUNPIR</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MSO</td>
<td>CIMI, CPT, ECOPORÉ, ININDIA, IPHAE, KANINDÉ, PACA</td>
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<tr>
<td>GSO</td>
<td>FORUM of NGOs</td>
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Note: See list of acronyms for explanation
The Membership Organizations (MSOs)

“Federação dos Trabalhadores na Agricultura de Rondônia, the Federation of Rural Workers of Rondônia (FETAGRO)\textsuperscript{1}

The first rural unions in Rondônia were organized in the beginning of the 1980s with the initial support of the Catholic church. Between 1982 and 1988, the regional department of the “Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores na Agricultura” (CONTAG) -- the National Confederation of Rural Workers-- located in Acre centralized the actions of Rondônia’s rural unions. Because of political differences with CONTAG -- regarded as too conservative -- the rural labor unions (STRs) of Rondônia decided to become members of CUT (United Central of Workers)\textsuperscript{2}. In 1988 the Rondônia section of CUT started to organize the political activities of the STRs through a department specialized in rural issues. FETAGRO, an MSO, was created in 1993 after a shift in the political relationship between CUT and CONTAG\textsuperscript{3}. Because of that shift, CUT extinguished all of its so-called rural departments, and recommended that federations of rural unions be affiliated with CONTAG as they were created.

\textsuperscript{1} The material in this section is drawn from an interview with Joaquim Pereira de Carvalho, vice-president of FETAGRO, interview by author, June 07 1995, tape-recording, Porto Velho.

\textsuperscript{2} One of the many national federations of STRs in Brazil, and clearly the most influential within the rural workers movement.
Despite its name, FETAGRO is actually an organization that operates like an umbrella of STRs and does not affiliate individual workers. When FETAGRO was created, it reunited 7 STRs which had a total of 8,000 rural workers as members. In June 1995, FETAGRO encompassed 23 STRs which had affiliated 20,000 members.

Organizational Structure

Figure 6.1 displays the organizational structure of FETAGRO which has three levels of decision-making (Congress, Deliberative Council, and the Executive Board) which respond directly to the STRs linked to FETAGRO. As the major FORUM of decision, the congress is held every 3 years and its delegates are elected proportionally to the size of the membership of each STR. The Deliberative Council (DC) is composed of 2 members of each STR plus the members of the Executive Board, and its meetings are held every 2 months. The DC has mixed responsibilities which include 1) to take actions regarding the more normative aspects of the legal and operational functioning of FETAGRO, and 2) to organize

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3 In 1993, the political separation between CUT and the more conservative CONTAG (National Confederation of Rural Workers) was resolved and CONTAG became a member of CUT.
4 STRs can be created in each municipality or a given STR can encompass one or more municipalities. The recent process led by the State to divide large municipalities into smaller municipal units has led to a similar process of fragmentation among rural STRs linked to FETAGRO.
5 FETAGRO defines rural workers as smallholders who own up to 240 ha of land or sharecroppers who obtain at least 80% of their income from rural activities.
and implement major political actions (e.g., strikes, mass manifestations). When faced with issues that are seen as important and for which guidelines were not discussed in the previous congress, the Deliberative Council can schedule extraordinary assemblies to define the position to be taken by FETAGRO.

The Executive board is the organism responsible for running the daily administrative and political activities of FETAGRO. The Board has nine members that are elected by the congress. Members of the executive are supposed to be in constant contact with the STRs in order to establish a constant feedback between the leadership and grassroots.
Figure 6.1 Organizational structure of FETAGRO. (Source: Joaquim Carvalho Ibid.)
Goals and Methods of Action

FETAGRO has focused its actions on two major issues: 1) political mobilization for land reform in Rondônia, and 2) to participate in the formulation of Federal and State policies controlling the allocation of public funds in the rural areas. FETAGRO has focused its activities on two major fronts. First, the leadership of FETAGRO has engaged in continuous negotiations with different State agencies to obtain gains in areas that they see as essential to its membership (e.g., improvement of health and education services in the rural areas, land reform, credit lines, welfare). Second, a more direct approach is taken by organizing the so-called “mass actions” in which the membership is mobilized for public demonstrations where the same requests are publicized and also presented to State officials. FETAGRO has also participated in economic development projects aimed at establishing new systems of production. FETAGRO has implemented a project centered on the establishment of agroforestry systems, bee-keeping and fish raising on farms owned by members of local unions in Ariquemes and Ouro Preto do Oeste.
Sources of Funding and Institutional Infrastructure

Despite claims of the primacy of political autonomy, FETAGRO depends heavily on external funding. The only form of gathering income directly from its membership -- a quota of 5% from each STR’s collected membership fees -- is not sufficient to pay all the expenses generated by the operation of its headquarters. In July 1995, external funding was provided by OXFAM-Brazil and the World Wildlife Fund of Sweden (WWF-Sweden). OXFAM-Brazil provided funds for institutional expenses (a total of US $ 27,000 for the period 1993/1995). The partnership with WWF-Sweden was centered on developing economic alternatives for small producers, and FETAGRO received a total of US $ 60,000.00 for a project designed to implement agroforestry systems in the municipality of Ariquemes (Joaquim P. Carvalho Ibid.).

This financial dependency is seen as a sensitive issue and clear weakness by different leaders of FETAGRO but they unanimously denied having compromised any of their political

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6Interviews with leaders of local unions from Ouro Preto do Oeste and Espigão do Oeste indicated that a very reduced portion of the members pay their fees. As a result, the amount delivered to FETAGRO is very small.

7In March 1996, FETAGRO lost funding of both donors and two interviewees declared that it was result of FETAGRO’s refusal to assume positions defended by both WWF-Sweden and OXFAM-Brazil. This issue will be discussed in depth in the conclusion of this chapter.
views in order to receive the funds (Joaquim Carvalho Ibid.)

“Organização dos Seringueiros de Rondônia” (OSR), --the Organization of Rondônia’s Rubber Tappers

Despite being a long-standing social group in the Amazon, the political organization of the rubber tappers is very recent. Historically, rubber tappers have faced an almost complete isolation with each family living inside their “marcação” and extremely dependent on middlemen for marketing of their raw rubber and for the acquisition of goods. The creation of the National Council of Rubber Tappers (CNS) in 1985 under the leadership of the rubber tappers living in Acre was a benchmark in the process of political emancipation of this social segment. The creation of CNS extended into Rondônia, and two rubber tapper associations were created in 1986 in two municipalities (Pimenta Bueno and Ariquemes) where there existed a concentration of the so-called “soldiers of the rubber” but not many individuals making their income via rubber tapping.

9FETAGRO has a small staff and its headquarters located in Ji-Paraná is reasonably well equipped with computers, phone line and a fax machine. FETAGRO utilizes the existing infrastructure to feed the STRs with reports and newsletters about its latest actions.
9 The material in this section is drawn from an interview with José Maria dos Santos, president of OSR, by the author, July 05, 1995, tape-recording, Porto Velho.
10Marcação is an area of variable size within the forest where the rubber tappers can work to extract rubber from a unspecified number of trees.
Actual rubber tapper communities remained detached from the process of political organization until the end of 1989 (José Maria dos Santos Ibid.). In that year, Chico Mendes visited Rondônia to organize the first meeting of rubber tappers living in the state. The meeting was held in January of 1990 in Guajará-Mirim, and as a product of the meeting the participants created a regional commission of the CNS composed of 8 members of different communities from throughout Rondônia. In addition, a delegation of the commission of CNS of Rondônia attended the second national congress of the CNS in 1990 (José Maria dos Santos Ibid.).

But the process of organization in Rondônia moved slowly, and the leadership of different rubber tapper communities decided to create an umbrella organization to centralize and increase the strength of the rubber tappers movement in Rondônia. When the Organization of Rondônia’s Rubber Tappers (OSR) was created in December of 1990, only the two original associations of Pimenta Bueno and Ariquemes were functioning. Thus the creation was only made possible by the involvement of two GSOs (IAMÁ and INDIA) because rubber tappers themselves lacked experience and economic resources to carry out such an enterprise. After the establishment of the OSR, the leadership concentrated its actions on establishing local associations of rubber tappers
in two areas heavily populated by rubber tapper communities: two associations were created in the Guaporé Valley and one in the municipality of Machadinho do Oeste\textsuperscript{11}. This strategy of institution building has proven successful also in terms of the numbers of rubber tappers involved in the local associations. Despite the lack of an accurate control on how many members were actually paying their membership fees, in July 1995 the total membership of the 5 existing local associations was estimated at 600 members (José Maria dos Santos Ibid.).

**Organizational Structure**

The OSR has an organizational structure very similar to FETAGRO (Figure 6.2). As a membership organization, the OSR has three levels of decision-making (General Assembly, Deliberative Council and the Board of Directors) and a board that examines the financial handling of OSR (the Fiscal Council). The General Assembly is held every two years to evaluate the standing and progress of the organization and to elect its Board of Directors. Delegates to the Assembly are elected in proportion to the size of each local association. In the case of an emergency, the deliberative

\textsuperscript{11}The Association of Rubber Tappers of Guajará-Mirim was created in 1991, the Association of Rubber Tappers of the Guaporé Valley located in the municipality of Costa Marques was created in 1991; and the
council can schedule an Extraordinary Assembly that follows the same procedure of the General Assembly in terms of its composition. The Deliberative Council (DC) is the second level of decision-making, and its responsibilities revolve around establishing a bi-annual work plan to be executed by the board of directors. The DC is composed of two members of each local association (a total of 10 members at the time of this study) and its meetings are held every four months. The Board of Directors is composed of 6 members but its composition is not determined on the basis of membership as is that of the DC. Meetings are held by the board every two months. One of the duties of the directors of OSR is to visit local associations and their communities to participate in meetings held in each municipality. A calendar of visits is established by the Deliberative Council.

Association of Rubber Tappers of Machadinho was created in 1992. Moreover, the experts associated with INDIA that occupied key advisory positions in the initial years of OSR stopped playing that role in 1994.
General Assembly

Extraordinary Assemblies

Deliberative Council

Board of Directors

Fiscal Council

Local Associations

Figure 6.2 Organizational structure of OSR. (Source: José Maria dos Santos Ibid.)
Goals and Methods of Action

OSR has defined as its broad programmatic goals: 1) the improvement of the living conditions of the rubber communities, and 2) the preservation of the natural forest from which these communities derive their income through the establishment of extractive reserves (José Maria dos Santos Ibid.). The OSR has focused its political activities on advocating the establishment of extractive reserves in Rondônia, and on the enforcement and protection of the boundaries of such reserves. These activities have been carried out on two different levels. First, OSR has lobbied the State government in favor of the enforcement of the provisions contained in the agro-ecological zoning that had designated about 3,500,000 ha for extractive reserves (José Maria dos Santos Ibid.). Second, the OSR and the local associations pressured continuously the environmental agencies (i.e., IBAMA and SEDAM) to evict invaders. OSR also has organized “empates”\(^\text{12}\) in several extractive reserves in the last few years. In addition, OSR has engaged its membership in public demonstrations in order to pressure the state to speed up the demarcation of extractive reserves.

\(^{12}\) Self-defense expeditions conducted by the local communities to expose and expel squatters, illegal loggers and illegal fishermen from extractive reserves.
Public action has often been undertaken in conjunction with other social groups (i.e., rural workers and Amerindians).\footnote{In 1995 OSR in conjunction with CNS and local associations organized a public campaign to defend the demarcation of extractive reserves. In addition, OSR also engaged in public demonstrations with other social segments, especially in the so-called Grito da Terra Brasil (Cry of the Earth), a public campaign for land reform organized nationally by CONTAG and the CNS.}

The OSR has pursued the institutional strengthening of its local associations. The effort has been undertaken at two levels. First, OSR has hired technical experts to develop economic options to increase the income generated among rubber tapper families and to develop projects to improve the institutional capacity of local associations. Second, OSR has provided capital to local associations to allow their leadership to compete with middlemen in the acquisition of rubber and commercialization of goods. This strategy is intended to transform the local association into viable trading posts. If this effort succeeds, the OSR expects to release rubber tapper families from their historic subjugation to commercial middlemen, while also increasing the income obtained through the commercialization of rubber.
Sources of Funding and Institutional Infrastructure

Given the poor economic conditions faced by most local associations, the OSR is totally dependent upon external donors to obtain the funds required to run its different projects. The OSR has established a partnership with WWF-Sweden based on ensuring the establishment and economic viability of extractive reserves, and in the institutional strengthening of the rubber tappers organizations in Rondônia. Through this partnership with WWF-Sweden, OSR received a total of US $ 320,000.00 for the period 1994-1996. In contrast to FETAGRO, the leadership of the OSR proved to be less sensitive to requesting funding from governmental agencies. As a result, the OSR was favored by programs run by different Federal agencies\textsuperscript{14,15}.

\textsuperscript{14} In 1996 OSR received funds to execute a project within the environmental component of PLANAFLORO. The implications of access to these funds to the political position of OSR will be discussed below.

\textsuperscript{15} OSR has a small staff composed by 2 secretaries and 2 technical experts. In addition, 2 members of the board of directors are located permanently at the headquarters located in Porto Velho. OSR has an office equipped with computers, phone line, fax machine, 2 vehicles, and lodging facilities for rubber tappers coming to political meetings in Porto Velho.
"Coordenação dos Povos e Nações Indígenas de Rondônia, Sul do Amazonas e Norte do Mato Grosso" (CUNPIR),--the Coordination of Nations and Indian Peoples of Rondônia, Southern Amazonas and Northern Mato Grosso

Brazilian Indians have historically faced the stewardship imposed by the Federal government through different agencies and since the 1970s by FUNAI. Among other things, Indians did not enjoy full citizenship nor could they have economic autonomy in relation to the Federal government. Because of such stewardship, the formation of autonomous Indian organizations was only initiated in Brazil at the beginning of the 1980s with the support of the Catholic church. In the middle of the 1980s, a national organization of Indians -- the "União das Nações Indígenas" (UNI) -- the Union of Indian Nations -- was established with the support of CIMI. In Rondônia, the Suruí people established the first autonomous organization in 1988 (the Metairelá Association) and they were followed by the Cinta-Larga people who organized their association in 1989 (the Pamaré Association).

\[16\] The material in this section is drawn from interviews with Antenor de Assis Karitiana, vice-coordinator of CUNPIR, interview by author, July 05, 1995, tape-recording, Porto Velho; and a group interview with Henrique Tabatai (general chief of the Suruí people), Celso Natim (president of the Metairela Association), Pio Cinta-Larga (chief of the P.I. Rio Branco community). Interview by the author, July 06, 1995, tape-recording, Porto Velho.
In 1990, the leadership of UNI (with headquarters in São Paulo) attempted to establish a regional movement through the two existing associations, but the attempt failed and the Indian movement continued to be very sketchy in Rondônia. Several facts may explain why this first attempt failed. First, despite being small in absolute terms, the Indian population of Rondônia is very diverse in terms of language and cultural traditions, and spatially widely dispersed. Second, some groups have historically conducted tribal wars against each other, making it difficult to forge alliances among them to conduct social and economic activities. Third, the length and degree of contact with mainstream society of the various tribe is highly variable. As a result, many tribes exhibit a very poor cultural understanding of the mechanisms of political participation held by the surrounding non-Indian society. Nevertheless, in August 1991, the Indian communities held a meeting in which 500 individuals from all of the different Indian groups of Rondônia were present (Antenor Karitian Ibid.). In that meeting, the Indian communities created their first regional organization, the “Articulação dos Povos Indígenas de Rondônia” (APIR) -- the Articulation of Indian Peoples of Rondônia. APIR was created with the primary goal of increasing the participation of the
grassroots leadership in the discussion of issues affecting the Indian communities.

The Indian leadership believed that the proximity of the Earth Summit would put APIR in a more favorable position to gather the funds needed to strengthen the Indian movement and create economic options for the Indian communities in Rondônia. The prospect of increased funding, however, did not materialize and APIR faced continuous financial difficulties. The lack of resources has precluded the development of political ties with the grassroots and kept the leadership very dependent upon non-Indian organizations for both political guidance and funds.

APIR’s loss of credibility among the Indian communities became so evident that in April, 1994 the leadership of some key tribes (Suruí, Cinta-Larga, Karitiana and Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau) used the official celebrations of Indian Week to hold a broad meeting to discuss the situation of the Indian movement in Rondônia. As a result of that meeting, APIR was reorganized under the new name of CUNPIR. Nominally, the new organization represents all the Indian groups located in Rondônia, as well as those groups located in the southern portion of the Amazonas state and the northern portion of the Mato Grosso state. The number of Indian associations has grown from 2 to 4, but most of them are functioning in a
very precarious state -- not only in terms of funds, but also in terms of their persistent difficulties in building the leadership cadre necessary for CUNPIR to function properly.

**Organizational Structure**

The organizational structure of CUNPIR, a MSO, (Figure 6.3) resembles those adopted by FETAGRO and OSR. CUNPIR has three levels of decision-making (General Assembly, General Council, and Executive Coordination). The General Assembly is held every two years, but the mechanism adopted by CUNPIR to elect its delegates has a slight but important difference from that of FETAGRO and OSR. Given the lack of local associations in most villages, delegates are elected directly by the communities, with a minimum of 1 and a maximum of 5 delegates per community). The delegates to the General Assembly elect the members of the General Council and Executive Coordination. The members of General Council are responsible for guaranteeing the flow of information between the leadership of CUNPIR and the villages.

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17 Despite formal similarities with FETAGRO and OSR, CUNPIR’s organizational structure was still in a very rudimentary stage of implementation.
especially in those areas in which associations do not exist. The Executive Board, composed of 6 members, is responsible for: 1) overseeing contacts with non-Indian
organizations (governmental and non-governmental), 2) conducting the daily tasks existing at the headquarters and 3) visiting participating communities to inform the local leadership about the actions of CUNPIR.

Goals and Methods of Action

CUNPIR was established with two major goals: 1) to strengthen political organization among the Indian communities located in its territorial base, and 2) to advocate the demarcation and protection of Indian lands (Antenor Karitiana Ibid.). Like FETAGRO and OSR, CUNPIR has lobbied the State and its agencies to obtain improvements in the services provided to Indian communities (e.g., health and education services), and to guarantee the enforcement of the boundaries of the Indian lands. In addition, CUNPIR has also brought the members of different communities to participate in public demonstrations at which the demands of the Indian communities are presented to both the general public and State authorities.

Sources of Funding and Institutional Infrastructure
Unlike FETAGRO and OSR, CUNPIR is not supported by any major international donor. In addition, the existing Indian associations do not generate revenues from their members. As a result, CUNPIR has a very limited amount of funds to invest in its institutional infrastructure (e.g., no phone line or fax machine was available at CUNPIR’s headquarters). In an attempt to overcome its institutional and economic fragility, CUNPIR has established ties with a small German NGO (Uirapuru e.V.)\textsuperscript{18}. Uirapuru has lobbied other German NGOs, and in 1995 a total of US $ 10,000.00 was obtained to establish and maintain the headquarters of CUNPIR in Porto Velho.

\textsuperscript{18}In March of 1996, the head of Uirapuru e.V. (Hubert Gross) was at CUNPIR’s headquarters conducting discussions with the leadership about the need to improve its administrative and political management.
The Grassroot Support Organizations (GSOs)

The Church Related GSOs: "Comissão Pastoral da Terra" (CPT), the Pastoral Commission of the Land and "Conselho Indigenista Missionário (CIMI), --the Indian Missionary Council (CIMI)"

The CPT and CIMI were both established nationally in the early 1970s, during the worst years of repression by the military government, as part of a broad movement orchestrated by the Catholic church aimed at grassroots organizing, primarily in the Amazon (Schmink and Wood 1992, p. 103). The two organizations were initially created to provide assistance to clerical commissions and social activists working with peasants and Indians living in the Amazon Basin. Their initial activities also included the denunciation of the violence practiced against these two social segments by economic groups and the State apparatus as well. In both cases the activities rapidly evolved from an advisory role to a more direct involvement in the struggles faced by peasants and Indians.

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19 The material in this section is drawn from interviews with Jose Carlos M. Gadelha, ex-coordinator of CPT, interview by author, July 10, 1995, tape-recording, Porto Velho; Iremar Antonio Ferreira, member of the general coordination of CIMI, interview by author, August 01, 1995, tape-recording, Porto Velho.
The CPT was established in Rondônia in 1983, and CIMI was established there in 1984. If the creation of CPT and CIMI was a response from the Catholic church to the acute problems caused by the rapid settlement of the Amazon, their presence was especially important in the early 1980s in Rondônia, given the conflicts around land ownership which followed the intensive migratory process, and the diversity of Indian groups living on the boundaries of the agricultural frontier. From the moment of its creation, CPT centered its activities on establishing autonomous peasant organizations, and on increasing the awareness of peasants about their legal rights (especially in the issue of land ownership). On the other hand, CIMI centered its activities on the demarcation and protection of Indian lands.

The Organizational Structure

The CPT and CIMI have separated national structures within the Catholic church. The national headquarters of CIMI and CPT coordinate the actions of each of their respective regional offices. Nevertheless, both organizations allow local sections a certain degree of autonomy. In Rondônia, the organizational structure of CPT and CIMI (Figure 6.4) are very similar. Both organizations

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20 This regional of CPT also includes parishes of the Lutheran church.
hold a regional meeting to decide their political positions and activities for a given period of time and to elect delegates to their respective national meetings. However, there are differences in periodicity and the participants in these meetings. While CPT holds a General Assembly every two years with delegates being elected by existing parishes of the Catholic and Lutheran churches (a total of 28 in Rondônia); CIMI holds an annual regional meeting whose participants belong directly to the organization (religious and lay members). A similar difference occurs in the composition and character of CPT and CIMI leadership. While the regional coordination of CPT has a more political profile and includes the participation of peasants, CIMI’s coordination has a more administrative orientation and is composed of members of the organization. In addition, CPT’s regional council is structured along members of the state coordination, the technical staff. In addition, it includes 1 bishop from both the Catholic and Lutheran churches.

CIMI does not include a similar instance because it is directly accountable to the national structure of the Catholic church. On the other hand, CIMI provides health and education services directly to Indian communities through “base teams” whose membership are represented in the regional meeting. CPT does not have members who provide
services at the community level. Finally, while the commissions created by CIMI at the parish level play a support role, their counterparts in the CPT exercise a more direct political influence through the election of delegates to the General Assembly.

Figure 6.4 Organizational Structure of CPT and CIMI
(Sources: José Carlos M. Gadelha and Iremar A. Ferreira Ibid.)
Goals and Methods of Action

CPT and CIMI share the same basic set of goals based on the agenda of human rights defended by the Catholic church worldwide. In more concrete terms, the CPT’s broader role is defined as being one of “service provider” for the peasant communities and its political organizations. As a result of this approach, the CPT works to enhance the institutional strength of rural worker organizations, and provides direct assistance to peasants (e.g., legal services, educational training). In a more recent development, the CPT has begun to focus on the development of agricultural systems (e.g., agroforestry systems) and on the improvement of marketing of goods. The CIMI is oriented towards a broader political agenda of self-determination for the Indian communities. In terms of methods of action, CIMI’s actions are characterized by two primary dimensions. First, CIMI provides health care and education services directly to Indian communities. Second, the staff working at the headquarters focus on providing legal assistance. Both the CPT and the CIMI work actively on assembling and distributing information on problems experienced by peasants and Indian communities to the local and national media.
Sources of Funding and Institutional Infrastructure

CPT and CIMI are funded primarily by Transnational NGOs associated with the Catholic and Lutheran churches. In the case of CPT, the two major funding agencies are the CAFOD (Catholic Agency for Overseas Development) of England and MISEREOR (Action Against Hunger and Disease) of Germany. The list of agencies funding CPT also includes Bread for the World of Germany and Trocaire (an agency dedicated to providing aid for economic development to third world nations) which is supported by the Catholic bishops of Ireland. These agencies, however, contribute only a small share of the overall budget of CPT. CIMI also receives funding to run its headquarters from ADVENT, an agency operated by the Catholic church of Germany. The projects run by CIMI which provide legal assistance, education and health care services are funded by OXFAM-Brazil, Save the Children of Austria and Trocaire respectively (Table 6.1).

Both CIMI and CPT have headquarters located in buildings owned by the Catholic church in Porto Velho, but CPT has a better corporate infrastructure given its access to larger amounts of international funds. CPT has a team of six full time staff members who offer help in different
Table 6.1 Sources of funding, type of services provided, size of staff, and total budget in 1995 for CPT and CIMI

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>CPT</th>
<th>CIMI</th>
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<tr>
<td>Funding Agencies</td>
<td>MISEREOR, Bread for the World, CAFOD, and Trocaire</td>
<td>ADVENT, OXFAM, Save the Children, and Trocaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>Political education, legal services, training on agricultural practices</td>
<td>Legal services, educational and primary health care assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaried Staff at the Headquarters</td>
<td>Six</td>
<td>Five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Funding(US $), FY 1995</td>
<td>130,000.00</td>
<td>50,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total Budget</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
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Source: Interviews with José Carlos M. Gadelha and Iremar A. Ferreira.

areas such as legal assistance, institutional strengthening and agricultural training. CIMI has a slightly smaller staff of five, and it has faced funding problems that have limited the scope of its services. For example, the health services provided in the Guaporé Valley were obtained directly by the
physician heading the local health team and are not included in CIMI’s budget.

**Summary**

CIMI and CPT are classic examples of first generation NGOs in Latin America. These GSOs are organizations affiliated with the Catholic Church and are charged with carrying out aspects of the Church’s social programs. During their short history in Rondônia, each has established itself as a representative organization of civil society. In addition, their advocacy practices are widely recognized in Rondônia. However, their autonomy in relation to their national organizations remained unclear after the interviews with their representatives.

**The Service Providers GSOs**

The NGOs included in this group are: the “Ação Ecológica do Vale do Guaporé (ECOPORÉ),” Ecological Action of the Guaporé Valley, the “Instituto de Pré-História, Agricultura e Ecologia” (IPHAE), the Institute of Pre-History, Agriculture and Ecology, the “Instituto de Defesa da Identidade Amazônica” (INDIA), the Institute of the Amazonian Identity, the “Associação de Defesa Étnica e
Ambiental Kanindé” (KANINDÉ), the Association of Ethnic and Environmental Defense Kanindé, and the “Proteção Ambiental Cacoalense” (PACA), the Environmental Protection of Cacoal. These GSOs were formed in the late 1980s, mainly by professionals working for different governmental agencies or at the Federal University of Rondônia. In addition to an overall focus on issues related to environmental conservation, the array of services provided by these GSOs includes: providing advisory assistance to MSOs; implementing various economic development projects; providing educational training; and field work expertise. Most of GSO interviewees declared that the heavy set of political, administrative and legal constraints which characterize the functioning of governmental agencies led to formation of their NGOs. Nevertheless, most of these organizations still have members who work for different State agencies. An exception was IPHAE which, after an early involvement by university professors at its initiation was thereafter been managed by Willem Groeneveld, an expatriate Dutch agronomist and a small staff composed of 5 full time employees, but is now defunct.

21 Edvan Pinto Rios, a member of the governing board of ECOPORÉ. Interview by author, July 05, 1995, tape-recording, Porto Velho; Ana Maria Avelar. President of INDIA, Interview by author, July 11, 1995, tape-recording, Porto Velho; Willem P. Groeneveld, acting executive director of IPHAE, interview by author, July 19, 1995, tape-recording, Porto Velho; Carlos Leonardo P. da Silva, member of the governing board of PACA. Interview by author, August 05, 19995, tape-recording, Ji-Paraná.
Organizational Structure

Table 6.2 shows the different organizational structures of the GSOs described in this section; the frequency of their meetings, and the size of their membership. Despite some slight differences, these GSOs have a very simple organizational structure. Most GSO leaders interviewed argued that given the small number of members participating actively in their organization, a simple organizational structure is sufficient to maintain internal democracy and administration. A common feature of the organizational structure of all these GSOs is the existence of two major bodies of decision-making: the General Assembly and a directive board responsible for running the ordinary activities of each organization. In the case of IPHAE and INDIA, however, it was possible to detect that the decision-making power was heavily, if not exclusively, concentrated in the hands of the executive director. On the other hand, none of the organizations studied had a formal liaison relationship with the social groups to which they provided

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22 The level of direct participation in these organizations ranges from 10 to 20% of their total membership in each case.
Table 6.2 Organizational Structure of Service Providers GSOs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GSO</th>
<th>Year of Creation</th>
<th>Organizational Levels</th>
<th>Frequency of Meetings</th>
<th>Total Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ECOPORÉ</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>General Assembly</td>
<td>Annual</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fiscal Council</td>
<td>Not defined</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Executive Board</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPHAIE</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>General Assembly</td>
<td>Annual</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIA</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>General Assembly</td>
<td>Annual</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Executive Coordination</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACA</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>General Assembly</td>
<td>Annual</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fiscal Council</td>
<td>Not Defined</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Board of Directors</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KANINDÉ</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>General Assembly</td>
<td>Every 2 years</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Deliberative Council</td>
<td>Not defined</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coordination</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Interview with representatives of each of these organizations.

Unlike MSOs, the members of GSOs do not commonly pay membership fees. In many cases, GSO members are actually paid through funds generated by the organizations.
Goals and Methods of Action

ECOPORÉ was originally established in Rolim de Moura (a municipality located in the south central portion of Rondônia) to support the preservation of natural ecosystems in the Guaporé Valley. Since the middle 1980s, ECOPORÉ has been actively involved in a public campaign to denounce the illegal activities of loggers and cattle ranchers inside the Guaporé Biological Reserve. In 1994, however, ECOPORÉ begun to concentrate its activities on playing an advisory role to OSR and the different rubber tapper associations operating in Rondônia. This role became especially important during the process of demarcation and creation of extractive reserves. The leadership of ECOPORÉ also played an important role in the formation of PACA. The headquarters of PACA are located in Cacoal (which adjoins Rolim de Moura). PACA however, has a different clientele (i.e., Indians and rural workers) and its intervention is geared more toward direct services delivery through the implementation of economic development projects and education programs.

Despite being created as an organization to provide services and conduct applied research in three major areas (i.e., pre-history, ethnography of Indian communities, and ecology), IPHAE focused its activities on the development of agroforestry systems. During the early 1990s, IPHAE was used
as an operational base by foreign researchers, educators and development projects in Rondônia. Because of its activities related to establishing agroforestry systems in small farms, IPHAE formed ties with the leadership of rural workers in Ouro Preto; a relationship which lasted from 1990 to 1995. In 1995, given the shortage of international funds and probable misappropriation of funds, IPHAE’s Executive Director resigned this GSO with an unmanageable debt. IPHAE is now defunct.

INDIA has exhibited the same process of change in its profile. The initial four years of INDIA’s existence were characterized by a strong advisory role provided to the rubber tappers movement. Because of conflicts with OSR over management of the funds provided by WWF-Sweden, the directors of INDIA decided to cease their direct involvement with the rubber tappers movement. As a result, the members of INDIA began to get involved in carrying out applied research for different agencies involved in the execution of PLANAFLORO.

KANINDÉ was created by a group of people working for different government agencies, mainly FUNAI, who felt

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24 The leadership of FETAGRO and the executive director reached an amicable end to their cooperation, after a turbulent period caused by disagreements regarding the utilization of funds obtained by IPHAE to establish agroforestry systems (Valmir de Jesus. Interview by the author, tape-recording, Ouro Preto).
constrained by the conditions of their employment (e.g., bureaucratic constraints, methods of contacting newly founds Indian groups). The original members left their governmental agencies to establish KANINDÉ with an agenda centered on the protection of Indian lands and environmental conservation. KANINDÉ has used the media intensively since its creation to denounce the invasion of Indian reservations and other units of conservation. In addition, KANINDÉ has increasingly specialized in carrying out field expeditions to locate groups of isolated Indians still present in Rondônia.

Sources of Funding and Institutional Infrastructure

The participation of international donors in providing funds for the different organizations analyzed in this section was very uneven over the years. IPHAÉ received funds from six different international donors between 1990 and 1995. Not surprisingly, IPHAÉ had the best infrastructure these group of organizations (i.e., ownership of the building where it was operating, vehicles, fax machines, computers, telephone lines). While INDIA was in a similar condition, KANINDÉ was in a very precarious financial situation and its headquarters were located at the household.

2⁴Several interviewees criticized this behavior and pointed out that INDIA and IPHAÉ had been transformed into private consulting firms and were not actually NGOs. The political repercussions of this argument regarding this supposed change in the profiles of INDIA and IPHAÉ will be discussed later.
of its general coordinator. ECOPORÉ and PACA had very limited resources, but both had a secretary at their headquarters. In 1995, due to a reduction of funds provided by international donors, all these organizations faced financial difficulties.\(^{26}\) Interestingly, IPHAÉ, INDIA, PACA, and KANINDÉ increasingly became involved in the direct execution of PLANAFLORO (through specific projects or consultant work) to obtain funds to continue their activities (Table 6.3).

The FORUM of NGOs and Social Movements of Rondônia\(^ {27}\)

The FORUM was created in November of 1991 by 13 different NGOs and social movements to organize the participation of civil society in the implementation of public policies, especially in PLANAFLORO.\(^ {28}\) It was evident at the time that because Rondônia lacked a unified political body to organize a common approach towards programs like PLANAFLORO that an organization like FORUM would have to be

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\(^{26}\)IPHAÉ faced problems throughout 1995 in paying the salaries of its staff.

\(^{27}\)The material in this section is drawn from interviews with Luiz Rodrigues de Oliveira, general secretary of the FORUM, interview by author, July 04, 1995, tape-recording, Porto Velho.

\(^{28}\)Among them were 11 of the original signatories of the Terms of Agreement that made official the participation of civil society organizations in PLANAFLORO.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GSO</th>
<th>Funding FY 1990-1994</th>
<th>Funding FY 1995</th>
<th>Total Budget FY 1995 (US $)</th>
<th>Funds from PLANAFLORO (US $)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ECOPORÉ</td>
<td></td>
<td>WWF-Sweden</td>
<td>30,000.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPHAE</td>
<td>Ford Foundation (Brazil), Heinz Foundation (USA), Hessen state (Germany), Friends of Earth (Sweden), Norwegian Rainforest Foundation, PMACI</td>
<td>VPI &amp; SU (USA), government of Hessen State, Germany, PLANAFLORO</td>
<td>88,000.00</td>
<td>38,000.00 (43%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIA</td>
<td>National Fund for the Environment (Brazil), PMACI, WWF (Sweden and USA),</td>
<td>PLANAFLORO</td>
<td>170,000.00³⁰</td>
<td>170,000.00 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACA</td>
<td>National Fund for the Environment (Brazil)</td>
<td>FAFO (Norwegian Fund for Native Peoples), PLANAFLORO</td>
<td>85,000.00</td>
<td>30,000.00 (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KANINDÉ</td>
<td></td>
<td>WWF-Sweden, PLANAFLORO</td>
<td>32,000.00</td>
<td>24,000.00 (75%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Interview with representatives of each of these organizations.

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³⁰Program of Protection of the Environment and Indian Communities, sponsored by the Brazilian Ministry of Environment

³¹This value was relative to a contract between INDIA and ITERON (the Institute of Land of Rondônia) to conduct a study of the socioeconomic and land tenure status of areas to be demarcated as extractive reserves, and it was not clear how much of this money was actually to be part of the organization’s budget in 1995.
created. The FORUM was also intended to establish networks with organizations working beyond the regional scale. In this regard, since its conception, the FORUM established contacts with national and Transnational NGOs.

The FORUM’s membership has increased steadily since 1991 reaching 27 organizations in June 1995 (7 rubber tappers MSOs, 7 Church Inspired GSOs, 2 Indian MSOs, 9 Service Provider GSOs, and 2 Rural Workers MSOs).

**Organizational Structure**

The organizational structure adopted by the FORUM (Figure 5) has four levels of decision-making (General Assembly, Executive Secretary, Executive Coordination and the Work Commissions). The General Assembly is held quarterly and each NGO affiliated with the FORUM is eligible to send one delegate. The Assembly is responsible for undertaking a periodic evaluation of the actions taken by the executive levels of the organization and to propose changes when necessary. In addition, the General Assembly is responsible for selecting incumbents for all of the executing positions existing in the organization. The second level is the Executive Coordination whose members are elected by the General Assembly. The Coordination holds meetings every month. Its main responsibility is to oversee
the implementation of tasks decided by the General Assembly. The third decision-making level is the Executive Secretary which is composed of a group of consultants and a small administrative staff headed by a general secretary. The general secretary handles all administrative and daily political tasks at the FORUM. In addition, the general secretary is responsible for circulating information, making contacts, and representing the organization in political meetings. The lower level of decision-making is represented by the Work Commissions (Environmental, Rural, Urban and Extractivism). These entities are responsible for gathering and analyzing information on issues related to their respective specific concerns, and for proposing alternatives to be considered by the Executive Coordination (especially in the area of public policies). Each Work Commission can send one representative to the Executive Coordination.
Figure 6.5 Organizational structure of the FORUM.
Goals and Methods of Action

The FORUM has stated that its major goals are to promote: 1) the democratization of information, 2) the organized participation of civil society in the definition of public policies, and 3) the cooperation and articulation of activities among its members (Luiz Rodrigues de Oliveira Ibid.). The FORUM has characterized its practical intervention by different forms of networking, lobbying, and judicial actions. In order to improve the circulation of information among its members, the FORUM has maintained a continuous flow of information through the mail. In addition, it has established a network of contacts at the national and international levels which includes not only other NGOs (Table 6.4), but also members of the press.

The FORUM has used this network to place continuous pressure by making known its concerns about implementation progress on both the State and the World Bank on issues regarding the implementation of PLANAFLORO at both the national and international scales. The FORUM has also provided legal assistance to its members and used its lawyers to carry out judicial actions against different State agencies that violate the tenets of Agro-Ecological Zoning.
Table 6.4 Major Partners of the FORUM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location of Headquarters</th>
<th>NGOs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>CEDI (Ecumenical Center of Documentation and Investigation), Friends of the Earth, OXFAM, INESC (Institute of Socioeconomic Analyzes), and WWF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Brazil</td>
<td>ARA of Germany; CIEL (Center for International Environmental Law), EDF, Rainforest Alliance of the US, and WWF of Sweden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Interview with Luiz Rodrigues de Oliveira Ibid.

Sources of Funding and Institutional Infrastructure

The FORUM does not charge any form of membership fee which leaves the organization totally dependent on external sources of funding. Table 6.5 shows the funding situation for the FORUM in the period 1994-1995. WWF-Sweden and OXFAM-Brazil have been the major sources of funding for the FORUM. The FORUM has a contract with WWF-Sweden for the period 1995-1998 which will guarantee a total of US $ 478,000.00. These funds will be used to pursue such activities as institutional strengthening, improvement of communication between the different NGOs composing the FORUM, and providing advisors for the intervention of MSOs and GSOs in
PLANAFLORO. The funds provided by OXFAM-Brazil, although smaller in absolute terms, are to be used for the same objectives. In 1995, the FORUM began to receive funds from PLANAFLORO as part of the Terms of Agreement which made official the participation of the NGOs in the process.

Table 6.5 Sources of Funding for FY 1994-1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Funding Source</th>
<th>FY 1994 (US $)</th>
<th>FY 1995 (US $)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WWF-Sweden</td>
<td>118,000.00</td>
<td>120,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OXFAM-Brazil</td>
<td>13,000.00</td>
<td>13,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLANAFLORO</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>53,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>131,000.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>188,000.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Interview with Luiz Rodrigues de Oliveira Ibid.

Because of its greater access to funds, the FORUM does not face the same financial problems that afflict its MSO and GSO members; a clear contrast between the FORUM’s infrastructure and its members\(^\text{31}\). This stronger institutional capability seems to have also had an impact on the role played by the FORUM in the implementation of PLANAFLORO. The FORUM has assumed a prominent role in developing the policy-making stance of the NGOs in PLANAFLORO. That role appears to have gone beyond the

\(^{31}\)The headquarters of the FORUM located in Porto Velho are well equipped (i.e., phone lines, fax machine, copy machine, and e-mail connection). In March 1996, the headquarters had a small staff of 3
normative role idealized by its creators. The impacts of this change of roles will be further analyzed in chapter 7.

Conclusions

This description of the NGOs participating in the PLANAFLORO program casts doubts on the appropriateness and relevance of conventional assumption of NGOs as autonomous and representative instruments of civil society. In the one hand, most of these NGOs were created since 1991, a time frame that coincides with the period of the design and implementation of PLANAFLORO; a regional development program initiated by the Federal and State government with the support of World Bank capital. This process is similar to what happened in other parts of Latin America, in which number of NGOs were founded with the sole purpose of sharing in the flow of international money (Arellano-López and Petras 1994).

On the other hand, there are the issues of accountability and financial autonomy. All MSOs, despite having formal mechanisms of contact between their leadership and the grassroots, faced great difficulties in maintaining contact with those social groups that they were representing. In the case of GSOs, only CPT and CIMI had full time people (i.e., the general secretary, an administrative secretary, and a lawyer), and a part time
links to their local communities through the parishes of the Catholic and Lutheran churches. The remaining GSOs did not have any consistent mechanism to allow grassroots participation either concerning their political or administrative activities. This fact is particularly important given the fact that only 3 NGOs had their headquarters located outside Porto Velho (i.e., FETAGRO, PACA and ECOPORÉ).

As discussed in Chapter 3, an important factor that can negatively affect institutional autonomy is dependence on external sources of income. All of the MSOs and GSOs included in this study do not generate the funds they need to function. Leaders interviewed of both MSOs and GSOs cited a persistent lack of funds as the major source of stress on their organizations. This study suggests that local NGOs are primarily dependent on funding provided either by transnational NGOs located in Europe or by the World Bank via PLANAFLORO. Moreover, there is a crucial distinction between the impact of funding provided by transnational NGOs linked to the Catholic church, and other transnational NGOs working in Rondônia (e.g., Friends of the Earth, OXFAM, WWF). While the transnational Catholic NGOs provide funds but abstain from interfering in the local organization’s
local decision-making, the other transnational NGOs are more involved in influencing the policy-making activities of local NGOs. Therefore, the definition of the political agenda of Rondônia’s NGOs seems to be directly influenced by international donors.\footnote{This issue will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.} Finally, most of the NGOs slowly became over the 1992-1995 period involved in the direct execution of PLANAFLORO activities as a mean to guarantee income for their operations. This reality generated a tension in the participating role of NGOs in PLANAFLORO’s governing organs. NGOs independently evolved from an advocacy role in which they sought to influence Bank policies and priorities to become World Bank consultants and program implementers actively engaged in the execution of the program.

The dependency upon funds from transnational NGOs and also from PLANAFLORO raises important questions concerning the ability of local NGOs to establish a political agenda that reflect the public interest in civil society, given the conflicting interests held by their different donors.