

Indigenous modernity and its malcontents: family, religion and tradition in highland Ecuador

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For Ellie

And if the Wine you drink, the Lip you press
End in what All begins and ends in--Yes;
Think then you are To-day what Yesterday
You were--To-morrow You shall not be less.

And this I know: whether the one True Light
Kindle to Love, or Wrath-consume me quite,
One Flash of It within the Tavern caught
Better than in the Temple lost outright.

from *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, translated by Edward FitzGerald.

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Abstract

A growing body of work on modern indigenous culture in the Andes has focused on various aspects of an urban, transnational and cosmopolitan identity. However, what does indigenous modernity mean in the poorest region of highland Ecuador, where indigenous identity continues to be associated with rural traditions, poverty, and racialised marginalisation? This research is based on ethnographic fieldwork in two rural communities in the canton of Guamote in central Ecuador. Looking at narratives of family life, religion, and tradition, it explores ambivalent engagements with modernity.

In less than forty years Guamote has been transformed dramatically. Once the heartland of both the Catholic Church and the haciendas, land and local government is now in indigenous control, whilst Protestantism is steadily gaining converts in the communities. Meanwhile, the local economy has become dependent on domestic migration to the coast and the highland cities. However despite wide-ranging social, cultural and economic changes, Guamote remains an extremely poor and marginalised region. Rising aspirations have not been met and modernisation has brought its own problems. How has this frustrated modernity affected ethnic identity in Guamote?

This thesis argues that, rather than understanding indigenous modernity as the hybridisation of tradition and modernity, it is more productive to look at the contemporary interaction of two frameworks of indigeneity - relatedness and alterity - that both have their roots in the colonial and postcolonial Andes. Through negotiating these related but distinct ways of being indigenous, people in Guamote make various decisions with regard to family, religion and tradition. In their nuanced and pragmatic responses to lives stretched out between city and community, and even

between opposed religions, Guamoteños complicate the dichotomies of urban/rural and traditional/modern. Through stories of work and education, migration and conversion, drinking and dancing, this research explores what it means to be modern *and* indigenous in Ecuador.

I. Introduction



A ravine separating fields in Wayku.

La Quebrada

The dry windy hills around the small town of Guamote, Ecuador, are cut through by deep ravines. They divide fields in two and separate neighbours, who are forced to take convoluted paths down escarpments and across treacherous bridges. The Spanish word for these ravines is *quebrada*. The word shares an etymology with the verb *quebrar*: to break, to bend, to crack and to smash. One such quebrada divides the northern border between the *comunas* of Wayku San Miguel and Wayku Bajo, where I carried out fieldwork in 2015. The old bridge had collapsed a few years previously and there was no money to replace it, so that we had to scramble up and down a crumbling rock face to reach the neighbouring comuna. It was ill-advised to cross at night,

unsteady on your feet after drinking at a fiesta, or after the rains when the earth was ready to give way beneath you.

One day the evangelical pastor Miguel Villalba invited me to his house to talk and to take some photos of his children. It was the same day as a big Catholic wedding on the other side of the quebrada. I began the day among the wedding guests, sharing plastic cups of beer and *trago* (liquor), gorging on plates piled high with *hornado* (roast pork) and *cuy* (guinea pig), and dancing around the yard to *música nacional*. As the party became louder and more exuberant I slipped away, and crossed the quebrada to meet up with Miguel at his parents' house. As we shared cups of hot *avena* (an oatmeal drink) Miguel gently chastised me for drinking and dancing at the wedding. I asked him how his family celebrated a wedding. "Simply" he replied, "with healthy food and drink, traditional music (*música folklórica*) – not electronic music (*electrónica*) – and in the company of God." After taking some photos of his children with their cattle outside the house, I thanked them for the drink and company, and made my way across the precarious quebrada and back into the fray of the wedding party. In this way, I became accustomed to travelling back and forth between neighbours whose lives were entwined in many ways, but were divided by religion.

This dramatic Andean landscape is as enchanting as it is extremely challenging. Andean cosmologies have animated the relationship between people and these mountains since pre-Incan times (Harris, 2000; Urton, 2013; Zuidema, 1992). And people have found ways of surviving in these hills both because of, and in spite of, the environment that surrounds them. The quebrada itself is the result of soil erosion brought on by significant changes in land use in the last half century (Harden & Hyman, 2007; Ochoa et al., 2016). However despite this obstacle, people daily criss-cross the escarpments, and continue their lives on both sides of the quebrada. This thesis is about literal and figurative gaps that open up in people's lives, and the extent to which people continue to build bridges over them, and create lives across them. The literal gaps include the

distances between houses, between communities, and between Guamote and the rest of Ecuador. The figurative gaps include those that open up in the rural-urban family, the social distance between families, between evangelicals and Catholics, the old and the young, *mestizo* and *indígena*. And the distances between people's aspirations and reality, between being indigenous and being modern, and finding the place in between.



The pseudonym I have given to the two comunas where I conducted fieldwork is Wayku, the Kichwa word for quebrada/ravine. I am not the first to adopt the motif of the quebrada. Daniel Reichman's ethnography *The Broken Village* (2011) uses the pseudonym La Quebrada for a village in Honduras to evoke the sense of rupture with the past caused by processes of globalisation. Like Reichman's work, this thesis plays on the ambiguity of the word, where "any "break" or rupture with the past presents opportunities for reconstruction and renewal" as well as more simplistic narratives of the demise of tradition and community, and the progress of modernisation and urbanisation (2011: 4). Unlike in Reichman's work, where the quebrada also refers to the mountain

stream above the village, the geographical quebradas play a substantial role in this thesis, both as a reminder of the ecological pressures upon the comunas, and as the dividing line between the Catholic comuna of Wayku San Miguel and the evangelical comuna of Wayku Bajo.

Rethinking indigenous modernity

In recent years, Andean indigenous culture in Ecuador has become increasingly known for its urban, cosmopolitan and transnational forms. These formations have appeared at opposite ends of the small Andean nation. In the north, the city of Otavalo has become the centre of an international market in indigenous crafts, and a growing indigenous middle-class (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1999; Kyle, 2000; Meisch, 2013; Wibbelsman, 2009). With its blending of traditions, an assertive ethnic identity, and an urban, transnational and entrepreneurial culture, Otavalo has become the quintessential case of “indigenous modernity” (Ritter, 2011: 308). Even whilst the focus on the affluent indigenous trader ignores the nearby subsistence farmer (Kyle, 1999: 435; Wibbelsman, 2009), Otavalo has become synonymous with a modern indigenous identity, cutting itself free from the stigma of being indian in Ecuador. Meanwhile in the south, the rural migrants from the southern provinces of Loja, Azuay and Cañar have colonised Queens, New York, creating transnational communities interweaving an indigenous identity with New York modernity (Kyle, 2000; Pribilsky, 2007). Remittances flowing back into these rural communities are transforming this part of Ecuador and radically altering the horizons and aspirations of those who live there.

These are remarkable transformations for indigenous Ecuadorians, that for centuries have been economically exploited and socially stigmatised within racial hierarchies that have ascribed to ‘indians’ a sub-human and pre-modern status (Stutzman, 1981; Weismantel & Eisenman, 1998). Being indian in colonial and postcolonial Ecuador was synonymous with being poor, rural and

traditional. Therefore, the growth of cosmopolitan and affluent indigenous groups in Ecuador has contributed to the discussion of a new “indigenous modernity” that challenges and overhauls these stereotypes. And yet neither the rural poor nor the stigma of being indian has gone away. The majority of those identifying and identified as indigenous in modern Ecuador are still poor and living in rural areas, and if you are poor and rural it is highly probable that you will be considered indian or indigenous - even if you don’t identify as such¹. Modern Ecuador, not unlike colonial and postcolonial Ecuador, is preoccupied with its cities as emblems of its modernity. Peripheral to these narratives of modernity, the rural poor’s invisibility contrasts with their omnipresence and persistence (van der Ploeg, 2009: xiii-iv). What, then, does indigenous modernity mean for those on the periphery?

In Ecuador we find the periphery in the centre of the country. The canton of Guamote, in the central province of Chimborazo, has the highest rates of poverty in the country, as well as the highest percentage of people identifying as indigenous. In the national imaginary, Guamote is the mirror opposite of Otavalo. Otavalo has a “special place in the national imagination” (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1999: 12) as the site of the “good indian”, the *indio permitido* (Hale, 2004), whose cleanliness and industriousness is contrasted with the miserable or “bad indian” who is stereotyped as dirty, lazy and violent (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1998). If the indians of Otavalo are “proud, well-dressed, and successful”, those of Guamote are “poor, eroded, and backward” (Bebbington, 2000: 507). Compared to indigenous communities in the north and south, there have been relatively low rates of international migration and consequently fairly low levels of economic accumulation in the rural communities. As a result, compared to other regions, economic change has been slow, uneven and piecemeal.

¹ Indian (*indio*) and indigenous (*indígena*) are distinct but related categories, as we will see.

However the overall story of change in Guamote is much more dramatic. In the last half century the canton has gone from being the heartland of the political, social and economic system of the haciendas, to one entirely absent of large-scale agriculture and with the vast majority of land owned by small-scale indigenous farmers. Moreover, the municipal government and urban institutions of the canton has been transferred out of the hands of a tiny urban mestizo population, and are now dominated by people from the comunas. And Chimborazo and the central highlands in general, and Guamote in particular, were once the powerbase of the Catholic Church. Now the Church competes for souls with the growing Protestant denominations, who have found new congregations, as they have done across Latin America (Bebbington, 2006; Torres, 1999).

Guamote is therefore a region of great change as well as continuity, where the labels of 'tradition' and 'modernity' sit uneasily alongside one another. It is partly this paradox that will be explored in this thesis. For Guamote is in one sense at the heart of the changes that have *made* modern Ecuador, and yet it continues to be represented as an aberration, outside of modernity. *So how useful is the discussion about indigenous modernity for understanding the experience of people in rural Guamote? And is there a better framework for understanding the experiences of these discontented indigenous moderns?* There are three parts to this research problem:

First, when indigeneity is defined as the *other* of modernity, and when modernity is racialised as white, how can Guamoteños - regarded as the *least* modern and the *most* indigenous - construct an indigenous modernity? Can modernity be reclaimed (Goodale, 2006), without the cultural and economic capital that has made it possible for others? And given that Guamoteños are engaged in a variety of hybridized forms of identity-making - in the marketplace, in church and in local government - why may this still be de-legitimised or not recognised as modern?

Secondly, the *comuna indígena* is the social and political form through which indigenous people in Ecuador organise, engage with the state, forge a new civil society, and seek recognition and redistribution of land and resources. Belonging to an indigenous comuna has therefore simultaneously been the means of signalling a certain heritage and being a political and social actor. However, the comuna itself has limited and diminishing significance to many Guamoteños, as family and church ties take increasing precedence. The *comuna* obscures a kaleidoscope of other communities that occupy the same space and are not reducible to the institution of the *comuna*. Will these be more important in the dynamics of renewing an indigenous identity in the future?

Thirdly, there is a tension that runs throughout any discussion of indigeneity in the Andes, between an identity that is constructed as the *other* through racial hierarchies, as the *absence* of whiteness, modernity and civilisation, and an identity that emerges quotidianly out of intimate social relations and reciprocal exchanges. Individuals, families and communities exist in a social space in which both of these forms of identity-making are real and meaningful. Indigenous modernity, if it is anything, is the identity, or identities, born from this entanglement of relatedness and alterity. Is this tension, rather than one between tradition and modernity, the dynamic that determines new ethnic identities in Ecuador?

My argument is that scholars must be very careful about how they apply the concept of modernity in the Andes, unless we reproduce or give implicit support to the semantic and social divisions that we would want to critique. Paradoxically, indigenous modernity condemns to the category of *indio* those unable or unwilling to “become modern”, making a synergy between modern and indigenous identities only less attainable. The pragmatic and ambivalent lives of people in Guamote disrupt the binary between the good *indígena* and the bad *indio*, and live with both an enthusiasm for and a discontentment with modernity. As such, the title of this thesis is

deliberately provocative. For *indigenous modernity* and *its malcontents* are not necessarily mutually exclusive and in many cases, refer to the same phenomena.

Terminology

As a thesis about identity, this research is concerned fundamentally with terms, labels and categories, and the power they have over people. Much of what follows is a discussion of the insufficiency of these labels to capture the experiences they are supposed to describe, and the gaps between terms where people end up. However two pairs of terms require immediate clarification. In rural Ecuador the Spanish words *comuna* and *comunidad* are often used interchangeably to describe the legally recognised corporate entities to which most people belong. However members of these comunas, *comuneros*, talk of many forms of association and community, that overlap and divide these entities. The distinction between a *comuna* and a *comunidad* is critical to this thesis and therefore I have chosen not to follow convention and translate *comuna* as *community*, so that this thesis can distinguish clearly between a diversity of social ties.

I am sympathetic to the cogent arguments made by anthropologists like Mary Weismantel (Weismantel, 2001: xxxiii) and Andrew Canessa (Canessa, 2012: 6–7), who have preferred to write of ‘indians’ instead of the more politically correct ‘indigenous people’. As I argue below, both terms are arbitrary and contextual, and indian has the advantage of making this explicit - deliberately drawing attention to the colonial and racial discourse that made *indios*. In the context and discussion of racial hierarchies I follow Weismantel in describing the white/indian binary, that is obfuscated in Ecuadorian discourses through a plethora of euphemisms. However at the same time, I want to take seriously the residents of Wayku’s self-description of themselves as *indígenas*, and to this extent I feel ethically bound to faithfully describe how they identify themselves. What they mean by indigenous is complex, pragmatic and at times contradictory, but it is certainly not

indian, an abusive term they are all too well familiar with on a daily basis. What is taking place in Guamote, as it is in everyday and ordinary encounters across the Andes, is the difficult and fraught struggle to carve out ways of being *indígena* without still being *indio*. This distinction matters to people in Wayku and it matters to the argument of this thesis. Therefore, in the discussion of race and racial ideologies this thesis refers to indians and *indios*, whilst in discussion of collective, shared and ethnic identities in Wayku, indigenous and *indígena* is used. As I argue below, indigeneity and indigenous modernity, is constituted through the relationship and contradictions between these two terms. Finally, indian is a racial category (in the same way as black, white and mestizo) and not a nationality, and therefore I follow others in writing the word in lowercase (Canessa, 2012: 7; Wade, 1997: 121).

Indigeneity

Like the many other ways that humans differentiate themselves, from sex and gender to race and ethnicity, the more the category of indigeneity is given up to examination, the less it appears to bear scrutiny. When Mary Weismantel asked why it was obvious that the women in the Cuenca market were indians, she was told to “Just look at them!”, but the more we look the less self-evident these categories seem (Weismantel, M., 2001 : 92). Meanwhile, the term has expanded into transnational discourses of human rights, development, and global movements (Davis, 2007b; Minde, 2008). While Weismantel is trying to “see” what links a heterogeneous Andean market crowd, indigeneity has gone global to include a diversity of human experience and identity, from Tuareg nomads to the Native Americans of North America. Perhaps we should agree with Greene, that indigeneity has become “so overgeneralized and so abstracted [to] become essentially indefinable, indeed, sublime” (Greene, 2009 : 34). It is certainly true that a variety of discourses on indigeneity encircle and overlap one another, with their own history and theoretical genealogy. Thus we are right, for example, to treat seriously the critique within anthropology that to write of ‘indigenous peoples’ comes with the heavy colonial baggage of the anthropological study of

‘primitive peoples’ (Asch et al., 2006; Kuper et al., 2003). And at the same time, we can recognise that claims to indigeneity have created a common transnational language with which marginalised groups have challenged states and corporations threatening the means of their economic, social and cultural reproduction.

Being indigenous in the Andes has its own historical and social context, which shares very little with other claims to indigeneity elsewhere in the world. Unlike many other indigenous peoples, being indigenous in the Andes does not denote a shared genealogical descent from ‘first peoples’ or an ancestral link to a shared territory. What, then, does it mean to be indigenous in the Andes? Broadly speaking anthropologists have approached indigenous culture through the frameworks of class, ethnicity and race, or a combination of two or three. Class analyses of indigeneity have become less common in the literature, especially since the rise of self-consciously *indigenous* social movements, and I will not cover those debates in detail here (for a thorough discussion of indigeneity and class see Becker, 2008; Lucero, 2003, 2006). The distinction between race and ethnicity is a fine one, especially when we consider both to be contextual and constructed (Wade, 1997: 18–20), but the distinction is important in the context of the Andes. Indigeneity as an ethnic category focuses on the social and cultural institutions through which a common identity is produced, located and bounded. Indigeneity as a racial category emphasises the colonial and postcolonial power relations that created and naturalised the category of *indian*. Both approaches reveal substantive aspects of indigenous identity, although both also have their own limitations. Together they demonstrate that indigeneity is constituted by multiple discourses and relations.

Indigeneity and ethnicity

Ethnicity is perhaps even more vulnerable than indigeneity for the charge of vagueness and imprecision (Banks, 1996: 5). It developed as part of the anthropological lexicon at the same time that the discussion of ‘race’ became uncomfortably close to racist scientism and eugenics

(Stocking, 1968). But as a form of social classification that lists “ethnic characteristics”, segmenting humans into bounded groups, it replicates much of the simplistic logic that dogs racial thinking. More nuanced approaches, referred to as instrumentalist and closely identified with the work of Cohen (2014), emphasise how groups draw attention to cultural differences in order to determine boundaries. Following this line of argument Wade argues that ethnicity is essentially an identity that mobilises the language of place, creating a “cultural geography” that locates groups and determines the characteristics they share (Wade, 1997: 16–17). However, the line between primordialist, essentializing descriptions of ethnicity, and more fluid and constructivist analyses, can be a fine one. As we can see with two of the key ideas that underpin my approach to Andean ethnicity in this thesis: reciprocity and personhood.

Reciprocity plays a fundamental part in the reproduction of indigenous society, underpinning not only economic exchange (Jennings & Bowser, 2009: 4), but important forms of communal labour institutions such as *mingas* (Mayer, 2002); the system of co-parenting (*compadrazgo*) combined with the sponsorship of weddings and baptisms (Ferraro, 2004; Leinaweaver, 2008). It is a guiding principle that reaches into every part of life, including the intimacy of familial and marital relations (Burman, 2011; Maclean, 2014). One of the most fundamental parts of this reciprocity is the preparing, giving, receiving and consumption of food. It is these acts more than any other that bind together communities and forge a shared identity (Allen, 2002; Harris, 2000; Weismantel, 1998). The pivotal nature of reciprocity is reflected in the Andean notion of a socialised personhood, where being indigenous (and therefore being human), is constituted not through “abstract attributes”, but through “one’s place in a social network” (Wade, 1997: 104). Personhood is not pre-given but is achieved through practice and through relationships, and people become fully human and achieve this personhood over a lifetime of establishing these relationships (Canessa, 2012: 120). Marrying, raising a family, assuming responsibilities in the comuna, are staging posts on this journey to personhood, but not its final destination. And as personhood can be made, it can

also be unmade. Refraining from reciprocal relations and communal responsibility, negates membership of the community (Gose, 1994; Isbell, 1985).

These observations about reciprocity and personhood are fundamental. However, as Starn rightfully critiqued (1991), anthropologists have often fallen into the trap of romanticising the Andean world and opposing it to western individualism and unequal market relations. Starn argued that Andeanists compounded this problem by seeking out the most “authentic”, and least “acculturated” people, shifting their attention away from the regions where identities were more fluid and ambiguous. Anthropologists and their subjects can all too often conspire to reify, essentialise and naturalise the ethnic characteristics that they both value. Notwithstanding these criticisms, the research into practices and beliefs intrinsic to Andean social life does have the advantage of pursuing emic, insider understandings as opposed to those theoretical frameworks that have little or no relevance or meaning to people in the Andes. They achieve a substantivist understanding of “how indians themselves construct difference” (Canessa, 1998b: 229). Finally indigeneity is important in terms of ethnicity because it has been made so. Indigeneity has for many become a positive identity, through which society itself can be renewed. The predictions, hopes and fears that indigenous culture was disappearing, have proved unfounded.

In summary, understanding indigeneity through the framework of ethnicity thus allows us to make three important observations about identity in the Andes. The first is that ethnic identity is bound up in everyday reciprocal practices, what Van Vleet describes as relatedness (Van Vleet, 2009). The second follows from the first: indigenous identity is cultural and inclusive, it is not based on “blood and soil” (Canessa, 2007). Thirdly, it describes people’s most intimate identification with a place.

However there is a significant weakness to defining indigeneity only in terms of cultural difference and the politics of place and belonging. It ignores probably the most important organizing principle at work in social life in the Andes: race.

Indigeneity and race

As discussed above, Andean anthropology had for a long time preferred to view social difference in terms of class and ethnicity, rather than race. This reflects anthropological approaches more generally, that have often subsumed the fiction of race within the ideology of some, but not all, ethnicities (eg. Eriksen, 2002). However this tends to ignore the ideological force and pervasiveness of the 'social fact' of race in the Andes (Bonilla-Silva, 1999). As Bonilla-Silva argued, races in the Andes "are not 'things' but relations" (ibid.: 901), and the history of race describes the relations of "Otherization, inferiorization, exclusion and subordination" that constructed and maintained the category of indian (Radcliffe & Westwood, 1996).

The societies that the Europeans encountered and colonised in the 15th century were heterogenous and diverse (Gose, 2008). The people that Europeans met in the Americas were not *indios*, but were made so through colonial rule, that re-settled, administered and taxed them as a homogenous racial group (Roitman, 2009: 96). Europeans brought with them a preoccupation with the purity of bloodlines that had its roots in the feudal system of medieval and early modern Europe (see also De la Cadena, 1995). However genealogical purity was an impossible fantasy in the increasingly creole and hybrid American colonies, and biological scientific racism never developed to the extent that it did in North America and Europe. Nevertheless races and racial hierarchies did not disappear through the hybridization of society. The postcolonial nations were founded on a mestizo identity and a national ideology of *mestizaje* (racial and cultural mixing). However this reproduced the racial hierarchy of whites (*blancos*, *Creoles*) and indians (*indios*) by

setting the terms of what Stutzman memorably called an “all-inclusive ideology of exclusion” (Stutzman, 1981: 45). Creoles, Spaniards born in America, were given a secondary status for not being Spanish born; and mestizos were considered inferior to the Spanish because of their racial impurity - their intimate proximity to indianness. Independence allowed mestizo republicans to fully embody and possess social power in the Andes, and determine which people would be excluded from society and 19th century nation-building (Roitman, 2009 : 99). However these same mestizo elites, up into the present day, do not acknowledge the partial similarity with indians that the mestizo identity would imply. Instead they identify themselves as white (*blancos*), or euphemistically as neighbours (*vecinos*) or “good people” (*gente de bien*), identifications that signal white civilised society (Weismantel, 2001). Modernity, national culture and social power remain racialised, and everyone will “become white when we accept the goals of national culture”, as General Guillermo Rodríguez Lara (who ruled Ecuador between 1972-76) succinctly put it (Stutzman, 1981: 45). It is in this national yearning to be white that the really pernicious aspect of Andean racism comes to the fore. The racism of mestizo society is a “self-hatred” (Lancaster, 1994; Torre, 1999), a disgust and anxiety about the intimate relations with primitive indian culture. As one indigenous student describes it: “The Indian wants to be mestizo, the mestizo wishes to be white, and the white yearns to be a gringo” (Torre, 1999: 103). The indian is the intimate *other* that contaminates both the individual and the body politic. This self-hatred manifests itself outwards in a racialising gaze that looks for the “discreditable stigma” of indigenous intimacy in everyone (Goffman, 2014). Public social interaction therefore involves surveillance and self-surveillance, and the interaction of strangers involves the reading of bodies and behaviour to discern racial origins (Goffman, 2008; Roitman, 2008). This fear of internal and external contamination, and proximity to the world of indians, has been described by Colloredo-Mansfeld as “hygienic racism” (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1998). This racism is a fear of contamination from “bodies in an expansive sense... the physical world of native peoples”: their food, their clothes, their produce (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1999: 89).

The persistence of the hacienda system in Ecuador is important for understanding the lived experience of racial ideologies in the twentieth-century. Significantly this experience was marked by paternalistic authority and extreme violence (Lyons, 2006). The legacy of this traumatic and relatively recent colonial encounter is reflected in the deep associations between whiteness and predatory violent acts (Weismantel, 2001). Weismantel explores this association through the mythical figure of the *pishtaco* or *ñakaq*, an Andean bogeyman that attacks and kills indians by extracting their body fat. In the Andes body fat is considered a source of wealth (see also Canessa, 2012). The *pishtaco* is thought of as white, even when the accused is visibly not white. Weismantel argues that skin colour is only a small part of Andean racial discourse, in which size and hairiness are indexed as white, and even more importantly, wealth and commodity goods. The economic gulf between indigenous people and the wealth of mestizos, whites and gringos, means that all signs of material wealth, “especially the possession of cash, is associated with whiteness” (Weismantel, 1998: 76). The fear associated with the wealth of whites is closely linked to this colonial and postcolonial experience of economic and political exploitation.

If whiteness is identified with wealth and power, then to be indian is to lack both. In the areas of rural Ecuador that experienced the worst of the hacienda system, such as the provinces of Cotopaxi and Chimborazo, indian is exclusively negative in its meaning (Weismantel, 2001: xxxvi). So powerful is the racial stigma of being indian, that the euphemisms and epithets that are often substituted for indian have all taken on racial and pejorative meanings. This not only includes *campesino* (peasant) and *indígena* (indigenous), but also the Kichwa word for people, *runa*, which is transformed into a Spanish adjective “to describe anything foul, ugly, coarse, or of poor quality” (Weismantel, 2001: xxxvi). In Bolivia, Alessandra Pellegrini (2016) reports that Aymara speaking coca growing peasants use the equivalent, *jaqi*, as a pejorative word to describe their less cosmopolitan and poorer highland relatives. In this context, where to be indian is synonymous

with poverty and racial inferiority, then the desire to escape poverty is also the desire to become white (Canessa, 2008: 48). This takes the form of a discourse of personal development and improvement that in particular influences the decisions that parents make for their children (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 2009; Pribilsky, 2007). Hope is invested in their children's education, their competency in Spanish, their migration to cities and abroad to the United States and Europe (Pribilsky, 2007). It is not just the desire to escape poverty, but to “walk calmly” (Van Vleet, 2009: 28), free from the fear of racial violence and abuse.

In the nineteenth-century the liberal republican idea of the mestizo nation was based on the belief that indigenous culture was a relic of the colonial past, and that as the nation modernised, imbued with liberal republican values, traditional society would disappear. However it became increasingly obvious to these elites that indians appeared unable or unwilling to “become white – or white enough” (Weismantel & Eisenman, 1998: 123). In the twentieth-century this became known as the Indian Problem, and it revealed a fundamental contradiction within the ideology of the mestizo nation. The Indian Tribute and other official markers of racial difference were abolished in the 1850s, but the rural economy of Ecuador remained dependent on the exploitation of indian labour. Fear of a violent rural uprising kept liberal reformers from extending economic or civic rights to indians (Lucero, 2003; Meisch, 1992; Weismantel & Eisenman, 1998). Instead the postcolonial state removed itself from the administration of indians, devolving powers to landowners, who continued the colonial rule of indians into the modern era (Clark, 2007). During this time, conservative governments strengthened the local institutions of the church and haciendas, and regarded the indian population as dependent wards. Liberals on the other hand, in their struggles to further their interests and wrestle power from the church and the haciendas, constructed their own image of the “miserable indian race”, whom only they could save (Guerrero, 1997). They moved against the more abusive practices of landlords, but did not seek to abolish the system, or form an unmediated relationship between indians and the state. Both conservative and

liberal ideology remained paternalistic and hierarchical, impressing ideologies onto local institutions but not widening the scope of citizenship to include indians (Clark & Becker, 2007; Foote, 2006; Prieto, 2004).

This research draws on colonial and postcolonial research that has traced the close relationship between the construction of colonial racial categories and the language of gender, sex and sexuality. This relationship rests on the dual reality of colonial society: the everyday cultural and sexual intimacy between social groups, set against the need to preserve power through a clear demarcation of colonisers and colonised. “Colonial control”, writes Stoler, “was predicated on identifying who was “white,” who was “native,” and which children could become citizens rather than subjects” (Stoler, 2002: 43). The hierarchical opposition of civilisation and savagery, that justified colonial power, was under constant threat of collapse through the uncomfortable proximity of the civilised and the barbaric (Young, 1995: 95). This intimacy produced creole societies, not just through sexual union, but through the collision and fusion of cultural and political institutions (Gose, 2008). This distinction between sexual (or genetic) and cultural hybridity was less clear to early modern Europeans, which is why Stoler subsumes them both within the notion of colonial intimacy (Stoler, 2002: 9). Sleeping with, living alongside and living like natives could all be just as perilous for the reproduction of society. This expansive sense of racial intimacy is just as relevant to modern Andean fears of racial contamination (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1999: 84).

Colonial racial discourse therefore imposes a social order through recourse to categories that are “fixed and fluid... at the same time” (Stoler, 2002: 8). The colonial body politic maintains an absolute opposition between civilisation (racialised as white) and savagery (racialised as indian and black). However in reality, colonial and postcolonial society is populated by growing numbers of intermediate 'races': creoles, mestizos, cholos etc. The strategies by which these intermediate

groups are identified, and included or excluded, draw together sex, race and nation into a discourse that links “internal moral essences to external visible markers” (Wade 1997: 31). In other words, the performative socialised body becomes a sign, that is read by a racialising gaze, in order to decipher its past and current intimate relations with two opposing worlds.

This is a key point because racism is often distinguished from the imagined communities of ethnicities and nations by being a visual ideology, based purely on physiological differences (Anderson, 2006). However Stoler's argument is that these external markers only “signal the nonvisual and more salient distinctions of exclusion on which racisms rest” (Stoler, 2002: 84). Racist and nationalist thinking come together to read culturally constructed bodies, assessing their suitability for inclusion as citizens. However these internal essences may be read in various ways; they may be indexed by different combinations of physical and cultural attributes. The visible markers are contested, ambiguous and malleable. Thus race becomes something that “accumulates within the body... as a result of a life lived within a particular human community at a specific moment in time”.

Race and Ethnicity in the Andes

The problematic of what constitutes indigenous is that this term has a genealogy of exchanges and relationships between an anthropological term, a term taken up globally by human rights and justice discourse, and a historical context within the Andes. The first and the second, anthropology and global justice, meet at the point of advocacy anthropology. Debates within anthropology have been fraught by the tension of whether ‘indigenous peoples’ is the old colonial trope of ‘primitive peoples’. These debates transfer poorly into the Andean region, where the question of who and who is not indigenous is a political and cultural question that varies in context, time and place (Canessa, 2007). However the notion of indigeneity fashioned by the

political movements in the Andes has become inclusive, an “indigenous positioning” (Canessa, 2007: 207), where the claim to indigeneity is based on a shared experience of colonialism and exclusion. Does this inclusivity however, repeat these problems of exclusion and marginalisation by ignoring those on the periphery (Canessa, 2006)? Other groups may resist the label of indigenous, even as it is broadened and becomes more ubiquitous (Pellegrini Calderón, 2016).

Race and racial ideology is at the heart of social inequality in the Andes. However until the mid-1990s anthropological research had mostly ignored this fact, preferring to frame inequality in terms of ethnicity and class (Harris, 1995). Ethnicity appeared a more appropriate analytical category because identity boundaries seemed to be determined by cultural markers rather than physiological differences. In fact the hegemony of the mestizo identity and the ideology of mestizaje (racial mixing) led some to argue that Latin America had resolved (and dissolved) the problem of racism with a 'racial democracy' (Freyre, 1963; Harris, 1980; for discussion see Wade, 2004). It is at least true that race relations look very different from the legally sanctioned racial apartheid of the United States or South Africa. There were no Jim Crow laws in the Andes (Torre, 1999). In addition, reference to race was too readily taken as an appeal to biological essentialism, a confusion that stifled debate on race in social science more generally (Bonilla-Silva, 1999; Gilroy, 2007). Nevertheless it is clear that racism and racial ideologies exist as “social facts” in the Andes (Weismantel & Eisenman, 1998), both “an absurd fantasy and an inescapable reality” (Weismantel, 2001: xvii). However this is often hidden from view because class and ethnicity are euphemistically invoked in racial discourse, to the extent that race becomes obscured in a logic that distorts “race as ethnicity” (Roitman, 2009: 101). As a result, census data, polling and media discourse analysis fail to pick up the presence of racial ideology (Beck et al., 2011; Madrid, 2012). Instead it is ethnographic and social historical research that has revealed the social fact of race in the Andes, both in everyday life (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1999; Weismantel, 2001) and in the formation of the mestizo nation (Canessa, 2005b; Radcliffe & Westwood, 1996).

The racial geographies of the Ecuadorian nation are best illustrated by the cultural map of Ecuador, still popular in classrooms and public buildings today. The map puts each indigenous group in their place, in their traditional costume (*ropa típica*), that is more than anything else the identifiable marker of ethnicity (Radcliffe & Westwood, 1996; Tolen, 1998). Tolen argues that this map acts to present people's ethnic identity back to them, so that they understand their indigeneity through the state: "members of minority or stigmatized groups perceive their own ethnicity, in part, as if refracted through such "nationalist" imagery" (Tolen, 1998: 23). However "there is no place on the folkloric map of Ecuador for Protestant, teetotaling "Indians," or for the urban indigenous person" (Tolen, 1998: 48).

The return to democracy and the enfranchisement of illiterate voters in 1979 began a new period of social and political transformation in Ecuador. In the democratic era these racial ideologies were being challenged by new discourses that were re-making the nation as multicultural. The growing visibility of the international indigenous movement in the 1980s, coupled with the growing confidence of national indigenous organisations, was beginning to construct affirmative indigenous identities (Canessa, 2007; Minde, 2008). Elite ideologies adapted and responded to this pressure by reformulating *mestizaje* as *pluriculturalidad* (multiculturalism); supporting bilingual education programmes and celebrations of ethnic diversity. However the state resisted demands to negotiate on issues of land claims, collective rights and political autonomy (Pallares, 2007). This multiculturalism from above was met with suspicion by an invigorated indigenous movement, that presented an increasingly millennial set of demands aimed at overturning the political hegemony and remaking the nation around a notion of *plurinacionalidad* in which the self-determination of indigenous communities would be recognised (Whitten, 2003a; Whitten et al., 1997). As with *mestizaje* it is important to distinguish between rhetoric and practice in the social transformations of the last twenty years. Despite a change in political language towards

respect for diversity, the racial fear of indian rebellion remains. It becomes most visible during periods of public protest when indigenous people are seen to be 'out of place', violent, unruly and dangerous (Meisch., 1992; Whitten, 2003a). In fact some theorists have argued that the increased political and social mobility of at least some indigenous people is increasing the ethnic polarisation and importance of racial hierarchy in Ecuador (Roitman, 2009).

Which leads to a final important point about racial ideologies in Ecuador. As the rural indigenous population is not uniform, race and racism function in different ways for different social groups. Ethnographers have cautioned against confusing the multicultural rhetoric of the indigenous movement leadership with the ideologies and experience of race in the communities that they claim to represent (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 2009; Meisch., 1992). Communities are often engaged in localised struggles over land, resources and embattled personal and political conflicts constituted through racial hierarchies. Steeped in racist encounters, overlaid with the fear of violence, these struggles are not reflected in the inclusive multicultural politics of the national movement. Moreover social class plays an important role. The Otavaleños in north Ecuador have been particularly successful at accessing a global market for textiles and crafts, creating an affluent indigenous middle-class (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1999). As Colloredo-Mansfeld documents, racial stereotypes continue to circulate amongst this merchant class as a means of distinguishing themselves from poor, rural indians (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1998). In contrast, Chimborazo, with less social mobility and a higher level of rural poverty, shows how far Ecuador still has to travel. In an officially multicultural modern Ecuador, racism and racial ideology remain deeply embedded in social life.

Modernity

Pitarch and Orobítg introduce a collection of essays on ‘indigenous modernities’ in Latin America by stating that, since indigenous culture is conventionally thought of as ‘traditional’, the terms *indígena* and modernity may seem incompatible opposites (Pitarch & Orobítg, 2012). They go on to argue that instead of treating them in this way, as historical stages of development, we can consider the “affinities, contrasts and exchanges between the two terms.” Evoking Marshall Berman’s description of the modern sensibility as one born out of an “atmosphere of agitation and turbulence, psychic dizziness and drunkenness, expansion of experimental possibilities and destruction of moral boundaries and personal bonds”, they argue that there can be nothing more modern than the indigenous experience in 21st century Latin America (Berman, 1983: 18). Theirs is an enthusiastic invitation to conduct ethnography of the articulations between indigenous cultures and modernity, one that is perhaps a little strange, given the wealth of scholarship already produced on the subject in the last three decades. However the proposal to understand the relationship between modernity and indigeneity “on an equal and reciprocal plane” ignores the very dynamics of power that produces these concepts in the first place, and in doing so disguises and misrepresents the struggles that are taking place by indigenous people ‘being modern’ in Latin America.

Part of the confusion with the discussion of indigenous modernity arises in the varied and contradictory meanings given to the concept of modernity, to the point of it losing its utility as an analytical tool (Donham, 2002). The explosion in studies of alternative, vernacular, multiple and subaltern modernities within anthropology in the 1990s and 2000s reflected an academic preoccupation with the cultural effects of globalisation, transnational cultures and hybridization (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1993). These alternative moderns were often presented as bricoleurs, recycling “elements of their traditional existence in the construction of their own indigenous

versions of modernity” (Sahlins 2001). Meanwhile, anthropology was busily exorcising the last ghosts of the myth of the primitive, untouched and bounded tribe that had bewitched previous generations of anthropologists. However there is a sense in which ‘modernity’ has become a platitudinal and relativistic synonym for ‘contemporary’, without a wider analytical framework of the context in which people were made “non-modern” in the first place.

The pluralisation of modernities was itself a critique of the eurocentrism of historical and sociological narratives that put Europe at the centre of the modern world (Dussel, 1993; Dussel, 1998). However by seeing moderns and modernities everywhere we lose sight of the idea of modernity and the power dynamics on which it is based. Knauff defines modernity as “the images and institutions associated with Western-style progress and development in a contemporary world” and in particular those “associated with either the incitement or the threat of individual desire to improve social life by subordinating or superseding what is locally configured as backward, undeveloped, or superstitious” (Knauff, 2002). It is a sequential and hierarchical framework for desiring, demanding and expecting change, and the reduction of modernity to hybridization and cross-cultural exchange, obscures the power relationships in these exchanges.

And perhaps no more so than in Latin America. The decolonial theorist Anibal Quijano argues that the conquest of the continent, beginning in the fifteenth century, began the process by which the framework of power he refers to as ‘modernity/coloniality’ came to dominate the world (Quijano, 2007). This is not simply the political and economic interconnection between the development of Europe and the underdevelopment of its colonies, as articulated by World Systems and underdevelopment theorists (Frank, 1967; Wallerstein, 1979). This also concerns the production of knowledge and European identity, by which Europe comes to differentiate itself from other cultures whilst erasing the relations of colonial domination through which the idea of Europe became possible. As Bhambra argues, “this enables Europeans, both individually and

collectively, to affirm their sense of self at the same time as making invisible the colonial order that provides the context for their ‘self-realization’” (Bhambra, 2014). Modernity and coloniality are so integral to one another and complicit in the production of knowledge that the ideologies that they proliferated in colonial and postcolonial Latin America - of progress, development and modernisation - replicate the image and the idea of Europe as the endogenous origin of modern civilisation. Lugones pushes this idea further by incorporating the colonisation of race, gender and sexuality into Quijano’s framework (Lugones, 2007). Colonisation constructed the colonised, those non-Western primitive societies without history (Wolf et al., 2010), but it also disrupted and displaced indigenous social categories of race and sex, and integrated a bifurcated and hierarchical schema into the idea of modernity. In the Andes this racialised modernity constructed the indian as the absence of the qualities and values of a modernity that was both imagined as white and male. In this sense indigenous modernity could always and only be an impossible oxymoron. To become modern is to cease to be indigenous.

Indigenous Modernity

If we exclude the uncritical use of ‘modernity’ described above, there are two general approaches to conceptualising being indigenous and being modern in the Andes. The first involves a “bargain with modernity” (Foster, 2002) whilst the second amounts to a “reclaiming of modernity” (Goodale, 2006). The bargain is the process by which people become more modern through the process of cultural whitening embedded in the racial hierarchy of *mestizaje*. Not only does this reinforce those hierarchies but it reproduces them, as the urbanised, modernising indigenous look down on rural ‘dirty indians’ (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1998; Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1999; Pellegrini Calderón, 2016). The reclaiming of modernity proposes that recent social and political transformations, and the emergence of self-identifying indigenous groups onto the national stage - particularly in Ecuador and Bolivia - has upended this relationship between indigenous peoples and modernity (Whitten, 2008; Whitten & Whitten, 2011). Goodale describes this as an

“indigenous cosmopolitanism” that reaches out beyond the confines of the nation-state, forming affinities and connections with a regional, transnational and even global indigeneity, that allows them to destabilize the “meanings of modernity itself” (Goodale, 2006).

For this thesis indigenous modernity therefore refers to the tension in identities in which people seek to improve themselves, become modern, whilst remaining indigenous. This is the recognition that they are not mutually exclusive, but they do exist in tension with one another. In the same way that tradition becomes important as people become modern, ethnic identity becomes important. However we are particularly interested in the contradictions, the world that people create in between tradition and modernity. Indigenous people establishing a space in which tradition and modernity "are not mutually exclusive" (Cervone, 2012). Pribilsky's "ethnographic study of modernity" in the extended transnational families that live between Ecuador and New York is an essential text in the study of indigenous modernity (Pribilsky, 2007). Rejecting the narrative of progress and development it is "an acknowledgement of the varied and often contradictory experiences of peoples and cultures around the world" and the plural "vernacular" forms of modernity. The notion of vernacular - in the architectural sense - is taken up in Colloredo-Mansfeld's work to describe indigenous communities interaction with the State (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 2009).

Migration, gender and religion

Transnational and urban indigeneity

Debates about modernity and the transformation of indigenous identity are closely entwined with the issues of migration and urbanisation. The large scale migrations of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, internally towards cities as well as transnationally towards the Global North, have been accompanied by an increased importance given to ethnic identity, from concerns

about acculturation and integration, to the celebration and valorisation of cultural difference (Banks, 1996; Eriksen, 2002). However in considering the relationship between indigenous identity, modernity and migration, it is important to emphasise two facts, that if overlooked lead to two mistaken assumptions. The first is that migration, hybridization and urban identities have long histories in indigenous society in the Andes, and should not be seen as a recent modern phenomena (Gose, 2008; Larson & Harris, 1995). If this is overlooked, the mistakes described above concerning 'authentic' and 'pure' indigeneity can only be repeated. Secondly, despite repeated predictions to the contrary, migration, urbanisation and globalisation have not led to the disappearance of local difference, nor indeed strong rural identities. Setting aside these blind alleys, what then is new and important about modern migration and its impact on indigenous identity?

To reiterate the point: people in the Andes have been engaged in migration, mass movements and cultural exchange for centuries, from forced settlement and labour to ritual pilgrimages (Larson & Harris, O., 1995; Powers, 1995; Saignes, 1995; Sallnow, 1987). Whilst indians were perennially located in the countryside by the colonial and postcolonial state, they had in reality always been part of urban life in the Andes (Radcliffe & Westwood, 1996: 109–12). The long history of uneasiness and perceived danger attached to the intermediary racial categories of indians *in* cities, such as *cholos*, is testament to both the long presence of urban indigenous culture and how it has been represented as a transgression of the 'natural' boundaries of where indians belong (Abercrombie, 1996; Kingman, 2006; Weismantel, M., 2001 : 19–22). This has been no more evident than in city markets, often the interface between the urban and rural Andean world, and the zone of contact and exchange between whites and indians (De la Cadena, 1995; Seligmann, 1989).

However, this being said, the scale of migration and urbanisation, in the Andes and globally, in the second half of the twentieth century, has been of an order unparalleled in human history (Davis,

2007a). In 1960 two thirds of Ecuadorians lived in rural areas, now almost two thirds live in cities. Quito has grown substantially. However the rural poor have not stopped at Quito and Guayaquil. Queens, New York, is now Ecuador's third biggest city (Jokisch & Pribilsky, 2002), and there is now a large Ecuadorian diaspora across North America and Europe. Unsurprisingly the nature and impact of this unprecedented level of migration has focused on the communities where transnational migration has had the greatest impact. A large proportion of Ecuadorians now living in the New York metropolitan area come from the rural regions of the southern central highlands of Azuayo-Cañari (Jokisch, 2002), and have been the subject of several ethnographies in recent years (Pribilsky, 2007). Scholars have especially focused on the way migration has become closely associated with modernity and progress, and attention has also been paid to those who for various reasons have not migrated from these regions. Less has been said about whole regions where circular migration has continued and intensified, but transnational migration has remained fairly limited. Here people are perfectly aware of the idea of migrating outside Ecuador, it is just that relatively few do. That idea of migration and modernity still exists, but people are not taking it.

Above, I defined modernity as a sequential and hierarchical framework for desiring, demanding and expecting change. Indigenous modernity addresses how that desire speaks through the particularity of identifying and being identified as indigenous in the Andes. However ethnic identity does not exist or change in isolation, but is articulated through and with other forms of difference. A rich literature has addressed how race and ethnicity in the Andes is tightly bound up with sex and gender (Babb, 2012; Canessa, 2012; Weismantel, 2001). A further body of research has explored how converts to Protestantism have reconfigured their ethnic identity. Chimborazo, the site of this fieldwork, is now the heartland of the indigenous evangelical churches in Ecuador, reflecting a cultural transformation that has swept Latin America. These next two sections identify the links between the reworking of religious, gender and ethnic identities in the Andes.

Ethnicity and Gender: indigenous masculinities

The growth of the research into masculinities within social science in the 1990s extended to Latin American research (Gutmann, 2007; Kulick, 1998; Lancaster, 1994; for a comprehensive literature review see Vigoya, 2001). However the Andes have been noticeably under-represented in this body of work. The notable exceptions are an analysis of masculinity and politics in Ecuador's second city (Andrade, 2001), some of Weismantel's work (1997), and more recently research on indigenous masculinity within the military (Selmeski, 2007a), and migration to the United States (Pribilsky, 2007). Pribilsky's research, alongside other recent research (Montes, 2013), has begun to give attention to the area of subaltern masculinities and migration, although there is little research focusing on internal migration. In step with social constructivist and pluralistic theories, Latin American research has explored masculinity as a dynamic and contradictory social process (Mirandé, 1997). Research on masculinities has emphasised its transformation in times of social and economic change (Gutmann, 2007) and the way it cross-cuts other identities, particularly class and ethnicity (Fuller, 2001; for further discussion Andrade & Herrera, 2001).

Modernisation and modernity have different implications for indigenous men and women. According to Marisol de la Cadena "Modernization has reinforced the Indianization of women, while opening the option of cultural mestizaje to most men" (De la Cadena, 1995: 343). Through their proximity with the everyday indigenous world of the village or the market, women can not be whitened. Seasonal migration of men on the other hand offers a route to whiten their identity, and one that effectively masculinised, but does not whiten, their partners (Canessa, 2005c). Note that there are incidents where this is disrupted or challenged, such as female dancers combining both tradition and modernity (Van Vleet, 2005), or where women take an active role in cultural tourism (Babb, 2012).

By nature of its intersection within racial and gender hierarchies, and notions of power and impotence, indigenous masculinity is a sensitive subject. Indigenous men are often likely to blame mestizo culture as the origin of patriarchy, and particular domestic violence (O'Connor, 2007: 202). On the other hand, the feminization of indigenous men through racial stereotypes makes them defensive of their own masculinity and can lead to hypermasculine behaviour (Canessa, 2008; Larson, 2005). Nevertheless there are a multiplicity of different ways that men can respond to the contradictions and tensions generated by the relationship between their "manliness and minority status" (O'Connor, 2007: 189). The equations established by hegemonic concepts of race, gender and citizenship are however fairly clear: in order to become a full citizen an indigenous man must disguise his origins and present a masculine self compatible with hegemonic norms.

The one institution that plays the biggest role in this "masculinising" process is the military (Gill, 1997; Selmeski, 2007a; Selmeski, 2007b). For most highland indigenous men their first experience of the state is through military conscription. In Ecuador conscription is genuinely popular. This has been explained in terms of the status bestowed on veterans, the lack of work for young men, and the huge benefits that come with the *libreta militar*. Without this document it is impossible to find formal employment, acquire a bank account, loan or driver's license (Gill, 1997). Selmeski casts doubt on these explanations: employment is relatively high, military pay is relatively poor, and the *libreta militar* is available for an affordable price to even poor families (Selmeski, 2007b). More important is the status of becoming a 'real man' that military service confers on young men. Moreover Selmeski argues that notions of advancement, self-improvement and a son's duty to his mother are ideas shared by both indigenous and military discourse. In the 1990s the military abandoned the logic of mestizaje for a multicultural nationalism, and it is regarded by indigenous people as a genuinely more progressive manifestation of the state. This is also reflected by its capacity to enact education, training and development programmes in rural areas where politicians and other arms of the state are seen as incapable. In Chimborazo, following the 1990

uprising, the military responded with a civil campaign of road building, community leader training and donations of facilities to rural schools and medical centres. They even organised the so-called Indian Olympic Games in Riobamba. In the case of Chimborazo military reception by indigenous comunas split down religious lines: protestant comunas generally welcomed engagement with the military, CONAIE and Catholic comunas suspected their motives (Korovkin, 1997: 44).

For Selmeski this is a continuation of subaltern practices of selective deference and engagement with paternalistic relations. As Selmeski argues, “Submitting to a paternalistic military model of the state and nation that includes Indians as junior partners is generally seen as a worthwhile tradeoff” (Selmeski, 2007b: 177). Thus conscripts become sons of the nation, defenders of the feminised maternal *Patria*, but unlike professional soldiers they remain sons and never become full men and fathers (Selmeski, 2007a: 176). As the most visible manifestation of the state, the military provides a means of engagement with the idea of the nation and becoming a citizen. However the rhetorical shift from mestizaje to multiculturalism has not altered the fundamental civilising mission of the military: cultivating a prescribed image of the “good indian”. This framework remains paternalistic and racialised in its imagery: “fathers (professional soldiers) form their sons (conscripts) into good men by teaching them to respect and love their mother (the *Patria*)” (Selmeski, 2007b: 161). By presenting the army as the father of the nation-as-family, and protector of the nation-as-mother, the military incorporates indigenous masculinity – personal formation, respect and protection of one's parents – into a national hegemonic masculinity.

The important role that military service plays in the masculinising process raises some important questions. How much does this process really prepare them to navigate the world beyond the rural community? If this has become a status marker within communities, what are the prospects for

men who was unable or unwilling to undergo military service? Moreover, if surviving military service is so important to becoming a man, what styles of masculinity does this process privilege?

The military is not the only institution concerned with making “good indian” men. Development policy has given increasing attention to issues of ethnicity and gender, often steeped in western assumptions of sex roles (Bedford, 2009; Selmeski, 2007b: 201). For example, Bedford examines the gender norms underpinning the World Bank funded PRODEPINE ethnodevelopment project that ran from 1998 to 2004. She shows that highland indigenous masculinity was singled out as a model of acceptable indigenous gender relations, that other communities should aspire to. The World Bank used anthropological research to backup this position (Hamilton, 1998). This reproduces a distinction between the acceptable and unacceptable indian, between highland people with a work ethic and sexual morality and savage Amazonians (Meisch, 2013; Yashar, 2005). The discourse of the good indian singles out particular communities, such as Otavalo in the north highlands, as exemplars of an indigeneity compatible with the nation (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1999; Kyle, 2000). Once again the 'indian problem' is constructed as a problem of masculinity (Bedford, 2009: 144). Men are blamed for indigenous poverty, which has the effect of deflecting attention away from entrenched racism, the retreat of the state from rural areas and the abuses of capitalists (Andolina et al., 2005).

This highlights another development within current discourse, in which traditional indigenous masculinity can provide cultural capital in development and social movement fields that favour both gender equality and the cultural authenticity that indigeneity connotes. However for men that seek to valorize cultural authenticity there is a tension between the promotion of gender equality and the desire to confine women within the domestic sphere as visible cultural markers of difference. This perpetuates a discourse within dominant society as well as in indigenous movements, that sets up indigenous women as 'more indian' and representative of authentic

indigeneity and tradition (O'Connor, 2007: xii). Moreover the politics of indigenous justice and political autonomy have come into direct conflict with women's rights, for example in a recent high profile case in Chimborazo of a woman suffering domestic abuse turning to the courts for justice, only to be condemned by her community for doing so (Picq, 2012). All these current debates demonstrate convincingly that a discourse of gender structures competing notions of what it means to be indigenous and modern in Ecuador.

Protestantism: a new indigeneity?

In the last few decades Protestantism has expanded rapidly across Latin America (Garrard-Burnett & Stoll, 1993; Stoll, 1990). Chimborazo province, in which this fieldwork takes place, has seen a significant increase in uptake of the religion, especially in mostly indigenous areas such as Colta and Guamate. This rapid surge in support has been attributed to the other major transformations taking place in the region. As the traditional social structures of the hacienda system and the Catholic Church were dismantled, converts were receptive to the anti-clerical and anti-mestizo language of the evangelical churches (Kanagy, 1990: 207; cf. Taylor, 1981). It has also been argued that Protestantism was an adaptive response to the social and economic crisis that accompanied this period of transition (Stoll, 1993: 7; Willems, 1968). By forming new communities around evangelical congregations, with new forms of personal and social discipline, converts withstand social upheavals and find opportunities for social mobility (Tolen, 1998). Similar developments have been observed in the economic upheaval and social breakdown in highland Peru (Mitchell, 2010) and in the impact of globalisation in Honduras (Reichman, 2011). This state of crisis is also linked to the breakdown and reorganising of communities caused by large-scale rural-urban migration, where evangelical churches provide strong support networks that transcend communal and familial ties. Protestantism directly tackled people's need for economic well-being and autonomy: providing a new value-system, a new network of social relations, and economic sufficiency.

As has been noted elsewhere, female relatives have played a key role in converting their menfolk to Protestantism (Brusco, 1995; Canessa, 1998a; Ströbele-Gregor, 1989). Conversion can empower women and open up their access to public roles and positions (Montesi, 2013). Brusco's research in rural evangelical communities in Colombia was one of the first pieces of research to specifically examine the role of women in the spread of Protestantism in Latin America. Brusco argued that the women were fundamental to the process of conversion. Despite its all male pastoral leadership, the church provided an empowering framework for women to express themselves and voice their grievances in the public sphere, and to challenge violent fathers and husbands (Sandoval Vizcaíno, 2007). In many instances the women converted first with the men converting later or not at all (Van Vleet, 2011: 848). The conversion of male family members amounted to a "domestication of men" by reconfiguring masculinity (Brusco, 1995). Brusco argued that Protestantism privileges sobriety, fidelity and a man's role as a good husband and father, transforming men's gender role from one based on "aggression, violence, pride, self-indulgence, and an individualistic orientation in the public sphere" to a new role as "peace seeking, humility, self-restraint, and a collective orientation and identity within the church and the home" (Brusco, 1995: 137). By bringing men "off the street" and into the domestic sphere, they are brought under control. Brusco's opposition of men/public and women/domestic is perhaps now rather dated, but the reorganising of masculinity around family roles is an important idea and is one supported by my own research.

However it is important to recognise the paradox at work in understanding evangelical conversion as a challenge to patriarchal social structures. In a study of evangelicalism and masculinity in El Salvador, Santos argues that the result is not a subversion of patriarchy but its reconfiguration (Santos 2012). Thus whilst challenging dominant gender roles of machismo and patriarchy, evangelism asserts a "cosmic" order of the headship of men and submission of women. This

paradoxical relationship between progressive and conservative elements of evangelical gender relations has been observed in pentecostal churches, for example with migrant populations in San Francisco (Lorentzen & Mira, 2005). Nevertheless whilst the new religion does not offer gender equality, it is a strategic response to the specific situation of abusive and negligent husbands (Martin, 2001).

One of the main appeals of Protestantism is the abstention from alcohol. But as we will see in chapter four, this is the area that has created the most tension and division in Guamote (Allen, 2008; Van Vleet, 2011). Butler's ethnography in northern Ecuador explores the reversal of drinking behaviour in a community in the region of Otavalo (Butler, 2006). Butler shows how alcohol, in the form of maize beer (*chicha*), was an essential part of social life and in particular the solidarity forged in fiestas and ceremonies. Its centrality to social life allowed people to accept the negative consequences of excessive drinking: the high level of debt, the public and domestic violence. An earthquake in 1987 became the pivotal moment around which a switch towards sobriety began – the earthquake being interpreted as a “world reversal”, a sign of God's disapproval, and created the opportunity for people to change their behaviour without feeling as though they were abandoning their cultural heritage.

Finally, conversion to Protestantism can provide a form of *blanqueamiento* (whitening) within the framework of mestizaje, in order to leapfrog Ecuadorian mestizos. This theory is based on the idea that Protestantism is racialised as white due to its identification with the United States and Europe. Therefore, becoming evangelical is a means of becoming white. As we will see in the next chapter, and also in chapter four, this over-simplifies the relationship between Protestantism and indigeneity. In particular it ignores the ways in which Protestantism has been self-consciously indigenised and made *less white*, as discussed in the next chapter. However it does appropriate some of the logic of cultural mestizaje in the ways in which evangelicals deliberately abandon

some of the cultural markers that are most stigmatised as indian - ritualised drinking and indigenous religion.

Fieldwork

In gaining access to the comunas of Wayku San Miguel and Wayku Bajo I was probably helped by a certain degree of naivety and good fortune. I was keen not to be associated with local authorities in the cantonal capital of Guamote, or indeed any organisation that would come with their own agenda and associations. Despite warnings against it, I decided to walk into the hills around Guamote, practice my Kichwa, and strike up conversations that I hoped might bear fruit. Fortunately for me, tourists are becoming a familiar sight walking around the vicinity of the town, and the residents of Wayku did not consider it at all strange that a solitary gringo would appear on the path (although they often thought it ridiculous that I enjoyed walking for its own sake). From the beginning I was open and clear about my research project, although with a couple of exceptions, no one seemed particularly interested. In fact, in the first days and weeks I learned that my role in the community was not interviewer but interviewee, and in the first months of my fieldwork I was interviewed by almost everyone in the comuna. It was through this daily interrogation that I realised I knew next to nothing about agricultural life in the United Kingdom, the topic that most interested this inquisitive Guamoteño research team. My knowledge of the price of pigs and cattle in England was a regular source of disappointment.

Through daily visits to the same families, learning Kichwa and getting to know people, I was invited first to attend the fiestas in Wayku San Miguel and later to teach at the schools in both San Miguel and neighbouring Wayku Bajo. Becoming the English *profesor* gave me a clear social role and position in Wayku and many more invitations to people's houses, weddings, fiestas and other events followed. And through teaching Héctor Guamán's grandsons, I was invited to stay with his

family near the school. Gradually I got to know not only these families, but their relatives living in Quito, extending my fieldwork to homes and fiestas in the capital where I taught English and photographed important events for people. Tacitly and cumulatively, a growing relationship based on reciprocity, permitted me a closer and more intimate window on life in Wayku. Thus over the course of my first six months in the field I was progressively invited into a larger social world, including the two comunas, the neighbouring comunas, and their extended families in Quito. I had originally been worried about access, but my biggest problem in the field turned out to be restricting its ever growing expansion. By August 2015 I was having to turn down invitations and apologise profusely for my long absences from the more remotely located families. Whilst interesting and relevant, following the migrants' lives dispersed across Quito was spreading my research too thinly, at a time when my interviewees back in the comuna were finally allowing me to ask the questions. I decided to limit my investigation to the group of families I had known for the longest period, and particularly the two large extended families, the Catholic Guamán family and the evangelical Gavilánez family.

Ethical considerations

Ethnography presents unique ethical challenges. It involves long periods of participant observation in which research subjects engage with the ethnographer periodically over several months. In the case of conducting research in Guamote, obtaining informed consent from everyone present in an informal social situation was not always practical. Many participants were illiterate or functionally illiterate and written consent would have been inappropriate under these circumstances. Not least because the formality of a signed record would have created discomfort and distrust in the context of a long history of oppression of indigenous people in Ecuador where they have learned to be very wary of signing anything.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, consent was been taken seriously throughout this research. It was oral and ongoing, in which I explained the purpose of my research and how it would be used. I made it clear to all participants that involvement was voluntary, and renewed this consent over time. Some members of the comuna and residents in Quito expressed their desire not to be included in this research, a wish I have respected. I never considered the consent of informal gatekeepers - comuna leaders, heads of households - as sufficient on its own.

I took care to ensure participants were not liable to suffer any harm as a result of the research process. In keeping with conventional practice in ethnography I have changed the names in order to protect the identity of the community and its residents. However all names mentioned throughout my research refer to actual individuals and I have at no point created composite characters, places or events. Although Wayku and its residents are anonymised, all other regions, towns and cities retain their actual names. All quotations, unless stated otherwise, are taken from my fieldnotes and interviews. All translations are my own, and whenever appropriate I have provided the original Spanish in the footnotes.

Outline of Chapters

The rest of this thesis is organised as follows:-

In chapter two, *locating Guamate*, the field site is located in its historical and sociological context. This chapter focuses on three main transformations that have taken place since the 1970s. First, land reform, the end of the haciendas and the transition to small-scale farming and household incomes supplemented by circular migration outside of the canton. Second, the rise of an indigenous civil society and local government, the 'indigenization' of the canton and the

urbanisation of the comunas. Finally the impact of Liberation Theology and Protestantism in Chimborazo in general, and Guamote in particular. This chapter explores why, through all these transformations, poverty has remained so entrenched in Guamote.

The next three chapters set out the results from the ethnographic fieldwork.

In chapter three, *the stretched-out family*, the families of Wayku are introduced. Economic pressures and aspirations have accelerated internal migration out of rural areas and into Ecuador's growing towns and cities. However these families have neither abandoned rural life, nor fully embraced the city, but struggle instead to create lives stretched out between the two, combining the experiences of being migrants, peasants and students.

Chapter four, *devils, drunks and brothers*, explores the impact of evangelical conversions in the comunas through the narratives of Catholic and evangelical residents of Wayku. On the one hand, the language and practice of evangelicals has created divisions and new forms of association and identity in the comunas. However at the same time many in the comuna are ambivalent or hostile to these divisions, and seek pragmatic strategies to maintain communal ties.

Chapter five, *performing indigenous modernity*, builds on the preceding discussions of migration and religion to explore how indigenous modernity is performed and reproduced in Guamote through everyday, and extraordinary, practices. Through this I develop the main argument of this thesis, that modern indigenous identity exists in an engagement between two frameworks of indigeneity, alterity and relatedness, and that modern Guamoteños are negotiating these multivocal meanings of *indio* and *indígena*, in order to find ways of being modern and indigenous in Ecuador.

II. Locating Guamote

In 1803, towards the end of Spanish rule in Ecuador, a large indian uprising took place in southern Chimborazo against the raising of the *diezmos* (tithe) tax. In Guamote, Lorenza Avemañay led an uprising in the town, and along with three other leaders, was executed (Moreno Yáñez, 1977; Picq, 2014). Throughout the colonial and republican eras the region of Guamote was a continual focus of resistance and rebellion, for which the sociologist Alfredo Costales referred to the canton as “Bastille Guamote” (Costales Samaniego, 1963). In the 1960s on the eve of land reform, Guamote was once again a region of unrest, activism and land invasions. Then in 1992, on the 500th anniversary of the Europeans arrival in the Americas, Mariano Curicama was elected the mayor of Guamote, and the first indigenous mayor in Ecuador (Bebbington, 2006; Torres, 1999).

The journey from the execution of an indigenous leader in 1803 to the election of one in 1992 was one of remarkable economic, social and cultural transformation. The most significant changes have taken place in the last forty years, with the collapse of the haciendas, the formation of the comunas and the rapid increase in migration outside the canton. This chapter provides an overview of these changes, and a context for the ethnographic narratives that dominate the rest of this thesis. The first section looks at the changes to the local economy as haciendas were broken up and sold, and land-use changed accordingly. The second section looks at changing patterns of rural-urban migration. The third section examines the formation of the rural comunas and the indigenisation of the town of Guamote. The final section looks at the cultural impact of religious and ethnic identity in the canton.



Guamote, Ecuador.

The end of the haciendas

Four hours drive by bus south of Quito along the Panamerica Highway, the road takes a sharp turn and descends onto a flat valley plain surrounded by low hills. Sprawled out in this valley is the cantonal capital of Guamote. Guamote is a rural canton in the central province of Chimborazo. Of the 45,000 inhabitants of the canton, fewer than 3,000 live in the urban areas of the cantonal capital of Guamote, and the other two villages of Palmira and Cebadas. Therefore it is an overwhelmingly rural region, with the vast majority of people living in rural comunas. Moreover there is no large-scale agriculture in the canton, with almost all of the arable land being farmed by individual families with some shared communal land. This landscape dominated by a rural indigenous peasantry is what motivates the touristic image of the timeless and authentic indian canton, and reinforces the national image of the canton as the antithesis of modern, urban and mestizo Ecuador. However, this small-scale agriculture and the social organisation of the comunas are very recent phenomena.

When the Spanish arrived in the region of modern day Ecuador in 1532, they encountered a complex patchwork of local chiefdoms that had been recently subsumed into the Inca empire. In the region that is now Chimborazo, the Puruhá were the dominant group and their language survived into the eighteenth-century (Lyons 2006). However, Incan and Spanish policies of forced re-settlement led to the disappearance of much of these local variations. These policies were a response to rural depopulation from disease and famine, attempts to maximize labour use, and better control of local populations to prevent revolts. As populations declined, the burden of forced labour and tribute became greater. Labourers working on highland haciendas stayed longer and became permanent residents. Dependent upon the landowners for land and services, they became permanently indebted to the hacendados - the institution known as *concertaje*. These arrangements frequently transformed into debt peonage, that families inherited and tied them closer to the haciendas, being transferred along with the land and cattle when a hacienda was sold (Becker, 2014). Whilst this relationship was dominated by violence and exploitation, it was nevertheless a means by which people could return and resettle in the lands from which they had previously been displaced (Lyons, 2006; Valarezo, 1987). In exchange for their labour they received a salary and a small plot of land, called a *huasipungo*², and the rights to use the hacienda's resources including water, firewood and pasture. Although *concertaje* was officially abolished during the Liberal Revolution, these arrangements persisted into the late 1970s in parts of Chimborazo, including Guamote. Nowhere else in the Andes did the haciendas leave such a long shadow.

The hacienda system continued and strengthened after the end of colonial rule, with the Ecuadorian state leaving the administration and the welfare of a large proportion of the rural population in the hands of hacendados and the Catholic Church. In Chimborazo the Catholic

² This term comes from the Kichwa words for 'housedoor' and refers to the time when hacienda indians slept on the threshold of the *hacendado's* door when they offered menial service demanded by the hacendado. *Huasipunguero* came to mean the hacienda indian compelled to enter into this service.

Church was also a major landowner, and therefore political, economic and religious authority was closely entwined (Casagrande & Piper, 1969; Lyons, 2006).

In 1954 nine hacendados owned 61% of the land in Guamote and 94% of all the land was controlled by haciendas (Ramírez Gallegos, 2001). But the situation was already beginning to change. An economic boom based on banana exports was increasing demand for labour and food on the coast. The first wave of migrants had begun to abandon the haciendas for better paid work on coastal plantations. In the context of an economic boom in the 1940s and 1950s, urbanisation on the coast, and increasing demand for food, haciendas in wealthier cantons began to modernise, introducing mechanisation, and shifting production to dairy and meat. However landowners in Guamote lacked the capital and the will to overhaul their dependence on unpaid and low paid indigenous labour (Bebbington, 1991; Korovkin, 1997; Sylva, 1986). At the same time resistance to the haciendas was becoming more organised. In 1944 the *Federación Ecuatoriana de Indios* (FEI), the first national indigenous organisation, emerged from the Communist Party, agitating land invasions, assisting the formation of unions on haciendas, and struggles for wages. However in Chimborazo haciendas were unable to pay wages, and the peasants were less interested in a proletarian struggle, and more concerned in obtaining their own lands (Korovkin, 1997: 26).

Land invasions grew throughout the 1960s as peasants encroached more on to hacienda land. The first agrarian reform law in 1964 officially abolished the huasipungo system, however it had very little impact in Guamote. Frustrated with an intransigent State, peasants in Guamote continued to take land by force. In 1973, fearful that revolutionary politics could sweep the rural highlands, the government prioritised Guamote in a second round of agrarian reform (Torres, 1999). Beginning in the mid-1970s, the large haciendas in Guamote finally began to sell up. Some land was sold direct to households, the rest was purchased through the IERAC (*Instituto Ecuatoriano de Reforma Agraria y Colonización*), the government body in charge of redistributing the hacienda territory.

By the 1990s the last of the haciendas in Guamote had disappeared and 80% of land was in indigenous control, the highest proportion in Ecuador (Ramírez Gallegos, 2001).

Land reform was a mixed blessing for Guamote. Large hacienda estates (*latifundia*) were replaced by small-scale farms (*minifundia*), that were divided amongst a rising population to create a patchwork of small plots of land (*microfundia*). Unable to rotate crops and leave fields fallow and for pasture, much of Guamote's agricultural land has suffered from over-farming and soil exhaustion. This in turn has led to substantial levels of soil erosion. By 1999 one piece of research estimated that only 10% of the canton could be used for agriculture (Torres, 1999). Annual precipitation is between 418 and 580mm and although irrigation systems are reaching a larger area of land, the lack of rainfall is also causing crops to fail.

Rural-urban migration

With the onset of land reform and the dismantling of the haciendas, the mestizo inhabitants of Guamote began to leave (Bebbington, 1991; Torres, 1999). In the 1970s the railway cargo route that connected Guayaquil to Quito through Guamote was abandoned in favour of new highways linking the coast with the highland cities (Kim Clark, 2001). Guamote became an isolated and rapidly indigenizing highland town, and in a form of "white flight", the mestizos relocated to Quito, Guayaquil and other major cities. They continue to maintain links with the town, sponsoring events (for example during Carnival and Corpus Christi), and recreating the community and identity of Guamote in their own local associations in the cities. Several have kept family homes back in Guamote, often standing empty for most of the year. Meanwhile the indigenous population has bought up land and property in the town, as migration accelerated from the rural areas of Guamote. This rural to urban shift in the area was due to a number of factors. First the quality of the land that the new peasants acquired was poor. Secondly, as the

population increased and land was divided within the family this situation was exacerbated. Thirdly, the disappearance of the haciendas also meant the disappearance of support such as access to water, grazing and woodland access, rights they they had received in return for their labour. And finally this poor quality land was further degraded by overuse leading to soil erosion and degradation (Brown et al., 1988; Flora, 2006; Lentz, 1997). In this context, indigenous peasants developed strategies to survive, most notably linking emigrants to families who remain on the land. Families did not generally migrate permanently to cities, but established strategies of circular migration, spending short periods in urban coastal or highland regions, before returning to Guamote (Flora, 2006 : 271; Tolen, 1998: 34). As such, even though by 1990 Ecuador's urban population outweighed the rural population, and between 1962 and 1980 one million Ecuadorians migrated into the cities, a large proportion of this urban population is temporary or considers itself temporary (Waters, 1997).

The migratory work that peasants from Guamote found was generally low paid, low status and often dangerous. Migrants found work as unskilled labourers in construction and in markets, as well as on coastal plantations growing sugar cane, coffee and cocoa. Others found work as street vendors or as domestic servants (Korovkin, 1997; Radcliffe, 1999). Increasingly, rural households became reliant on migrant labour, so that by 1987 there were very few families that did not have at least one family member engaged in some form of migration. In Guamote, 73% of families had someone working in Quito or Guayaquil for a few months each year (Korovkin, 1997). Unlike in other regions of Ecuador, particularly the northern and southern highlands, Guamote has had relatively low levels of international migration. Studies of the relationship between land and migration patterns show that the less land people have the more likely they are to engage in internal migration, but the very poor are unlikely to engage in international migration, because of the cost of both legal and nonlegal forms of international migration (Gray, 2009).



Fiesta processions in Guamote in August.

Indigenisation of Guamote City

Despite the initial transfer of land, political and economic power remained in the hands of the urban mestizo population: the owners of *cantinas* and *chicherías*, loaners of credit, bus companies, merchants and local government. Mestizo power remained concentrated in neighbourhood associations, sports leagues, parish committees, rural schools and public services. However throughout the 1970s and 1980s, as the mestizo population dwindled, a new indigenous civil society began to flourish, as the indigenous peasantry occupied the urban centre (Torres 1999: 93). National and international NGOs were attracted to the region, especially those connected to the Catholic Church. Development interventions included the *Fondo de Desarrollo de Áreas Rurales Marginadas* (FODERUMA), that was administered entirely through the local progressive Church, and the state agency *Proyecto de Desarrollo Rural Integral* (Bebbington, 2000: 506). These rural development agencies worked with local communities and in doing so distributed political

power to the comunas and away from the governing elite in the town. Groups of comunas formed umbrella federations in order to work with these programmes, so that gradually:

“the nexus of hacienda-priest-state representative has been replaced by a new institutional complex through which Guamate is governed—a complex of communities, federations, NGOs, the “new” churches, and most recently, the municipal government” (Bebbington, 2000: 506).

Therefore power in Guamate was transferred from the white elite to the indian majority and Guamate became one of the “alternative municipalities” under indigenous control (Bebbington, 2000).

In 1992 Mariano Curicama became the first self-identifying indigenous mayor in Ecuador. Elected to represent the interests of the rural comunas, Curicama oversaw the further development of an indigenous civil society and government structure in the canton. This included the *Comité de Desarrollo Local* (CDL) that brought together the umbrella associations of the comunas and neighbourhoods in the canton, and the *Parlamento Indígena*, to which each comuna sent their president as representative, and created a forum for the comunas (Larrea & Muñoz, 2000).

This shift in power in Guamate should be seen in the context of national events in the 1990s, where a national indigenous movement had erupted onto the political and public stage, dramatically organising a series of uprisings, winning concessions from a series of governments, and contributing to the ousting of several presidents. The origins of this movement can be found as far back as the first peasant unions in the 1920s and comunas in the 1930s. Despite racial stereotypes, rural communities had never passively accepted their exploitation, as the series of peasant uprisings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries demonstrates. The most significant of these took place in Chimborazo, led by Fernando Daquilema, in 1870-1 against church taxation, and the symbolism of this revolt became important for the local indigenous movement in the twentieth century. However from the 1920s onwards these sporadic revolts coalesced into a more

organised form. In 1944 the *Federación Ecuatoriana de Indios* (FEI) was established, Ecuador's first national organisation of indigenous people. Strongly allied with the political Left, the FEI was an important antecedent to a second wave of organising that led to the formation of the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE) in 1986. CONAIE united highland and lowland people for the first time and provided the level of national coordination to bring about the uprisings in the 1990s. In 1990, during a national indigenous protest, Riobamba became the focus of a large-scale rural uprising in which as many as 200,000 people participated, blockading the main roads in and out of the provincial capital. Following the death of one participant, the protesters marched into Riobamba. In 1996 this social movement power was translated into a political movement, Pachakutik, which went on to have moderate success at the ballot box (Pallares, 2007; Lucero, 2003; Becker, 2008, 2010).

Protestantism in Chimborazo

We have seen that Chimborazo was the centre of both the hacienda system and the opposition to it, and the new indigenous politics that emerged from that opposition. It has also become the home of Ecuador's thriving indigenous Protestant movement (Bastian, 1993). Evangelicals in the province date back to the arrival of the UME (*Unión Misionera Evangélica*) in 1902. The UME began a concerted evangelising programme from the 1950s onwards, at the same time as the arrival of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (also known as the Wycliffe Bible Translators), establishing bilingual schools, health clinics, radio stations and churches (Lalander 2012). Early research on Protestantism in indigenous communities concentrated on the canton of Colta, north of Guamote, the heart of the evangelical movement in the province and also the centre of the ethnic revival of indigenous identity (Kanagy, 1990; Muratorio, 1980, 1981). As Andrade documents, Kichwa-language radio and media, Kichwa translations of the Bible and the training of pastors from the communities all contributed to the success of the new religion in the region, and

Chimborazo become a “prototype for evangelism” in Ecuador (Andrade, 2005: 84, also Andrade, 2004, 2015). This led to the indigenisation of the churches and a deliberate distancing of evangelicals from the North American organisations. Given the context of an increasingly confrontational relationship between indigenous communities and the State, the evangelical indigenous leadership rejected the separation between religion and politics articulated by foreign missionaries. In 1966 the evangelical churches of Chimborazo founded a provincial wide association, *Asociación Indígena Evangélica de Chimborazo* (AIECH) with the purpose of supporting further evangelizing in the region and raising the “moral, cultural, economic, hygienic and professional level” of the rural population (Guamán, 2006). Together with other associations across the country, AIECH formed the *Federación Nacional de Asociaciones Evangélicas* (FENAE) in 1977, that became the *Ecuadorian Evangelical Indigenous Federation* (FEINE) in 1980. FEINE worked to “indianize” Protestantism nationally, reducing links with churches dominated by the United States, and the 'nativization' of church structures and beliefs (see Lucero, 2006). It is in this context of this articulation between evangelical and indigenous identities, that the role of religion needs to be understood. Protestantism, practiced in Kichwa and with indigenous pastors, affirmed a “positive ethnic marker” in a “renewed framework of modernity” (Gros, 1999: 183).

The growth and impact of Protestantism in Chimborazo has been the object of several studies (Muratorio, 1980; Santana, 1990; Tolen, 1998). Muratorio's research in Colta shows that the indigenisation of Protestantism was critical to its success. However Chimborazo has also been the centre of Liberation Theology in Ecuador, the progressive and activist movement within the Catholic Church that gained momentum in Ecuador in the 1960s under the direction of the Bishop of Riobamba (Chimborazo) Leonidas Proaño. Following Muratorio's research, Santana examined the impact of Liberation Theology on the progress of the evangelical church in Colta (Santana, 1990). Santana argued that despite the competition presented by Liberation Theology, the evangelical tide was not abating. Santana also argued that the spread of Protestantism differed

depending on the context encountered in the comunas. Those comunas with strong collective identities, or where the ethnic revival identifying with a larger national Kichwa indigenous identity, were particularly resistant to the spread of Protestant churches. They were most successful in comunas undergoing social crisis: disintegration due to out-migration, depopulation, weak corporate identities and a stagnant local economy (see chapter one). One of the assumptions made of Protestantism is that it emphasises individualism and family values over those of the community. Santana cautions against this assumption. Protestantism also created a new framework for community building and action in the public sphere, although not necessarily in the familiar form of the comuna.

III. The stretched-out family

During the weekends Luz Guamán returns home from studying medicine in Riobamba to help her parents and her grandfather farm potatoes at the old house overlooking the school in the comuna of Wayku San Miguel. Potato farming is time-consuming, arduous and dirty work. Before the rains arrive the soil needs to be broken up with mattocks, cleared of stones and the roots pulled out and burnt. The field is ploughed, fertilized and the seeds sown, and then every few weeks the plants must be covered with more soil to encourage them to delay flowering and produce potatoes. Each covering requires a full day of backbreaking work for the whole family, to dig out the earth above and below each row on the steep fields, and pile it over the plants. On one such day I visit Luz's family.

Making the turn on the track past the school in Wayku San Miguel, I clamber up to their house. I call out "*Alli puncha! Imanalla!*"³ as the dogs come running across to greet me. Most houses have one or two ferocious looking guard dogs, but Jachiko knows me, and nuzzles my leg. Rosa, Luz's mother, appears at the kitchen door. "*Simón! How are you?*" As usual she quizzes me anxiously about my short journey up the valley from town. "*Did you walk or get a car? Ah, walked? Did you see anyone on the road? Did they ask where you were going? What did you say?*" Her two young sons hurtle out of the house and buzz around me. "*Simón! Do you want to see the baby donkey?*"

During the week I am teaching them English in the school, and they have fallen in love with animal vocabulary. "*Baby donkey! Baby donkey!*" Their two older sisters, Luz and Elsa are also here, back from school and university. Elsa, her mother in miniature, fusses over why I didn't call the other day. This is the first time I have met the eldest, Luz. The young men in the community call her kitty (*la gatita*) for her pretty eyes. She laughs at my Kichwa. "*I didn't believe my grandpa, but*

³ "Good day! How are you!"

you do speak Kichwa!" She asks me to teach her English. She takes English classes at university, but she says that she is no good at it. *"I'm so lazy!"*



At the weekend, life in the comuna changes as students return from school and men working in the city come back to be with their family and work on the land. Many families, like Luz's, are stretched out between the comuna and the city, and only snap together occasionally at the weekend or during fiestas. In Rosa's little kitchen, under the watchful eyes of a trio of hungry cats, she prepares soup on a wood fire, smoke stinging everyone's eyes. *"We have a gas cooker, but it is in Riobamba."* For \$40 a month the family rents a box room on the edge of the provincial capital for the girls and their step-father Luis to sleep during the week. Rosa's brother, César, is also visiting from Quito where he lives with his wife and daughters. He keeps his small house next to his sister's in the comuna for when he comes to stay, two fine white cockerels strutting and pecking in the dust in front of his porch. *"I sometimes think of moving back to Guamote,"* he later confides when I see him in Quito. *"Life here is very complicated."*⁴

⁴ "La vida acá es bien complicada."

Ready to start work, Rosa hands out the mattocks (*azadones*) and we head up the steep path to the top field, the boys following behind with the donkeys to put to pasture. The *azadón* is the ubiquitous tool in rural Ecuador, used in nearly every task in the fields. The children carry half-sized ones, that adults sometimes jokingly refer to as “toys”, although it is serious and necessary work that they are engaged in. High up in the top field, Rosa’s husband Luis is already at work. A lean and mild man (his family call him “the mouse”⁵), he has impressive reserves of energy. Rather unusually for Catholic men in the comuna, he rarely drinks, but like most men working in the fields, he has an insatiable appetite. He shows me how to get started with my *azadón*. “*Work from above, this is easier.*” The children and I pull out the weeds and drag earth down from above the potatoes, whilst Rosa and Luis work at the harder task of lifting earth up from beneath. Luis’s father lives on the far hill, his mother was a mestiza from Quito who now lives in Guamote. “*Here, I learned to speak Kichwa, in Guamote. I put on anaku, chunpi.*”⁶ A reminder both of the mutability of racial and ethnic categories, and that under certain contexts it can be desirable for individuals to reverse the direction of *mestizaje* (cf. Canessa, 2012: 17–18; Chaves & Zambrano, 2006). During the week Luis works in Riobamba on construction sites. It is tiring and dangerous work, and not always reliable pay. “*The foreman disappeared at the end of the week. He hasn’t paid us.*”

The Guamán family is typical of the families I encountered in the comunas of Wayku and elsewhere in Guamote canton. They are “bi-local” or “multi-local” families, employing different survival strategies across several locations (Cohen, 1996: xvi), composed of comuneros working on their plots of land, students studying in Guamote, Columbe and Riobamba, and city labourers.

⁵ “Ukuchata” in Kichwa.

⁶ “*Acá aprendí Kichwa, en Guamote me puse anaku, chunpi.*” Anaku are wrap around skirts identified with indigenous women across highland Ecuador. Chunpi are cloth belts, often brightly embroidered. Styles of anaku vary across the province, although less so than in the hacienda era (Rowe & Meisch, L., 1998). In Guamote the most common style of anaku is black and ankle length.

Despite deriving most of their income from Luis's labouring and Elsa's work in a shoe shop, and with their future clearly set on the education of their children and professional work away from the comuna, the Guamán family readily describe themselves as peasants (*campesinos*) and countryfolk (*de campo*)⁷. The resilience and persistence of this identification with rural life has been consistently noted in the literature (Flora, 2006; Korovkin, 1997: 34–35; Waters, 1997). This is despite the growing economic pressures, explored in the previous chapter, that are deepening the process of depeasantisation and semi-proletarianisation in Wayku and Guamote (Kay, 1995; Kay, 2000; Wallerstein et al., 1992). However any purely economic argument that life in rural Guamote is becoming unviable - unsustainable and uncompetitive - misses the “drama of livelihood struggles, practices, and dilemmas” by presenting “a partial view of rural life” (Bebbington, 2000: 499). Indeed, focusing on this as an inevitable process of permanent rural-urban migration may be historically poorly conceived, since the growth of Ecuador's metropolitan areas in recent decades has been largely due to increased flow of circular migrants, staying from between a few days to a few months (Waters, 1997). More permanent migration has been to the small towns, like Guamote itself. Whilst a majority of Ecuador's population is now living in cities, and although it is tempting to draw comparisons with the depeasantization of Europe in the nineteenth-century, in Latin America this “pluriactivity” suggests not the disappearance of rural life, but a “new rurality” embedded in dynamic links between city and country (Kay, 2008). Similarly it would be a mistake to write-off social and economic investments in rural community and family life as recalcitrant traditionalism against the march of modernisation and urbanisation. Rather, these families are part of “a complex indigenous social and cultural space” that is both urban and rural (Tolen, 1998: 34), and which, far from being an expression of traditionalism, is “a modern expression of the fight for autonomy and survival in a context of deprivation and dependency” (van der Ploeg, 2009: 7).

⁷ The translation of *campesino* as peasant is problematic, as *campesino* can mean anyone who lives in the countryside (Becker, 2014). However nevertheless it is an identification with rural life.

At the end of each row Rosa goes ahead of us with a sack of fertilizer pellets, putting a handful on each plant, tinny *música nacional*⁸ blasting out of a phone tucked into her belt. The fertilizer is expensive, and must be judiciously distributed. And it is dyed bright purple, because it is highly poisonous. A couple of weeks earlier the boys took me to the ditch on the edge of the forest where they had dumped one of Jachiko's pups. "Poisoned." Pedro said confidently. "He ate the fertilizer." Like many in the comuna they complain that without the fertilizer the soil does not produce as much as it used to, and occasionally sowing is delayed for lack of money to buy new fertilizer. The inability to produce good and plentiful harvests is a recurring complaint among the comuneros, as it is elsewhere in the Ecuadorian Andes (Campbell, 2006). Rosa's phone rings. It is her other brother, Segundo. He wants to talk to me. "How are you Simoncito? When are you coming to visit? Carla wants to meet you." Segundo works in a beer bottling factory in the coastal town of Pedernales, where his older sister Carla runs a small shop. When he is not away working he comes back to the comuna and stays with Rosa, spending all his wages on beer and getting into debt with family and friends. His behaviour in the comuna has earned him the nickname "the devil" (*el diablo*).

We have been working for some hours when a bright red poncho appears on the dirt track beside the trees. Rosa's father, old Héctor Guamán is slowly climbing up to join us, *azadón* across his shoulder, cowboy hat shielding his face from the midday sun. He has been in Riobamba, looking to buy a chainsaw, but they were all too expensive. I shake his old leathery hand, my own soft hand already bleeding from the unfamiliar manual work. He inspects the work the boys have done, and chastises them for their sloppiness. "Naughty boys, damn it! Stop playing!"⁹ Bitterly he curses his eldest son, César, who has stayed down at his house drinking, whilst everyone else has

⁸ National music, a popular mix of traditional styles with upbeat electronic rhythms that is sometimes referred to as "danceable" music (*bailable*) to distinguish it from older styles. See chapter five for a discussion of music, ethnicity and national identity.

⁹ "¡Wambritas malcriados! Ah carajo, no jueguen!"

been working. *“How lazy and miserable. He doesn’t know how to work.”*¹⁰ Then, as he has done for the last sixty years, he sets to work with his *azadón*.



A break in the work in Wayku San Miguel.

The Guamán family are one of the many stretched out families that I got to know over the course of my fieldwork, and we will return to their stories throughout the next three chapters, as well as their neighbours in San Miguel, and the families living on the other side of the quebrada in Wayku Bajo. The objective of this chapter is to trace the relationships between the comuna and the city across the three generations from Héctor Guamán, through his children spread out across Ecuador, to his grandchildren, including Luz and Elsa. Do the younger generations have a different relationship with the city, and with the countryside, than their parents and grandparents? This is not the same as considering whether relationships and attitudes are changing - all these views are taken from 2015, and nowhere would we expect a 74 year-old comunero to share the same attitudes as his 21 year-old granddaughter. Rather, the question is what are the intergenerational dynamics of these relationships, both in terms of perception and practice. We might expect the older generations to consider the younger generations as more modern, more worldly, and

¹⁰ “Qué vago, miserable, chuta él no sabe trabajar.”

perhaps even *less indigenous*. We may expect the younger generation to have the reverse opinion of their parents and grandparents. Moreover, we might even expect to see these attitudes reinforced in practice. What we find here is that, whilst the older generation may indeed express a belief, and occasionally a desire, that the next generation is becoming more modern, and less indigenous, the experiences and narratives of their children and grandchildren suggest a much more complex and ambiguous relationship towards these changes. The argument of this chapter is that these stretched-out families have pragmatic and nuanced attitudes towards place and identity, and a world strung out between city and comuna.

The chapter is organised into three main sections, each focusing on a different generation within these families. As we proceed we build up a more detailed picture of how families struggle to survive, and sometimes thrive. We begin with Héctor's generation, the founders of the comuna. Then we focus on their children, and their different rural-urban experiences. Finally we return to Luz's generation, the children and future of the comuna.

The *Taitas*¹¹ of Wayku

Héctor's body is broken. Every few weeks he makes the journey to Quito to see doctors and buy medicine. He has been diagnosed with osteoporosis and has been advised not to carry the heavy bags of potatoes that he has spent a lifetime bringing off the mountain. Nevertheless he still works. When I come to visit him he is sitting on the bank of earth outside his house. His daughter Rosa is out looking after the cattle on the páramo, his grandchildren are at school, and he sits alone with his thoughts, looking out at the road winding down the hillside. Cataracts covering his eyes, he looks dimly out across the valley, trying to distinguish who is coming up the road. His body aches. "*My bones are rotting.*" When I ask about his childhood he goes into his house and

¹¹ Taita means "father" in Kichwa, and is a title that denotes age, wisdom and status in the comuna.

comes out with a ragged plastic bound photo album. Methodically he takes me through each faded photo. However there are no photos of his childhood, and very few of his own family. Mostly these are photos given to him by the family who used to own the hacienda. "*Los señores. Good people.*" Héctor's father had been the *jipu*, an intermediary between the *huasipunguero* labourers and the absentee landlords, charged with looking after the unoccupied hacienda buildings and handling payments (Tuaza Castro, 2014). They were trusted by the old hacendados, and after the hacienda had been sold Héctor and his sister worked as housekeeper and domestic in their Quito properties. Héctor is proud of the relationship of his family with the landowners. His granddaughter Luz took her middle name Mariana from the señora. He describes in exuberant terms the dinner parties he witnessed in Quito, and the enormous quantity of food and drink consumed and discarded¹². He speaks warmly of his time in Quito. His sister and two eldest children, César and Carla, have all remained in the north. "*I liked it there.*"¹³ He says approvingly. "*The señora gave me money to go to the theatre and to the cinema. She was very kind.*" His memories of the city were exceptional. Unlike others in the comuna, he never spoke of the city as dangerous or difficult. It appears his life there was reasonably sheltered within the grounds of the city residences of the hacendados.

Héctor's generation are the "*guaguas de los huasipungueros*" - the children of the last generation of tied labourers. They are a transitional generation (Sylva, 1982), whose formative years were spent growing up on the hacienda, and learned their Spanish working as seasonal labourers in Quito and on the coast, rather than in school, like their children and grandchildren. They participated actively in the foundation of the comuna and the building of much of the infrastructure that marks the landscape today. However within this shared experience there is also a lot of variation, with implications for the widening social and economic stratification between

¹² Discarded and uneaten food is often an object of fascination and comment in the comuna, see chapter six for discussion.

¹³ "*Me enseñé allá*" Expression both of pleasure and comfort, similar to the English "I felt settled." This is discussed in more detail below.

families. Héctor's father had a leadership position within the old hacienda system. This indigenous intermediary, known in Kichwa as a *jipu*, was an important part of the administrative and political functioning of the hacienda. The power and privilege of these families was often resented, and in some of the new comunas there was a concerted effort to deny them political power (Lyons, 2006; Tuaza Castro, 2014). Despite these attempts, the social and economic capital that these families possessed meant that they continued to play important roles after the haciendas had disappeared. Héctor became the first president of the comuna and held the position for the first nine years. However traditional forms of authority would play a decreasing role in the comuna, and the distribution of power and wealth would be more determined by which families became the big landowners in the post-hacienda era.



However in other ways Héctor is no different to others of his age. He recounts bleakly the arduous life in the final years of the hacienda. “*Life was fucking difficult*”¹⁴ he repeated to me bitterly on a number of occasions. As *hausipungueros* they worked on the hacienda in return for a sack of potatoes or permission to graze their animals on hacienda land. From time to time women worked as domestics and cooks in the hacienda buildings, but for most of the year the buildings remained empty. The hacendados lived in Riobamba and Quito. Although Héctor’s family would benefit in the long run from their relationship with the hacendados, he nevertheless recalls how some of them were particularly violent, arriving on horseback to whip and beat the labourers, and on occasion to kill their livestock. “*They were very bad. Yes, they knew how to hit.*” Another comunero in his forties, Fausto Quishpe, remembers herding his grandfather’s sheep above the quebrada, and being attacked by mounted employees of the hacendado, punishing his grandparents for not turning up to work. Harvesting and loading up mules was the most onerous of tasks, bringing the produce down the dirt track to the railway station at Guamote where the cargo would be taken to Guayaquil. Each family had their *huasipungo*, a strip of land and a straw and adobe house, on a steep stretch of land above where the centre of the comuna is now built. When the flat hacienda fields were sold in the 1970s and 1980s, this steep area was abandoned and replaced by a eucalyptus wood to provide firewood for the comuna¹⁵.

On the mound of earth in front of his house, Héctor and I survey the best part of the comuna that sprawls out beneath us. The dirt road snaking up from the bridge down at the river, lined with electric street lights and irrigation ditches, past the modern single and two storey houses, the football pitch, and up alongside the school buildings and the church. The road climbs off to our right towards the neighbouring comunas, tucked in the hills to the west. Héctor told me, with a great deal of pride, when and how each of these developments were accomplished. “*We organised.*”

¹⁴ “Era jodida la vida antes.”

¹⁵ The forestation of highland areas with eucalyptus has been controversial and has had severe ecological consequences (Farley, 2010; Kincaid, 2014).

*Organised mingas*¹⁶. *Begged for money in Guamote, Riobamba.*” He described an industrious period, in which the new comunas had transformed and developed the landscape around them in a short period of time. The United States Peace Corps had helped build the first school buildings, and Héctor put up the two American volunteers on his land. “*They camped, in the field right here, for several months.*” For the money for the bridge, and later the road, he petitioned the municipal authorities in Guamote, describing proudly how he personally managed to secure these funds. He and others received delegations and teams from the Ministry of Agriculture, that led to the laying of the irrigation system, changes in agricultural practice, reforestation of the land above the quebrada, and later the installation of electricity, piped water and sewage disposal.

The previous chapter explored the idea that in the period from the late 1970s through to the present day, the canton of Guamote was simultaneously *indigenised* and *urbanised*. The indigenisation manifested itself in terms of the “mestizo flight” of the urban population, and the consolidation of local government, including the mayoralty, in indigenous hands (Bebbington, 2006; Torres, 1999). The urbanisation manifested itself both in the development of the cantonal capital and the extension of infrastructure through the rural comunas, consolidated by the road network that brought the two parts of Guamote closer together (and closer to the rest of Ecuador). In other words, the difference between life in the comuna and life in the town shrank significantly between the 1970s and 2015. It is not just that Héctor’s generation were engaged in unprecedented levels of seasonal migration, putting them in contact with life on the coast and in Quito, but they were actively reconstructing their comuna in ways that mirrored urban life.

Over the course of my long conversations with Héctor Guamán, time and again he returned to the themes of generosity and reciprocity. This was a feature of many conversations in the comuna, and

¹⁶ A *minga* is a collective work carried out by the comuna or a group of comunas, in order to complete projects that cannot be achieved by individual households, and benefit the comuna as a whole. Typically repairing roads, building bridges, canals, and communal buildings, are carried out by mingas. Comuneros are obliged to send one worker from their household or pay a fine to the comuna.

it is a theme that will be developed over the course of the next three chapters. Reciprocity is an integral and highly valued concept across Andean society⁷. Héctor was at pains to enumerate the guests he had fed and provided accommodation for, from the Peace Corp volunteers, to the first community teachers, and the parish priest. At the same time disparagingly referring to his neighbours as being stingy (*miserables*) and selfish (*égoistas*). I realised that before very long I would be added to this list of important guests at the house of Guamán. Another European researcher passed through Guamote one week and I took her with me to visit the family. Héctor and his daughter Rosa asked after her for months to come, specifically in order to remind me that she was welcome to visit when she returned. Then before I left I saw how father and daughter had framed the photos I had taken of all of us together. At that point the greater significance of Héctor's photo album of family snaps of the hacendados became clear. More than anything else, even through his travails as president, he defined himself through his closeness to white and mestizo visitors to the comuna. This combines two processes of identification. The first is based on an ontology that constitutes identity through reciprocal social relations, where proximity, intimacy and the sharing of food, work and space makes people the same (Van Vleet, 2009; Weismantel, 2001). The second is the notion of "whitening" (*blanqueamiento*) within the framework of cultural mestizaje, whereby Héctor's identity is whitened by his relations with mestizos, gringos and tourists, and his distancing from residents in the comuna (Roitman, 2009; Whitten, 2003b). This interaction between two ways of constituting indigenous identity - through relatedness and alterity - will be developed further in chapters four and five.

"We went looking for life."

Unlike most of his peers in the comuna Héctor had studied at school in Guamote, before there were community schools in the comunas. On the other side of the quebrada in Wayku Bajo, taita Francisco Puma adjusts himself on his stool as I ask him whether he went to school:

⁷ For a wider discussion see chapters four and five.

“What for? Those were different times, times of the hacienda, we were huasipungueros. My papis didn’t know how to read or write. They lived just as servants (*mandados*). Looking after the cattle, the sheep, putting them to pasture. Washing clothes. They didn’t even put me in school. There was no school!”

Further up on the hill, the current president of Wayku Bajo, seventy-two year-old Manuel Chucuri gestures at his eight-year-old grandson: “*When I was little, about his size, I minded the cattle, pigs, sheep in the pastures on the hacienda.*” He also did not go to school. “*I didn’t even know how to read. But I learned.*” He learned in the government offices of Guamote, Riobamba and Quito, handling the paperwork for the land titles, petitions and agreements through which the comuna and the sección¹⁸ negotiated ownership and investment of lands, roads, canal systems and access to high-altitude pastures (*páramo*). “*I worked hard for the community.*”

When Francisco was fourteen and Manuel was thirteen they travelled by train to the lowland town Milagro, towards Guayaquil and the coast. At this time many Guamoteños headed to this region to work on the new roads linking the lowland towns, and work on the rice and sugar plantations. When there was no work on the roads, Manuel worked as a *cargador* carrying heavy sacks of rice. “*They were massive!*” he exclaims. Francisco boasts to me how much he used to be able to carry. “*Now when I carry half that, it makes my legs tremble!*” Whilst working in the lowlands Francisco learned Spanish, sending money, rice and sugar back to his family in Wayku. He had nothing but good words to say of the people he worked with: “*Good people, thank god. People say, people from the coast, and from Quito are bad people, no. I found them to be mostly good. Thank God!*”

Nevertheless their time away from Guamote was not without personal tragedy: Francisco’s brother was robbed, assaulted and killed outside Milagro. “*He was a trader,*” he explained vaguely. “*He’s buried there in Milagro. We went looking for life. We looked for work there, because there was no*

¹⁸ Wayku San Miguel and Wayku Bajo are members of an umbrella organisation of neighbouring comunas, *Corporación de Organizaciones Indígenas Sector Wayku*, referred to in the comuna as the sección. The sección makes decisions impacting the area as a whole, particularly concerning the road network and canals that bring irrigation water from the páramo.

land here.”



With their parents working their huasipungos, or in the process of buying the hacienda lands, they were encouraged and pressured into going away from the comuna. Whilst daughters took on domestic labour, sons were regarded as a drain on resources. Bolivar Chicaiza recalls setting off to Quito aged seventeen with companions from the comuna: *“Let’s go, we said. There’s money to earn!”* They didn’t know their way around Quito, and slept out on the street until they found work in construction. All the men I spoke to had worked at some point on construction sites or as *cargadores*, porters and loaders in markets - the most poorly paid, dangerous and physically

demanding city work. “*It was hard work,*” remembers Angel Villalba, “*carrying bricks up to the second, third floor. And no hard hats, just our [fedora] hats.*”

After the train stopped running through Guamote in the 1970s, migrants from Wayku stopped journeying down the railroad to Guayaquil, and headed up the Panamerican highway to Quito. Manuel continued to work as a *cargador*, whilst Francisco found work in a chocolate factory. Sitting in his kitchen, drinking hot chocolate and waiting interminably for the rain to arrive so that the sowing could begin, I watched him act out for me how he used to move the heavy cans of cocoa and bags of sugar. It was there that he developed his taste for hot chocolate, a beverage I only ever received at his house. Several migrants brought back particular tastes from their time away from the comuna: Manuel was partial to Quiteño bread, the Guamán family liked saltwater fish from their time on the coast at Pedernales.

“In the first years we lacked so much!”

Francisco Puma is quite the performer. He removes his tattered old fedora from his bald head, and dramatises the elaborate ways people used to greet each other in the comuna, or the proper way to address the hacendado or majordomo. His one-man show making shadows on the threshold where we are sitting. “*The patrones owned everything, and we worked for them. That’s it, papito.*” He remembers the years immediately after the hacendados left as very difficult (*bien fregada*). The paternalistic social protection of the hacienda was gone and there was very little infrastructure in the comuna. Bolivar Chicaiza agreed. “*In the first years the comuna lacked so much! This quebrada here? There was a footbridge and animals used to fall into the quebrada.*”

The radical transformation of rural Guamote and the emergence of the comunas was described in the previous chapter. Francisco, Bolivar and their peers grew up at this moment when the

comunas were being founded. The comuna of San Miguel was founded in 1970, Wayku Bajo two years later. The comuneros annually elect the ruling council, the *cabildo*, and the President. The *cabildo* is able to fine and punish comuneros and has control over activities going on within the territory of that comuna, and pays particular attention to the activities of outsiders. Outsiders are universally quizzed on their business on comuna land - and in severe cases are detained and have been held hostage (Bebbington, 2000). The comuna is a legal category, recognised by the government, and is the main institutional structure through which governmental and non-governmental organisations engage with its members. However membership of the comuna is a very amorphous and ambiguous status, one that depends on a sustained involvement in everyday life, reciprocal relations and the life of the comuna (see Bourque, 1997: 155-6).

“I am settled here with my lands.”

Unusually for his generation, Héctor went to school in Guamote. *“In those times very few went to school. I went, yes. And Taita Segundo Gaviláñez, who lives in front, in the old hacienda? He went also.”* A path rising up the hill from the river hits a plateau of fields, tall eucalyptus trees line the path, creaking against one another in the wind. Surrounded by a blaze of red and purple quinoa fields stands what remains of the old hacienda of Wayku Bajo. Like temples of a fallen civilisation, these ruins are scattered across the landscape of southern Chimborazo, a ghostly reminder of another era (Jamieson, 2014). Segundo Gaviláñez appears at the door, stiff and bent over. I am looking for his son Nelson, but he has gone to visit his brother in Guayaquil. He bids me sit down outside his house whilst Amelia prepares rice and potatoes.



Some of his children have a name for their father: *la máquina de fuego*. The fire machine. A name he earned for his prolificacy, he had eleven children, ten still living. It is also because of his drunken temper, for beating his wife and children. “*La máquina de fuego is a bad man*” his son Jorge admits. We will return to those drunken tempers in the next chapter. Most of his children now live in Quito or Guayaquil. “*They are settled there. They have spent many years there already. I don’t like it there. Here, I have my animals. My land.*”¹⁹

By the standards of the comuna Segundo is a big landowner. In 1978 he bought a large stretch of land from the river up to the steep ridge on the east side of the hill. “*I came here from behind the hill with my father. The owner offered to sell me this land, and I bought it. And I never returned.*” Unlike Francisco, Bolivar or Manuel, he did not become a migrant in his youth. He visited his brother working on the coast, but he dedicated himself to working his land. “*Some have very little land. Only I have this much.*”

¹⁹ “Ellos se enseñan allá, muchos años ya han pasado allá. No me enseñó allá. Acá tengo mis animales, mis tierras.”

The context in which the families acquired the lands varied from hacienda to hacienda. Francisco remembers that land was acquired without a fight in Wayku Bajo:

“In Guamote people rose up. Demanded their land, but here in this hacienda people did not make demands, they gave the land freely. But we were afraid to pay, how are we going to find this money? In San Miguel yes there were fights with the patrones, they came with soldiers. People fought with sticks, with stones. And things were so that people only got little bits of land, here people have much more land. Little by little we bought the land.”

Segundo and Francisco are neighbours, both beneficiaries of large parts of the lowest reaches of Wayku Bajo. Francisco was poorly educated, Segundo did not migrate, but both have been able to give their children a relative degree of food security through their land inheritance. Francisco has given much of his land to his children, Segundo complains about having too much. Most of his children have permanently left the comuna for Quito and Guayaquil, with two of his sons Mario and Nelson looking after most of the land. In 2001 he bought a tractor with which his son earns money ploughing their neighbours' fields. This is one case in which the reciprocal exchange of labour has been eroded or sidelined by a monetized economy in the comuna. Other families earn money labouring on their neighbours fields (see below). Land and land-ownership has been, at least initially, an important social differentiator in the comunas, as the prospects of families have diverged. However the next generation are less concerned about land, and for them good urban employment and education for their children has become increasingly more important.

Dreams and Nightmares

Sitting on his bed as the rain pours down outside, Mario Gavilánez tells me about his nightmare:

“I dreamed that my son was ill. My wife was crying. Just a dream, but it was very clear. My son was seriously ill, and my wife was crying... I said to myself “Where is my son? Where is my wife?” I worry about them and then I have no desire to go and work.”

We are in the tiny house that he shares with his wife, Juliana, and his seven-year old son, Édison. Juliana is frying fish on a gas stove on the other side of the room and their son is kicking his ball against the wall. Yesterday Mario returned from a month in Quito selling fruit on the roadside.

Mario, the youngest son of Segundo Gavilánez, trades cattle in the markets at Guamote and Riobamba, but this year he decided to go to Quito to work with his brother. Despite living with his brother in south Quito he missed his wife and son terribly and the work was long, hard and brought in only a few dollars a day. Nevertheless, he and Juliana are now talking about moving to Quito. They give three reasons to move: the security of a daily income, a better education for their son, and the communion of Mario's brother's church. And of course the need to be together. Juliana describes being lonely when Mario is away, and when her son is at school she goes down to her brother-in-law's house. Their future is precarious. *"I don't have any land. All this land is loaned to me by my papi."* They see how his brothers are enjoying a better life in Quito. There are no guarantees in their decision to go to Quito, but Mario sees little hope or reason to stay in Wayku.



This combination of dreams and nightmares about migration and the future were ubiquitous in the two comunas. Whilst I usually encountered families who had already chosen to move, or not to move, or had returned from a period away, Mario and Juliana were standing at that crossroad at this very moment. Condensed within their decision are the factors at stake across the comuna: the

viability of rural life, the future of the comuna and its community, the education and future life of their son. Each case is different, and whilst some of these temporary forays into the city are signs of the “destruction of rural livelihood, or impending urban transition” (Bebbington, 2000: 509), others are part of strategies for families to maintain a foot in both worlds.

This year Mario and Juliana are not the only family struggling. Below average rainfall is reducing yields and delaying the planting season. When I enthusiastically comment on a promising couple of days of drizzle, old Segundo Gavilánez gives me a withering look. *“This is not sufficient. We need a lot of rain to soak the soil.”* A trickle of water flows through the irrigation ditches past Fausto Quishpe’s house. *“Last year at this time, the water channels were roaring with water!”* And besides, he adds, the irrigation water from the páramo stops the soil from drying out, but it is nothing like a good period of rain. The livestock market in Guamote is crowded with comuneros selling the animals that they can no longer afford to feed, in the hope of some ready cash. With a note of despair, Fausto tells me, *“We have already had to sell one cow. It eats so much and there is no grass. But the cattle prices are so low. But when you want to buy? They are very high!”* Small scale agriculture is always a precarious livelihood, although for the reasons explored in chapter two this problem is being compounded in Wayku by soil erosion. Cold wind coming down off the páramo is whipping up the dry earth across Wayku and filling the air with dust. It lashes across your face whilst working in the fields and gets in your eyes and ears. Whilst these comunas are some of the more productive hill comunas in the canton, relatively well supplied with water and road access, the implication of those dust clouds is inescapable: Wayku is falling off the side of the mountain. A church built in the nineties on the edge of Wayku San Miguel has been abandoned, teetering now over the edge of the quebrada. Another quebrada has claimed two lives in recent years, from slipping and falling down the eroded banks in the night. Another, old Taita Eduardo, is left struggling to walk, following a similar accident. The road up to Wayku San Miguel from Guamote needs regular work to keep it open, dust and rocks constantly slipping off the hillside from above.

The already small strips of land owned by individual families have been divided among the children, as *minifundia* has gradually become *microfundia*. The families with more land leave fields fallow, but many other families have exhausted their fields. Whilst ownership and investment in the land has helped increase productivity, this also has led to over-farming. In an already semi-arid climate, with increased demands on water, and over-worked land, soil erosion has become a serious problem. Parts of the valley have been abandoned or turned over to eucalyptus plantations. Héctor nostalgically recounts a time when the land sustained large wheat fields and pasture for herds of cattle. The lack of fields left fallow also means a lack of pasture, as Fausto recalls:

But it is not like it was. My grandparents had forty, fifty sheep. But nowadays there is no land for grazing. Now each family sows pasture, but in the time of the hacienda all this was wheat and barley. And where they harvested, we would use as pasture. But now we can't, so we have fewer animals.

In the dry months, quinoa, a particularly hardy crop, has become popular. However people complain that the soil is not as fertile as it once was, and rely heavily on chemical fertilizers which are expensive to buy.

However migration to the city provides no miracle solution to these desperate conditions. Mario returned to Wayku with his thoughts divided about his time there. Peddling fruit and water on the roadside, far away from his home and family, is gruelling meagre work, but not without a sense of camaraderie:

“We start at 10, work 11, 12, 1, 2 to 3 o'clock. My hands die, right! Yes have to hold them up, showing the fruit. Selling to people in their cars... but we're not disunited. Everyone is mixed together. When we get back to the house, we divide everything up equally. No one takes more. I like it this way! I work with Lenin's son, with Mario, and his wife, - I sell about 40 or 50 bags.”

If someone else tries to work where they are working there is an argument. “*I have an in-law, he's bad yes, He doesn't work with us, and works alone.*” One of his other brothers, Miguel, who lives in

Quito, talks about his younger brother with pity. *“Poor little Mario, selling fruit on the roadside.”* But even so, Mario is pleased. After six months of waiting for harvests that disappoint, and plummeting cattle prices in the market, a day’s work in Quito furnishes his pockets with money for food and clothes for his wife and son. Later in the year Mario had returned again to Quito.



Sowing in Guamote.

“What would I do in Quito?”

One weekday, I pass by the Guamán family house looking for their neighbour Bolivar Chicaiza. Héctor’s youngest daughter Rosa Guamán is in front of her house washing dishes at the outdoor tap. She looks tired and overwrought. Warily she waves a hand off into the distance:

“No! My uncle has gone to Quito! With Luis who is being examined to enter the police. This morning I have been below with my cows. I came back and I got soaked by the rain! My little boys are taking my donkey to feed. Oh Simon, my papi is ill! He is in bed, and can’t walk. The pain is so bad he says, and he was crying. His sister, my aunt in Quito, she’s ill too. And tomorrow I need to go and milk the cows, oh and my poor little one, Luz, she is studying in Riobamba. Poor little one! And she says when is Simon going to visit.”

The various members of the stretched-out family move in elliptical orbits around one family member, Rosa, who remains bound to the rural house and the comuna. In Wayku, women like

Rosa are the backbone of the day-to-day running of the comuna. Their labours are interminable. During the week they are to be found taking out the cattle, washing clothes down by the river, working out in the fields and preparing food back at the house. Preserving rural life in the comuna fundamentally means the continuation of the commitments and labours that keep these women working in the fields and watching cattle on the páramo. Rosa's sister-in-law visits with her one year old granddaughter. Margarita's husband César lives and works in Quito. When he talks wistfully one day in Quito about moving back to Guamote and Wayku he says: "*I think about it. I could work in Riobamba or Guamote, put my wife in Wayku. Have some cattle, some sheep.*" Even in imagining moving back to the countryside, Rosa's brother saw his place in the city, and it would be Margarita's role to look after the *chacra*. This reinscribes the link between women, rurality and indigeneity (De la Cadena, 1995). However at the same time, Rosa's family is replete with women who have forged different lives outside of the comuna, among them her sister-in-law, her aunt and her two daughters. I asked Rosa's daughter about this:

"Yes my aunt is there in Pedernales, my uncle in Quito. And my mami, she doesn't travel much. And sometimes I ask her, why don't you go to Quito? But she says she does not want to. She says to me, what would I do in Quito?"

Rosa's father Héctor also said of his daughter: "*no se enseña en Quito.*" In many different circumstances residents of Wayku use this verb *enseñarse* to describe how they like or don't like a place, are accustomed or are not accustomed to such a life, and feel settled or not in that kind of life. Migrants use it to talk about Quito, students use it to talk about school. Translated literally as *to teach oneself* this expression invokes a sense of an acquired, embodied, competency and fluency with a place. Living in the country or in the city is a skill, something learned and incorporated. And once learned, it becomes difficult to unlearn.

Fausto and Umbelina sit on a long bench besides their tomato-coloured house, children milling around them. The slap, swish and stink of three milk cows drifting up from the field below. Six months previously Fausto, now forty-two, was orphaned by the death of his father, and is now the

only one of his family still in Wayku. His siblings live in the region of Guamani in Quito, although his brother Roberto has just returned. Fausto left school when he was only eight. “*You see, there was no money and my parents did not make me study. I was studying in Guamote and I played in the school military band, but they couldn’t afford the uniform.*” So during the holidays he followed his brothers to Quito and began working in construction. Later he worked in Cuenca, gaining experience as a foreman. “*Ah Cuenca is beautiful, a beautiful climate, I liked it there.*” Cuenca, is at least six hours journey south from Guamote, and he used to sleep in his boss’s house and come home every two weeks. “*But I haven’t been back for seven years.*” He smiles mischievously, and nods to Umbelina. “*My wife says she is cold at night, and she doesn’t want to sleep alone!*” These days he works in Riobamba and sleeps in Wayku.

Roberto, Fausto’s older brother, has recently returned from Quito. The capital is not bad, he concedes, but he feels more at home in Wayku, “*ya me he enseñado en campo*” (literally: I have already taught myself in the countryside). The countryside is open, spacious (*amplio*) and peaceful (*tranquilo*). His sisters live in Quito and tried to convince him to move permanently to the city:

“Yes, my sisters live there, and they said to me ‘buy a house’, because there was a house for sale, but *no me enseñé*. I almost went one day, to live there, but I didn’t because I am already settled here. How am I going to settle there? There, with a rented room. Here I have my lands, thank God.”

Roberto, like his brother, worked on construction sites. The family had for several years been stretched out in this way, and now the whole family were back in Wayku, there seemed a relaxed air about the household. In other households the men are rarely there. Francisco’s son Bernardo and son-in-law Julio are away in Quito most weeks, and I only occasionally get the chance to speak with them. As with Fausto’s joke about keeping his wife warm at night, the women often complain that their husbands are away too long. But like the overwrought Rosa, this is more a question of concentrating labour in the comuna. Edwin Morocho, who spent four years working in construction, returned to help sell cattle with his wife, and work on their land:

“For four years we went to work in Quito in construction. From there I came back here, my wife made me stay and work here, in agriculture, with the cattle business. Thursday,

Friday, Saturday, buying and selling cattle. And Monday to Wednesday I work on my land with my wife. Things are going well with my wife, with my sons, we organize, converse, yes we can do it. In the cattle market, I buy and sell on my feet. We earn ten or twenty dollars with each one. With that we do the shopping, buy sugar, salt, cola or something for the sons. Breakfast, bread. This is how we “make a living” (*buscar la vida*), without doing damage to anyone. This is the way we live.”



Like all the families in Wayku, Edwin Morocho and his wife Jacinta Puma, make a series of pragmatic and contextual decisions about their rural-urban life. Their attitudes towards the city and the comuna are complex, and reflect both the economic and emotional precarity and viability of their lives. Sometimes it is possible to conceive of a better life in the comuna. A government development programme in the 1990s helped build new houses across the comuna. Edwin Morocho and Jacinta Puma acquired their house through this programme. However, like many families, they also seek to maintain a foothold in the city. In 2007 they bought a place in Riobamba. Edwin says the house is “*very beautiful*” and has “*everything for our sons*” and Jacinta

admits that *“in Riobamba we don’t suffer, there things are better, peaceful.”* However she does not like spending time there, and when she is there she does not leave the house, does not know anyone in the neighbourhood and feels lonely (*“no me enseñó en Riobamba”*). She prefers to be at home in the comuna, with her family and her animals. Like Rosa (who also rents a room in Riobamba), Jacinta cannot separate herself from the world of the comuna. And also like Rosa, the place in Riobamba is for her children, who she imagines will be more adapted to urban life. Her son, she said, came to her and said *“Mami buy [the house] so I can go and study! I want to go and study!”* They are unsentimental about their roots in the comuna, and open to the idea that their sons may sell the land after they die: *“When we do, they can sell this little house, if they don’t want to live here. They say they will sell, ‘what is there for us to do here?’ they say!”*

“In the city things are very complicated.”

The distinction between temporary/seasonal and permanent migration appears very shaky in the case of the stretched-out families of Wayku. In Guamote there are families who have spent decades outside of the canton, only to return to till the soil and trade in the market. Each individual life story crisscrosses the frontiers between the rural and the urban several times, and there is no knowing in any case, whether their current resting place will be their last. Rural-urban migration is neither one-way nor inevitable. I kept this in mind whilst getting to know some of the families that had left the comuna behind and were now living in Quito.

Jorge Gavilánez first came to Quito alone as a teenager, and worked on a construction site:

“I went to work in construction. But I knew nothing, and they took advantage of me. They said to me ‘kid, you are not good enough for this work. You can’t work. You can’t even carry a quintal of cement.’ I suffered. I was only six hours from Guamote, but I might of been in the United States or Spain, And I cried Simon, I cried a lot, I had to remind myself that I am a man.”

Jorge had left his father's violent home in Wayku, and Quito transformed him. He met and married Fernanda (also from Wayku), converted to Protestantism, and began to trade goods including cars in the markets in southern Quito. He expresses no nostalgia for rural life, describing it as dusty, dirty and hard. Fernanda had also arrived in the city when she was young, but had flitted back and forth between Guamote and several other cities before settling in Quito. She had also been transformed by the experience, learning how to trade and run her own cafe:

“When I left school, I came here and worked in a restaurant with an acquaintance (*conocida*) of my sister-in-law. I worked below San Roque. It was my first time, and I knew nothing! My mother did not teach me anything about cooking or cleaning. Here they taught me everything, even how to peel potatoes! Everything! In the countryside my sisters and sisters-in-law did everything. And when I left school I was always with the sheep and pigs.”

Their lives so far have been a long list of opportunities taken and missed, calamities befallen and averted. They now have three children, an old house in the centre of Quito, and the support of their evangelical congregation and extended family. Nevertheless, their income is erratic.

Fernanda works in the market and although she would like to convert the front of their house into a restaurant, they cannot afford the license. Similarly Jorge wants to work as a taxi driver but he keeps failing his test. “*In the city things are very complicated.*” And yet, mirroring his brother Mario's nightmares of a failed harvest, Jorge explains why life is better in the city:

“Life in the countryside is not like in the city. In the countryside you have to wait six months or a year for the harvest, and if there is no harvest, there is no means to eat. Before, our parents sowed potato, maize. Today they do the same, but it is not the same. Before it was all natural, now it is pure chemical.”

Like many others in the comuna, Jorge again contrasts the previous fertility of the soil with today's failed harvests, and reliance on fertilizers.

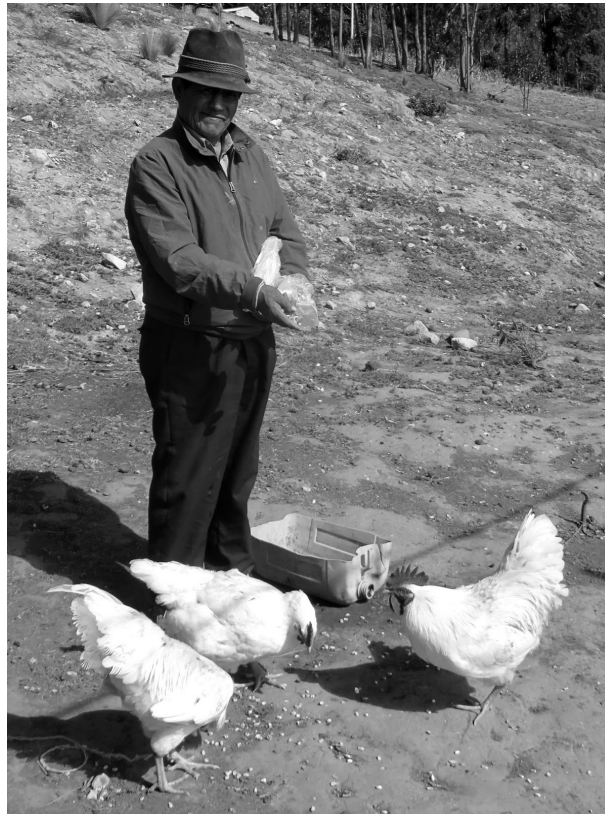
High above *el centro historico* in Placer Alto, overlooking the city, Héctor Guamán's eldest son César lives with his wife and daughters. Unlike Jorge he entertains the idea of returning to Wayku. He also describes life in Quito as complicated. Like Fernanda he had travelled all over Ecuador before settling in Quito. Like other uneducated men from Wayku, César found unskilled labour on

the coast. He first went to work on a shrimp farm with his brother Segundo, on the island of Pumá in Guayaquil. *“We worked in these pools, 15 hectares by 30 hectares. They were huge!”* Then twelve years ago he applied for work delivering parcels for a national company. However the ministry of employment stipulated that the employees had to have qualification to degree level. *“I only went to school, not even to secondary school!”* So in order to get the qualification he worked nights and over-time for several years until he finally acquired a secure salaried job. He drives all over Ecuador. *“Last night I went to Riobamba. Another week I go to Santa Domingo, Guayaquil, Cuenca, Loja. I go to the Oriente, to Coca, to Puyo.”*

Delivery work is dangerous he says. *“There used to be assaults, murders. Now we have central locking in our vans, before that they used to attack us. They attacked one of my mates and robbed him.”* Then on his way back from Guayaquil on a delivery he had an accident on the road. He broke his leg, and had to pay for the pins to be put in. His eldest daughter came to him and said *“because you are ill papi, there is no money to matriculate at school. We are not going to study.”* The moment reminded him of his own childhood. *“My mother is almost 18 years deceased. She was very ill, she suffered from lots of problems. And we looked after her, and we didn’t go to school, we didn’t have the money.”* In the end a friend lent him the money for the operation. His eldest will start at University in Riobamba this year.

César appears ensconced in his urban life, and one would treat his romanticism about returning to Wayku with skepticism, if the comuna and the canton were not scattered with people who had returned:

“I tell you that life is better in the countryside. The countryside is a different environment. Healthier. In the city things are very complicated. There in the countryside I can sow and eat potatoes. Work and struggle, yes. But I tell you that, for everything here I need money, even to go to work and to come back. But in the countryside no. I can go on foot.”



Back in Wayku, César has his house alongside his sister's and father's. Out in the yard he keeps two fine white cockerels that Rosa looks after whilst he is away. In Quito I tell him about the day I saved the cockerels from being taken by fiesta-goers. Some migrants build and invest in ostentatious houses in the comunas as their sign that they intend to retire in Guamote. In his own small way, César's cockerels appeared to serve a similar purpose. He says he thinks about it and would like it very much. As others have noted elsewhere, despite all evidence to the contrary, the belief that migrants hold that they will return shows an enduring link, an enduring identification with a rural place and identity (Tolen, 1995: 318).

In this chapter migration has been understood as having both a real and an imaginary dimension. The real dimension is often the more closely studied and understood side to migration. The

families of Wayku have increasing push and pull factors to leave rural Guamote and move to the cities. However it is worth also considering the ways in which people project their hopes and fears, their dreams and nightmares on to the city, and back into the comuna. Plans to go, and plans to come back, have a social reality to people's lives, and suggest cultural forces at work, even when those plans are never carried out.

Most of María's family now live in Quito. Like Fernanda and Jorge she went as a poorly educated teenager, unable to speak Spanish. She then married a resident from Wayku and they returned to look after his land. There she had two daughters, and when later the father left them, she was stranded in Wayku. She thinks about returning to Quito, but she worries because "*my daughters are settled here*" (*se enseñan acá*). Juliana has relatives from her native comuna of Santa Rosa who now live in United States. "*I would like to go there,*" she says rather vaguely, before interrogating me on the sort of work she could do in New York. Fausto, now a grandfather at 42 and with no plans of leaving Wayku, did once make plans to go to Spain. "*Yes I was going to go!*" *All my papers were ready, except a passport and her authorisation.*" He looks to his wife, Umbelina. "*In order to get permission to leave Ecuador you need your wife's authorisation. And she wouldn't sign. So I had to stay.*"

"So they don't suffer like us."

Francisco Puma, now in his seventies, is philosophical about how things have changed in the comuna. Today, "*without studying there is no work. Our parents, they didn't go to school, they couldn't even speak Spanish!*" His grandson stops by on his long walk home from the main road and from school. Francisco makes a gesture in the direction of the path and the centre of the comuna, "*Now, there are students!*" as though the hillside was covered with them. "*They don't want to work, work with the azadón, they want to be students.*"

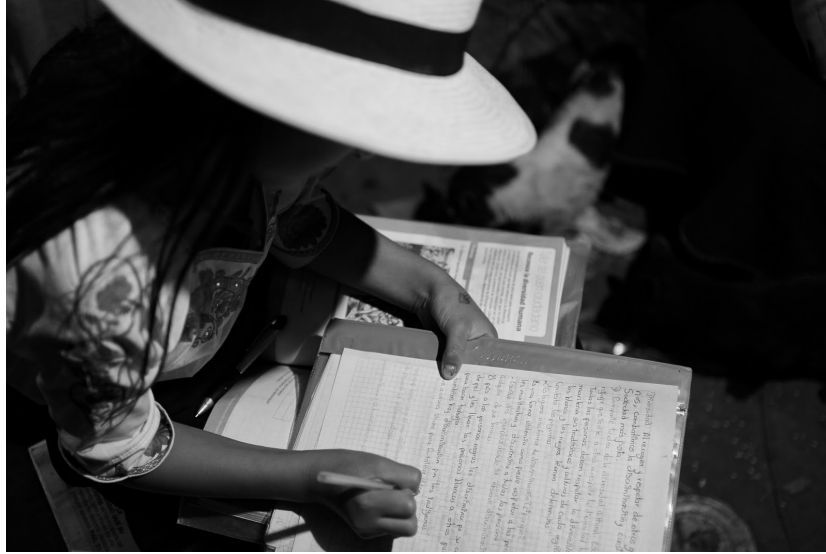
For Francisco's generation the greatest concern had been land. Land provided the basic security for large families like the Gavilánez family. It had been a survival strategy in which the urban and rural parts of their lives pivoted on the acquiring and developing of the land and infrastructure of the comuna. His children however have one concern that goes beyond all others: education. They describe how they sacrifice everything for their children. His daughter, Jacinta, living on the other side of the quebrada in San Miguel, theatrically removes her worn tattered fedora and shows it to me. *"Even my hat is like this."*²⁰ Everything, she insists goes towards their education. They have one son in school. *"Lots of expense! Two or three uniforms. Books. Food. We have another son in University. It costs even more money!"* They don't get any help she complains, they struggle alone (*luchamos solos*). Her husband Edwin adds:

"We went to school. Our children will study up to secondary school. Study more and be more professional than us, they will be more skilled, more knowledgeable, to advance *their* children, to raise them up. We are struggling, trying so they can go elsewhere, so they don't suffer like us with azadones, working sadly. With this, every month comes a little money, if they go and work in the factory, or for the government, for them there are different types of work."

This sentiment was common among parents, comparing their own childhood working in the fields, with their aspirations that their children will be "professional". A fundamental beachhead in these strategies is the urban house, usually little more than a rented room, like Rosa's in Riobamba. As we have already seen above, Edwin and Jacinta bought their house in Riobamba so that their children could go to university. If they did not have anywhere to stay then they would have to get up at four or five in the morning, and risk missing the bus to Riobamba. It appeared that school teachers in Riobamba were not particularly understanding of the difficulties this presented for rural children. For example, one day Rosa's fourteen year-old daughter Elsa phoned

²⁰ The felt fedora, typical of indigenous dress, is an important status symbol, that may cost as much as \$100 from the markets in Riobamba. Useless as protection against the rain, people frequently cover them in plastic to protect them.

from Riobamba. *“I was late, they have sent me away.”* Late students coming in from the rural comunas are marked absent and not let through the school gates.



However the obstacle that prevented Rosa and Jacinta’s generation from continuing their education was not the distance from school, but that their parents did not allow them to study. As we saw with Fernanda in Quito, they resented and regretted a childhood spent watching cattle and helping with the harvest. However as with the desires and fears about going to the city, feelings were equally mixed about secondary school. Manuel Chucuri’s daughter said *“my father wanted to put me in school, but I didn’t want to go.”* Anita’s stubbornness was not uncommon.

In both communities the schools are some of the biggest buildings. As we saw with the testimonies of Héctor’s generation, the building of the schools was considered a significant achievement. And the schools are equipped with kitchens, classrooms, even computer facilities, and are used by the comunas as meeting rooms. I was teaching English in both schools when I heard the news that they were going to close. Thirty years earlier, both schools had upwards of a hundred students. Now they had less than thirty each, and were to be merged with neighbouring

schools. Increasingly parents are sending their children to the schools in Guamote and Columbe. From 2016 they would have no other choice.

In both comunas there were only a few families fighting to keep the schools open, and as the new academic year approached, they appealed to the Ministry of Education to keep the schools open for another year. A week before the first day of term they went to Cajabamba where the government offices are based. However, in order to get the paperwork signed off they needed the signature of the president of the comuna and he had not showed up. The president is elected annually, and this year the president did not have any children in the comuna school. Despite protests from some of the families, and the concern that a comuna without a school was not a community, apathy or tacit support for the changes reigned. In Wayku Bajo there were misgivings about the teachers. *“The teachers there are drunks.”* Pedro told me, who sends his children to Guamote instead. Miguel Villalba also sends his children to Guamote, insisting that the teachers there are better. Miguel’s parents became evangelicals when he was very young, and he credits this with his own good education and the good education of his siblings: *“Thanks to my father, all the children, three sons and two daughters. We were made to study. So that my sister is a teacher, the other works in the hospital. All of them are professionals. Thanks to him.”*

Whilst the school is emblematic of the comuna’s cohesion and identity, for many it does not serve their needs and aspirations. And it is their aspirations that are driving them to make ever more sacrifices. Like Mario, who although he was sending his only son to the local school, is well aware of the opportunities an education in Quito could offer him.



The class of '15, Wayku San Miguel

The Trials of the Children

This chapter opened on a typical weekend in the comuna, the men working on their land after a week working in the city, the grandchildren back from school and university. It was at the weekends then that I got to know the younger generation.

“If God wishes, we will be in Quito.”

It is December and I am saying farewell to Nelson Gaviláñez’s daughter Nataly and her cousin Jhonny, as they look after her father’s cattle on the bank overlooking the river. I ask where we will next meet. Where will they be in two or three years? “*We don’t know!*” Nataly laughs. “*If God wishes, we will be in Quito.*” Jhonny was born in Quito and lived there as an only child. “*My Dad abandoned us when I was still in my mother’s womb.*” And then when he was sixteen his mother fell ill and died. “*My grandparents came and took me in. ‘How can you live alone’ they said.*” Jhonny is continuing his studies at school but he is bored. “*I like adrenalin. Adventure!*” He dreams of being an international footballer, but in the meantime he wants to return to Quito. Nataly also wants to

return to Quito. She had been working in Quito as a seamstress. She liked the work. But then she began to get ill. For months she did not have the energy to work and came back to the comuna.

“I was in bed and my parents said I was being lazy. One afternoon they sent me to feed the pigs up there, and I came back, saying I can’t, my mother was cooking and she said ‘what’s wrong?’ I said my stomach hurts, and I felt like I was dying, and my Dad was so scared. And then they knew I wasn’t lying.. And I have been like that for almost a year. It’s horrible, I can’t do anything.”

Her illness is nebulous and nameless, but the symptoms include extreme fatigue and depression. Before she fell ill, she talked about how she missed her family in Quito and how it was stressful being separated from her parents and siblings. She talks about the cost of medication and how there is no more money to pay for studies. *“I am only allowed to eat chicken. Terrible because I love cuy!”* She laughs. *“I like studying, working... I need to study more, but I caught this illness and it cost so much money.”*

These indigenous millennials have more opportunities than their parents or their grandparents, and the expectations of their parents exceed those of previous generations. Indeed there are more students from Wayku away studying at universities than ever before. Piedad Chicaiza, for example, who is studying engineering in Guaranda, and comes back at the weekends to *“steal my money”*, as her mother jokes. Or Luz Guamán, training to be a nurse during the week, planting potatoes at the weekend. Or Stefania Paredes, studying business and marketing in Riobamba, and taking photos of us with her smartphone outside her grandfather’s adobe house. In a canton that has seen so much change in the space of three generations, the new professionals from the comunas are probably going to be the most transformative. And yet, Jhonny and Nataly’s stories suggest that for many, their futures will be just as uncertain as their parents’ and grandparents’ lives. That they also will weave complex journeys across rural and urban Ecuador. Neither Jhonny nor Nataly want to be sitting by the river watching Nelson’s cattle. *“No me enseño aquí,”* complains Nataly. It is the dust she can’t stand. And the cold. Jhonny was born in Quito and feels claustrophobic living in a rural community: *“I want my own space. I need my privacy. I am thinking about entering the*

army.” I wonder how much privacy army recruits receive.



“I didn’t like it in school.”

There are many others in both comunas who seem less likely to join the professional ranks of Wayku. Fausto Quishpe’s daughter Jessica lives in a tomato coloured house next to the quebrada. She invites me over to her house and cooks a delicious chicken broth, a sweet *colada*, and a plate of boiled eggs with salt. She cooks on a wood fire. *“It tastes better on a wood fire, don’t you think? Do people cook on wood in your country?”* Whenever I am down at the animal market on a Thursday in Guamote I see her trading cattle. I ask her how she learned to trade cattle. *“I don’t know. I learned by watching, learning the price of cattle. People come to the market. They need to*

buy cattle, or sell cattle, and they can't wait." And if she can't get a good price? *"Well, I take it to Riobamba. The market there."* So like others in the comuna, she divides her time between buying and selling cattle in town, one or two days a week, and farming on the comuna the rest of the time. Like many others Jessica dropped out of school, or like Francisco's granddaughter Melany, never made it further than the comuna school. As their parents had said about migrating, they said of school: *"no me enseñé allá."* I could not get used to it.

"I have a lot of hope for them."

It is not only the young women who are dropping out of education. Luis is twenty-one. After a couple of years in secondary school he left to go and work with Fausto Quishpe. Construction workers do not need qualifications, and much of the income flowing through Wayku San Miguel is coming from this kind of city labouring. At eighteen he became a father, and now has two daughters. *"I have a lot of hope for them,"* he told me. *"I hope that my girls study and become doctors and lawyers and they will buy a house in Riobamba and I will live there."* His aspirations for his daughters are expressed in the same way as those of Edwin Morocho or Luis Daquilema, both at least twenty years his senior. For all their insistence that children must study, there is often little attempt to stop them from dropping out of school, and perhaps a pragmatic recognition that there are other options open to them. Fausto's eighteen year old daughter married last year. *"She doesn't like studying. She works as a day labourer. For example, tomorrow she is going up to pick peas. Tomorrow she'll go and beg like that. She'll earn eight dollars for a day's work."* And will his younger son Kevin go to University? *"That depends on him. If he studies, and advances then yes."* If it was assumed in the 1980s and 1990s that rural society was increasingly become unviable as rural-urban migration intensified, it may also be wise to treat with caution the impact of mass education in the 2010s.



Conclusion

Over the course of the last forty years, the stretched-out family has made the reproduction of rural life possible, as well as the continuation of a rural indigenous identity. As Bebbington argued, “retaining some toehold in farming appears to be particularly significant to such questions of practice and identity, however economically uncompetitive that agriculture may be” (Bebbington, 2000: 510). The most important observation from the foregoing narratives on migration and family life, is the persistence of a strong sense of place and belonging despite the huge transformations that have taken place. When residents of Wayku speak of how they feel settled in their comuna, despite its hardships, I am always reminded of Orwell’s Englishman, returning from abroad to find “the sensation of breathing a different air” (Orwell, 1953). A bombardment of sensations reminds him that he is home:

“The beer is bitterer, the coins are heavier, the grass is greener, the advertisements are more blatant. The crowds in the big towns, with their mild knobby faces, their bad teeth and gentle manners, are different from a European crowd.”

Like Orwell, people in Wayku slip effortlessly from the taste of the water to the social world in which that water is drunk. So that Fausto Quishpe, who once dreamed of Spain and lived in Quito and Cuenca, describes how the water in Guamote is rather tasty (*media sabrosa*), pure (*pura*) and natural (*nativa*) compared to the tasteless (*desabrida*) chlorine water of Quito. His family cook with wood, which is beautiful (*bonito*) because the food tastes better, and everyone is warmed by sitting around the fire. His relatives in Quito cook sparingly on gas, conscious of food and fuel that is bought (*todo comprado*) and prepared and eaten quickly in order to get to work and school.²¹

Allen, who has been visiting the same Peruvian community since the 1970s, comments that “the orientation and aspirations of Sonqo’s inhabitants are increasingly urban” (Allen, 2008: 41). Whilst this is also certainly true in Wayku, this chapter suggests a complex picture. Wayku has certainly modernised, but there is also a strong cultural fidelity in the language across all three generations. Bourque describes the comuna as simultaneously “a physical location, a political entity and a mental construct” (Bourque, 1997: 155). The physical location has been transformed through changes in land-use, new houses and public buildings, roads and bridges, electricity and water supplies. The political entity has waxed and waned. And although the mental construct of the comuna has also changed (as we will explore in the next two chapters), there remains a fundamental rural indigenous identity, that taita Francisco Puma and the young Jessica Quishpe share. This is an attachment to a place, its sociality, its food, its smells, its textures. This does not preclude people aspiring to be in other places, with other ways of being. But it does recognise the strength and the visceral nature of that sense of belonging.

²¹ Fausto’s bucolic aspirations are tempered by reality: “In the mornings we use the stove, to cook quickly, so they can get off to their studies.”

IV. Devils, drunks and brothers

Sitting on a narrow bench on the back wall of Ángel Villalba's kitchen, I ask him why he stopped drinking alcohol. He is a quiet man, with broad shoulders, bushy eyebrows and big strong hands. Like his son Miguel had done the day we first met, he points to the sky. "God does not allow it." He never gives long answers where a nod or a few words will suffice. "Wait here, I will show you." He disappears across the yard, leaving me with his wife Carmen and his granddaughter, peeling potatoes for a pot bubbling on the stove. Moments later he strides back into the kitchen clutching a zip-up case. In the tumultuous years in the mid-1980s when Ángel's brother became the first evangelical convert in the comuna, a friend of Ángel in Guamote gave him a bible. Sitting beside me he removes the well-thumbed book, covered with careful underlining and annotations. He methodically hunts through his bible for the relevant section. Galatians 5:19-21. He reads aloud to me, a thick dirty finger tracing out the words:

"The acts of the flesh are obvious: sexual immorality, impurity, and debauchery; idolatry and sorcery; hatred, discord, jealousy, and rage; rivalries, divisions, factions, and envy; drunkenness, carousing, and the like. I warn you, as I did before, that those who practice such things will not inherit the kingdom of God."

As someone who used to drink heavily and beat his wife and children, these words resonated with Ángel and the life change (*cambio de vida*) that becoming an evangelical Christian meant to him. It also appropriately frames this chapter's discussion on religion and social relations. For what is frequently described in personal terms as a life change and a rebirth (*renacimiento*), the conversions also effected important changes in the ways that people in the comunas related to one another, and how they described and understood those relationships. The process of creating a new form of relatedness produced ruptures, discord and factions, that in turn tempered enthusiasm for this new religion. The previous chapter described a modernity produced by migration, and the discontentment this created in the comunas. This chapter examines the change

brought about by religious conversion, and similarly the resulting discontentment and disenchantment with it.



In Guamote, like most parts of the Andes, Protestants are referred to as evangelicals (*evangélicos*). Evangelicals also describe themselves simply as Christians (*crístianos*), the unsubtle implication being that Catholics are not Christians. The other term frequently used, both by non-evangelicals and evangelicals, is “brothers” or “dear brothers” (*hermanitos*). For consistency this chapter will refer to Catholics and Catholicism, and evangelicals and Protestantism, although as will increasingly become clear, the lines between the two are blurred and ambiguous. In the mid 1980s young members of Wayku Bajo returned from Quito newly converted to Protestantism. They in turn converted their younger siblings. With the support of missionaries from Ambato, churches in Guamote and neighbouring comunas, the small group of converts grew. They initially faced strong opposition from their own families and the comuna as a whole, sometimes leading to violent

confrontations, and they were threatened with expulsion. However the evangelicals stayed, built four churches between Wayku San Miguel and Wayku Bajo, and made further converts on both sides of the quebrada. Tensions died down as time passed, and Catholics and evangelicals now live peacefully side by side in both comunas. There are many more evangelicals in Wayku Bajo, and it is sometimes referred to as an evangelical comuna, although this can be misleading (and sometimes deliberately so).

The previous chapter focused on how the stretched-out family created a framework for being indigenous in modern Ecuador. The challenges presented by changing economic circumstances and social aspirations, and the discontentment that it generates, contributes to a complex identity with an uncertain future. A similar argument is presented in this chapter with regard to the impact of Protestantism in the comunas. One of the explanations for the rapid growth of Protestantism in Latin America is that it responds to the destructive forces of modernisation and a frustrated, unrealised modernity (Bot, 1999). Social disintegration in rural areas, and the growth of large urban suburbs with little institutional structures, provides ideal territory for evangelical churches to form new congregations. Moreover Protestantism offers a “renewed framework of modernity” (Gros, 1999: 183), creating a collective and personal narrative to explain converts’ own material and social suffering, marginalisation and difficulties. With an emphasis on sobriety, family, education and hard work, Protestantism offers a blueprint through which the fruits of modernity may in time be obtained.

However, in order to adopt this framework, converts must reconfigure their relationships with their neighbours. Protestant churches prohibit the drinking of alcohol and participating in communal fiestas. But both alcohol and fiestas form fundamental parts of communal life, and refraining from them implies a rejection of the reciprocal relations that not only underpin the functioning of everyday life in the comuna, but also form the foundation of a collective indigenous

identity. The fundamental nature of this value system explains the violent and rhetorically explosive way in which Catholics and evangelicals faced off in the first few years of conversions. As has been observed elsewhere in Ecuador (Bot, 1999: 168; Butler, 2006; Tolen, 1998), these initial conflicts were overcome in Wayku, although antipathies remain on both sides. Nevertheless, just because social cohesion has proved resilient in Wayku, does not mean that these ruptures are not significant. On the contrary, an analysis of the language used to describe both the rupture and the reaggregation of social relations in Wayku greatly furthers an understanding about how modern indigenous identities are being reformulated in Guamote.

Disentangling rhetoric from practice will be critical to this analysis. For example, there are two common observations that creep into sociological analysis but represent an oversimplification of the Protestant reformation in Ecuador. First, because of its roots in North America, it is very easy to exaggerate the importance of external influence, and the foreignness of Protestantism to the Andes. It is not surprising that this view is most staunchly held within the Catholic Church. Taken too far, this observation fails to grasp the enthusiasm and eclecticism with which Protestantism has been adopted, and the various ways it has been shaped to meet local needs and expectations (Bot, 1999: 171; Tolen, 1998: 37). The *indigenization* of Protestantism in Chimborazo was discussed in chapter two. Secondly, it is misleading to characterise the evangelicals as fundamentally 'individualist' as opposed to their 'collectivist' Catholic neighbours. Many early studies of the take up of Protestantism in indigenous society focused on this theme (Martin, 1990; Muratorio, 1980, 1981). Transposing Weber's classic study of the protestant work ethic to the Andes (Weber, 2002), evangelicals were less likely to "waste" migrant income on expensive communal fiestas, and more likely to make rational and eminently more modern decisions about the future of their children and their family. However in an early study in Colta, north of Guamote, Santana cautioned that, although true up to a point, this oversimplifies the differences between Catholics and evangelicals (Santana, 1990). It ignores the role Protestantism has had in revitalizing and reshaping

communities and a collective ethnic identity (Andrade, 2004; Lalander, 2013), as well as the nuanced ways in which people think about their social identities and relations within indigenous communities. This does not underestimate the importance either of the externality or the individualistic rhetoric that surrounds evangelicals in Ecuador. However what is significant is not that converts are adopting new and external values, but that they are *seen* as new and external values. In other words it is this relationship to a perceived alterity, and the othering of indigeneity and of evangelicals, that is most significant in the process of conversions in Wayku.

Therefore the ethnographic discussion in this chapter looks at the language used to narrate the disaggregation and reaggregation of social relations, the formation of quebradas and the building of bridges. First, there is the accusation that family-members and comuna neighbours are “devils” who must be expelled from the comuna. Second, alcohol is demonised and comuneros become “drunks”, the socially necessary becomes socially prohibited. Third, converts become “brothers”, forming a new fictive kinship. The analysis of each of these three re-imaginings of the social landscape, contributes to a deeper understanding of the role of Protestantism in reconfiguring indigenous identity. The argument of this chapter is that the language that makes devils of neighbours, and the language that turns them back into brothers, has a common root in an indigenous understanding of the social, and the reciprocal and intimate relationships that underpin it.

Therefore, this chapter is divided into three sections, focusing in turn on the language of *devils*, *drunks* and *brothers*. The first section examines the narratives surrounding the arrival and growth of Protestantism, the confrontations between converts and the comunas, and the Manichaean language that turned neighbours and family members into devils. The second section focuses on the role of alcohol in Catholic social relations, and in the redemptive discourse of the evangelicals.

In the final section, the language of brothers explores both the impact and the limits of the evangelical reformation of social relations in Guamote.

Devils: the language of alterity and discord

“The work of the devil is everywhere.” Jorge Gavilánez sits opposite me in his gloomy cavernous kitchen in his large tumbledown house on the boulevard that skirts the southern edge of the *centro histórico* in Quito. His wife Fernanda sits beside him, with their three children huddled around. As the steam rises from our soup bowls, the air is thick with scripture. Jorge reaches out for a biblical quotation to make a point. *“When we die, our bodies, that came from the earth, as it says in the Bible, the dust will return to the Earth.”* and his children Lenin and Sofia, both finish the quotation in a ghostly refrain *“and the spirit will return to God, who gave it.”* The call and response evoking the atmosphere of the evangelical service where it was learnt.

Jorge lives in a world inhabited by devils and demons. During the months that I got to know him, the volcano south of Quito had become active for the first time in 75 years. He was under no illusion of the significance of this. *“They say that the smoke from Cotopaxi is the heat from the earth. No, lies! I don’t know much but my pastor taught me, it is the smoke from the chimney of hell’s volcano.”* Acts of the devil were everywhere, he says:

“There are some very evil people here in Ecuador. They rob people...they go and remove people’s organs, and leave the bodies in the forest. They take out the heart, the eyes, organs, all the organs, and sell them for three thousand dollars. Why? Because the Devil makes them do it. We can only trust in God.”

On the street corners around the old town I had seen the notices glued to the walls, the black and white faces of missing children, and accusations of organ trafficking. The two youngest children, Sofia and Jefferson, were never allowed out onto the streets unaccompanied. Rumours of the

trafficking of children's organs is a global phenomena (Scheper-Hughes, 1993, 1996). Scheper-Hughes links these rumours to the way poor and marginalised people experience the inequality of health, and a fear, "grounded in a social and biomedical reality, that their bodies and those of their children might be worth more dead than alive to the rich and the powerful" (Scheper-Hughes, 1996: 7). In the Andes these rumours are refracted through a racialised fear of white domination and exploitation of indigenous people, expressed in the myths of the fat-stealing white strangers, the *pishtaco* (Weismantel, 2001) and the *kharisiri* (Canessa, 2000). Similarly for Jorge and other evangelicals, behind this shadowy and violent world of *rateros* (thieves), *drogueros* (cheats, charlatans) and *traficantes* (drug dealers and people smugglers), there is a diabolical force at work.



The devil resurfaced in conversations with evangelicals in Wayku, at their meetings, services and weddings, as a malevolent force at work in everyday life. Historically and globally, demons, devil-possession and witchcraft are commonplace wherever we find Christian schisms. However it

is important to understand the local context of devil-lore, embedded as it is in economic and racial relations of exploitation. The devil of the Andes has been given considerable anthropological attention since Michael Taussig, drawing on earlier work by June Nash, first presented his argument that devil-lore among Bolivian miners and Colombian plantation workers, was a folk critique of “unnatural” capitalist exchange and wage labour (Nash, 1993; Taussig, 2010). Through these Faustian pacts wage labourers could accumulate wealth, but that wealth was always tainted by its diabolical origins. Malevolent supernatural forces emerge in the confrontations and contradictions between the moral economy of the peasant community, and the economic and cultural forces of modernisation and modernity, produced by an anxiety of the “decentering of the hierarchical peasant world and the installing of a new cultural order” (Crain, 1991: 84). Whilst Taussig’s materialist thesis has been widely critiqued, several authors have taken up the central idea and broadened it out beyond simply economic exploitation. Edelman’s intervention, based on devil-pacts in Costa Rica, develops the importance of desire and envy in accusations of devil-pacts and devil possession (Edelman, 1994). Edelman argues that the devil is invoked in situations where anxiety and envy combine, in contexts in which people exert power over others. Power that is both feared and desired.

Weismantel takes this argument further in her analysis of race and sex in *pishtaco* stories in Ecuador (Weismantel, 2001). The *pishtaco* is a malevolent and predatory creature that hunts indians and removes their body fat. It is closely associated with white power, which in turn is associated with wealth and money (2001: 193). As whiteness is something that accumulates through success, wealth and power over indians, the rich or successful indian may also be suspected of being a *pishtaco*. Within the social world of everyday relations and exchange, this strange whiteness indicates malevolent and socially destructive forces. In Bolivia, Van Vleet considers the stories that Catholics tell about evangelical conversions, in which converts lose God’s protection and become vulnerable to the devil (Van Vleet, 2011). These stories, she argues,

“index arenas in which sociality is under negotiation” (2011: 837). In separating from God, converts have also separated from the social relations of reciprocity and relatedness that bind the community together. In this way, “the devil stories often portray individuals who are in some way morally compromised by greed and selfishness or who repudiate relationships of sociality in some way” (2011: 845). Condensed into the figure of the convert is the whiteness of Protestantism, and the rejection of indigenous sociality.

However unlike in Van Vleet’s research, I did not hear Catholics refer to evangelicals as devils. Instead it was evangelicals narrating being accused of being devils. The difference is significant. In a majority Catholic country, evangelicals are aware of their otherness and marginality, and as indigenous evangelicals this alienation from national culture is compounded (Lalander, 2013). In reiterating and emphasising their own otherness, and in their rejection of the mestizo *and* indigenous social worlds that define them as *indígena* and as *indio*, are they attempting to create the space to define themselves? Take for example Jorge’s description of his pastor preaching in the main square in Quito:

“Today we went to the temple in Santa Clara. The pastor comes every Sunday to preach below in the plaza from our church. In the Plaza Grande. At two in the afternoon. And people are always mocking him. He is a liar, a lying evangelical, they say. They call him *ratero* (thief), *cuco* (bogeyman, ghoul), *demonio* (demon). Because the people don’t know. They don’t know of what they speak. Both in the city and in the countryside everyone is like this. People say they are well, with a good house, with lots of money, I don’t know, with a good scholarship to be a student, or with a good woman. As men we feel that we are well (*estamos bien*), but we are not well. We are lost (*estamos perdidos*).”

Jorge’s narrative reappropriates the demonic language of the audience and turns it back on them. Crucially he unites both indigenous (countryside) and mestizo (city) Ecuador in a deceit of false wealth (houses, money) and false success (scholarships, women). Just as converts exist outside of the protection of God, and their wealth and success it unnaturally obtained, so the wealth of Catholic Ecuador is empty and barren, produced outside of a relationship with God.

“I don’t want devils in my house!”

*“At first there were so many struggles and trials in the comuna.”*²² Fernanda was fifteen years old in 1985 when her older brother returned to Wayku from working in Quito. In the capital he had become an evangelical. He converted his brother, and then Fernanda. *“We saw how he was changing his life.”*²³ He taught them how to pray. At the same time her cousins had also converted, including Ángel and his brother Víctor. This spiritual revolution on the part of the young was resisted vehemently by the parents. Fernanda recalls:

“My parents said ‘why are you praying like that, with your eyes closed? Don’t turn into devils!’ This was before they became Christians, when they were still Catholics. But my brothers were not afraid, and continued praying before breakfast, lunch and dinner, to give thanks to God. And my mami and my papi said ‘you are devils! Devils pray like that! I don’t want devils in my house!’”

It is significant that Wayku’s evangelicals were returning migrants from Quito. By the 1980s Chimborazo already had a flourishing network of evangelical churches across the province, particularly concentrated in the canton of Colta, north of Guamote (Tolen, 1995). Nevertheless up until this point these local churches had made limited inroads into the comunas around Guamote. However churches were also expanding in the migrant communities of southern Quito, where young migrants from Wayku arrived, inexperienced, out of place, and with little local knowledge or contacts. Across Latin America new churches have thrived in these new urban spaces, with a weak social fabric and lack of established institutions (Bot, 1999: 168). Young migrants from the comunas, far away from the support and social networks of the comuna, found the already highly developed indigenous evangelical churches in Quito ready to support them. Like the Peruvian urban migrants in Allen’s ethnography, they suddenly found themselves as “independent agents” outside of the ritual “frames” of social life in Wayku (Allen, 2002: 35). Migration, the urban experience and the transformation of their relationship towards their rural identity are central to understanding the success of Protestantism (Pærregaard, 1994).

²² “Al principio hubo tantas luchas y pruebas en la comuna.”

²³ “Vimos cómo él estaba cambiando su vida.”



An evangelical wedding in southern Quito.

A pastor from La Maná in Cotopaxi, Martín Morales, came to the community to preach to the new congregation. The brothers Villalba built a small house, “a temple”, where they could meet and worship (*hacer culto*). Three times a week they began meeting with the pastor. Fernanda remembers the initial opposition from within the comuna:

“The comuna would not allow it. They said that you who do this, you are devils. In this comuna, we cannot have devils. If you continue this we will send you away, out of the comuna. And if you don’t go, we will burn you alive! They did not like the Christians here.”

As Van Vleet argues, this diabolical language is invoked at the point at which social relations have been repudiated (Van Vleet, 2011). The new converts refused to drink and partake in fiestas, and in ceasing to engage in these social exchanges, their continued presence in the comuna was presented as an impossibility. For a long time the new converts continued to meet at their temple, congregating after dark to avoid being seen. Pastor Miguel remembers “*everything was hidden in*

those days.” The open hostility and threats of punishment bubbled over into confrontation.

Fernanda remembers:

“They waited for us on the hill. We came down from above and they waited where we came down. And first they took the pastor and threw him in the cold water and nettled him. And then they did the same to my cousins and my brothers. Saying: ‘You need to leave the comuna! The devils are growing in this comuna!’ And we said: ‘If you want to kill us, kill us. But we will die and go to heaven. For the cause of Christ we will die.’”

Evangelicals from Wayku Bajo describe this period using the rhetorically powerful language of martyrdom and persecution. The language of martyrdom has a double resonance here, evoking not only the persecution of the Christians in the New Testament, but also the martyrdom of the leaders of the indian uprisings in Chimborazo, especially those of Fernando Daquilema and Manuela León in the uprising of 1871 (Costales Samaniego, 1963).

The converts slipped away from their homes, travelling alone in the dark to the temple to worship with the pastor, an outsider. As discussed by Weismantel (2001: 171), Allen (2008) and Van Vleet (2011), this image of nocturnal solitary exchanges with strangers and outsiders is part of a terrible imaginary in the Andes. And this is also sexualised. The outsider deceives, exploits, robs and rapes indians. As it was with Fernanda’s sister, who was accused of having sex with the pastor:

“My older sister, she went to Church and when she came back, my papi said ‘you are the pastor’s woman! Where have you been at these hours?’ And he threw us out of the house. My mamá took our side but my papi did not want any of it. So in the middle of the night we left the house and went and hid in the quebrada and in the barley field. My papi wanted to hit us, kill us. But my mamá said to my sister ‘you are the pastor’s woman and you are pregnant’ and she took her to the health centre to be examined.”

“When Indian women meet strangers... money, sex, and violence are often conjoined” writes Weismantel (2001: 163). Thus, besides the sexual accusations, the evangelical pastors are accused of deceiving their congregations (*engañar*), extorting money from them and lying. Evangelicals are engaging therefore in a set of unequal exchanges - sexual, economic, moral - that cut them off from the social exchanges of the comuna.

As the evangelical families in Wayku Bajo grew in confidence, they began to proselytize on the other side of the quebrada. Here they met further resistance. “*There were a lot of fights here.*” The Catholic Edwin Morocho recalls. And his wife Jacinta: “*People didn’t want anything to do with the evangelicals.*” From the other side of the quebrada, pastor Miguel remembers his father telling him “*they didn’t want to know anything about Jesus! They didn’t want to know anything about the Gospel!*” In one particular incident, remembered by many, the evangelicals from Wayku Bajo were violently repulsed. Héctor remembers approvingly:

“Here in front there is that tank of water. One time Ángel Villalba came, with his brother, with evangelicals from Ambato, with guitars, drums, violins. All of us met here, all the Catholics, and they made them bathe, as they hit them and nettled them. The people here are quite violent (*media bruta*). They were all thrown in the water. Their guitars broken into bits.”

The punishment that Héctor describes is a communal punishment referred to as *baño de ortiga* or *baño de agua fría*. Usually the accused is stripped naked, bound, and lashed with nettles and buckets of cold water. The imagery and reportage of indigenous communal justice has a long history of sensationalised and racialised accounts that contribute to the image of the barbaric and violent *indio* (Krupa, 2009). More recently, community justice has been politicized as the national indigenous movement has incorporated it into a discourse of indigenous rights, autonomy and self-determination (Collredo-Mansfeld, 2002; Picq, 2012).

These descriptions are similar to confrontations and acts of community justice seen elsewhere in Ecuador in response to new converts (e.g. Kanagy, 1990). Such scenes of religious schism and accusations of heresy and apostasy are recognisable and familiar to any student of the anthropology of religion. However, as previously mentioned it is important to recognise the cultural context, in which Protestantism could be seen as an attack on the unity and identity of the comuna. As Van Vleet argues (2011: 851), evangelicals were endangering the wellbeing of the community:

“Converts no longer contribute to the particular and more general efforts at maintaining relationships that are considered crucial to the production and reproduction of fields, animals, and human beings.”

Van Vleet argues that for Catholics the conversions were a “denial of sameness” (2011: 857), that was at various points a denial of the familial, communal and ethnic ties that held life together. This was not only a refusal to participate in the reproduction of sociality, through drinking and fiestas, but the (re)introduction of an image of indigeneity into the comuna that at best shares a family resemblance with the racist ideologies of cultural mestizaje. Evangelicals define themselves through the other, “the non-Christian, the unsaved, the pagan, the corrupt” (Wightman, 2007: 858). And in constructing the indigeneity of Wayku with the same imagery of the drunk and superstitious indian that fuels racist discourse in Ecuador, the evangelicals are identifying with and identified with white outsiders.

Despite the resistance and accusations, the evangelicals won more converts, supported by the pastors from outside the comuna and the evangelical community of migrants in Quito. Vocal opponents to the religion, like Fernanda’s parents, converted, asking for forgiveness in Fernanda’s words “*we didn’t understand! We were brutes!*”. And the congregation grew. But many others didn’t. Jorge’s father, Segundo Gavilánez (*la máquina de fuego*), was one of those who never converted. With a look of zealous resignation Jorge admits: “*I have erred with respect to La Máquina de Fuego, do you know why? Knowing that they don’t share the word of God, they are lost, if they die, they are going to hell.*” Rhetorically at least the comuna, and families had been split asunder. The language could hardly be more stark and final. However all is not as it seems in Wayku Bajo.

“This new church, they are going to knock it down!”

When the two brothers Ángel and Víctor Villalba became evangelicals, Ángel’s son Miguel was only five years old. He was one of a family of five children farming the land opposite the old

hacienda building in Wayku Bajo. Between 1990 and 1992 his father and uncle began to build a church on the hill for the new congregation. *"The first evangelical church in all the comunas of Wayku!"* Miguel remembers that he always liked to sing, and when he was fifteen his father instructed him to learn how to play the keyboard in the church services. In 2001 in this church he was married to his wife Lucrecia from Wayku San Miguel. *"Her parents were complete Catholics - drunks, they smoked, drank beer - fiesta - pure Catholics!"* He told her that she would have to become a *hermanita*, an evangelical, if they were to marry. *"Her parents did not accept. She had to run away to be baptised in the river like Jesus."*

However the unity of the new congregation was upset by the decision of the president of the comuna to build a new church on the north side of Wayku Bajo. Here people had claimed to have received visions. The original converts remained at the top of the hill. *"From the beginning we made a temple here. Why would we destroy it, why would we knock it down? We're not going to go down to the other church."* So very quickly the new evangelical community was divided into two congregations. This rapid subdivision and fragmentation of the evangelical churches is common (Bot, 1999; Tolen, 1998). Unlike the global and nationally unified Catholic Church, each evangelical temple was established on the initiative of a small group of converts, with help from outsiders, and with no defined area of jurisdiction or authority.



For a few years Miguel left to work in Quito, and when he returned the old church was almost empty. *“It was on the point of closing. They wanted to erase it from the map!”* Most of the congregation had moved to the new church and there were only four *hermanitos* left. He organised a group of friends to restore the church. *“And I spent three years going from house to house, inviting people to the church.”* From here, he explains, he began to preach and under the persuasion from his church, he trained to become a pastor. He has been a pastor now for two years, and divides his time between pastoral work in the community and church meetings and evangelical conferences around the country.

Meanwhile, in Wayku San Miguel a small church had been built by the much smaller evangelical congregation. It had been built on a high point overlooking the road up to the comuna, but a long walk from the centre of the houses where the Catholic chapel stands. However, when I arrived it

had not been used for sometime, and was perched on the edge of a fast eroding precipice.

Undeterred, the evangelicals were in the process of building a new church. This is going to be a large building, dwarfing the chapel. However, the services that I attended in this new church were small with fewer than twenty people present. Some of the Catholics of Wayku San Miguel are staunchly opposed to evangelicals worshipping publicly in the comuna. Héctor Guamán, watching the work on the new church, says he doesn't expect the church to last:

“Now there are only five evangelical families. And this new church, they are going to knock it down. When everyone meets together, they will knock it down... Over there once there was a tent, they had brought a tent, and these brutes brought a candle and set light to everything. They are violent the people here.”

Héctor describes the people in the comuna as savage (*gente bruta*) with a tone of approval, as though all that careful organising and church building can easily be undone by the will of the comuna. The previous chapter explored the accumulation of family wealth in the conspicuous consumption of large modern houses, and the accumulation of the wealth and wellbeing of the comuna in communal infrastructure. The changing built environment - of roads, canals, bridges and schools - demonstrates the physical presence of the comuna, and the achievements of individual households who secured the money and the labour for them. And conversely, discontent and dissatisfaction surrounds presidents and cabildos that fail to fix the roads and build the bridges. The building of the churches follows on from this idea of the physical manifestation of the community. Except these buildings give physicality to the fault lines in the comuna, not just between Catholics and evangelicals, but between evangelical congregations. The meticulous preparations to build them, and the plans to knock them down, reflect these divisions.

“Divide the people in order to dominate them.”

On either side of the religious schism, the rhetoric hardens these differences. Both sides engage the stereotype of corrupt and hypocritical clerics and pastors, exploiting poor and ignorant comuneros. The local priest explained the problem as follows:

“The fundamental problem is not religious. The problem with the evangelicals is a capitalist mentality, in a large part brought from North America, and to a certain extent from England. A mentality that money is fundamental, money is a blessing from God. But with the Catholics, no. Perhaps the Catholics remain poorer, but it is much more communal. With the evangelicals it is fundamentally a form of control over people, each group of evangelicals has its authority, who gives orders, who charges, who can make money. I would call it an organisation of exploitation. Monetary exploitation, but also religious. At the same time there is a strong form of control, so that no one is allowed to stop being evangelical, because they control them. This is the way in all the groups. And this has affected communal unity.”

The Catholic Church’s language encourages and exacerbates this othering of the evangelicals. As discussed in chapter two Chimborazo has been the heartland of Liberation Theology within Ecuador. The current parish priest, Julio Gortaire, arrived in Guamote in 1970, in the midst of the tumultuous years of the end of the haciendas, the arrival of the evangelicals, and the rise of Liberation Theology within the Catholic Church in Ecuador. In the Catholic comunas, including Wayku San Miguel, Padre Julio is a respected individual. Among evangelicals however, he is a deceiver and an idolater. He encourages the conspiracy theory that Protestantism is about a wider political project to sow division in the region:

“The story here in Chimborazo is interesting. Some gringos came from North America, I understand that some of them were very worthy theologians, valid and interesting. But at the same time, there was an order - I still have this document - from North America, to divide the people in order to dominate them. The best way to do it, is to introduce evangelical groups. And that is what they did.”

A millennial struggle between believers and nonbelievers, to build the “new community ... built on the destruction of the old” (Bot, 1999: 169), only tells part of the story of Protestantism in Wayku. What is interesting is that Protestantism has not led to the disintegration of the community. The arrival of Protestantism did mark an important change and point of rupture in the comuna, and a break with the past. However this explosion of alterity and discord was not sustained. An antipathy developed on each side and it was represented in a strikingly Manichaeic way by the evangelicals. Like many proselytising Christians before them they understood their persecution as vindication of their own faith, the existence of the devil, and the arrival of the last days. But the

evangelicals were not thrown out, or burnt alive. Despite the extreme language, Catholics and evangelicals continue to cohabit the valley and have done so for the last thirty years. Moreover the evangelicals won more converts. In 2015 Wayku Bajo had a Catholic president, Manuel, and there are peaceful relations between the Catholics and the Protestants. This process of pacification is mirrored by what happened earlier in Colta (Tolen, 1998). There also, "conversion was a deeply divisive process, and considerable violence accompanied it" (1998: 37). The return to cohesion will be considered in the final section, but next we need to consider the practice at the heart of these social divisions.



Drunks: sharing drinks and giving it up

But what was so diabolical about refusing to share a drink? Here we look at the role of alcohol in Wayku, both as a means of social cohesion and of social division, and the personal and collective significance of giving up the firewater.

“We must have a little drink.”

Miguel, who claims to have never tasted a drop of alcohol in his life, sits back in his chair and pronounces indignantly: *“The era of the drunks was the era of barley! So much barley in this region, just barley, barley harvests, loads!”* He remembers how his father used to drink heavily before he converted:

“He left the house, hid himself outside the house to drink *trago*. And my mami followed him, and he would go to Guamote and get drunk in the street. He would go to the fiestas in Palmira, the fiestas in Columbe²⁴, in those times too many people drank. They went outside the province, to La Virgen de Cisne²⁵. His life was like that.”

Others recall that locally brewed *trago* was cheap and readily available. *“For a few sucres, that was the time of sucres, before dollars, you could buy trago”* remembers Francisco Puma. *“We were drunk for three or four days!”* Enrique reminisces. The older generation, like Héctor, Bolivar and Francisco, describe nostalgically a time full of drinking and fiestas. However in Wayku San Miguel, and to a much lesser extent in Wayku Bajo, alcohol remains a fundamental part of everyday life. In particular male sociality depends on the sharing of a drink at the end of a working day, at the Thursday market or on a slow leisurely Sunday in the comuna. *“When are we going to share a drink?”* Héctor asked me on several occasions when we separated, as though to plan the next drink would ensure that this would not be the last time we met. Francisco, his wife shaking her head in disapproval, brings out a bottle. *“I don’t drink so much now. I am old. But we must have a little drink, to see you off!”*

²⁴ Palmira and Columbe are both small villages in the vicinity of Guamote.

²⁵ A Catholic shrine in Loja in southern Ecuador to which many Ecuadorians make a pilgrimage in August.

The role of alcohol in communal life in the Andes has been given much attention in the literature. Historically the drinking of chicha (maize beer) and drunken intoxication have been a fundamental part of Andean religiosity (Carrasco, 1986; Saignes, 2015), and central to the construction of a cultural identity (Camino, 1987). In particular, scholars have emphasised the role of alcohol in creating “interlocking reciprocal obligations” and thereby constituting “gender roles, social networks, community structures, and ethnic identity” (Jennings & Bowser, 2009: 4). Offering, accepting and drinking alcohol has a transformative effect on one’s status and identity (Dietler, 2006: 235), and with it “friendships and agreements are sealed and kinship is acknowledged” (Weismantel, 1998: 188). Traditionally libations were given to the earth to ensure rains and good harvests (Allen, 2002; Van Vleet, 2011). With drinking frequently comes dancing, which in itself had an important role in the fertility of the fields and people alike (Canessa, 2012: 122–125). Therefore fiestas, and drinking and dancing, were part of wider reciprocal relationships between the community, and between humans and the world around them.

To a certain extent the fiesta can be said to make the Andean social world. How does it do this? As others have noted (Weismantel et al., 2009), the rituals and etiquette that surround drinking are essential elements in the production and expression of social solidarity and community. Hosts are expected to provide drink to their guests, and serving poor quality or insufficient drink at a gathering is not only insulting, but results in a loss of status and the ability to request support from your neighbours in the future (Jennings & Bowser, 2009: 6). Similarly it is required of guests and drinking partners to accept the drink offered and stay to see the bottled emptied. As Pribilsky notes, “Refusing a drink or trying to excuse oneself midsession contradicts the central purpose of drinking: to partake in an act of sharing through which community is created and social cohesion is expressed” (Pribilsky, 2007: 227). This act of sharing is reinforced by the universal practice of drinking only from one cup. In this way drinking becomes a “collective act” (Corr, 2003: 46). Only

at large mingas or fiestas did I ever see each guest having their own cup. This in turn permits each offering to be loaded with significance: the eldest always drink firsts, as well as special guests. Drinking alone is very bad-mannered and receives the censure of others. *“Miserable! Selfish! One must share.”* Usually one person, usually but not always a man, initiates a round of drinking by buying or bringing a bottle of beer, or occasionally a harder liquor. Ostentatiously they open the bottle and fill a plastic cup and offer the beer to each drinker in turn. If someone refuses the cup the giver puts on a show of offense. *“Why not? Drink! Just a little one!”* And after they finish their cup, they shake the last drop out onto the ground, indicating that he has downed the cup. In this way every drink becomes a battle of wills between the giver and the receiver - the giver insistent that their generosity is recognised, the receiver trying not to accept too many drinks and get too drunk. However the bigger the group and the longer the session of drinking, it becomes very difficult not to get drunk.



But does getting drunk (*emborracharse*) make one a drunk (*un borracho*)? Catholics in Wayku adamantly deny this, but evangelicals often said as much. “*The people in San Miguel. They are addicted to drinking, addicted to dancing. It is an addiction.*” Of course, appropriate and excessive drinking are culturally relative, and describing people as drunks and alcoholics has political, moral and racial significance. Historically and in the racial imaginary of Ecuador there is no difference between an indian drinking and an indian drunk. As community justice is synonymous with barbaric savagery, the fiesta is the image of the *indio borracho*. Both were expressions of the backward and degraded state of rural society (Becker, 1999). If this was not the fault of the indians themselves, it was because irresponsible landowners had dragged them into alcohol dependency (*ibid.*: 547). Furthermore theories were advanced that indigenous people possessed an “indian” gene that made them susceptible to drunkenness (Butler, 2006)²⁶. In particular we see how different types of alcohol are racialised, so that while beer is identified with national culture and modernity, *aguardiente*, *trago* and *chicha* are identified with the drunk indian (Stepan, 1991; Weismantel, 2001). As Botero noted, even in modern times in Chimborazo there is no moral equivalence between a drunk indian and a drunk mestizo, even if they have got drunk in the same way (Botero, 1990: 171).

This image of the indian constructs the indian and the problem simultaneously: indigeneity and drunkenness are one and the same. However, as both Butler (2006) and Allen (2008) argue, the context of drinking has changed in recent decades. As Allen argues: “Drinking to excess has to be understood in terms of the deep cultural value placed on collective intoxication as a mode of communication with deities and an expression of shared identity” (Allen, 2008: 42). But what is increasingly being lost, according to her, is the ritual framework within which this excessive drinking took place. As accounted elsewhere, *chicha* - traditional maize beer - is rarely drunk in

²⁶ The drunk indian is a stereotype across Latin America, in Guatemala (Earle, 2008; Garrard-Burnett, 2000), and Mexico (Toner, 2015).

Wayku. Chicherías have disappeared from Guamote, and strong spirits, *tragos*, have replaced chicha.

Although drinking and getting drunk are regarded by many as an essential and pleasurable part of engaging in social life in the comuna, being drunk to the detriment of one's responsibilities to others is considered a serious problem. One day I was waiting with the school children for the teacher to arrive. We had assembled early in order to take the children up to a neighbouring community where they were going to attend a school event and perform. Finally a car turned the bend far down on the road. "*Is it profe Fidel?*" "*It is! Look! He's drunk!*" Sure enough Fidel arrived late, slurring his speech and fumbling with the keys to the school. Claudia was waiting beside me with her daughter. "*What a disgrace! He is supposed to be in charge!*" Later he came before a meeting of the parents, and as Rosa Guamán gleefully related to me later, knelt before them with his hands clasped together, begging for forgiveness. They threatened him with nettling and cold water, but accepted his apology.

Others in the comuna are known to be drunks, *borrachos*. For example, Héctor's youngest son, Segundo, was first introduced to me as "el diablo" (the devil), a moniker that was known across both comunas. When old Juan Quishpe hears that I have been spending time with him, he looks concerned. "*He steals. He lies. He is a bad man.*" I met Segundo on the first day of the comuna fiestas. Unusually for someone in his thirties he had already lost many of his front teeth. It was the middle of the day and he was already blind drunk and was trying to explain to me why Panama was in Europe. Later he jumped into the bull-ring and was caught on the bull's horns, escaping with a nasty gash to the leg. I later talked to his niece, Luz Guamán, about her uncle's drinking:

"Segundo didn't drink much when I was little.. But then he married his wife, and then they divorced, and he became a drunkard (*borracho*). He drank more and more, each time worse and worse. He would work, then drink, then work. When he was working in Guayaquil he didn't drink, but then he came here, one, two, three days and drank. Then he goes away again."

What made Segundo a drunk in the comuna was not the quantity of alcohol he consumed, but the context that surrounded his consumption. Now in his thirties, estranged from his wife, he lives with his sister when he comes back from the coast, and has not established his own household like his brother and sister. His brother César, living in Quito, spends considerably less time in the comuna, but is spoken of much less critically, and the main relationship that Segundo has with his neighbours is begging (*rogando*) for money and for alcohol. Like the evangelical devils across the quebrada, the *diablo* exists outside of the accepted norms of social exchange.



Sharing *trago* at a wedding in Guamote.

Although with Segundo the line between what was socially acceptable and what was not appeared clear, elsewhere the line blurred between “holy intoxication and drunken dissipation” (Butler, 2006). As Allen has argued, the replacement of home-made *chicha* with shop bought liquors and beer, changed the relationship of comuneros to alcohol. It was no longer produced as part of an exchange of labour in the socialised context of the home, but instead was part of the monetised economy, competing in household expenses for food, clothes and education. Alcohol in Wayku

has not been transformed from socially necessary to socially prohibited overnight, but the sapping of economic resources has created the space from which to critique excessive consumption.

Héctor, a heavy drinker himself, remembers:

“We used to drink for two or three days, and wake up in Guamote. When we didn’t have any money left we went to a trader who sold potato and barley, and said give us some money for a quintal of potato or a quintal of barley. And that way we drank. Woah, no no no! My parents they drank for three or four days. They would even sell their sheep! Shit, no no!”

All these stories of excessive periods of drinking involved Guamote, where everyone had to go in order to buy alcohol. The town was associated strongly with drinking *as a problem*, and contrasted to the *bien fiesta* of celebrations that took place in the comuna. As Allen argues, “Trago’s cultural value is impoverished relative to that of chicha” (Allen, 2008: 41). As the indian problem is the drunk indian problem, for people in Wayku the alcohol problem is a town problem. That is to say, a non-indian, white problem.

But Guamote is a complex place. As we have seen in previous chapters, and will see in greater detail in the next chapter, the town of Guamote is coded as both white and indian, indigenous and mestizo. In the next chapter I discuss the Guamote Carnival, which is well-known in Ecuador for the drinking and dancing that continues sacrilegiously past Ash Wednesday and into the first week of Lent. I asked the parish priest how he felt about this seemingly blurred line. Did he oppose it? “No, quite the opposite, I encourage it!” He regards it as part of the indigenous religiosity of the Guamote Carnival, as an expression of belief. To this he appended his opinion that the evangelical faith, with its ascetic values, was separating the people from the earth, everyday life and their culture, and in turn, from God. I asked whether he was suggesting that it was not possible to be indigenous and evangelical at the same time. He thought for a while and then replied. “That may be a bit strong, but I think there is some truth in it, yes.”

“We don’t go to the fiesta, we don’t get drunk.”

Between him and his wife, Jorge at first appeared the more outspoken of the two and he would proselytise to me at great length about the nature of faith and sin, how Hell is real and that devils and demons are at work in the streets of Quito, in Guamote and across the world. So when I asked to interview him and his wife together one evening, I was surprised when Fernanda, with no provocation, began to pour out her troubled past. And among her anguished stories she wanted to talk about Jorge’s infidelity:

“Now we live peacefully and happily, before no, my husband went with other women, he hit me, mistreated me, my children did not love me. He was like that. He was bad before. After we had been married for a year he started hitting me, and took other women.”

Jorge sat there quietly listening to Fernanda. Up to this point the bad man (*el malo*) in the story – and there had been plenty – had been her parents, the landlord, the neighbour. Now it was the man sitting beside her. Among evangelicals these stories of remorse and redemption, from their wives, their children, and from themselves, were common. As discussed in chapter one, women have often played a decisive role in the conversion of male relatives to Protestantism (Brusco, 1995; Sandoval Vizcaíno, 2007). Fernanda, who had been an evangelical from very young, prayed that Jorge would change:

“I woke up at 4 in the morning and prayed until 6, asked to God that He change [Jorge]. And God listened, only He can bring change. All the deceivers, drunks, psychiatrists...no one can bring change except Jesus Christ. And [Jorge] changed and now everything is peaceful.”

Artfully mixing piety with self-deprecating mockery, Jorge explains how the moment of his conversion was quite literally a bang on the head:

“When I went to be baptised I almost died. I was drowning in the swimming pool for ten minutes. In Machachi. In frozen water where the Gütig comes out²⁷. That is where we went to baptise me. But because I was a womanizer, and there was a girl swimming there, so I took off my clothes, and jumped in the pool. But I paralysed myself! And it is only by the mercy of God that I didn’t die. The water entered my head. The vapor of Guiti. If I had died there I would have gone to hell.”

²⁷ These are the natural springs in Machachi where the mineral water company Gütig bottles its carbonated water.

Miguel Villalba, who chastised me for drinking at the fiestas in San Miguel, claimed to have never drunk alcohol in his life. *“Not one tiny drop!”* He may well be telling the truth. He was still a small boy when his family converted to Protestantism. And he has early memories of his father’s violent episodes of drinking:

“My papi lived for alcohol, drunkenness, he drank a lot. I remember when I was five, and my papi would hit my mami when he came home drunk. He beat her, pulled her hair. I remember there was this stick for moving the cattle, to make them go faster. A stick with a little nail at the front. And my papi hit me with it, saying: “evil child!” And I went and hid. I saw that my papi drank and my mami suffered.... And at this time arrived some missionaries, pastors, and they came and they preached the word of the Lord.”

Miguel’s story is typical, both of how adults remembered their fathers as violent heavy drinkers, and the emphasis put upon the redemption and recovery of men in the narrative of evangelical conversion. I had not asked Miguel specifically about his father or alcohol, but more broadly about the first conversions. Miguel, like others, put alcohol at the centre of the story. His father, he said, had wasted money on alcohol and fiestas and had therefore been unable to take advantage of the sale of land to the comuneros during the 1980s: *“Because of his drunkenness he sold the house he had in Guamote. This was the time the hacendados were selling the land. Because of his drunkenness and fiestas, he lost so much land!”* The turning point was of course the bible with which this chapter opened:

“A friend of my papi, who now walks in the world, he’s not evangelical, gave my papa a bible. He read the bible, and it was as though he woke up, he says... From then he received Jesus in his heart, he stopped drinking, he stopped beating my mami. From then he concerned himself with putting us in school and in secondary school. At first there were problems. As you know... here there were fiestas, in this comuna, there were bull-fights, lots of partying, and they said ‘don’t come and try to stop our fiesta.’ And there were confrontations, hate, and all that.”

In Miguel and his father’s eyes, Ángel was made into a new man. His values and concerns were domesticated, his attention focused on the education and the future of his children. *“Thanks to*

my papá, we, his children, have changed. We don't go to the fiesta, we don't get drunk. We were raised with discipline, that my papá taught us."

Ángel had little to say about his past, although he confirmed his son's memories. *"I was a bad man. I drank. I hit my wife."* In the same conversation he brought me his bible and read the passage with which this chapter opens. This story of redemption recurs in different forms. It is a narrative taught and repeated in evangelical churches, where pastors talk of "falling from the path of God", entering the world, and failing at life - and only through a reaffirmation of faith can men be saved. Even though Miguel claims to have never drunk, he too had his own story of redemption. When Miguel moved to Quito with Lucrecia he described how they lost their way:

"From the year of our marriage, I separated from the path of Jesus for six years. Almost four, five years we were in Quito. We worked, the more we dedicated ourselves to work, we forgot God. We forgot to go to church. And we had a problem, we almost separated. We had a problem in our marriage. She didn't understand, I didn't understand. There were fights. Sometimes I hit her, I mistreated her. There was no understanding. We had separated from the path of God. The world had offered me work and money, and because of this I fell."

As with the previous stories, the city and money were entwined in the stories of sin and redemption. It is curious that despite the insistence by the Catholic Church that evangelical values are antithetical to an indigenous worldview, the dangerous and ambivalent attitudes towards the city and money resonate between indigenous discourses of communal reciprocity and evangelical censure of 'worldly things'. In fact part of the attraction of Protestantism in the indigenous Andes is that it creates a narrative for this alienation and frustrated modernity. Migrants find themselves separated from the communal social ties that constituted their rural indigenous identity, and unable to 'afford' the high price of modernity:

"I had to return to the church. Many trials, accidents, failures, the money that I had lost, I couldn't afford to look after the house, I fell into debt, I fell into the street. Why? I had fallen in the world, I cared about work not God, I didn't have time for church... I went and prayed in the mountains. Three days I was there. And God spoke to me, through a Man of God, a pastor. He told me, you are to be a pastor! You are not supposed to be a leader. And I didn't believe it, I was afraid. Because the life of a pastor is to suffer, to pray, it is hard."

Sometimes your family don't love you. And you have to pardon people, it requires a different character."

In both the urban and rural setting, the efficacy of the Protestant movement was in providing a ritual framework, social solidarity, "moral support and discipline" (Allen, 2008: 43), all of which had previously been held together by communal ties and rituals. For families and communities stretched between different social worlds, with uncertain futures, evangelical conversion provides a meta-narrative for making sense of this uncertainty and anomie. And for women especially, bearing the brunt of these transformations, Protestantism was an escape from domestic violence (cf. Wightman, 2007, 2008).

For the communities of Wayku sobriety is the defining distinction between Protestants and Catholics. In conversations and interviews in the field it was given much more weight than any other doctrinal difference, and conversations about alcohol were often proxy discussions about religion. Evangelicals were defined by their abstention from alcohol and fiestas. Fundamental to this is a reformation of masculinity and a reorienting of a man's relationship with his family. Men are to dedicate themselves to their family, not "waste" money on alcohol and socialising outside of the family, but instead provide for their children. Thus the increased importance put on the family and education. Since fiestas until then played a large role in social life and the maintaining of community relations, evangelicals abstention weakened some communal relations. Instead evangelicals were invested in their church. However the privileging of religious ties over communal and even familial ties, pitting *hermanitos* against *hermanos*, has left many people in a space in between the two religions. It is to these ambivalent and ambiguous positions that I now turn.

Brothers: fraternity at the limits of conversion

Juliana is an evangelical. She was born in the neighbouring comuna of Santa Rosa and converted when she was very young, at a similar time to the arrival of missionaries in Wayku Bajo. Six years ago she married Mario Gavilán and moved to live with him on the land of his father, Segundo, *la máquina de fuego*. She is intensely frustrated by the state of religion in the comuna, accusing the Villalba family of not sharing or practicing the religion freely across the comuna, but only practising among themselves. “*They are only Christian brothers (hermanitos) among themselves!*” she protests.

The denomination *hermanitos* is used widely to describe practicing evangelicals. Much of the language of the evangelicals deconstructs the kinship ties that hold together families and communities, privileging the spiritual relationship of the congregation. I asked Jorge whether he was worried about his Catholic parents. “*Not my parents anymore. But for my brothers yes. You are a brother in Christ for me. Of course we have different surnames, but in Christ we are one.*” However this universal brotherhood, which as we have seen created so much division, leaves many people in an uncertain place, neither devil nor brother in the eyes of their neighbours. In this last section we look at the ambivalence that some people feel towards the evangelical faith.

The disruption caused by conversions “raises particular social dilemmas for those who do not convert as well as for those who do” (Van Vleet 2011: 837). In this rupture, new boundaries are formed within extended families and communities. The sense that the traditional comuna is breaking down along religious lines, or as Allen describes of Sonqo, “neighbourhood-based “sectors” inhabited by either traditionalists or Protestants” (Allen, 2008: 45), is partly the story of Wayku. However the picture is more mixed, and I would argue that one of the reasons is that

neither religious nor ethnic identities are as fixed or binary as they are so often represented. As Tolen argues (1998: 25):

"Protestantism in the Andes has often been treated by anthropologists as though conversion presents indigenous people with a choice between continuing to be indigenous and giving up indigenous identity."

People are less absolute in their beliefs and practices, and more pragmatic in their approach to identity. There is not a fixed indigenous identity, but one that is "being recreated in the context of ongoing social-historical relationships."

A drink between brothers

"You know, Simoncito, do you remember when I went to my nephew's graduation [in Quito]? And I drank a little whisky with you, no? I was ashamed, because they did not drink."

The only time I sat in the same room with all three Gavilánez brothers was at the fiesta for their nephew's school graduation. Mario and Nelson had come up from Guamote with their father, and Jorge had travelled south from the *centro histórico* to their brother Jose's house in the suburbs. On a cold dreary day we ate cuy and chicken from plastic bowls in Jose's breeze-block home. Nelson brought out a bottle of sparkling wine to toast his nephew and he handed the bottle to me to open. I had attended enough fiestas in the community to know that this bestowed on me the responsibility to share out the wine to the gathered guests. As the donor, Nelson accepted the first plastic cup, and he in turn invited me to drink. I then offered a cup to their father, who accepted gladly. And to Mario sitting besides me, who accepted. Then I went amongst the rest of the guests. Jorge, and his wife Fernanda, refused. Jose, Alberto and the other siblings refused. And one by one, everyone else in the room politely refused. With two thirds of the bottle still full, I sheepishly returned to my seat.



Back in the comuna Nelson and I are sitting outside his father's house talking about religion. He reminds me of this episode and how he felt ashamed. As we have seen refusing a drink is impolite, but the moment was also a reminder that he had fallen (*me he caído*). When he was young he had enthusiastically attended the evangelical church. *"I couldn't keep my mouth shut! I went to church, I sang, I prayed."* But then he grew up and entered the world (*me fui al mundo*). And growing up had been hard:

"I finished school, finished secondary school. I went to Quito with my friends. Spent two years there and returned to Riobamba. I went to secondary school in Riobamba. Lamentably, although thanks to my papi for putting me in education, these same friends and companions, they destroyed my life. I left my Christian life, I am not going to say I didn't go, I went! I slipped, and I fell down and until today I haven't got back up... But one day, sooner rather than later, I will return."

Here Nelson is clearly adopting and using the language that evangelicals use to describe those converts who have stopped attending church and returned to drinking and their old sinful ways. And yet his story, of being neither Catholic nor a practising evangelical is a common one.

Both Nelson and his brother Mario are lapsed evangelicals, they drink and they no longer attend church. Nelson is full of self-reflection and criticism for his “fallen state”. Mario on the other hand blames the *desunión* in the comuna. Mario rarely talks about religion. We talked about work, his son Édison’s health and education, and the comuna, but he never had much to say on religion.

Then one day he exploded in an angry tirade at the state of religion in the comuna:

“There are two churches in the comuna, one above and one below. There is division (*desunión*). There should only be one, but the others they don’t like it, so they make two. They are against one another... We are not good in life here because of it and we don’t go to church.”

His wife, Juliana picks up Mario’s thought. She complains that in the comuna they are mocking God (*burlando*) by having two churches, and that it was different in Santa Rosa de Wayku, where she had grown up, and in Quito. Mario adds that his brother’s church in Quito is better because everyone is welcome, indigenous and mestizos. “A united church for everyone. My brother Jorge, he is a very faithful man. All of them [in Quito] are very faithful.” I also asked Jorge about the awkward moment with the wine, and he answered elliptically:

“You are a brother in Christ for me. Even though we have different surnames, we only have one blood. But we know, it a huge thing to fall from the living God. Life cannot be bought.. And only God owns ours lives. No one is the owner of anyone, only God. And I am not perfect. I know, all men are sinners. I feel I have failed with my father. You know why? Because knowing they he doesn’t share the word of God, they are damned. If they die, they will go to hell.”

Again, his thoughts turned to *hermanitos* and away from his *hermanos*. It is this rhetoric that seemed to be making others in the comuna uneasy. The appeal to universal brotherhood sits uneasily with this fiery rhetoric, and contradicts the idea that “God is for everyone.”

“God is for everyone”

Old Francisco’s house is the last house in Wayku Bajo before the quebrada. On the religious map, this is frontier territory. Whilst the majority of people asked would refer to the comuna as evangelical, or a mix of religions, Francisco has a rather different assessment:

“Evangelicals? There are few really! Everyone here drinks and dances. But we just have to do it secretly! I drink, but occasionally! One little drink, another little drink. Like that.”

He admits his son Bernardo doesn't drink, but the rest of his family is Catholic he insists. "Sons and daughters of Catholics!" his wife proudly chimes in. Another day, Enrique called me over on the track near to pastor Miguel's house. He is only occasionally down on his land since most of his family now live in Quito. When I ask him about religion he shrugs. "*They are almost the same, no? We all believe in God. One must respect people.*" His reluctance to talk about religion, and the emphasis he put on respect, was something I found in many households in Wayku Bajo. Up on the hill I had visited the Parades family many times but we had rarely spoken about religion. Towards the end of my stay I brought up the subject. Marco appeared reticent. "*We believe in God, so we don't need to go to church.*" He said that from time to time he would go and listen to the pastors, or attend a Catholic mass. "*We want communion with both. One must share. (hay que compartir).*"

Evangelicals themselves distinguish between the idea of "having faith" (*tener fé*) and merely believing in customs (*creer*) (Maynard, 1993: 247). In Maynard's account the believers gained faith when they witnessed a healing miracle, gaining "the absolute assurance of belief". Evangelicals have a "dual system of identity" as members of a Church and as Christians, "without ever assuming the two to be synonymous." However even church attendance is not a certain indicator of the strength of one's faith. Whilst the most zealous discourse on both sides insists on a binary divide, it is more useful to consider people on a spectrum between strongly identifying as evangelical and strongly identifying as Catholic. As both Gill (1993) and Green (1993) argue it is important to make a distinction between religious conversion and affiliation. It is easy to accept the missionary discourse of religious converts, and make the assumption that church attendees are all converts. Affiliation helps convey the complexity and fluidity of identification and is particularly important in my research. As Stoll points out, evangelical churches are reluctant to discuss "post-protestants", regarding this as a case of personal moral failure and "back sliding", and yet nevertheless, the openness of the church to converts also leads to a larger population who were

once Protestant but have either returned to Catholicism or have ceased to identify as one or the other (Garrard-Burnett & Stoll, 1993).

In the divisive language of Catholics and Protestants, drunks and devils, it is easy for these voices to disappear. Fernanda in Quito told me that there were very few Catholics left in Wayku Bajo, but at the same time I was not finding too many committed evangelicals either. Marco Paredes complains that the evangelicals don't know how to share. *"We didn't like the church. We didn't like it. We didn't like the pastors. Hypocrites."* The pastors, he said, preached that divorce was a sin but then allowed it. Nor did they like the way the pastors spoke of Catholics, calling them demons and devils. *"God is for everyone"* Marco said emphatically. Nelson Gavilánéz expresses similar sentiments about why he doesn't go to the church, saying *"I respect both evangelicals and Catholics."* And the sense that the evangelicals formed a closed sectarian group seemed a big reason why people had chosen not to embrace Protestantism.

The very radical nature of the evangelical reformation - its impact on social relations and on the idea of community - has generated its own resistance. This underlines the fact that community relations remain important, critical for those that live in the rural community, and have fewer ties to the city. So congregations are resented, the divisions ignored, and a dissatisfaction with the reformation felt. What is notable is the extent to which people continue to coexist - despite the period of upheaval, the valley did not resolve the situation more violently, or by cutting each other off. For all its radical fervour, it seems that there was a limit to which the evangelical faith could overhaul social relations. People have found a way to accept each other. Devils have become neighbours and brothers again. Clearly it had more success or was more total where it was able to replace the community with something else, with strong congregations. Some Protestants continue to engage in Carnival, to drink, practice customs forbidden by the evangelical church. What is clear is that between the practicing Catholic and evangelical there is a broad spectrum of

attitudes. The division on closer inspection appears to be more complex than it appears on the surface.

At weddings in Wayku San Miguel, prayers were led jointly by an evangelical pastor and a member of the Catholic congregation. Soft drinks were used in place of alcohol. As Allen notes with Protestant converts in Peru, the drinking cultures based on the exchange and ritual drinking of chicha have been replaced by carbonated drinks (*gaseosas*). Thus the social role of exchange is maintained, although the contents of the cup changes, so that “soft drinks continue to play social and ritual roles that are rooted in the practices and ideology of chicha” (Allen, 2008: 30).

Conclusion

If indigenous identity is produced by the articulation of relatedness and alterity - social reciprocity and racial hierarchies - then the indigenous modernity contained within the evangelical experience is to reconfigure the terms of relatedness, and the meaning of otherness. On the one hand, the boundary between *indio* and *blanco* is rewritten as one between *hermanitos* and *perdidos*, in which indigenous evangelicals' otherness is transformed from stigma into stigmata. On the other hand, the kinship and identity of the comuna is replaced by a religious fictive kinship (*hermanitos*), one that is conceived as bridging the divides between city and country, *indio* and *blanco*.

This chapter has explored the evangelical reformation of social relations. This first created a division within families and within the comunas, invoking a millennial and diabolic language, and emphasising people's otherness. Evangelicals became defined by their abstention from drinking and fiestas, a development that was based in a reformulation and domestication of masculinity. However the emphasis on the religious fraternal relations of the church over those of the comuna and even the family, alienated many and limited its appeal and ability to make new converts.

The evangelical conversions marked probably the biggest and most dramatic engagement with modernity through the reinvention of tradition and reconfiguring of a sense of belonging. The evangelical experience consciously put itself in opposition to the 'traditions' of fiestas, drinking and ritual. It is one way in which the notion of tradition has become important in the redefining of indigenous identity and modernity.

V. Performing indigenous modernity

We have been drinking now for six days, hot sweet *canelazo* and burning *aguardiente*. The streets of Guamote are a blur of friendly collisions, intoxicating gifts from strangers, and impromptu dances on the cobbles. The town has slipped into a stupor, swaying and staggering towards the end of the week, where the Carnival will be buried and the nine days of fiesta will be put to rest. Day and night the Carnival orchestra tours the streets, a din of drums and horns, calling weary feet and befuddled heads out onto the streets to “*dance, dance, dance! Come and celebrate the Carnival!*” Sound-systems hoisted on the back of trucks pound the stonework and shudder the glass in the window frames. “*Come and dance!*” Up in the *plaza de San Carlos*, opposite the church of the saint to whom the Carnival of Guamote is dedicated, two stages have been erected, musicians and roadies testing microphones and setting up instruments. The plaza heaves with revellers, from the town and the comunas, and from Riobamba, Quito and Guayaquil. Glammed up kids in jeans and makeup share a bottle of beer, pouring it out into a single plastic cup. Wind beaten men in red ponchos, drinking shots of something stronger. At stalls on the edge of the plaza, fried potatoes with chicken and sausages are served up in takeaway containers. Then to keep the revelers happy, the DJ mixes in a tune that we have heard at least a hundred times this week. The beat grabs our guts and commands our feet. It is Angel Guaraca, the guamoteño musical sensation, goading us to keep on dancing:

Al golpe del Carnaval
 Todo el mundo se levanta
 Todo el mundo se levanta
 ¡Qué bonito es Carnaval!

*To the beat of the Carnival
 Everybody gets up
 Everybody gets up
 How beautiful is Carnival!*



The king of the Carnival distributing gifts of alcohol to the crowds.

Carnivals are held in towns and cities across the Andes in the week before Lent. Whilst all carnivals have their roots in the Catholic festival of early modern Europe, each has a particularly local character, integrating traditions and innovations from one year to the next, into a crowded cast of performers and list of events. Some of these are recognisable features of Carnival across Latin America: the processions, street fights with water, egg and flour (*el juego*), and the bullfighting (*corrida de toros*). Others work together traditions of multiple origins. Central among these is a reciprocal system of prestige and sponsorship that organises and makes the Carnival possible. Every year the king of the Carnival (*el rey*) is appointed, along with his two ambassadors (*embajadores*) and the *priostes*, each with different responsibilities for providing the food, music, bulls, alcohol and so on. Months prior to Carnival the *priostes* make small gifts of food and alcohol to others in the town. Accepting these gifts commits them in turn to become *jochantes*. In the

days prior to Carnival the *jochantes* visit the king and his ambassadors to present *jochas*: gifts of animals, alcohol, provisions for the orchestra and the carnival music, clothing for the king etc. These gifts are, in turn, given to the entire town through the spectacle of the Carnival, over the course of nine revelrous and exhausting days of fiesta.

Besides the institution of *priostes* and *jochantes*, the Carnival is an elaborate performance of Guamote's identities. A performance directed to itself, to the visitors, neighbours and tourists. As such, the Carnival of Guamote is a complex, multi-faceted event, a condensation of a diverse array of signs and meanings. It is multivocal in its appeal to different audiences, and polyglossic in the different meanings it conveys. Among other interpretations it has come to signify a manifestation of national culture, the hybridisation and cultural diversity of the canton of Guamote; the demonstration of indigenous self-confidence and spatial dominance in the cantonal capital; an imagining of a racial democracy; and the maintaining of a common identity across the Guamoteño diaspora. And yes, of course, it is also the best party of the year, where the tired monotony of life is broken up with colour, dance and music.

The object of study in this chapter is not the Carnival of Guamote. However the Carnival, with its variety of performances and meanings, provides an excellent place to begin, and finish, a discussion of the performance of indigenous modernity in Guamote. Developing on the arguments of the previous two chapters, this chapter proposes to explore indigenous identity as a dynamic between two concurrent frameworks of identity formation in the Andes. The first is based on reciprocal relations that create a common experience and identity, the second is based on the construction of indigeneity as otherness. To greater and lesser degrees these frameworks are at work across the themes of family, religion and tradition discussed throughout this thesis. I will refer to these two frameworks as an *indigeneity of relatedness* and an *indigeneity of alterity*.

By *indigeneity of relatedness* I refer to the well-documented processes by which Andean ontologies are rooted not in an individual subject, but an embodied sociality (Harris, 2000). People become fully human, through taking on social responsibilities, raising families, and entering into a web of reciprocal relations (Alberti et al., 1974; Allen, 1984; Canessa, 2012; Mayer, 2002). And by living together, and through the exchange of food, labour and sex, physical bodies become more alike (Orta, 1999; Weismantel, 2001). These are identities not constituted through genealogy (Canessa, 2007), but on everyday relations of exchange and reciprocity, identities accumulated through rhythm and repetition, as Krista Van Vleet (2011: 857) describes of a newly married woman in Bolivia :

“Thus, over a long period of time as a woman eats food grown in the same plot and cooked in the same pot as her in-laws, as she sleeps in the same bed with her husband, as she bears a child nurtured with her blood and milk, her body and her self are transformed so that she becomes more like her in-laws. Siblings, married couples, and parents and children come to share similar constitutions and close social bonds because of the permeability and transformability of bodies.”



This conception of identity is inclusive and malleable; strangers and outsiders can become more indigenous when they engage in such relations and practices, and moreover the form of these relations and practices change in certain situations, as will be seen in particular with the consumption of alcohol.

Indigeneity of relatedness is contrasted with identity constructed through alterity. *Indigeneity of alterity* is more than the commonplace idea in anthropology that ethnic identities are constructed through a process of othering of outsiders (Barth, 1998; Cohen, 2014). Rather, it concerns the processes by which indigenous people themselves are made Other. The most familiar forms of this alterity are those of the national ideologies of cultural mestizaje and *indigenismo* (see chapter one), that in their different ways construct a concept of indigeneity through a relationship with the state and national identity. In recent years these ideologies have been reformulated, and by no means overturned, by those of *plurinacionalidad* and *buen vivir* (Acosta, 2013; Becker, 2010; Whitten, N. E., 2003a). However in modern Guamote these national ideologies share discursive space and interact with globalised notion of indigeneity, brought to the canton by, among others, tourists and development projects. Through engagements with these ideologies, people in Guamote and Wayku come to know their own cultural identity through national and globalised imagery. The most oft cited example of this is the “ethnic map” of Ecuador, which we will return to below.

This distinction of frameworks requires a cautionary note. It is essential to recognise that these are not independent or mutually exclusive frameworks for understanding ethnic identity formation. In modern Ecuador they exist in relation to one another and interact in different ways with different consequences. Moreover although there are superficial similarities with ‘primordialist’ and ‘constructivist’ approaches to ethnicity, the comparison is misleading (Banks, 1996; Eriksen, 2002; Wade, 1997). The intimate links of relatedness do make use of culturally valued food,

language, rituals and social institutions, but these do not amount to an essentialised, fixed or bounded set of ethnic markers. Similarly, whilst the indigeneity of alterity does construct identity through wider social relations, it also draws on essentialised and primordial images of indigeneity. Perhaps more applicable are scalar approaches to identity, concerned with the interaction between local, national and global identities (Appadurai, 1996; Morley et al., 2002). However this ignores the way processes such as cultural *mestizaje* are lived and experienced locally in everyday interactions. Indeed both alterity and relatedness are rooted in the same unequal but interdependent society, “a social world so deeply divided that its members can frighten one another by their strangeness, yet so inexorably unified that they know one another intimately” (Weismantel, 2001: 12). In conclusion both are fundamentally social, relational and local processes of identity formation, although they engage and are transformed by essentialised and globalised ideologies.

Through practices, both everyday and extraordinary, these identities are reiterated and performed. This chapter focuses specifically on practices related to *food*, *dance*, and *music*, to show how these different frameworks of identity interact. These practices form multivocal symbols that connote different meanings of indigeneity, depending on audience and context (Turner, 1967). Weismantel employs this idea with respect to *chicha*, the maize beer closely identified with indigenous people in the Andes, and which as a symbol projects “a diffuse web of related but distinct meanings” (Weismantel, et al., 2009: 261). Therefore:

“Each person—tourist or native, woman or man— responds to an individualized appeal; yet because others are also moved by the same symbol, this response is experienced as something shared and collective.”

Symbols acquire their power from the shared meanings they appear to denote. However in reality the symbols connote multiple meanings, some rooted in reciprocity and relatedness, others in alterity and alienation. And it is in the space between these meanings that indigenous modernity is formed in Guamote.

This chapter is divided into three sections, the first concerning an expanded discussion of *relatedness*, followed by a section on *alterity*, before we return to a discussion of the Carnival as a performance of indigenous modernity. Section one, on relatedness, begins with a theoretical discussion, that is elucidated through three stories concerning the giving and receiving of the culturally valued dish *cuy* (guinea pig), and a discussion of Catholic weddings in the comuna. In the second section, *alterity*, the discussion of folkloric imagery as an othering of identity is discussed, followed by the examples of tourists in Guamote, and Guamote's most famous cultural export: the musicians Delfín Quishpe and Angel Guaraca.

Relatedness: eating the ties that bind

The anthropological term *relatedness* arose out of the critique of kinship within anthropology in the 1980s (Schneider, 1984). The study of kinship had been undermined by increasing evidence and appreciation that the European preoccupation with genealogy and 'blood ties' was not universally shared. This foundational sub-discipline of classical anthropology was therefore too blunt a tool for understanding the complex ways people understand their relationship with the social world around them. This critique gave rise to new kinship studies (Carsten, 2004; Franklin & McKinnon, 2001; Stone, 2002). One contribution to this field has been a broader and more flexible concept of *relatedness* (Carsten, 1995; Carsten, 2000). Whilst this term has been critiqued in turn for being essentially too broad, it proves particularly relevant to discussion of identity and belonging in the Andes, where scholars have long drawn attention to how indigeneity is not grounded in a biological or genealogical relationship (Alberti et al., 1974; Harris, O., 2012; Paulson, 2006; Weismantel, M., 1995). Van Vleet has applied relatedness to work in Bolivia to show how work, food and stories create a shared identity (Van Vleet, 2009). The importance of living and eating together in the Andes, and the real, imagined and narrated dangers of living, travelling,

cooking and working alone, draw together a social world where it is not a shared genealogy, or even a shared history (cf. Canessa, 2012: ch 2), that creates a sense of relatedness, but the everyday acts of living together (*convivir*).

These include countless acts of exchange. Reciprocity has been described as the “backbone of the traditional Andean economy” (Jennings & Bowser, 2009: 4), underpinning communal labour institutions such as *mitas* and *mingas* (Mayer, 2002); the fictive kinship system of co-parenting and sponsorship of weddings and baptisms (*compadrazgo*) (Ferraro, 2004; Leinaweaver, 2008); and the intimacy of familial and marital relations (Burman, 2011; Maclean, 2014). Anthropologists have often insisted on the fundamental role of food and food exchange in the binding of communities and community identity in the Andes (Allen, 2002; Harris, 2000; Weismantel, 1998). Anyone who has spent time in rural Ecuador recognises the description of a world in an “endless cycle of consumption in which all is food” (Sullivan, 1988: 69). Food, the sustainer of life in often hostile highland environments, abundant in meaning, has a powerful hold on people’s imaginations - a key theme of Catherine Allen’s classic ethnography on coca chewing in Peru, *The Hold Life Has*²⁸ (Allen, 2002). The giving and the receiving of food is an invitation to sociality, an act that “draws one into social interaction and participation in the activities at hand” (Bourque, 2001: 93). Life in Wayku is dominated by the production and preparation of food for consumption in the comunas and sale at the Thursday market. The pride and satisfaction that people express in owning their own land was explored in chapter two. Being able to produce one’s own food is regularly given as a reason for why life in Wayku is better than life in the city. “*You need money for everything there! Here no!*”²⁹ And the circulation and exchange of food between households and within the comuna is fundamental to maintaining social relations, as Weismantel puts it, “food and not blood is the

²⁸ Allen’s book follows Malinowski’s call for anthropologists: “We have to study man, and we have to study what concerns him most intimately, that is, the hold which life has on him” (Allen, C. J., 2002).

²⁹ The reverse was also true, see for example Mario’s comparison of work in the city and the country (chapter three). Perception of agricultural life depends on how viable any domestic economy is, and what their aspirations are. However it does not appear to vary as much by age as might be expected (Flora, 2006).

tie that binds” (Weismantel, 1998: 171). Bourque argues that it is eating together that signifies membership of a household (Bourque, 2001: 87). And in Wayku, the gifts of food and labour are made between households, not individuals. In the discussion of alcohol in the previous chapter, we saw how the giving of food and drink expands to include an extended animated world that includes the earth, ancestors and the deceased (Ferraro, 2008). The libations given to the soil in the field, and the feeding of the dead during *Los Finados* (described in the next chapter) are part of this “endless cycle” of giving and consuming. The cycle of sponsoring fiestas, bestows prestige on the sponsors, and obligates their guests to support them in the future (Allen, 2002; Bourque, 2001). Eating food at a fiesta is therefore a “ritual act” (Bourque, 2001: 93), in which over-consumption is a demonstration of generosity and wealth, and a making of relations (often unequal) that leave the guests obligated to reciprocate at a later date.

Like the peasants of Azuayo-Cañar, described by Pribilsky, in Wayku it is “the crops that villagers grew, the food they ate, and the pace and rhythm of an agricultural calendar”, that “formed the basis of local identity” (Pribilsky, 2007). Migrating to, and living in the city, can appear to break this cycle. Or at least threaten to. When I asked Fausto Quishpe about why he preferred living in the comuna than with his brothers and sisters in Quito, his first thoughts were about wasted food:

“Here for example we sow potatoes, and we eat what we harvest. Whereas there in the city, you have to cook in moderation. And if there are leftovers, who do you give it to? You throw it away. Whereas here, if there is something leftover, you can give it to the pigs, or the dogs. We always have someone to give it to.”

Nothing seemed to sum up urban Quito more than the kitchen waste bin, an idea foreign to life in the comuna where nothing goes to waste³⁰. Indeed with food bought in shops and ending up in bins, something of the sociality of the food is lost. Others describe how one has to pay for all one’s food, and the fear that they or their children would go hungry in the city. Even when people

³⁰ As a guest it is virtually impossible to leave a house without an armful of produce. Unable to eat all these potatoes and carrots, I inevitably found people to give this food to in Guamote, thus unconsciously perpetuating the cycle of giving and consuming food.

spend increasing amounts of time in cities, live by urban incomes, and spend that money on shop goods, the *campesino* rural identity remains resilient because these activities fail to replace the sociality and reciprocity of food in the countryside. If, as Tolen argues, “agriculture is thought of primarily as the provision of food to people and animals” and this act “is the essence of humanity and sociability”, then to lose touch with that agricultural world is also to somehow lose touch with one’s humanity (Tolen, 1995: 130). Perhaps this is why César Guamán, who has lived almost all his life in Quito, has fixed employment that pays for his growing urban family, still keeps two smart looking white cockerels outside his empty house in Wayku. When he considers the proposition of moving back to Guamote, his first thought is to reinsert his family back into the agricultural world: “*I think about it. I could work in Riobamba or Guamote, put my wife in Wayku. Have some cattle, some sheep.*”³¹

Three tales of *cuy*

Presented here are three stories from my fieldwork that expand on this idea of an indigeneity of relatedness. All concern a popular festive dish in the Andes: roast guinea pig (*cuy*). Most households in Wayku keep guinea pigs in raised hutches or inside the house for consumption on special occasions. An important source of protein in an impoverished diet, and the food most closely identified with rural indigenous life, these animals play a central part in ritual life across the Andes (Abbots, 2011; Morales, 1995). Here are three stories about a transnational *cuy*, an uneaten *cuy*, and a disguised *cuy*.

First, the transnational *cuy*. As discussed in chapters one and two, Guamote has a relatively low level of transnational migration to the United States, compared to regions such as Saguaró, Cañar

³¹ Note that despite his dissatisfaction with city life, César still imagines himself as working in the city even if the family returned to Wayku. His wife Patricia would take on the lion’s share of the agricultural labour. This is what already happens in the vast majority of households in Wayku, and it demonstrates the way in which women are seen as closer and more integral to the rural activities that produce indigeneity (cf. de la Cadena, 1995; Weismantel, 2001: ch 2)].

and Otavalo. In Wayku there are only a handful of families with close relatives living in the United States or Spain. The Puma family is one of them. Clemencia has four children; one son and three daughters. The daughters live with her in her house in Wayku Bajo, whilst her husband Bernardo Puma lives and works most of the time in Quito. Two years ago, their twenty-one year old son Bryan made the clandestine route through Mexico to New York. Like other transnational migrants from rural Ecuador, his remittances are being put aside to buy a house in town - in his case, in Riobamba. Clemencia is immensely proud of her son, and insists that it is his money, and his decision how the money is spent. However when he suggested he bought a television for their house in Wayku, an idea that his sisters welcomed, Clemencia put her foot down. *“If we have a tele in the house, none of my daughters will do any work!”*



A plate of *cuy* at a fiesta.

Whilst Bryan is thinking about townhouses and televisions, his parents are anxious to make sure that he is warm and well fed in New York. *“Every month I send him a box. In it we put cuy, warm clothes, a poncho. It is very cold in New York.”* The delivery service they use operates out of Riobamba, and a ten kilo package costs thirty dollars, a significant expenditure for the Puma family. And also a culturally significant one. One of the daughters shows me a photo of her

brother standing in the snow in Queens, New York. The hills in Wayku, and the páramo at higher altitudes, can be bitterly cold, however it never snows. The photo seems to confirm their image of New York as inhospitable, climatically as well as culturally. Meanwhile, in these parcels they are packing up the smells, tastes and textures of Wayku. And the gift of cuy is the most significant. As Abbots explains in her research into these food packages (Abbots, 2011, 2015), the feeding of migrants overseas is an important part of making and remaking their male family members as indigenous. Migrants talk of missing food from home, and even of buying and slaughtering guinea pig from the pet shop, but “it doesn’t taste as good” as home-cooked Ecuadorian cuy (Abbots, 2011). Taste here is culturally constructed as much as it is sensorial, with cuy cooked on a wood-fire in a home hearth, carrying with it the intimacy of rural life. Women describe how cuy “travels well”, not just in the sense that it keeps its flavour and quality in transit, but because it retains a cultural resonance that chicken or pork do not (Abbots, 2011). At the same time Bryan is invested in a project of escaping the rural world in which the exchange of cuy gains its cultural significance, and to supply his family with a television, the most symbolic purchase of modern leisure. As Edwin said in chapter three, their main desire is to no longer “*suffer with the azadón*”. Or as one migrant in New York tells Pribilsky: “We are Indians, but we are leaving that now.” (Pribilsky, 2007).

As Abbots describes (Abbots, 2011), transnational families use food to interweave these practices of reproducing their ethnic identity whilst simultaneously aspiring to a modern identity that requires abandoning associations with indigenous rurality. The transnational exchange of cuy for modern conveniences exemplifies this paradox. If migration is about becoming modern, and escaping the life identified with labouring with the azadón and eating cuy by the fireside, the transnational gift of cuy reinscribes this identity and relatedness to Wayku. Abbots argues that this demonstrates the way local traditions and modernities are blending together. However, I prefer to conceptualise this as the interaction between two ways of thinking about identity:

alterity and relatedness. Migration offers a means to move beyond being *indio* but the ritualized gifts of indigenous food and clothes ensures that Bryan remains *indígena*.

The second story concerns an uneaten cuy. In July at the end of the school year the two comunas arranged school trips to the resort town of Baños de Agua Santa, four hours drive east towards the Amazonian basin. This annual event was intensely anticipated by the school children, who were chattering about it months before it arrived. As the English teacher, I was invited, and since I was living with Héctor Guamán, his daughter Rosa and her children, it made sense that I travel with their household. A week before the trip Rosa declared to the family, “*we need to take some food with us for our lunch. Maybe rabbit, or chicken, or even cuy!*” I asked whether the food would be shared among the entire school trip. “*No, people don’t share!*” I was sceptical, but I suggested that Rosa and I go to the market on Thursday and buy two cuyes to cook the night before the journey. Rosa was delighted, but insisted “*don’t tell anyone. People are such gossips!*”. Still sceptical that families would not be sharing food, and conscious of my ambiguous status as school teacher and guest at the Guamán household, I made sure to bring a sack of drinks, bread and sweets for the children.

After a morning swim in the thermal baths at Baños, keeping a dozen delighted but hapless highland children from drowning, we gathered in a park to eat lunch. As I suspected, after a round of speeches, families began to lay out the communal table (*mesa comunitaria*). Rosa and her father sat looking rather miserable on the park bench with the children, covertly picking at their bag of cuy and rice. It seemed that Rosa did not want to share her food. Her insistence that people in the comuna did not share, and were selfish, seemed odd at that moment. Most of the cuy went uneaten in the bag and returned with us to Guamote. Later I asked what had happened to it. “*It was bad.*” Rosa protested. “*We threw it away.*” It seemed incredible to me that the meat cooked the night before could have gone off so quickly. But she insisted. As with examples of food prepared

alone, described by Allen in Peru (Allen, 2008: 30), food not properly shared is also susceptible to become uneatable.



Collecting gifts of cuy for the wedding feast.

And finally, a disguised cuy. In August when people heard that my partner was coming to visit, we were inundated with invitations. *“Bring her so we can meet her and get to know her! We will cook a little bit of food, we will cook cuy!”* Ellie was adamant that she was not going to eat guinea pig, and I warned people of this in advance, to see off any awkwardness later on. Segundo Guamán nevertheless had the solution. *“We can chop up the cuy very small and tell her it is chicken. She won’t know!”* It was worth a bit of subterfuge in order to involve her in the exchanges of food at the heart of the ties that bind Wayku together.

Weddings

Edwin Morocho recalls marrying Jacinta in 1990. The ceremonies began in Wayku with a small meal for the two families:

“Then we went down into town to the church for the mass, to sign the documents, in front of God. Outside in front of the church we had a few dances, and then we went up to the houses, with all the family. To drink, to dance, and everything! A complete party!”

As with the Catholic weddings that I attended during my fieldwork, Edwin’s wedding was held over a number of days. The different ceremonies allow the wedding party to present and perform the union to different audiences, and with different sets of meanings. For the formal wedding ceremony in the church in Guamote, the groom wears a suit and sometimes the bride wears a white wedding dress. This performance is made in the presence of the Church, the strangers of the town, and the State. Back in the comuna further celebrations perform the making of the union to the community itself. Edwin continues: *“Monday is about the gift-giving on the part of the parents of the bride, cattle, tableware, blankets, furniture, a bed, kitchen, television... things for the kitchen. This is done in front of all the guests. People give advice, a little more food, and drink and more dancing.”* Whilst the wedding in the church is performed “in front of God”, the gift-giving in the comuna takes place “in front of all the guests.” What is exchanged - food, drink and advice - emphasises the ties of material and spiritual support that make the community. The following ceremony, the *taruka*, strengthens this even further by emphasising the compulsory and powerful nature of community ties.

“The taruka”, Edwin tells me, “is an old tradition of our elders. We don’t want to change it. Or forget it.” Early on the Monday morning after a wedding in the Catholic community of Wayku San Miguel, Bolivar Chicaiza prepares himself for the *taruka*. He strips naked and puts on *anaku* (a long black skirt), *chunpi* (a brightly coloured belt worn by women) and *wallka* (long beaded necklaces). He takes a grubby looking doll representing a newly born infant and goes to wake up

the newly-wed couple, putting the doll in between them in the bed. Here begins a long day full of carnivalesque revelry. By mid-morning the wedding party are gathering in the yard outside the house, emptying boxes of beers and opening bottles of *trago* and watching as Bolivar plays around with his doll, pretending to be a mother in search of her child's father. A group of friends of the newly married Luis are getting into their role as the *perros* (dogs) who will hunt out food for the afternoon feast. Chasing each other around the yard, they squirt bottles of water at guests from between their legs, pretending to be wild unruly dogs (*bravos*). Attempting to bring order to this scene is the *jefe* (boss), another friend of Luis, dressed up as a mestizo with sunglasses, tie, cowboy hat and wielding a whip. The *jefe* and the *perros* are given blessings from Luis, his wife and their parents before beginning their rampage through the community. Like a pack of wild dogs they chase every loose hen across the fields, stopping at each house to demand an offering for the feast. The hunting party demand *cuy*, but they will settle for a rabbit or hen. The expectation that every family should contribute to the wedding feast, whether they are related to the married couple or not, underlines the communal significance of the *taruka*. Their involvement in the ceremony through the giving of food is regarded as compulsory, even if it done begrudgingly. The performance of violence, with the *jefe* dressed as a *mayordomo* (estate manager) or *hacendado*, satirically references the relationships of reciprocity and exchange of the *hacienda*, that were also compulsory and underpinned by violence. Loaded with their spoils they catch up with the wedding party, that has begun its own tour of the houses and has stopped at Luis's godparents' house. There the *jefe* chastises and beats his *perros* for the meagre haul of guinea pigs they have amassed.

Later in the day the party returns to the parents' house where the guests line up to present gifts to the newly-weds. The gifts are varied, including furniture, bedding and blankets for their home, some livestock, and large quantities of drinks, alcoholic and non-alcoholic. The *perros* are "fed" with a huge pan of *mote* (boiled maize), and finally turn on the *jefe*, dragging him to the floor, to

the entertainment of the guests. Bolivar, who began the day, now brings it to its climax. He takes on the role of the *taruka*, the Kichwa word for deer. The wedding party make to hunt him, and to escape them he clambers up onto the roof of the house, grinning down at the crowd, swigging from a bottle of beer. “*The taruka*”, Edwin tells me later, “*is the laziest of animals, the deer.*” One by one, members of the family try to lasso him. Traditionally, Edwin says, they would be “*mayordomos on horses, with ropes to lasso the taruka, from the top of the house.*”



Eventually the *taruka* is caught and dragged down to the front of the house. He puts on an entertaining performance of being slaughtered, kicking his arms and legs about in his death throws, to the delight of the crowd. Then from inside the house a cow’s head is brought out, tongue lolling and hair matted with dried blood. Bolivar stands up and the cow’s head is tied to his back. The music blares out of the sound-system and slowly he begins to dance. In this way the *taruka* begins the last dance of the wedding, and one by one the whole of the wedding party join in.

Bolivar has been performing at weddings such as this one for many years. His family were cooks and catered for the fiestas, and he visibly takes a lot of pleasure in dressing up and entertaining. Like Edwin (quoted above) and others I interviewed about the *taruka*, Bolivar is obscure on its meaning. However people are united on three observations. First that the *taruka* is a custom (*costumbre*) and tradition (*tradición*) that has been passed down from their elders (*mayores*). Secondly, this custom is particular to the comunas of Guamote, and possibly even specific to Wayku. Further conversations with people from other comunas supports this observation that rituals vary throughout the canton, although there is perhaps a common theme surrounding the capturing of wild animals. Thirdly, the *taruka* is a custom that differentiates the Catholic and evangelical comunas. We have already seen that evangelicals oppose both fiestas and the drinking of alcohol.



In the concluding chapter of *The Hold Life Has*, Allen explores the rapid social change in Peru that is impacting on the ritual “frames” of coca chewing that binds together social and cultural life

(Allen, 2002). People are moving to the cities and giving up 'traditional' indigenous practices like coca chewing in order to leave their 'indian' identity behind. Coca growing has become more difficult in the shadow of anti-drug policies. In this light, it is easy to slip into a romanticisation of the loss of 'traditional' life, broken up by modern developments. Reciprocal relations are always vulnerable to being broken, each gift may not be returned. Certain contexts and developments have made this even more likely. However at the same time these forms of reciprocal relations are always vulnerable to changing circumstances and the danger that the chain of giving will be disrupted and broken. (See also Bolin, 2010; Butler, 2006).

We have already explored in the previous two chapters the common complaint that there is no community in Wayku (*no hay comunidad aquí*). This was frequently associated with the complaint that so-and-so or such-and-such a family did not share (*ellos no saben compartir*). Community is predicated on reciprocity, and with the absence of flows of food, alcohol, fiestas and labour, there could be no community. The two greatest challenges to maintaining these relationships have been migration (chapter three) and religion (chapter four). As we have already seen in chapter four, Catholics' objections to evangelicals was above all the breaking of these ties, especially those bound up in fiestas and the consumption of alcohol. These anxieties were no more apparent than around the fiestas that formalised these ties between families: baptisms and weddings.

However there is another, equally significant reason why the taruka and other fiestas are held less frequently in the comuna. After another wedding I walk back to Guamote with Juan, who works as a taxi-driver in Riobamba. He and his partner are saving up for their wedding that will take place in the comuna. However he equivocates on whether they will have the taruka. The problem, he says, is that it is always held on a Monday, and these days people are away working in the cities. It would be better to move the gift-giving to the Sunday - as it is with the evangelicals - and shorten the celebrations. Urban life, with its own rhythms and obligations, is gradually having its impact

on this particular tradition. Bryan, the *jefe* in the *taruka*, told me that there are normally seven perros. But that day there were only four, because most people were working away from the comuna. Remembering his marriage to Jacinta, Edwin smiles “*We did everything! A complete fiesta!*”; but admits that with people living and working in the city it is not always possible to extend the fiesta into the week. “*Some finish on Sunday - like the evangelicals. Very short. If there is the possibility we continue into Monday.*” The ideal, in San Miguel at least, is always the full fiesta. And fiestas are expensive. A good fiesta has live entertainment, a stage and public address system and a copious supply of food and alcohol. Guests compare the quantity and quality of the food at celebrations, and at the most luxurious of fiestas the plates are piled high with mountains of *hornado* (roast pork), each guest of honour receiving a whole *cuy* or even a whole roast chicken. If someone wants to criticise a fiesta it will inevitably come down to the meagre portions, or the suspicion that the meat is not beef at all, but donkey or horse.

Reflecting on the fiestas, Bolivar recalls nostalgically a time when there were many more fiestas in the comuna. Easter, Carnival, the Day of the Dead were all previously celebrated up in the comunas, along with the weddings, baptisms and graduations that continue today. Now all these annual festivals have disappeared and only take place down in the town. Of the nine comunas in the vicinity he insists that only Wayku San Miguel still celebrates an annual fiesta, with bull-fighting, live music and a procession. Why have things changed I ask. With a resigned expression he says “*now we have religions.*”

However, as seen in the previous chapter, in practice there is much more ambivalence and nuance than this rhetoric would suggest. Familial and affinal ties link evangelical families in Wayku Bajo and Wayku San Miguel, and evangelicals from across the quebrada came to watch their kin engage in the revelry of the *taruka*, watching on with amusement and taking photos on their phones. The words of condemnation from Pastor Miguel that open this chapter, are not shared by others who

come to see the spectacle. Even more interesting are those evangelicals like Hugo Puma in Wayku San Miguel, who dismisses the church's disapproval of the *taruka* and other traditions, and thinks that it is perfectly compatible to be evangelical and perform the *taruka* at an evangelical wedding.



Sweets and alcohol distributed in a fiesta in Wayku San Miguel.

Alterity: performing authenticity

When I told my landlady in Quito that I was moving to Guamote she gave me a maternal, concerned look as though I was embarking on a sea voyage to the edge of the world. This region, she advised me, was “very indian” (*bien indio*), the weather inhospitable, and life rudimentary. Where would I stay? There may not be running water, or internet, and there would certainly be no *supermaxi* to do my shopping. And if it was indians I wanted, I should consider Otavalo, Tigua or

Salinas de Bolivar, since there was not much of touristic interest in Guamote. There was the market, she supposed, but the one in Otavalo was more beautiful.

If relatedness provides one framework for understanding indigenous identity, it is by no means the only way in which ethnic identity is constituted in the Andes³². From the first colonial encounter, the form and content of indigenous identity has been determined by others. The name *indio* was itself part of the columbian exchange from the Old World to the New, and there was no category of indian in the Andes prior to the 1520s (Ramírez, 1998)³³. The administration of colonial territory and colonised people created the category of indian, a category that sanctioned and ordained European domination. Indians were colonised subjects, and therefore were defined by their lack of power, the colonised Other to European civilisation. However the colonial exchanges - economic, cultural, sexual - between coloniser and colonised produced a hybrid society, in which the indian *other* became internalised within the mestizo identity. As discussed in chapter one, the racial history of postcolonial and modern Ecuador is the history of struggling to come to terms with the indigeneity of Ecuadorian identity. Again and again, the response of elites has been to push indigeneity out into rural areas, or into the past. The Other within Ecuadorian identity must be continually made Other again. And that the Indian Problem would never truly go away, was the biggest problem of all.

This creates the problematic dynamic in which indigeneity is both central and peripheral to the national imagination (Larson, 2005). Andean heritage, indigenous culture, plays a fundamental and foundational role in national identity, at the same time as actual indians are pushed to the peripheries. The discursive positions of *mestizaje and indigenismo* demonstrate this contradiction, both disguising the fact that modern Ecuador has always been indigenous, and indigenous people have always been modern. Thus, the criticism from *indigenistas* that indigenous people were a

³² See chapter one for a full discussion of the literature on race and ethnicity in the Andes.

³³ Francisco Pizarro's first expedition to South America encountered native people on the Colombian coast in 1524, and the edge of the Inca Empire four years later.

degraded relic of a pure, authentic indigenous culture; and the reverse argument from modernizers that Ecuador was perpetually held back by its traditionalist and conservative indigeneity. As discussed in chapter one, the discourse of *plurinacionalidad* does not fully resolve these contradictions, but instead divides the indian into an improved and authorised, good indian, and an undeveloped and dangerous, bad indian.



A dancer on the streets of Guamote.

Therefore as Guamoteños engage with national culture and the state they are confronted with several images of indigeneity that stem from this schizophrenic distancing and incorporation of an indian Other. One of the most significant institutions through which people encounter this abstracted image of their identity is education. Schools, like many public buildings (as well as hotels and tourists offices) have maps of Ecuador that present the nation's ethnic diversity with

figures in traditional dress representing each *pueblo* and *nacionalidad*. Guamoteños usually see themselves represented as part of the Puruhá people, and usually by a woman in a dark anaku skirt, a white blouse and a red shawl. These maps locate ethnicity geographically, but they also define its semantic territory. Indigeneity is metonymically expressed as a particular type of dress, perhaps also a musical instrument, a farming or hunting implement - depending on the region. As Tolen discusses, this map is often put into practice through ritualised performances of indigenous culture (Tolen, 1998: 23). For example, one night in December I went with Cristina Chicaiza and her daughter to her school in Guamote to watch the election of the *senorita de navidad*, a beauty pageant for the girls at the school. As with similar contests for adults, the girls dressed up in the traditional costume of the different regions.

Whilst regarded as an expression of local indigenous culture, this image is “in fact defined primarily by its contrast to an equally abstract white/mestizo ethnicity” (Tolen, 1998: 23). The mestizo ethnicity is conspicuous in its absence from these performances. However this does not mean that performance, or any other practice, is a unidirectional interpellation of indigenous identity. Performance is part of a dialogue with this national imagination of what indigeneity is, a dialogue that is maintained across all areas of life (Canessa, 2005a: 18). Until relatively recently that dialogue has been an extremely unequal one, that takes place on the terms of an elite invested in the separation of whiteness and indigeneity. However the affirmative politicisation of ethnicity by indigenous movements has challenged this hegemony, and opened up space for redrawing the map.

The construction of identity through alterity is not limited to the dialogue between indigenous people and the state. Development policy, informed by the global discourse of indigenous rights, intervenes with particular notions of what it means to be indigenous. And then there is tourism. Tourism is now Ecuador’s third largest economic sector, and the nation’s cultural diversity is

effortlessly slipped alongside its impressive biodiversity, as one of the main reasons to visit Ecuador. Foreign tourists arrive with their own expectations of what that diversity means, shepherded by an industry that offers authentic encounters with indigenous culture, and the memorabilia to take home. As with their interaction with the state, Guamoteños engage with these development and tourist industries, in a relationship that remakes the image of indigeneity.

Part of this is the dynamic between “performative identities” in public displays, and everyday experience. During my fieldwork I witnessed a wide variety of cultural displays, from beauty pageants, dancing troupes and processions, school performances. Tolen (1998) writes of these as folkloric performances, constructed as a gift to outsiders, insiders knowing full well that these are carefully rearticulated performances of old traditions. It functions exactly by eliding the “social and political consequence” of such performances, emphasising their aesthetic (1998: 22). Dance, makes a space outside of the hierarchies and power-relations that exist in Andean society (Stephenson, 2011).

Tourists

Across the dark green field of pasture beneath Enrique’s house, his seven-year old son Mateo and I are playing with his football, two cows and a bull giving us uninterested glances between mouthfuls of grass. Out below us across the wind we hear the long whistle of a steam engine rising up out of the valley. The tourist train has crossed the bridge leaving Guamote and is turning the hill on its way north to Riobamba. “*Let’s go and look!*” Mateo yells, clutching the ball to him, and tearing off to where the field descends precipitously into the valley. “*It’s the black one (el negro)*” he says excitedly, as the black train engine pulls into view, its glossy red carriages slipping cleanly through the rough and dusty countryside. “*El negro eats people! The red one that follows behind,*

no, it doesn't eat anything. *El negro* eats people, in that tank. It eats them up like in a mill." A grey plume of smoke belches out of *el negro* as it disappears again behind a line of trees.



The tourist train passing by the comuna.

The *tren crucero* (the cruise train) is a regular sight and sound from the hills of Wayku. In the period of liberal reforms and nation-building projects following the Liberal Revolution of 1895, led by President Eloy Alfaro, work began on a railway to link the capital with Ecuador's major port, Guayaquil. Penetrating through the conservative heartlands of Chimborazo, the powerbase of the church and the landowners, the railway united the country, and worked to neutralise the regional factionalism that had overshadowed Ecuador's first century of independence (Kim Clark, 2001). It begins its descent out of the Andes at Alasuí, the next major town south of Guamote, where through an impressive piece of railway engineering the train descends to the coast. In the 1960s Francisco, Manuelito and others remember taking the train to work on the coast, before the railway was suspended in the 1970s. Today a new train carries tourists across La Nariz del Diablo

and up to the market at Guamote. Now the railway has exchanged sacks of wheat and barley for a luxury train for tourists.

At the station the tourists are greeted by communities employed through the Ministry for Tourism to put on displays of folkloric indigenous dance, music and meals including local cuisine. This is part of a wider discourse that moves between indigenous politics, ethnotourism and ethnodevelopment, and through an idea of the state, to emphasise the need to preserve and revive lost traditions (*rescate cultural*). In one sense what is taking place in Guamote is a “folklorisation” of indigenous culture (McDowell, 2010). Folklorization is conceptualised as a refocus of cultural performance from its point of production to the “distanced setting of consumption” (McDowell, 2010: 182). It is a conscious staging of culture. Folklorization takes place within the context of the struggle for recognition in national culture, but the process of legitimisation is done within the control of mestizo elites (Turino, 1991).

Folklorization is related to the exoticisation that takes place in the “contact zone” (McDowell, 2010) between indigenous peoples and tourism, one in which traditions are invented and presented to a western audience (Hobsbawm, 1983; Urban & Sherzer, 1992). McDowell critiques much of the work on folklorization in Latin America for its implicit or explicit assumptions about an inevitable process of “alienation, stagnation, fossilization, and ultimately, corruption of folk practices” (McDowell, 2010: 184). This ignores the “multivocality of folklorized tradition” whereby these performances are carried out with multiple audiences. Often, in “marketing” their culture, people are using “traditional values and practices and modern technology” to preserve their identity as well (Meisch, 2013: 10), as for example the producers of CDs in Otavalo, whose recordings speak both to the Kichwa diaspora and to the tourist consumers (McDowell, 2010).

So on the one hand the market is an expression of modern urban indigenous capitalism and consumerism, and on the other it is the most traditional and most authentic picture postcard of indigenous life in Ecuador. But why does this contradiction matter? What happens in Guamote is cultural tourism, with its offer of authentic intercultural exchange and an intimate experience of the indigenous Other (Baud & Ypeij, 2009). The global recognition of “the indian” has created an “international commodity” (Canessa, 2005a: 4). This process of commodifying an “authentic” indigenous identity, opens up possibilities for development in otherwise marginalised regions (Comaroff, & Comaroff, 2009). It has been suggested that despite indigenous women’s marginalisation with respect to society and the state, cultural tourism offers women in particular cultural capital embodied in everyday practices and in particular in dress (Babb, 2012). There is an irony in the logic of ethnotourism in its capacity to transform marginal subjects whilst investing in an “idealized indigenous authenticity” (Zorn, 2005: 157). Romanticisation of indigenous culture, seeing it as timeless, outside and untouched by the modern world. It is contrasted with Otavalo, which has been corrupted by money, tourism, outsiders, modernity. But what has supposedly made Otavalo inauthentic has also made people wealthy, and also what makes Guamote authentic is exactly what keeps it poor. As with tourism elsewhere, although well-intended, tourism in Guamote fetishizes/exoticized poverty of the Global South.

Musicians

In recent years there has been an explosion of Kichwa language music recordings in Ecuador, that have taken advantage of low production costs and the black market to bypass the mainstream media (Floyd, 2008). Two musicians who have found national and international fame come from Guamote: Delfín Quishpe and Angel Guaraca. The music of both are played at fiestas, and especially during Carnival. Their personal histories shadow the migrant stories of people like the Guamán and Gavilán families discussed in chapter three. Guaraca grew up in a neighbouring comuna to Wayku, working as a taxi driver in Guamote, where he began selling his music on

cassettes in the 1990s (Wong, 2014). Quishpe travelled to Guayaquil in search of work. Both have challenged expectations about what indigenous music looks like and sounds like, and what it means to be an indígena from Guamote.



A sound-system processing through Guamote during Carnival.

In 2005 Delfin Quishpe uploaded a video of his song *Torres Gemelas* (Twin Towers) to the video-sharing platform YouTube. Mixing techno with the Andean genre *sanjuanito*, Quishpe sings a story of his sweetheart dying in the World Trade Center in the terrorist attack of 11 September 2001. With its kitsch production, the incongruity of a love song accompanied by footage of the 9/11 terrorist attack, the video ‘went viral’, attracting overwhelmingly negative and derisory comments online.³⁴ Many of those comments reflected a racist indignation for an indian singer daring to sing about 9/11: “maten a este indio payaso”³⁵ and “¿cómo es que un indígena sabe usar una PC?”³⁶ (Yépez Ríos, 2015: 7). Since acquiring his internet celebrity he has released other songs, including a cover of the Argentinian rock band Soda Stereo, and songs about his visit to Israel and the

³⁴ The video has been watched over 15 million times and was shared extensively across social media, and picked up by mainstream media across Latin America.

³⁵ “Kill this indian clown.”

³⁶ “How is it that an indígena knows how to use a computer?”

thirty-three trapped miners in the Chilean mining disaster of 2010. Quishpe's music, although popular in Guamote, is derided nationally as an embarrassment to Ecuador. His blend of folkloric and techno, his idiosyncratic costumes, and the non-Andean subject matter of his music makes his both an inauthentic and unauthorised version of indigeneity.

Angel Guaraca has been received differently. He sings *chichera* music that mixes Kichwa language traditional music with Colombian and Caribbean rhythms, blended with electronic music, creating an upbeat, danceable music. But *chichera* is closely identified with the indigenous urban population, and is derided by metropolitan elites (Sandoval, 2009). However unlike other *chichera* artists, Guaraca has broken through into mainstream *música nacional*, where he embodies the acceptable face of a twenty-first century Ecuadorian indigenous identity. Guaraca styles himself as “El Indio Cantor de América” (the INCA), sings in Kichwa and sings about a national identity that is self-consciously indigenous, modern and Ecuadorian:

“Soy campesino de mi tierra, sí señor
 Con mucho orgullo cantaré para Ecuador
 Miles descubren la vencida sí señor
 Pobres hijos y humildes somos Ecuador.
 Este es mi poncho, es la cultura nacional
 Ángel Guaraca es el vocero del pueblo indio de mi patria.”³⁷

He is a popular and highly anticipated act when he returns to his hometown in Guamote. As well as singing in Kichwa, he sings popular carnival songs such as the popular *Carnaval de Guamote* by Jorge Humberto Calderón Gavidia, thus appropriating the mestizo canon of *música nacional* for an indigenous audience. The space of dance and music that Guaraca creates, produces a multivocal experience akin to those described by Weismantel, which is experienced as “shared and collective” although “each person...responds to an individualized appeal” (Weismantel, 2009: 261). Popular in the city and in the comunas, he creates a space at the Carnival and at his concerts where *indígenas*

³⁷ “I am a peasant of my land, yes sir / With great pride I will sing for Ecuador. / Thousands of people discover our land, yes my Lord / Poor and humble sons we are Ecuador. / This is my poncho, it's the national culture / Ángel Guaraca is the spokesman of the indian people of my homeland.” Quoted and translated in (Wong, 2014).

can be modern Ecuadorians, and mestizos can be *indígenas*. In the words of one mestizo fan (Wong, 2014):

“cuando escucho la música de Ángel Guaraca siento el correr de la sangre indígena en mí, porque soy indio. Cuando voy a los conciertos de Guaraca, canto, bailo, hablo en Kichwa. No sé exactamente lo que digo en Kichwa, pero disfruto hablando y cantando en Kichwa.”³⁸

Performing indigenous modernity

The Carnival of Guamote is a direct result of the dismantling of the haciendas. As with the market, the carnival is presented to outsiders as a display of traditional culture. However the Carnival has relatively recent roots in the hybridisation and merger of two carnival celebrations. This is the story of two carnivals, the historical mestizo Carnival and its merger with the Carnival of the indigenous neighbourhood of San Juan (Cobo 2010). During the era of the haciendas, local carnivals took place across the canton in individual haciendas, and were important festivals for the rural population. Guamote celebrated a separate Carnival, organised by the municipal government and attended by the urban mestizo families. The only neighbourhood of the town with a majority indigenous population was San Juan in the south. The San Juan Carnival grew considerably between the 1950s and the 1970s, adding bull-fights, bands and processions to the list of events. The Carnival began to co-ordinate its events with those of the main Carnival and in this way the two carnivals began to merge into its modern day manifestation. As the haciendas began to disappear and communities were formed, San Juan invited people from across the canton to their urban Carnival. It is significant that it was the organisers of the San Juan Carnival, and not the local government, that were responsible for growing the Carnival into a canton-wide festival, reflecting the growing confidence of the Guamote indigenous residents. From the 1970s onwards the Monday town-wide procession was established, the high point of the eight day festival. During

³⁸ “When I hear the music of Ángel Guaraca I feel the indigenous blood run in my veins, because I am indian. When I go to the concerts of Guaraca, I sing, I dance, I speak in Kichwa. I don’t know what I am saying in Kichwa exactly, but I enjoy speaking and singing in Kichwa.” My translation.

the procession all the communities of the canton descend on the town and parade through the streets. The procession feels and looks like a joyous invasion of the city by the communities, as thousands of dancers and musicians form a red sea of people that snakes through the narrow streets.



The Carnival procession, Guamote.

These ritualised “invasions” of white and mestizo space have been discussed elsewhere (e.g. Rasnake, 1986). These rituals can be seen as an engagement on the boundaries between the indigenous and the State (Radcliffe, 1990), but is also about the relationship between neighbours - mestizos and indians (Bourque, 1997). The community fiesta or Carnival gives an opportunity for

city-dwellers to “return” and enact a cultural identity and a belonging to a place and an indigenous identity. The way that they do this is important, for example in Van Vleet’s description of girls emphasising both their urban and rural belonging in the lavishly expressive dresses that they wear to the Carnival (Van Vleet, 2005).

“The indigenas are gaining their space. And they think that this space is theirs, and if Guamoteños come from other places, they think that they are intruders.” Germania, a mestiza living in Quito, talks to me about the changes in recent years to her native town. The carnival as invasion of the mestizo city has resonances elsewhere. For example the Inti Raymi festival in Cotacachi, where indigenous people, dancing and in costume, “invade” the main square (Wibbelsman, 2009). The growth of the indigenous Carnival of Guamote reflected the growing power and importance of the urban indigenous community and mirrored the ‘return of the indian’ across Ecuador. Like the disappearance of community markets, communities stopped celebrating Carnival and it was centralised in the town. Therefore, like the growth of the market, the Carnival embodies the process of centralisation of the canton, and the indigenisation of the town.

Conclusion

In *La Chulla Vida* Pribilsky explores the lives of transnational families living between the Azuayo-Cañari region of southern Ecuador and Queens, New York. They do not self-identify as indigenous but they are “equally differentiated from the national culture of mestizos” by blending together Kichwa and Spanish, their *pollera* skirts and felt hats, that are the most stereotypical markers of an indian identity (Pribilsky, 2007). Similarly, whilst the people of Pocobaya may not consider themselves indigenous, the Bolivian State certainly does (Canessa, 2007). There are of course important differences between self-identification and identification by others. And crucially this extends to regions where people *do* identify as indigenous, such as the hills of

Guamote. It clearly does not follow that an apparent agreement on terms means that *indígena* means the same thing to a resident of Wayku as it does to the Ecuadorian government, mestizo party-goers at the Guamote Carnival, or tourists exploring the Thursday market. For that matter, the identification has a different significance for Héctor Guamán as it does for his grandchildren.

Whilst it is hardly revelatory that identity varies according to context, it is important to consider the reasons for that variation. And, as this chapter has shown, one of the fundamental reasons why being indigenous is so complex in Ecuador, is the interaction between an identity based on alterity, and one produced through reciprocal relations. To reiterate, the distinction between the two is not that one is ideological or political, imposed from outside, and the other is natural and intrinsic to social life in Guamote. This is not an emic-etic distinction. Both are lived and experienced as real and meaningful, in all their contradictions and complexity. This thesis began with the problem of how it is possible to be indigenous *and* modern in 21st century Ecuador, when indigeneity is constructed as the reverse of modernity. Perhaps a more appropriate question is how do people negotiate an identity that is produced and experienced through alterity and relatedness.

VI. Conclusion: indigenous modernity and its malcontents

Wayku Dusk

I was eating at Jessica's house as the equatorial dusk turned day to night in the time it takes to finish a cup of hot oatmeal. The flicker of her wood fire draws the family closer against the darkness outside. I get up to leave, thanking her for the generous meal. *"Are you going to walk back to Guamote?"* She asks with a note of anxiety. Well that depends, I say, if a car passes I will take it. *"I don't walk at night. I am afraid. There was thieves, crazies, maybe even chupacabras. Who knows what might happen?"* Jessica is a sharp and determined young woman, not easily scared by anything, but her comments were similar to many others who said they did not like to travel alone, especially at night. Stories about the dangers of travelling alone, especially if you are a woman, abound in the Andes (cf. Canessa, 2000; Crain, 1991). The night, and certain places like quebradas, open spaces and irrigation canals, are often places of menace, inhabited by dangers that blend the human, non-human and super-human. In Wayku people half-joked about spirits (*espíritus*) and goblins (*duendes*) that lived in the quebrada or along the path. One night, walking along the track with Rosa and her daughter Luz, we passed a steadily eroding escarpment, towering above us in the darkness, hissing with the gradual stream of eroded earth. *"How scary!"* Luz said. *"An evil spirit lives here."* Rosa replied. And we hurried along. Rosa was extremely fond of telling tall stories, particularly if she thought she could convince her gringo guest to believe them. And since no one else could verify the existence of this spirit, I accepted it as something Rosa had made up on the spot. And yet beneath the story lay uneasy truths. The hiss of sand could and did turn to the thud of falling rocks, all the more frightening in the blackness of night. And beyond the

immediate threat, the hiss warns of the ecological calamity that Wayku faces in the coming years and decades.



Other real threats to rural life find their expression in monstrous rumours. During March and April people began to talk about a series of incidents in the comunas between Guamote and Cajabamba in which a large number of sheep had been attacked and killed at night. These were probably caused by a mountain lion (*puma*) or a wolf (*culpeo*), which fitted with the descriptions of a large white animal. However the scale of the slaughter, with dozens of deaths reported in each case, and the rumour that the animals had been drained of their blood, fed the story that this was a *chupacabra*, the goat-sucker. This mythological monster first appeared in the mid-1990s in Puerto Rico, and has since been reported in a region between Bolivia and the southern United States. In Central America and the Caribbean the imagery that surrounds the *chupacabras*, of large alien reptilians, owes much to the consumption of science fiction. Moreover the popular theory that the chupacabra was a biological mutant created by the American military and released on Latin America, has an obvious resonance and preoccupation with American intervention in the region (Radford, 2011). In the Andes the *chupacabra* is more often described as a large white dog

rather than an extraterrestrial reptile. Incidences have been reported in Ecuador from 1996. As with the other goblins and spirits, people in the comunas were equivocal about whether they actually existed. The stories of white monsters preying on livestock during the night, has echoes of the white terror of the *pishtaco* fat-stealers (see above) (Weismantel, 2001: 6–16). Like the *pishtaco* it specifically targets indians. Whilst the *pishtaco* steals indian fat, the *chupacabras* suck the blood of their livestock. But both human fat and livestock are embodiments of vitality, well-being and wealth, and are intermittent incarnations of the cycle of food-giving and life-giving that sustains life and society in the rural Andes (Canessa, 2000; Weismantel, 2001: 193). The terrifying proximity of accumulation and immiseration, wealth and poverty, fuels the fascinated retelling of these stories. As I saw the day that the Guamán family's pig unexpectedly died, the loss of livestock is both an economic disaster and an emotional shock, that may threaten their already precarious economic subsistence. The loss of all one's livestock in one night, as befell the victims of the *chupacabra*, is a disaster of monstrous proportions.

The *chupacabra* is a very appropriate myth for twenty-first century Guamote and indigenous modernity. A Frankenstein's monster of science fiction and local folklore, the beast travelled down the continent on social media, fueled by conspiracy theories, and emerged out of the night in Chimborazo, to further endanger the already precarious livelihood of its rural inhabitants. A few weeks after the rumours spread, a video appeared online of residents of a comuna in Guamote capturing and killing a "chupacabra". The images of a crowd of people in indigenous clothes stoning a dog to death was condemned by some as an example of animal cruelty in rural areas, and by others as proof that the ignorant and violent, unreformed and non-modern bad indian was alive and well in Chimborazo. The singer Delfin Quishpe has become famous via YouTube for not behaving how indians are expected to behave, the *chupacabra* hunters gained infamy on the same platform for fulfilling expectations of indian savagery. However, both received racial abuse,

demonstrating the difficulties that face any indigenous attempts to determine what it means to be indígena in modern Ecuador.

Discontented Moderns

This thesis has focused on the role of the family, religion and tradition in the re-making of local identities in the canton of Guamote. Significant transformations have taken place in all three of these areas, and these changes have been met with a mixture of enthusiasm, ambivalence and resistance. In order to understand the experience of indigenous modernity in Guamote, this thesis has sought to specifically explore that ambivalence.

The post-hacienda economy of Guamote depends on migratory labour. The viability of communal life in Wayku is only made possible through the constant flow of day labourers, seasonal workers, and stretched-out families, between the comunas and the towns and cities, and beyond. This has been the case from the end of the haciendas through to today, from Francisco shovelling earthworks on the coast, to his grandson Bryan's remittances from New York. However with pressures of an increased population and soil exhaustion and erosion, this dependence has become ever more critical. Furthermore, rising competition and aspirations for better education and professional work, alongside the growing network of ex-Wayku residents in the suburbs outside the canton, has further urbanised the expectations and horizons of the inhabitants of Wayku.

Despite these pressures, internal and external, that equate abandoning rural life with achieving modernity, people in Wayku retain a strong attachment to rural life and a rural identity. There are two interrelated reasons for this. First, their experience of modernity and the city is a frustrated and difficult one. Most of the employment available to them is poorly paid, insecure and often dangerous, and their living conditions are little better. Those that are now obtaining University

qualifications are likely to fare better, but for most, the city is a difficult and unpleasant place. The racial stigma of being indians from Chimborazo only worsens this experience. Secondly, in the city they are separated from the social world that provides the basis for their identity and sense of belonging. This is frequently invoked by sentiments about food, and needing to be close to their land, animals and family. The same matrix of sensorial associations and cultural markers that identify someone as a rural *indio*, are implicated in the reproduction of indigenous identity. Away from the comuna, people are unable to engage in the consumption, exchange and reproduction necessary to be indigenous. For many in Wayku the price of migration, and of the whitening of modernity, is too high.



If migration offers one route to modernity, religious conversion offers another. In fact, as we see in Wayku, the two are often combined, as young migrants returned to the comuna to convert younger siblings and older relatives. Through migration, the rurality that sticks to being indian can be unstuck. Through conversion, the stigma of the drunk and superstitious indian, is circumvented. Moreover, by converting to a religion identified with the civilised and white

countries of the North Atlantic, evangelicals redefine themselves as more modern than even the Ecuadorian elite. A new framework for modernity, the language of universal brotherhood allows a route out of the confines of being *indio*, whilst remaining *indígena*.

However, as migration disrupts rural social life, conversion also complicates the social ties through which those identities are formed. Becoming universal brothers endangers the kinship and communal ties that hold life together in the *comuna*. The clearest manifestation of this is refraining from drinking alcohol and taking part in fiestas. Furthermore evangelical rhetoric reproduces the representations of the bad indian, further alienating them from their neighbours. As with migration, for some this development is welcome, but for many it is too high a price to escape the stigma and poverty of being indian. This has meant a variety of pragmatic and inventive responses to Protestantism. The indigenisation of the Protestant churches, and the rejection of the aspects of the religion most antithetical to indigenous identity, has been one response. The replacing of alcohol with fizzy drinks in practices of shared drinking is one obvious compromise (Allen, 2008). Another response, widespread in Wayku, has been one of ambivalence, indifference and quietism towards Protestantism - a response that has allowed for coexistence, but also disguised a complex reality of pragmatic positions behind the appearance of a Catholic/evangelical binary.

These considerations on migration and religion, allow us to reframe the role of tradition in indigenous identity in the Andes. It is all too easy to conceive of indigenous modernity as a creative weaving together of old traditions with modernity, which only reinforces the stereotype that indigenous people were *not* modern to start with. For generations people in Wayku have been wrestling with the compromises that circular migration requires of them, as they struggle to make families and communities, and thereby a collective identity. Religious conversion offers different

ways of overcoming these obstacles, but only by redefining the limits of kinship, the community and the collective identity of being indigenous.



Escobar describes these popular, vernacular practices of subaltern people as a “traffic between the traditional and the modern” (Escobar, 2011: 222). As I have argued in this thesis, this tends to focus on the wrong dynamic by assuming an original authentic pre-modern indigeneity that is becoming hybridizing through engagements with the modern world. Historically Andeanists have been guilty of this kind of romanticising of indigenous Andean culture, seeing embedded within it an anti-capitalist critique of modernity (Taussig, 2010), a culture animated solely by reciprocity (Allen, 2002) and gender complementarity (Harris, 1980). More recently researchers have devoted much more serious attention to the capitalist, entrepreneurial indigenous culture (e.g. Meisch, 2013), and the power relations of race and gender within and between indigenous communities. What matters then is this way of being in a world dictated by both reciprocal and capitalist exchange, at Weismantel (2001: 293) argues:

“Every member of Andean society inherits the dream of indigenous reciprocity and the reality of capitalist exchange; and each person, in each of the many exchanges in which they take part, positions themselves in a variety of ways.”

Here Weismantel agrees partially with Taussig's conception of the Andean world being caught between capitalist and non-capitalist exchange (Taussig, 2010). However Weismantel's argument goes deeper and broader, because non-reciprocal relations in the Andes pre-date capitalist exchange by several hundred years. It is the unequal and exploitative power relations of colonialism and its racial and gendered legacies that have structured this social world where the dream of reciprocity exists alongside the reality of unequal and non-reciprocal relations.

Weismantel describes the social world of the Andes as a contest between two forms of intercourse, an idealised "unalienated social intercourse" and the violence of colonial intercourse that has shaped and exploited the indigenous world. "The context between these two forms of intercourse is fought out in historical myth: the conquest of the Americas is remembered in the Andes, not only as the defeat of Indians by whites, but of women by men, and of gifts by theft" (Weismantel, 2001: 137).

What defines indigenous identity in the twenty-first century is not the working together of modernity and tradition. Rather it is the same uneasy and messy relationship between being indian and being indigenous that has always been part of Andean life. To be indigenous is to inhabit a social world organised by two incompatible and contradictory frameworks. One determines identity according to practices of reciprocity and relatedness that are embedded deep into everyday life - including people's desires and fears. Conversely, colonial and postcolonial ideologies have constructed the indian as a category without agency, rationality, and at times even without humanity. The bitter irony is that both relatedness and alterity, *indio* and *indígena*, have coalesced and been located in rural areas, and around particular ethnic markers and social practices. This goes some way to explaining why indigenous culture is so tenacious in Guamote. Guamoteños have relatively little economic or cultural capital, unlike other regions of Ecuador, to separate their identity from the category of indian, and renegotiate a 'modern' indigenous identity.

That is not to ignore the variety of ways that identity is being renegotiated in Guamote. This thesis has explored some in detail, from stretched-out families and evangelicals to Carnival and *tecno-folklorico*. However, as this thesis has shown, these various strategies are fraught with tensions and contradictions, that point back to this fundamental duality in indigeneity, of being indigenous and of being indian.



Francisco's Grave

"My house is waiting for me in the cemetery. Come and help me paint it!" On a bright day in November I meet with Francisco's family in the Guamote Cemetery. It is the Day of the Dead (*El Día de los Difuntos*) when Ecuadorians traditionally visit the graves of their deceased relatives and share food, typically the thick and sweet fruit drink *colada morada* and bread baked in the shape of infants called *guaguas de pan*. All across the cemetery there are gatherings, with a larger crowd at the central chapel listening to an open-air mass led by the parish priest. Francisco's "house" is up on the hillside, a clean and simple brick mausoleum, a couple of years old, with nine empty

spaces. Francisco draws my attention to a barely decipherable mound of earth beside the mausoleum. “*Here are my papis.*” I take a photo of him with his grandson Marco. “*We will be buried here, Mercedes and Julio as well*”, referring to his daughter and son-in-law. Then he says with a note of sadness that his other daughter and her husband don’t want to be buried there. “*I don’t know why. They want their own place, their own tomb.*”

Wandering around the cemetery I stumble across many people who I have got to know in the past year. Elderly mestizos from Quito, frail and besuited, embracing one another besides a family grave. The brothers Segundo from Pedernales and César from Quito at their mother’s grave with their father, old Héctor Guamán. María, laughing with her brothers visiting from Quito, her daughters running rings around my legs. Conspicuous in their absence are the evangelical families, like the Villalba family from Wayku Bajo, and the many children of Segundo Gavilánez. Jorge Gavilánez’s words the week before had been unequivocal: “*why go to the cemetery? The deceased have already departed to heaven or hell.*” Pastor Miguel Villalba had said something similar.



The Day of the Dead, Guamote.

Francisco and I sit beside his final home, that lacks only a lick of paint before it is ready for him. His preparations for his own death may seem morbid from the perspective of a European culture fearful of discussing death. However, he talks about buying the land and building the mausoleum in much the same way he spoke of buying the land in Wayku and building the house for his children. Indeed, both acts embody his social responsibilities which confer on him the status of full personhood, *taita* (father), and member of his community (Canessa, 2012: 139). And he is much more pained by his daughter's decision not to accept a place in his mausoleum, than he is by his own death. In his life, whilst he has been set upon his path to becoming a full person, the world of Guamote and Wayku has been transformed. And with it the ways of being a person, being indigenous, have also changed. An *indígena* may now live in the city, go to university, and rarely if ever touch an *azadón* or raise a cup of *trago* to their lips. But whilst it is true that the external markers of indigeneity may be changing, the process by which one becomes indigenous remain strikingly similar to those that made Francisco an indigenous comunero of Wayku. It is a process of becoming accustomed to a place (*enseñarse*), taking on one's responsibilities, and learning to share and live together (*hay que compartir, convivir*). For some these processes of becoming indigenous may be refashioned to work in other contexts, to be an indigenous evangelical in Quito, for example. For many in Wayku, their identity firmly rooted in this place, it has made more sense to them to remain tilling the soil on the edge of the quebrada, despite the hardships and stigma of that way of life. Here at least is something certain in an uncertain world. Or as Francisco puts it, when I ask after his health on the day I bid him farewell. "*Here I am, working.*"

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